

The Transformation of Aladura Christianity in Nigeria

**A Dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)**

By

Timothy Olu Wilson Baiyewu

Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS)

University of Bayreuth, Germany

Supervisor:

Professor Dr. Ulrich Berner

Friday, October 17, 2014

The Transformation of Aladura Christianity in Nigeria

A Dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)

By

Timothy Olu Wilson Baiyewu

Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS)

University of Bayreuth, Germany

Supervisor:

Professor Dr. Ulrich Berner

Declaration

“I hereby affirm that I have produced the thesis at hand without any inadmissible help from a third party or the use of resources other than those cited; ideas incorporated directly or indirectly from other sources are clearly marked as such. In addition, I affirm that I have neither used the services of commercial consultants or intermediaries in the past nor will I use such services in the future. The thesis in the same or similar form has hitherto not been presented to another examining authority in Germany or abroad, nor has it been published”.

Bayreuth, October 17, 2014

Timothy Olu Wilson Baiyewu

Dedication

To my wife Yinka and my children God'swill, Jacob, Elisha, and Joshua, for their encouragement and perseverance

Acknowledgement

With gratitude I express my appreciation to my supervisor Professor Dr. Ulrich Berner for his patience and thorough supervision of this thesis. His academic and moral supports contributed greatly to the successful completion of my PhD research and the entire doctoral programme.

I acknowledge the contribution of Dr. Asonze Ukah who mentored me for a short period in the course of my doctoral research, but left too early for a job in the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I appreciate the immense academic contribution of Professor Gabriele Cappai of the University of Bayreuth whose expertise in sociology helped in making this work a success, particularly in the demographic section of this study. I am indebted to Dr. Magnus Echtler for reading my work and providing useful academic advice at each stage of its formation. I appreciate the contribution of Dr. Afe Adogame of the University of Edinburgh for reading the entire work and offering useful academic suggestions that made this work a success. His moral support and academic guide at a critical moment in the course of writing this thesis cannot be forgotten.

I am indebted to Professor Umar Habila D. Danfulani of the department of religious studies, University of Jos, Nigeria for reading my work and offering academic suggestions that sharpened the focus of my research. I appreciate his academic mentorship and moral guide even when marital problem almost overwhelmed me. A Yoruba adage says: “we are born of a parent does not guarantee kindness; whoever you are destined to meet can be a source of blessing to you”. I thank you.

I appreciate the contributions of my research assistants and other persons in Nigeria: Prophet Adebayo Kayode of the CCC, Dogon Karfe, Jos; Mrs Dupe Ogunbanwo of the CSMC, opposite TCNN, Jos; Mr Alfred Ojomo of Agbowo U.I. Ibadan; I. A. Akinduti of Challenge, Ibadan; Gabriel O. Lawal of CCC Mokola, Ibadan; Bishop Amos Ajibola and prophet Tanimowo of the TCLA, Ibadan; prophets Gabriel Olubunmi Fakeye of CSMC, Apapa-Oshodi Express Way, Lagos; prophet Bomes of CCC Ijako Parish II; prophet Adewale Gbadebo of CSMC, Ojokoro; prophet Niyi Olatunji of CSMC Saint Mary’s Chapel, Oshodi, Lagos; prophetess Ayoola Ologodidan; prophetess Bayewu of C&S Evangelical, Sango; Dr O. O. Sowande, Rebecca Akinsulure and Jide Ogungbade of CSMC, Apapa-Oshodi Express Way, Lagos; Gideon Oyedepo of C&S Bible Ministry, Okota Lagos; Timothy Okunola of the C&S Faith in Christ Chapel, Lagos; John Akindele Laleye of the C&S Kingsland, Lagos; and Bishop Samson Olorode of TCLA Mushin, Lagos. They assisted me in the course of

conducting interviews, locating various Aladura churches that were relevant to this study, and distribution and collection of questionnaires.

My appreciation goes to Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS) and its management for supporting my field work and providing scholarships that sustained me in the course of writing this thesis. I am grateful to all BIGSAS students too numerous to mention who, in the course of our academic interactions at GSP, work group, colloquium and the University arena, contributed to making this work a success.

This study could not have commenced and come to a successful completion without the permission and support of my employer, Federal College of Education, Pankshin, Nigeria. I appreciate the support of the entire staff of the department of Christian Religious Studies for their cooperation to fill the academic gap that was created by my leave of absence.

I acknowledge the contribution of my wife Yinka Rachael Baiyewu for taking care of our children while I was away from home for a number of years. Also I appreciate the perseverance of my children God'swill Babawande, Jacob Oluwaseyi, Elisha Abiodun and Joshua Opeyemi, who thought I could have completed my doctoral study in two years, and who also at a time in the midst of Jos crisis said in a telephone conversation: "Daddy, we want to stay with you in Germany; the killing in Jos is much". I thank God who has blessed my academic sojourn in Bayreuth through my Professors and friends, and who also decreed against negative circumstances that almost stood against the success of my doctoral programme.

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Acknowledgement.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	vi
Abbreviations.....	x
Illustrations.....	xiii
List of tables	xvii
Summary.....	xviii
Chapter One: Introduction	1-45
1.1 Background of the study.....	1
1.2 Areas of Study	3
1.3 Literature Review	5
1.4 Theoretical Approach	26
1.5 Methodology.....	39
Chapter Two: Aladura, Regulation and Religious Landscape	46-91
2.0 Introduction	46
2.1 The Aladura.....	46
2.2 The Nigeria’s Religious Landscape	54
2.3 Typologizing the Aladura	77
2.4 Unifying the Fragments	81
2.5 Summary.....	90
Chapter Three: Organizational Structure	92-160

3.0 Introduction.....	92
3.1 The Structure	92
3.2 The Hierarchy of Authority	102
3.3 The Workers	107
3.4 Ranking	115
3.5 English/Model Parish	120
3.6 Theological Institutions	126
3.7 Secular Institutions	141
3.8 Finance	147
3.9 Women in the Church	152
3.10 Central Choir	156
3.11 Summary.....	158
Chapter Four: Aladura Spirituality.....	161-230
4.0 Introduction	161
4.1 Sacred Spaces	161
4.2 Sacred Time	171
4.3 Prophecy	174
4.4 Week-day Programmes	183
4.5 Health Care	188
4.6 The Hymn and the Choir	192
4.7 Liturgical Practices	201
4.8 Band, Fellowship, and Anniversary	213
4.9 Youth Fellowship	217

4.10 Prayer	220
4.11 Restrictions	222
4.12 Summary	227
Chapter Five: Evangelism.....	231-264
5.0 Introduction	231
5.1 Street-walk Evangelism (Ikede).....	232
5.2 Revival (Isoji)	236
5.3 Evangelical Unit	240
5.4 Evangelism and the Media Technologies	246
5.5 Church Planting	257
5.6 Sharing the Pulpit	260
5.7 Tracking the Visitors.....	263
5.8 Summary	263
Chapter Six: Material Culture.....	265-300
6.0 Introduction.....	265
6.1 The Church Architecture.....	265
6.2 The Church Interior.....	272
6.3 Ranks and Robes.....	278
6.4 Icons.....	289
6.5 Logo.....	293
6.6 Ritual Objects.....	294
6.7 Summary.....	298
Chapter Seven: Biographic and Membership Trend.....	301-322

7.0 Introduction.....	301
7.1 Number of Questionnaire, Age Distribution, and Location of Respondents.....	303
7.2 Ethnic Affiliation.....	305
7.3 Social Status of.....	308
7.4 Educational Status.....	312
7.5 Membership Recruitment.....	313
7.6 Membership of Band/Cell.....	317
7.7 Fluid Membership.....	318
7.8 Summary.....	320
Chapter Eight: Migration and Globalization.....	323-328
Chapter Nine: Summary and Conclusion.....	329-338
Bibliography	339-353
Interviews.....	354-356

Abbreviations

AICs	African independent/Instituted/Initiated Churches
AU	African Union
AJS	Army of Jesus
AMORC	Ancient Mystical Order Rosae Crucis
BCOSTV	Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State Television
CAC	Christ Apostolic Church
CAIC	Christ Arrival International Church
C&S	Cherubim and Seraphim
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
CCC	Celestial Church of Christ
CCCAMAT	Celestial Church of Christ Academy of Music and Art Technology
CCCSLTI	Celestial Church of Christ Seminary and Leadership Training Institute
CCCURG	Celestial Church of Christ Unification and Renaissance Group
CCCURM	Celestial Church of Christ Unification and Renaissance Mission
CCN	Christian Council of Nigeria
CLMCCA	Christ Life Mission Church Cathedral Aladura
CMG	Choir Master General
CSAJNJ	Cherubim and Seraphim Agbo Jesu New Jerusalem
CSBM	Cherubim and Seraphim Bible Ministries
CSCZ	Cherubim and Seraphim Church of Zion
CSE	Cherubim and Seraphim Evangelical
CSMC	Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church
CSNC	Cherubim and Seraphim Northern Conference
CSOIM	Cherubim and Seraphim Ona Iwa Mimo

CSS	Cherubim and Seraphim Society
CSU	Cherubim and Seraphim Unification
CSUCN	Cherubim and Seraphim Unification Church of Nigeria
CSWC	Cherubim and Seraphim Western Conference
DCM	Disciples of Christ Ministry
DET	Diocesan Evangelical Team
ESBBC	Empire Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation
ESOCS	Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim
FRCN	Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria
FT	Faith Terbanacle
GSP	General Supervisory Prophet
GTV	Gateway Television
GUG	Global Unification Group
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HND	Higher National Diploma
ICPS	Integrated Church Planting Strategy
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IGATCLAW	International General Assembly of the Church of the Lord Aladura Worldwide
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOA	Ijo Orunmila Adulawo
IOEAK	Ijo Orile Ede Adulawo ti Kristi
JCLI	Jerusalem Church of the Lord International
LASEC	Lagos State Evangelical Committee
LPU	Ladies Praying Union
LTV	Lagos Television
MOU	Moses Orimolade University

MPRD	Media and Public Relations Department
MT	Mount Tabieorar
NCE	National Certificate in Education
ND	National Diploma
NAAC	Nigerian Association of Aladura Churches
NAC	Nigerian Apostolic Church
NBC	Nigeria Broadcasting Commission
NEF	Northern Elders Forum
NET	National Evangelical Team
NPC	National Pastors' Council
NRM s	New Religious Movements
NTA	Nigerian Television Authority
OAIC s	Organization of African Independent Churches
OGTV	Ogun State Television
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference
PBCS	Praying Band of Cherubim and Seraphim
PFN	Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria
PHD	Doctor of Philosophy
PS	Press Secretary
PSS	Precious Stone Society
SAM	Special Assistant on Media
SCSC	Sacred Cherubim and Seraphim Church
SRFC	Seven Reverend Fathers-In-Christ
TAC	The Apostolic Church
TBS	Tafawa Balewa Square
TCLA	The Church of the Lord Aladura
TCLAW	The Church of the Lord Aladura Worldwide

TPCSC	Truevine Pentecostal Cherubim and Seraphim Church
UAC	United Apostolic Church
UCCS	United Church of the Cherubim and Seraphim
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UUG	Universal Unification Group
VNG	Victory Night Ground
WCC	World Council of Churches
YMCLAW	Youth Ministry of the Church of the Lord Aladura
	Worldwide

Illustrations

Figure 1. Map of Nigeria	3
Figure 2. Origin and spread of Aladura	47
Figure 3. ESOCS Billboard.....	66
Figure 4. TCLA Billboard.....	70
Figure 5. CMSC organizational structure	96
Figure 6. TCLA organizational structure.....	99
Figure 7. CCC organizational structure	101
Figure 8. CCC organizational structure	102
Figure 9. CSMC hierarchy of authority	104
Figure 10. TCLA hierarchy of authority	105
Figure 11. CCC hierarchy of authority.....	107
Figure 12. CSMC hierarchy of administrative workers	110
Figure 13. CSMC hierarchy of spiritual workers	111
Figure 14. TCLA hierarchy of spiritual worker	113
Figure 15. CCC hierarchy of spiritual worker	115
Figure 16. CSMC ranking	116
Figure 17. TCLA ranking	117
Figure 18. CCC hierarchy of authority and ranking.....	119
Figure 19. CSMC English chapel.....	122
Figure 20. CSMC youth fellowship hierarchy.....	123
Figure 21. CSMC Renewal bible College, Lagos	130
Figure 22. TCLA theological seminary	134
Figure 23. CCC seminary and leadership training institute, Lagos.....	138
Figure 24. TCLA Ositelu Memorial school	144
Figure 25. TCLA school of Midwifery	145
Figure 26. CCCAMAT lecture session	146

Figure 27. CCC central choir	158
Figure 28. CSMC mercy ground	166
Figure 29. TCLA mercy ground	169
Figure 30. CCC mercy ground	170
Figure 31. CCC spiritual consultation session	180
Figure 32. CCC maternity home	191
Figure 33. TCLA choir	198
Figure 34. TCLA poster	254
Figure 35. CSMC Ray Field, Jos	266
Figure 36. Angular view of TCLA building	267
Figure 37. Front view of CCC Oluwaseyi Parish	268
Figure 38. Side view of CCC Oluwaseyi Parish	269
Figure 39. Interior of CCC Oluwaseyi Parish	269
Figure 40. C&S Jordan River mercy ground	270
Figure 41. CSMC mercy ground, Challenge, Ibadan	270
Figure 42. TCLA mercy ground, Ogere	271
Figure 43. CCC mercy ground, Mokola, Ibadan	271
Figure 44. CCC mercy ground Dogon Karfe, Jos	272
Figure 45. Altar of SCSC Idapo mimo, Ifelaju Parish, Lagos	273
Figure 46. Interior, CSMC, Surulere, Lagos	273
Figure 47. TCLA altar and interior section	274
Figure 48. TCLA mediatised church interior	274
Figure 49. CSMC, Surulere mediatised church interior	275
Figure 50. CCC altar and outer section	275
Figure 51. CCC offertory pouches.....	276
Figure 52. TCLA modern pulpit and light stand.....	277
Figure 53. Most Senior Apostle Prophet I. A. Akinduti	279

Figure 54. CSMC designs of Ileke top garment	279
Figure 55. A recession at CSMC Ray Field, Jos	280
Figure 56. ESOCS high ranking member	280
Figure 57. CSMC spiritual leader Samuel Abidoye	281
Figure 58. TCLA spiritual leader Rufus Ositelu	284
Figure 59. TCLA ordinary robe	286
Figure 60. TCLA evangelist robe	286
Figure 61. CCC evangelist robe	287
Figure 62. CCC wolijah/prophetess	287
Figure 63. C&S Founder Moses Orimolade Tunolase	290
Figure 64. TCLA Founder Josiah Olunowo Ositelu	290
Figure 65. CCC founder Samuel Oshoffa	291
Figure 66. CCC icon of Mary and Jesus	292
Figure 67. CCC icon of Mary and Jesus outside the church	293
Figure 68. Logo C&S, TCLA, and CCC	294
Figure 69. Ritual items, C&S River Jordan	295
Figure 70. Spiritual incubation on C&S River Jordan mercy ground.....	296
Figure 71. Healing session, CCC Mokola, Ibadan	297
Figure 72. Spiritual incubation, CCC Seminary chapel, Lagos	297
Figure 73. CCC ritual items shop	298

List of Tables

Table 1. CSMC ranks and robes	282
Table 2. TCLA ranks and robes	284
Table 3. Questionnaires, Age and location of respondents	303
Table 4. Age distribution of respondents	304
Table 5. Ethnic affiliation of respondents	305
Table 6. Jos membership	307
Table 7. Marriage.....	308
Table 8. Children from multiple relationships	308
Table 9. Educational attainment of members.....	309
Table 10a,b. Occupational characteristics.....	311
Table 11. Educational status of prophets	312
Table 12a-e. Membership recruitment	313
Table 13. Membership of band/committee.....	317
Table 14a,b,c,d.	318

Summary

This is an inquiry into the transformation of Aladura Christianity, particularly the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in Nigeria. Aladura Christianity emerged in the southwest of Nigeria in 1918 when a few members of an Anglican church in Ijebu Ode formed a prayer group as a response to the influenza epidemic, which defied orthodox and traditional medicines. The group metamorphosed into Precious Stone Society (PSS). There are four major strands of Aladura churches, namely the Cherubim and Seraphim (C&S), the Church of the Lord Aladura (TCLA), Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), and Celestial Church of Christ (CCC) and countless number of minor ones. Between 1920s and 1960s, Aladura Christianity became the most prominent independent Christian formation on the religious landscape in Nigeria. This drew the attention of scholars like Edward Geoffrey Parrinder, Harold Turner, John Peel, and Robert Mitchell who did their study between the 1950s and late 1960s, and whose respective study formed the foundation of study on Aladura Christianity in Nigeria. The emergence of the new Pentecostal churches in the 1970s marked yet another phase in the history of Christianity in Nigeria's religious market. But the Pentecostal dominance of the media and social landscape in Nigeria drew the attention of scholars of religion at the neglect of the Aladura, and impressed that Aladura Christianity has waned, as if they are almost wiped out of relevance. The major works of Joseph Akin Omoyajowo and Deidre Helen Crumbley in the 1980s, and Afe Adogame's doctoral study on the Celestial Church of Christ in the late 1990s revived the study on the Aladura in Nigeria after a considerable silence about them due to the shift in Scholars' attention to the new Pentecostals and diasporic Aladura in the Europe and Americas.

The inspiration behind this study is that a gap has been found in the previous studies, which to our conclusion are largely historical and do not vividly explain the resilience of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC over time. More importantly, none of the previous studies, in a single whole, addressed the current strategies, which the three churches employ for competitive advantage in the pluralistic religious market. Further motivation for carrying out this study is drawn on the fact that the demographics about the Aladura, which Harold Turner, John Peel, and Robert Mitchell provided in their previous studies are dated and such statistics were not addressed by later scholars, namely Joseph Omoyajowo, Deidre Crumbley and Afe Adogame who did their respective major study on the historical beginning and expansion of the C&S; gender and power in Aladura particularly the CCC in Nigeria; and the politics of cultural identity in the faith tradition of the CCC in the 1980s and 1990s. The inspiration behind this is to provide the

current demographics of Aladura in Ibadan, and to create new data on the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in Lagos, and Jos that were outside the scope of the previous research.

The three cities of study, namely Lagos, Ibadan and Jos were chosen for obvious reasons that are stated in details in the scope of this study in chapter one. Lagos is a fast growing megacity and former capital of Nigeria known for its diverse population, industrialization, high presence of different indigenous and foreign religious groups, and the upsurge of Pentecostal Christianity. More so, the C&S started in Lagos, while TCLA and CCC were nurtured to growth and expansion in the megacity. Ibadan is one of the cultural capital cities of the Yoruba where Yoruba traditional religion demonstrates strong resilience in its encounters with Christianity, Islam and other religions. Also, it is an industrializing city with indigent and migrant population, increasing presence of new Pentecostal organizations, and where previous scholars of religion, namely John David Yeadon Peel and Robert Cameron Mitchell did their major study on the Aladura. Jos is a cosmopolitan city that was not included in the major study on Aladura in the 1960s, 1980s and 1990s. It is a city that is known for its religious geography due to incessant ethno-religious crises between the indigent ethnic groups who are mostly Christians and the Hausa-Fulani migrants who are predominantly Muslims. These reasons provide the context in which the resilience of Aladura churches was investigated.

In order to examine the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in the pluralistic and competitive religious environment, and describe the strategies, which they employ to transform and reposition themselves for competitive advantage, five questions were raised:

1. Are there changes in Aladura Christianity?
2. If there are changes, what dynamics and processes are involved in their self-transformation?
3. What organizational changes have been made in Aladura churches now as against how they have been described in previous studies?
4. What innovations have been made in the religious beliefs and practices of Aladura churches?
5. Are the Aladura churches seemingly conservative in their transformation strategies, or accommodating new innovations?

In order to obtain data on these questions, interviews, observations and questionnaires were used. These instruments of data collection were used during the six-month field research in Nigeria from May to October, 2011. The semi-structured interviews were conducted. The interview questions were designed in a way that the interviewees freely expressed their opinions on each question in wider but related perspectives. Fifty-three interviewees were randomly drawn from the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in Lagos, Ibadan, and Jos. Included in the number of interviewees were members of the three churches who reside in Kaduna, Ogere and Sango and have useful data about the transformation of their respective churches. The interviewee from Kaduna who is the world leader of the CSMC was met in Jos during his official visit to one of his branches in Jos. The interviewees from Sango and Ogere were approached for brief interview sessions in Lagos, which later required the researcher's visit to their respective permanent places of residence at Sango and Ogere for elaborate interview. Interviewees were male and female members who belonged to different bands, ranks and departments in their respective churches. The interviews were conducted in order to obtain relevant information about how the churches are transforming their organizational set up, liturgical practices, symbols, rituals, doctrines, and social programmes. Interviewees were allowed to respond in the language they found easier as medium of expression. Interviews conducted in Yoruba language were translated into English by experts after which all interviews were transcribed and the relevant portions were thematised, chapterised and developed using available empirical data obtained from the field research. These were corroborated by drawing from existing literature written by scholars of religion and church publications.

Observation method was used to examine the physical structures of the churches, their liturgical practices, healing rituals, week-days and Sunday worships, ritual objects and evangelism programmes. The researcher observed these phenomena and described the visible change in appearance, content, and structure. Both participant and non-participant observation methods were used to obtain data about physical objects and performance at worship sessions in the churches. These were used to corroborate interview responses and historical facts in existing literature in order to arrive at conclusions.

Questionnaires were designed in English and distributed to male and female members of the three major churches in the cities of focus. The structured questions were designed to obtain demographic data about biographic and membership trend in the churches. Members were randomly selected and given questionnaires to fill. The questions were also designed to obtain

the perceptions of respondents on a wide range of issues that concerned the liturgical practices of the churches. Other sources that were used included church documents on theological education, books published by the churches and individual members on their respective churches, church almanac, pamphlets, annual conference publications on finances of the churches, Sunday school and bible lesson reader, newspapers, journals, fliers and posters. These provided information on the changing operations, beliefs and practices of the churches. The relevant data were collated and used in taking decisions on the resilience of Aladura churches in Nigeria.

The summary of findings of this study is presented below according to the research questions stated above:

Drawing on the first research question, this study revealed a wide range of innovative changes in Aladura churches and how they are coping with the emerging religious market challenges in Nigeria. The study revealed evidences of change in appearance, content and structure of the Aladura Churches. The C&S began in 1925, TCLA in 1930, and CCC came into Nigeria in 1950. They all began in the southwest of Nigeria and have continued to establish branches in different parts of Nigeria, Africa, Europe and the Americas. Their social visibility in the media and social landscape much more than they appeared in the decades before the 1970s in Nigeria revealed that the Aladura churches have introduced new ways of promoting their image and spiritual commodities. An informant's statement attested to the fact that Aladura Christianity is changing:

Our children fellowshiped with friends in different Christian groups on the campus and acquired different Christian experiences. They complained about our language of worship, duration of service, and other church activities. For these reasons, some youths have left the church for the new generation churches. Those who decided to stay back have compelled us in the council to approve the establishment of English chapel.

The dynamics and processes of transformation in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC are evolutionary. Internal dynamics and external influence shape the gradual innovative change that the churches experience. It is both accidental/unplanned and planned. Available data in chapters two and four to seven revealed significant change in organizational structure of the churches, their beliefs and practices, evangelism strategies and material culture. However, the churches have held unto some cultural elements and practices that are marked features of their faith

tradition. Internally, the increasing number of members and branches necessitated the creation of structure for addressing emerging administrative challenges, changing size of prayer house, formation of cell groups within the church membership, and the formulation of rules to guide the conduct of members. Globalization and migration as stated in chapter eight of this study has considerable external influence in the transformation of the churches.

On organizational transformation, the study revealed the churches' gradual change from formless to developed organizational set up. This is laid out in chapter four of the study. In the past, the founders of the churches were everything to their followers. The gradual democratization process began when increase in membership and branches necessitated the decentralization of power and authority and functions and the harness of the contributions of all members through departments, ministries, and bands/cells in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of both spiritual and secular policies, projects and programmes. According to Hackett (1988:340), democracy in the church requires the involvement and control of the church affairs by the laity. Currently, the churches have their respective elaborate organizational structure that has been made possible by the need to address the administrative challenges emanating from increase in membership, spread to many parts of the world, and the challenge of harnessing human and material resources for coping with the competitive religious market. The churches' responsiveness to globalization has resulted in gradual change. Chapter eight of this study revealed the influence of diasporic experiences on the thought out plans of leaders of Aladura churches in the areas of policy formulation, evangelistic and social welfare projects.

In spite of this development, the levels of their structures differ: the CSMC has four-level structure; TCLA has six-tier, while CCC has eight. In the TCLA, females are integrated into the church hierarchy of authority and are saddled with ministerial and administrative functions like their male counterparts because they are ordained. In C&S and CCC the most senior female wields authority but is limited to female folk. The English model section is a development across the three churches and is associated with youths who have different Christian experiences in their respective colleges and higher institutions and enjoy active participation in worship and preferably in English language. However, the three churches differ in the level of development of English or youth chapel. It is highly developed in some C&S where the youths have a prayer house or restructured old church building to themselves as English chapel. Such autonomy of worship is absent in the TCLA and CCC that were visited where the English group have their fellowship in a small segment of the main church

for a brief period before joining the main congregation for Sunday worship. In chapter three, though the three churches began at different times, the C&S in 1925, TCLA in 1930, and CCC in 1947 but came into Nigeria in 1950, the three churches have made significant progress, spreading across Nigeria, to African countries, Europe, the Americas, and the Asiatic. They experienced schismatic problems at different periods of their existence: C&S in 1929, TCLA in 1930, and CCC in 1985. In order to reposition themselves, each church has initiated reconciliatory groups and meetings. The C&S has formed C&S unification; most of the schismatic groups in TCLA have reconciled and merged with their parent church (TCLA), while the CCC and its various reconciliatory committees are still working to reconcile the various factions in the church.

The three churches initiated theological education to transform their respective prophetic ministry. They began at different times but all started in the post-civil war era in the 1970s and 1980s: CSMC in the late 1980s, TCLA in 1971, while CCC started the process in 1971. However, the proliferation of theological institutions has been identified among the C&S particularly the CSMC. Evidences abound in chapter four of this study that the churches explore the establishment of secular and theological institutions to the advantage of their prophets, ministers, and ordinary members, which in turn helps to reposition the churches among other religious organizations. This is expected to have positive impact on the literacy level of members and the general public. Like the theological education, the establishment of secular schools began in the post-civil war era. The CSMC established its first secondary school in 1969, while TCLA established its first secondary school in 1971. The CCC started its CCC Academy of Music and Art Technology in 2010. Since then, their respective church branches have been found to establish primary and secondary schools. The study revealed that each of the three churches is working hard to establish Orimolade University, Divine Grace University, and S. B. J. Oshoffa University respectively. On finances, the rules on the generation of funds and allocation of financial resources have been found in the churches. However, the TCLA's financial regulations are elaborate and published in book form. There are demographic data in chapter seven that revealed that the majority of Aladura members are Yoruba; the members belong to different levels of education (from primary school certificate holders to University degree holders) as against primary school holders and few secondary school educated individuals described in the previous studies; that members involved in different vocations across different strata of the larger society; that membership is increased and sustained through marriage and procreation between male and female humans and more converts from the mainline churches than from Islam and traditional religion; and that more of

their prophets are trained as against how they have been described in previous studies. This is due to the fact that the prophets now have access to formal education as against how they have been described in the previous studies and that various Aladura churches established theological schools that turn out ministers and prophets trained in the best practice of the prophetic ministry and sound knowledge of the bible. These are evidenced in chapter four of this study.

There are innovations in the beliefs and practices of the churches. In chapters five, six and seven the study revealed innovative change in the spirituality, evangelism and materiality of faith in the churches. The churches have held on to the ritual restrictions placed on members, but with variation. In the TCLA, females perform ministerial and administrative role because they are ordained. The females who have reached menopause are no longer affected by the church rule on menstruation. The new trend in the TCLA now is that the menstruant females are allowed to worship in the church but are restricted to the last row of seats inside the church. The C&S and CCC have continued to enforce restrictions on females. However among the new generation, modernist C&S, the restrictions on the leadership role of females and those that concern menstruation are not enforced. Prophetess Bayewu of the C&S Evangelical is an example. The spirituality of the churches is not separated from their conception, construction, and appropriation of sacred space. They share similarity in the rules guiding the use of sacred space. The beautification of sacred space has been found in the three churches. Both C&S and TCLA share similarity in their conception and utilization of mountain tops as sacred spaces. However, the CCC does not construct or use what is referred to as sacred mountain tops. Rather, the CCC takes sacred hill top (*ori oke*) as the spiritual state of a person in trance; it is the physical appearance of a person in trance but who is spiritually present in the spiritual realm. Data also revealed that the churches engage their members in week-days and Sunday church programmes to meet their both spiritual and material needs. The churches use their integrated healing recipes to address life crises that confront members and visitors. In the C&S and CCC, mass spiritual consultation service is highly developed than in the TCLA. In some C&S and CCC churches, prophets and prophetesses attend to a mass of members and visitors on particular days of the week.

The churches are not conservative in their transformation strategies. They are accommodating new innovations as evidenced in the development of elaborate organizational structure; the borrowing and adoption of substantial Anglican hymns and a number of Pentecostal church choruses in the C&S and TCLA hymnals; and the import of Pentecostal choruses in the CCC

worship and programmes in chapter four of this study. The procession and recession during elaborate worship, the recitation of psalms and other biblical passages during worship, sermon, and offering are modeled after the mainline churches. The Aladura started as a prayer group and blessed water for use according to divine instruction. Today, they incorporate various liquids and solid objects in their spiritual solutions to life crisis situations of members and visitors. These, to some extent, support the conclusion of this study on the churches' synthesized beliefs and practices that provided their unique identity among Christian groups. Migration and globalization combined to influence the self transformation of the churches. Chapter eight of the study revealed that members of the churches in the diaspora and those that have immigrated back to Nigeria and who have acquired cultural capital in the diaspora share their experiences in church administration and evangelism at their local churches and international general conference meetings for better ways of doing things in their churches. In chapter six there is a great deal of mediatized evangelism and information dissemination. Megaphone is used during street-walk evangelism, and that television, radio, print media, cyberspace, and modern telecommunication system are widely in use among the churches. The churches use media technologies to reposition themselves in the competitive religious market. These are evidenced in chapters four and six of the study. In chapters four, six and seven, this study revealed that the dynamic changes in the larger society influence the purchase and use of modern musical instruments, modern lectern, crucifix, candle stand, modern architecture, interior and exterior decoration of prayer house with high technology materials, and the use of media technologies for evangelism, information generation and dissemination.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Aladura Christianity is a brand of Christian formation that has considerable elements of Yoruba traditional religion. The Aladura churches constitute a group of indigenous Churches that creatively integrated both biblical and African traditions to evolve their unique faith traditions. “Aladura” is a Yoruba word for owners of prayer or a prayerful person. Aladura Christianity began when a number of persons formed a prayer group within Saint Saviour Anglican Church, Ijebu-Ode in the southwest of Nigeria in the second decade of the 20th century, as a response to the influenza epidemic, which defied modern and traditional medicines. Recent discourses about the origin of Aladura Christianity in Nigeria point to Joseph Sadare whose appellation is ‘Esinsinade’ as founder, or Joseph Sadare and four others¹ as pioneer members whose unflinching determination and faith in fervent prayers led to the formation of Aladura brand of Christianity. However, existing literature on Aladura Christianity in Nigeria in particular and on the advent and development of Christianity in Nigeria in general does not provide empirical evidence that Joseph Shadare singly founded Aladura Christianity (Turner 1967:9-10; Peel 1968:62; Ayegboyin and Ishola 1999:66-67; Olofinjana 2011:21).

The group later operated autonomously as Precious Stone Society (PSS). Today, there are different major and minor strands of independent Aladura churches in the global world. Although Harold Turner (1979:121) refers to these churches as the earliest form of Pentecostal Christianity in Nigeria, the groups preferred to be called spiritual or praying churches. The hydrotherapy, which Sophia Odunlami² proffered as divine solution to the outbreak of the influenza has become a marked feature of Aladura healing practice. The churches’ emphasis on the efficacy of fervent prayer earned them the name Aladura, meaning owners of prayer or the prayerful. The introduction of indigenous forms of symbols, rituals and music into worship and healing practice seems to make the Aladura churches appealing to a wide range of believers. Between the 1920s and the 1960s, Aladura churches redefined the religious landscape of Nigeria and the neighboring West African sub-region. It became the quintessential Christianity that gained the interest and participation of members from the mainline Churches and non-Christians. These attracted the attention of anthropologists,

¹ Ali (the Church Sexton), E. A. Onabanjo, D. C. Oduga, and E. O. W. Olukoya. Sophia Odunlami (later Mrs Sophia Ajayi) and David O. Odubanjo joined the group later.

² A school teacher and a later member of the prayer group, which Sadare headed.

sociologists and other scholars of religion, notably Edward Geoffrey Parrinder (1953), Harold Turner (1967), John Peel (1968), and Robert Mitchell (1970). But the emergence of the new Pentecostals in the early 1970s with their self representation, social visibility and creative use of the media has provided some challenge to the Aladura and has further made the Nigeria's religious market more competitive. The social presence and activities of mega churches such as the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), Deeper Christian Life Ministry (DCLM)/Deeper Life Bible Church (DLBC), Church of God Mission (CGM), Living Faith Church (LFC), and Latter Rain Assembly (LRA) among others have made a great impact in the religious market, frequently compelling other Christian formations to redefine themselves. The continued existence of Aladura churches on the diverse religious landscape within the aggressively proselytizing activities of new market entrants such as the new Pentecostal churches attracts a basic question such as: How are the Aladura churches coping? This has in turn raised five basic questions, which serve as search lights into the resilience of the churches:

Are there changes in Aladura Christianity? If there are changes, what processes and dynamics are involved in their self-transformation? What organizational changes have been made in Aladura churches now as against how they have been described in previous studies? What innovations have been made in the religious beliefs and practices of Aladura churches? Are they seemingly conservative in their transformation strategies, or accommodating new innovations in the competitive religious environment? Drawing on the questions raised above, the objectives of this research are:

To examine the Cherubim and Seraphim (C&S), The Church of the Lord Aladura (TCLA), and Celestial Church of Christ (CCC) within the diverse and competitive religious market in Nigeria and describe the strategies, which the churches employ in sustaining their existence; to describe the transformation, if there is any, in the rituals, symbols, doctrines, programmes, liturgical practices, organizational set up, and social services of the churches; and to also describe how identified innovations have been organized to reposition the churches in their quest for relevance. Premising transformation on thoughts, actions, change and outcomes, the study observes and describes visible change, usually positive in appearance, content and structure of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC and the extent to which the churches have employed change for competitive advantage in the religious market.

1.2 Area of Study

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa with a population of about one hundred and sixty million people of diverse ethnic, religious and cultural leanings.³ The path of Nigeria's stages of development can be traced back to the pre-colonial period when the peoples of today's Nigeria existed in kingdoms and city states. The advent of Christianity and the annexation of Lagos ushered in the gradual social change that eventually substituted the kingdoms and empires with colony and the northern and southern Protectorates. Since the



Figure 1. Map of Nigeria

amalgamation of the protectorates and the birth of Nigeria in 1914, the country has transited through geopolitical structures: from regional to state governments. Currently, Nigeria comprises thirty seven states including the federal capital territory and is mapped into six geopolitical zones, namely North Central, North East, North West, South East, South South and South West. Nigeria had agriculture as the main stay of its economy, but the discovery of crude oil in Oloibiri in January 1956 changed the economic landscape of the country. Nigeria has not fared well with its oil economy due to the wide gap between its oil wealth over the years and the level of poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment that have been made possible by massive corruption, which include oil bunkering and other financial crimes that are reported

³ Nigeria's Census figures have been a discourse due to political, economic and religious manipulations of head count. Its National Population Commission (NPC) reports on the 2006 census gives a provisional figure of 140 million people. A media report quoted the director of the NPC as saying that the country's population is one hundred and sixty seven million. Details in "Report of Nigeria's National Population Commission on the 2006 Census", *Population and Development Review* 33,1(2007):206-210; "There are 167 Million People in Nigeria-NPC", Channels August 5, 2012. Accessed October 17, 2013. <http://www.channelstv.com/home/2012/08/05/there-are-167-million-people-in-nigeria-npc/>.

almost on daily basis in the print and electronic media (Matthew Uwakonye *et al* 2006:61-63).

Nigeria has a history of political upheaval starting with the political violence in the days of the regional system of government to the military interregnum, which lasted about twenty eight years, specifically from 1966 to 1979, and 1983 to 1998. The military had claimed justification for each coup ranging from inability of the political class to get a bearing for the unity and economic development of the country to financial crimes leveled against the politicians. This is what Ajayi (2007:47) summed as the “corrective regime claim”. Religion has remained a force in Nigerian politics. It exerts influence on political, economic and social opportunities, the operations of political parties and voting during elections.

The religious landscape in Nigeria is diverse. The constitutional freedom given to citizens to practice the faith of their choice and to form religious association or facilitate the establishment of religious groups of their choice has encouraged unending formation of religious organizations. The presence of traditional religious groups, the proliferation of churches, the presence of oriental religions and Islamic sects are a manifestation of religious liberty in Nigeria. Aside constitutional provisions, political, social, and economic stress may be factored into the reasons for Nigeria’s religious diversity. Ruth Marshall (2009) argues that the Pentecostal revolution in Nigeria, a non-violent spiritual warfare is a response to the challenging realities of personal and public life in the post colonial Nigeria. The author posits that the weakness of canal weapons against the country’s systemic political, economic, and social problems has made Pentecostal spiritualities and the Born-again phenomenon to assume overwhelming acceptance and solution to bad governance and sick public moral life of Nigerians. The economic powerlessness, political insecurity, and social welfare deficit of a great number of citizens encouraged spiritual solution seeking tendency where government does not adequately respond to those stressors. This in turn has made self acclaimed charismatic religious men and women to prosper in their religious movements and healing activities. Musa Gaiya (2002) examines the growing vibrancy with which the independent churches operate on the religious landscape of Nigeria and the increasing prosperity which they have continuously attracted to themselves. He concludes that the Pentecostal revolution taking place in the country and their dynamic approach to spirituality is a response to the political, economic, and social situation in the country. He says further that the establishment of various churches all over the place is because the establishment of churches is one of the lucrative businesses in Nigeria. The diversity and the competitiveness on the religious

landscape have compelled the main line churches to redefine their religious and social welfare programmes. Although there are no accurate statistics on the number of Pentecostal churches and their population, their visibility in the media and social landscape impress that they command a great followership much more than the Aladura that was the quintessential Christian formation in the pre independent Nigeria up to the late 1960s.

In Nigeria, the religious landscape is marked with violence, which in most cases leads to bloodshed, loss of life and property. There is considerable peaceful religious atmosphere in some parts of Nigeria. Yet, there are parts of the country where there is great absence of peaceful proselytization. Notable religiously volatile states in northern Nigeria are Borno, Yobe, Adamawa, Kano, Kaduna, Jos, and Bauchi. There are reported cases of suicide bombing, which some Islamic fundamentalists targeted at worship centers, market squares and schools in northern Nigeria, notably in Zaria, Kaduna, Maiduguri, and Jos in which many lives were lost (Luka Binniyat *et al* 2012; John Alechenu *et al* 2014). The activities of the Islamic fundamentalist group Boko Haram have negative economic, political and social impact on the victims and the government at all levels. Religious violence has compelled some churches to relocate to safe havens. The market competition has a considerable influence on the general operations of religious organizations of which the Cherubim and Seraphim, the Church of the Lord Aladura, and Celestial Church of Christ are a part.

1.3 Literature Review

1.3.1 Introduction

In the study of Aladura Christianity, the researches that Geoffrey Parrinder, Harold Witter Turner, John David Yeadon Peel, and Robert Cameron Mitchell carried out in the 1950s and 1960s have remained classics. Their ground breaking studies have remained the foundation of Aladura studies in Nigeria and diaspora. They provide rich historical background of Aladura churches and how they have redefined Christianity amidst modernisation and social change in the southwestern Nigeria. The major studies, which Joseph Akinyele Omoyajowo, Deidre Helen Crumbley, and Afe Adogame did in the 1980s and 1990s marked another period in major studies on Aladura Christianity particularly in Nigeria. The authors in their respective contribution laid out the formation and growth of the C&S; gender, ritual dirt and their observance in the CCC organization; and the politics of cultural identity in the beliefs and practices in the CCC in Nigeria. Their studies came up after Aladura suffered some neglect for a number of years due to shift in attention of scholars of religion to the emerging Pentecostal dominance of Nigeria's religious landscape, which began in the 1970s. The literature on the diasporic Aladura Christianity marked another page in the history and study

of the Aladura. They provide vivid information about the transnational stage of Aladura religion, which Benjamin Ray (1993) describes as Yoruba religion. Hermione Harris' (2006) work on an African Church in London, and Afe Adogame's (1998; 2004; 2013) works: "A Home Away from Home: The proliferation of the Celestial Church of Christ in Diaspora Europe", "Engaging the Rhetoric of Spiritual Warfare: The Public Face of Aladura in Diaspora", and "The African Christian Diaspora: The New Currents and Emerging Trends" are examples of literature that provide insights into how Aladura churches have sustained their religious culture even outside their country of origin and how they have remained socially visible in most developed societies outside Africa. Some undergraduate and graduate dissertations obtained from the department of religious studies in Lagos state University, Ojo, and Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife provide data on history and development of strands of Aladura churches in Nigeria (Meadows 1990; Ogungbile 1987, 1992; Kilanko 1996). The upsurge of the new Pentecostals in the 1970s and their social visibility captured the attention and interest of scholars at its (Aladura) expense.

1.3.2 Review of Published Works

Parrinder⁴ (1953) examines some religions practiced in Ibadan, southwestern Nigeria. The author provides an insight into the traditional religious beliefs of the Yoruba, their *orisha* deities, ancestor, witchcraft and totem and concludes that deity worship was diminishing but superstition survives in charms, which diviners and priests prepared. Parrinder provides further insights into Islam in Ibadan, which he claims the northern Muslim traders introduced in early nineteenth century, earlier than 1836 when Oluyole became the military leader of Ibadan (p.64). The author chronicles the advent of Christianity in Ibadan and various Christian bodies that contributed to Christian evangelization and educational development of the city (86-106). His presentation of the prayer-healing Aladura churches along the African churches as separatist sects is a mismatch (107-132). Parrinder acknowledges the integration of non-biblical and biblical traditions in the belief and practice of some Aladura churches. The author specifically asserts that "the Seraphim began well, but 'they are neither African nor foreign, but they are between and betwixt'" (127). The author's sharp description of the belief and practice of Aladura speaks much about his inadequate information about Aladura churches. He describes worship in Seraphim churches including their material culture as unsophisticated and highlights the rituals of candle light and incense burning. The author notes that most members of the Aladura were drawn from the mainline churches and

⁴ A British anthropologist, academic and ordained Methodist priest wrote extensively on West African traditional religious beliefs and oriental religions.

identifies one of their leaders as former Roman Catholic Church member. He says most of the women were uneducated and that Yoruba language was the medium of communication during prayers, sermons and announcements. However, Parrinder's anthropological work lacks the intensity and updates which this study intends to provide on the Aladura Churches.

In his two volume work on the Church of the Lord Aladura, Turner⁵ (1967) provides a rich historical data about the origin and spread of TCLA from the Southwest to other parts of Nigeria and West African sub-region of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ghana. In volume one, the author chronicles the formation, growth and success of TCLA that are associated with the literacy and charismatic power of founder Josiah Ositelu. In volume two, Turner presents a vivid description of the organization and theological analysis that centers on the doctrine, worship, revelation, and healing practice of the Church. The study offers basic information on the social composition of the church membership as that, which comprises "cross-bearers, members, clinic members or 'clients', 'well-wishers or supporters', and casual associates" (p.9). The author says these categories of people were predominantly of Yoruba extraction that was largely drawn from the older churches. Turner describes the organization of the Church of the Lord Aladura as a formless structure at the onset. He highlights the role of women in the church, and argues that their "disabilities and weakness" rest on the influence of traditional African superiority and privilege of male over female, and the traditional belief in timely female impurity (p.43). The author presents a theological analysis of the integration of Yoruba religion and biblical tradition in the belief and practice of the church. Although it is a foundational empirical study on which other researches on TCLA have been built, Turner's approach to his study on TCLA largely in West Africa is more of a historian of religion than his theological calling, as he dwells on the theological aspect of the church with minor concern. Importantly, this study deviates from Turner's area and scope of study, locating it within Nigeria and making the scope inclusively three major strands of Aladura Churches. More so, this study provides an update beginning from the end of Turner's study on TCLA.

Peel⁶ (1968) provides a sociological account of Aladura churches, particularly on Christ Apostolic Church and Cherubim and Seraphim Church in Ibadan. The author examines the traditional social structure of the Yoruba that is varied in terms of kinship and settlement patterns, but similar in their claim of common ancestor, Oduduwa, and cultural and religious

⁵ A British theologian.

⁶J.D.Y. Peel trained as a sociologist and anthropologist and consistently factors in his multidisciplinary experiences in his study on the Aladura among the Yoruba. His ground breaking study on *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba* was the third major study on Aladura Christianity. E.G. Parrinder's (1953) and H.W. Turner's (1967) works were the first and second respectively.

affinity. The author says the Yoruba socio-cultural background has a considerable influence on the beliefs and practices of the Aladura as contained in chapter four page 114 and the following pages. Peel presents historical and sociological accounts of two largest groups of Aladura in Nigeria: the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) and Cherubim and Seraphim (C&S). Firstly, the author describes the religious life of the duo as that premised on the churches' beliefs and doctrines, worship, spiritual warfare and festive occasions. The author describes the Aladura as a response to social change in an emerging city that is regarded as the epicenter of the Yoruba in Southwestern Nigeria. Trained as an anthropologist and sociologist, the author combines sociological, historical and theological approaches to examine and describe the emergence of Aladura Christianity and its integrated world-view in a city that was experiencing progressive social change. He argues that a member of a community can consciously attempt a rejuvenation of some selected aspects of the community culture. He draws strength from this position to emphasize the place of the cultural symbols that are employed in Aladura worship and belief system, which in some way help to revive or perpetuate some aspects of Yoruba religion. As a reinterpretation of western Christianity, the author states that members of the Cherubim and Seraphim were mostly Protestants and relatively literate. In a demographic analysis, the author states that most members of the Aladura were migrants, largely artisans, while others were civil servants, traders and contractors. Peel's study offers basic background information about the less defined organizational structure of Aladura churches with characteristic overlapping roles, which had a great influence on most schisms and frictions in the church leadership. The study brings to the fore the appropriation of *agbara* (spiritual power) of the *Woli* (prophets) whose 'power surge' promotes dissident factions, and whose "unrestricted visions, and the denunciation of people as witches" stirred up confusion in congregations (p.280). Although it is one of the ground breaking studies on Aladura Christianity, it does not offer how the Aladura churches have redefined themselves over time. Peel's study was located in Ibadan, while the current study examines the Aladura phenomenon in a wider perspective. This study also differs from Peel's because it limits its focus on Aladura Churches that wear white garment, commonly referred to as 'the spiritist or spiritual Churches'. Although Peel provides some historical and theological accounts of Aladura churches in Ibadan, it is largely sociological, but this research is a multiple case study, providing a wide range of currents on Aladura in Ibadan, Lagos and Jos.

Mitchell's⁷ (1970) work is a sociological study on Aladura churches in Ibadan particularly the Apostolic churches, Cherubim and Seraphim, and the Church of the Lord Aladura. In the preface of his study, the author traces the beginning of Christianity in Nigeria and the emergence of African independent churches, which he classifies into the African churches and the Aladura. Mitchell further classifies the Aladura into the apostolic and spiritual types and mentions the Cherubim and Seraphim as an example of the spiritual type. The author examines and describes the emergence of Aladura as a response to a whole lot of inadequacies that social change and modernization have considerably influenced. He says that the inability of the mainline churches to substitute the "therapeutic this-worldly emphasis of traditional African religion" with "satisfactory alternative" aided the transformation, which Christianity experienced at the emergence of the Aladura (p.27). His work addresses basic question of the causal factors for the emergence of NRMs, particularly the Aladura, and deemphasizes the protest theory on the ground that the movement was not an initiative against the imposition of the colonial regime in Nigeria due to the considerable tolerance that the movement enjoyed during the period. Mitchell argues that economic, social, ethical and psychic deprivations that make an individual or group feel disadvantaged and internalize some framework for abating the effects of modernization triggered the emergence of Aladura Christianity and the patronage, which it enjoys. Like Harold Turner's and John Peel's, Mitchell's work addresses basic issues of social composition of membership recruitment, which it asserts was largely drawn from the uneducated and clerk class who were predominantly Yoruba immigrants in Ibadan. The author also reports that the educational attainment of the leadership of the Aladura and their prophets was considerably low. It offers great insight into the triple role of Aladura prophets as diviners, healers, and pastors as a frame for understanding the patronage and prestige, which they enjoy. However, in scope and time, this study differs from Mitchell's: while Mitchell focuses his study on the Apostolic, Cherubim and Seraphim, and the Church of the Lord Aladura, this study is broader as it includes Celestial Church of Christ; this study has a wider approach than Mitchell's that is localized to Ibadan. Secondly, this study deviates from the concern of Mitchell's study, which examines the contributions of Aladura to social change in Ibadan. Mitchell's study is dated and does not offer empirical data

⁷ Trained as an American historian, theologian, and sociologist at the undergraduate, masters, and doctoral stages of his education, Robert Mitchell combines his interdisciplinary experiences in his study on the Aladura among the Yoruba. He is the author of *African Primal Religions* (1977), and co-authored with Harold Turner *African Religious Movements: A Comprehensive Bibliography* (1967). Since then, Mitchell's attention has been in Environmental Sociology. His later publications, notably *Valuing Oil Spill Prevention: A Case Study of California's Central Coast* (2004) and *Using Survey to Value Public Goods: The Contingent Valuation Method* (1989) showcase his shift of academic interest in societal-environmental interaction.

about recent resilience and transformation of the Cherubim and Seraphim, the Church of the Lord Aladura, and Celestial Church of Christ in the diversified Nigeria.

Hackett⁸ (1980) examines the growth and change in the CCC. She traces the transformation, which the CCC has undergone for over thirty years of its existence and attributes it to the mobility characteristic of the AICs of which the CCC is one; the legitimacy and authority of the founder who was a charismatic leader; integrated liturgy in which the biblical elements Christianize the traditional religious elements; media publicity particularly the prints; commercialization through the sale of car-stickers, crucifix, records, hymn books and consecrated objects and liquids; and improved economic status of old members. The author traces the growth and change in the CCC from when it was small and had informal following during which everything centered around the charismatic founder and during which power of prophecy considerably impinged on the fixation of doctrine. Hackett identifies a later shift to “a permanent congregation with fixed rites and duties” (162). She states further that prophetic healing and problem-solving activities attracted more members and led to the creation of parishes that necessitated the formulation of standards of doctrines and practice to stop some deviations and prevent further strange ideas and practices. The author posits that it was after twenty years of its existence beginning from 1967 that the CCC began to undergo remarkable transformation, notably urban spread; bureaucratic organizational structure; and that regulations were printed in booklet form. Hackett does not provide statistical data to support her statement that membership of the CCC in Nigeria and in the diaspora was largely of Yoruba extraction. This study intends to fill this gap, particularly the demography of the current membership of the CCC in Nigeria. The author also states that the CCC during her study lacked evidence of worldwide evangelistic outreach in non-African congregations. This study intends to bring to the fore attempts, which the church has made over the years to establish platforms for effective evangelism, various means of ministration, and the change in other aspects of the church, which the author describes as having low level of development.

Omoyajowo⁹ (1982) presents detailed historical and theological accounts of the Cherubim and Seraphim which, within its first fifteen years of existence, 1925-1941 split into six independent groups namely, Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim, Sacred Cherubim and Seraphim, Praying Band of Cherubim and Seraphim, Holy Flock of Christ, Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim Church, and Holy Order of Cherubim and Seraphim

⁸ A scholar of African religions particularly new religious movements.

⁹ A Nigerian church historian and retired Professor currently serving as the Anglican bishop of Ijebu-Ode. He is also the author of *Makers of the church in Nigeria 1842-1947* (1995).

Movement Church. The Author attributes this to leadership conflicts and allegations of impropriety. The author provides an in-depth analysis of the integrated theology of the church, and says that the mix of biblical tradition and African traditional religious elements in the belief and practice of the church does not have eroding influence on members' faith in Christ. He acknowledges the low level of literacy in the leadership of the church but rules out its correlation with the growth and expansion of the church. According to Omoyajowo (1982:124), "in spite of Orimolade's 'illiteracy' and physical uncomeliness and in spite of Abiodun's age and sex, the C&S Society, which they founded expanded rapidly". The author examines the administrative structure of the church, which he says was not uniform among various sections of the movement. The approach of this study differs from Omoyajowo's. Omoyajowo in his historical-phenomenological approach describes the beginning, growth, theology and the organizational development of the church as a case study. Similarly, this study is polymethodic in approach but within the context of multiple case studies. The examination and description of the transformation of Aladura Christianity through the lens of market economy further makes this study to differ from Omoyajowo's work. The previous study inspires the attempt to inquire about the transformation that the church has witnessed over time.

Probst (1989), a German anthropologist, draws on the findings of previous researchers about the low level of education of Aladura founders, prophets and members to present the discourse on the influence of literacy on religions in general and Aladura Churches in particular. He says that the "prophets belong to the very identity of the Aladura movement and traditionally had a great pool among the people" (490) and that the uneducated and fairly educated attitude towards prophecy and spiritual power differs from the educated few that study the text of the bible and interpret what it says. In doing this, the author examines TCLA as a typical case to demonstrate the consequences of literacy on the church. He relates the literacy of TCLA founder Josiah Ositelu to the success of his movement. He says that the advent of Christianity and its evangelization activities through formal education prepared the African for conversion and full confession of Christ. The author presents Ositelu's exploit of a combination of literacy in the letter and the spirit in recording all his visions and messages in exercise books, which were later published in six massive journals comprising about ten thousand entries of revelations. He also compiled a number of Arabic and Egyptian like seals as revealed to him, and employed same literacy to explain the events of his time, which in some cases pitched him against the colonial government. The author posits that Ositelu must have acquainted himself with some writings and happenings, which formed the background

and strong factor for his writings: Islam and the use of the Qur'an for ritual purposes influenced his strange words; printed materials that were in circulation at his time conveyed rich information about social, economic and political upheavals in Yoruba land; his knowledge of the existence of traditional and foreign cultic bodies, namely Ogboni cult, AMORC, Freemasonry lodges, Muslim diviners, complex Yoruba cosmology and divination systems, different healing techniques, occultic literatures such as 6th and 7th books of Moses, Solomon's book of Palmistry; newspapers, Magazines and bulletins, and highly syncretistic atmosphere contributed to his literacy. According to the author, the dominance of written texts in TCLA was a response of the church to literacy, which began with the founder. That the conception of literacy in the church is holistic is not in doubt considering the discourse that the prophets were not lettered in western standard, but were lettered in spirit against the position that the "gift of the spirit" will amount to nothing unless legitimated by the bible, the letter. Probst explains that the position of the prophets was that the bible was not the only source of God's words; that prophets were able to interpret the "unwritten words of God" revealed to them in visions. This suggests that both the letter and the spirit complement each other and that the combination of the two has far-reaching influence on TCLA. However, our point of departure here is the wide range of transformation, which this study intends to investigate in three Aladura churches, including the educational attainment of prophets and other members of the Churches.

Crumbley's (1989) study on Aladura, particularly on Christ Apostolic Church, the Church of the Lord Aladura, and the Celestial Church of Christ is remarkable because it was the second major research on TCLA after Turner's 1967 study. Her study was the second after Joseph Omoyajowo's (1982) in the 1980s. It can be said here that Omoyajowo's and Crumbley's studies reawakened Aladura scholarship during the emerging upsurge of the new Pentecostals in Nigeria. Crumbley's study brings to the fore how leadership ideology particularly legal, traditional and charismatic authority (19-27), divine revelation, gender, and self-interest are significant to institutional building of three indigenous Aladura Churches as organizations. The author traces the origin of Aladura Christianity to the remarkable dream that Daddy Ali¹⁰ had, which led to the formation of a small cell of prayer warriors within the Anglican Church in Ijebu Ode and later metamorphosed into major and minor independent Aladura Churches. The author says that the churches' ideology and rituals of well-being, which are completely

¹⁰ A Sexton and member of the Anglican church, Italupe, Ijebu Ode who dreamt that major half of the church was in total darkness representing members who used native medicine for healing, while the less half used prayer. This led to the formation of a small group of prayer warriors called the Precious Stone Society (*Egbe Okuta Iyebiye*) within the church that dedicated themselves to fervent prayers and healing.

absent in the mainline churches considerably secured membership participation and commitment, and also harmonized the total self of individual member, the society, and spiritual beings. In keeping with Mitchell's (1970) position on the emergence of the Aladura as response to organismic strain, Crumbley avers that deprivation and stress, which include poor prevailing hygienic conditions, ailing economy, and political instability propelled initiators of Aladura movement into cognitive and community reformulation struggle that provided a new and better platform for eliminating the strain, and also influenced membership recruitment. The author identifies a major difference that abounds in the organizational structure of the Churches she studied, drawing one's attention to the three basic administrative structures in the CAC, notably the pastoral, missionary, and general administration that were not visibly noted in the TCLA and CCC because everything of the two churches was built around their founders (252-255). Yet, she posits that the institutional structure of the three churches exhibit less-defined management processes, which youth-elder conflicts, personality-policy issues, and the influence of divine revelation on institutional processes stressed up. Crumbley's analysis of the social composition of membership in the three churches indicates large number of economically dispossessed members, large skilled workers (p.141), forty years average age of members, and predominant number of members of Yoruba extraction. However, Crumbley's anthropological study about the Aladura does not include data on Cherubim and Seraphim. This study intends to examine and describe the decades of transformation in the organizational processes and rituals of the C&S, TCLA, CCC, which are absent in Crumbley's study. Secondly, the point of departure between Crumbley's and this study is the scope where the previous author limited her study to Ibadan, while this study assumes a wider scope, taking it out of the epicenter of the Yoruba to Lagos in further southwest and Jos in the Northern part of Nigeria.

Crumbley¹¹ is an African American anthropologist. Her academic interest is in African spirituality and gender. Crumbley (1992) examines the ideology of female impurity in Aladura churches, its relatedness to power ascription within church structure, and the variation of gender practice among Aladura churches. The study focuses on CAC, TCLA, and CCC. It establishes that gender practice particularly the impurity attached to menstrual flow is at variance in the three churches that the author studied, while impurity is not attached to female menstruation in CAC. The author also states that females in CAC enjoy a considerable

¹¹ She grew up in an African American independent church founded by a charismatic female who leads the church above all gender barriers. This probably influences her rejection of the categorization of females as 'unclean' and also shaped her research focus on gender practice in Aladura churches where gender discrimination is a marked feature of their faith traditions.

liberty during worship and other functional roles. However, gender practice in the CCC provides a striking difference in that menstrual flow is a mark of impurity, which to a large extent determines most of the restrictions that females observe within the structure and rituals of the church. TCLA shares similarity with the CCC in female impurity, but not as elaborate as it is found in the CCC. Contrary to the CAC and CCC, females are integrated into TCLA structure and rituals. The author attributes the variation in gender practice in the three churches to men who impose menstrual taboo to maintain a social order and to women who see the restrictions as beneficial because the practice frees them from violation, sin and barrenness in African society where child bearing determines their acceptability within the extended family. She also attributes the differences to the way the respective churches designed their organizational processes and the cultural legacies of the churches. The scope of Crumbley's study left out the C&S which this study intends to examine along TCLA and CCC.

Ray (1993), an anthropologist with extensive study on African religions presents a vivid description of the presence of Yoruba religious and cultural elements in Aladura beliefs and practices. The author concludes that it is a Christianity, which the people (Yoruba) have domesticated as their own, Yoruba made, hence 'Yoruba religion'. In advancing good reasons for his position, Ray brings to the fore the worldview of the Yoruba, particularly their belief in invisible spiritual forces, efficacy of ritual actions, construction of ritual space, the role of divination and the visible presence of all these in the faith tradition of Aladura. The author argues that the overlapping systems of ideas and practices in Aladura are reflections of the "several overlapping, partly conflicting, systems of ideas", which are characteristic of contemporary Yoruba culture (p.267). His work offers rich data on the basic elements of Aladura spirituality as a carry-over of Yoruba traditional religious thoughts and practices. Notable among other examples are the protective family compound (*agbo ile*) and the spiritual incubation (*abe abo*) in the church premises (272). He draws further strength for his position from the similarities that abound in the invocation of spiritual allies, namely God, Christ, Holy spirit, and the angels (271-272) in comparison with Yoruba coded words or incantation (*ofo* and *ogede*) for invoking invisible forces; and the performance of praise name (*oriki*), derived from the invisible essence of the physical head (*ori*), in comparison with prayer in Aladura churches. The author describes the Aladura as a Christian religious synthesis emanating from the creativity of the Yoruba in transforming Christianity into their own religion. This study deviates from the general perspective from which Ray looks at

Aladura Christianity. Instead, it focuses on three major strands to reveal change that is unfolding in them over the years.

Akinade (1996) is a Nigerian theologian whose research focuses on African religions, migration, inter-cultural studies and Christian-Muslim relations. He examines the background history of independent churches in Nigeria as an indigenous impulse against colonial Christianity in the country. At the core of Akinade's work is the spirituality of Aladura that is rooted in African religio-cultural realities. He explains that the creativity in Aladura goes further to affirm that God is not strange in African culture. Although the author points to unending cycle of autonomous Aladura formations, which he describes as "fake churches", he predicts the future growth and renewal of Aladura Christianity. Akinade's major focus is on the new religious movements, with minor concern on the Aladura. Enquiring into record of change in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC seems not to be Akinade's focus.

Ogungbile¹² (1997) examines the meeting point of culture and health in Aladura healing practice. In doing this, he traces the abundant examples of Yoruba religious and cultural elements in the healing dimensions of Aladura churches, which include doctrinal, mythic, experimental, ethical, social, and ritual. The author explains that the Yoruba traditional belief in the invisible forces and their role in the causation, management and healing of diseases is the basis of Aladura conception of disease and healing. He concludes that Aladura method of healing is a substitute to the traditional healing practice, which the mainline churches classified as unchristian and devilish. Ogungbile's ethnographic study of the Aladura healing practice within the context of the Yoruba religio-cultural matrix does not provide insights into how such healing practice has changed over the years and the factors that have compelled the transformation, if any. The scope of this study is clearly delineated, whereas Ogungbile in his study treats the Aladura churches in a compact whole.

Ayegboyin¹³ and Ishola¹⁴ (1999) present a rich, yet inexhaustive history of some major independent churches in western, central and southern Africa, which are probably the most fertile grounds for independent churches. The authors enumerate the possible factors responsible for the emergence of indigenous churches, which according to them are borne out of nationalist feelings and prevailing socio-political and economic conditions. The study attributes further reasons as the emergence of charismatic, prophetic individuals, and the desire to indigenize and purify Christianity. However, the authors' claim to the passion for a

¹² A Nigerian scholar of African religions: traditional, Christianity and Islam.

¹³ A Nigerian scholar and church historian.

¹⁴ A Nigerian theologian and ordained reverend of the Nigerian Baptist Convention.

purser form of Christianity is an overstatement. The allegation of membership of secret societies leveled against some clergy and some elites in some mainline churches was not wide spread, neither was it a major factor for all the splinter groups to break away from their mother churches. The authors provide useful information on the characteristics of the AICs, which include emphasis on prayer, spirit, healing, African worldview, differential elaborate administrative structure, and emerging role of women. The authors' presentation of the freelance prophets Wade Harris and Garrick Braide as the fore-runners of the AICs in Nigeria is not in doubt, what interests us more is the useful information they provide on the emergence, expansion, and African traditional elements in the beliefs and practices of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. Although the authors provide rich insights into the schism in the C&S, the splits witnessed in TCLA, and the leadership crisis, which culminated into factionalization of CCC are outside the focus of the authors. Current efforts to unite various major and minor strands of C&S and the unification of factional groups in the CCC are not points of focus of the authors.

Adogame (1999) traces the cultural politics in the CCC that is located in the belief and practice of the Church. A historian of religion whose wide research interest has been on African religions in the diaspora, Adogame provides a vivid description of CCC and its integrated theology that centers on charismatic founder Samuel Oschoffa who formed his religious group in 1947 in Porto Novo, the republic of Benin. Its introduction in Lagos, Nigeria in 1950 marked the turning point in the growth and expansion of the church. The author provides insights into the religio-cultural environment of the Yoruba where the movement was nurtured to greater heights. He highlights the belief and ritual practice of the CCC and concludes that they are largely fashioned after the socio-cultural structure and cosmological ideas of the Yoruba. Adogame addresses the basic question of routinization of charisma within CCC's organizational structure, and argues that the influence of revealed knowledge on laid down organizational rules plunged the church into leadership crisis. While agreeing with Wach's (1967) position that the death of a religious founder causes the movement's structural transformation, the study does not provide in-depth explanation on the emergence of various factions within the CCC as fall out of the leadership crisis in the Church, and the reconciliation moves that followed. Although this study shares some similarities with that of Adogame in the collection of data on organizational structure, belief and practice of the CCC, the points of departure here include the multiple case study approach of this study, its examination and description of the trend of transformation in the theological

and secular education in the CCC, and the demographic data that provides insights into social and biographic trends in the Church.

Domnwachukwu¹⁵ (1999) employs both phenomenological and ethnographic approaches in examining the concept and nature of power and its spiritual dynamics in some African independent churches (AICs) in Lagos, Nigeria. The author finds the possibility of his research in the AICs where belief, emphasis, and display of spiritual power are marked features of worship and practice. In doing this, the author examines the concept of power and its appropriation within the background of two dominant cultures in southern Nigeria: the Yoruba and Igbo who conceive power as physical prowess, personal achievement, victorious game of number, access to the supernatural world, leadership authority, and spiritual prowess. Among the Yoruba and Igbo, power is also ascribed to witchcraft, sorcery, world of nature, supreme God, spirit forces, deities, ancestors, spoken word, and territorial possession. Of particular interest is the author's focus on the Aladura, namely the CAC, C&S, TCLA, and CCC (175-195). At the core of his focus on Aladura is the dynamics of spiritual power in their worship and ritual practice: the conceptualization of spiritual power, the appropriation of symbols and nature in dealing with crises that evil forces confront humanity with. The author's analysis is that force/power is ascribed to symbolic actions and objects, especially the ringing of bell during worship and healing, smoke from burning pot of incense, water of different types, sacred words and names, candle lights and a whole lot of natural objects. The author examines gender and power relation in Aladura churches and provides the ambivalent position of the churches on females that they are both valuable and "vulnerable and almost synonymous to sin or sinfulness" (192). He finds out that the ascription of power to symbolic and natural objects is understood among non-members as occultic. Domnwachukwu's focus in his study is conceptual and limited to Lagos in comparison to the scope and approach of this study.

Ositelu¹⁶ (2002) devotes half of his two hundred and twenty seven page work on the Church of the Lord Aladura (TCLA) whose emergence, consolidation and early spread centered round the charismatic and prophetic founder Josiah Ositelu. His work is a product of his discussions at symposia, seminars, and conferences on the history of origin, classification, characteristics, criticisms, and the contributions of African independent churches to world Christianity. The study provides a vivid description of the structure, leadership appointment, constitution,

¹⁵ A Nigerian scholar who has written on cultural identity and diversity.

¹⁶ A Primate of the church of the Lord Aladura worldwide, he holds a doctorate degree in computer science and religious studies respectively.

doctrines and practices of TCLA, which the author sees as largely designed according to prophetic inspiration of the founder. The author's passionate defense of the Aladura weakens the objectivity and scholarship, which his work demands (49-60). His defense of Aladura spirituality strikes his attention much more than examining the dynamics of the transformation, which the church may be experiencing.

Ogungbile's (2006) ethnographic study investigates the emergence and resilience of Aladura Christianity in Ijesaland, which he attributes to the enterprising Ijesa traders. The author agrees with John D. Y. Peel who earlier noted that the great revival of July 1930 at Ilesa had a great impact on the vibrancy and proliferation of Aladura churches in Ijesaland beginning with the CAC and later the C&S. The author acknowledges the fast spread of Aladura churches in Ilesa but finds their spread, particularly the C&S as schismatic rather than planned church planting. Ogungbile however concludes that schism is a bane that plagues Aladura churches in Ijesaland. He attributes this to leadership struggles, abuse of claim to reception of divine call, doctrinal conflicts, rejection of punishment and rebuke by erring high and low rank members, financial impropriety, and "individual ingenuity and innovativeness" (p.103). Ogungbile's work considerably captures how Ijesa traders appropriated their economic culture of *osomaalo* resilience in debt recovery, 'the power of tongue' and their politics of simplicity and renewal in contributing to the spread of Christianity in Nigeria and particularly the Aladura in Ijesaland. However, Ogungbile's focus in his study is narrowed to a sub set of the Yoruba in comparison with scope, period and the objectives of this study. The author devotes few paragraphs to Aladura particularly the CAC and C&S with seeming neglect of TCLA and CCC and how these churches are repositioning themselves in the larger religious market.

In one of her relatively recent books, Crumbley (2008) examines gender practice in Christ Apostolic Church, Church of the Lord Aladura, and Celestial Church of Christ. This study, to our mind, incorporates Crumbley's previous work on "Impurity and Power" (1992). The author's devotion of over four years to the collection of ethnographic data for her study provided her a great insight into gender practice in the TCLA and CCC. She employed questionnaires, structured interviews and available church records and publications to obtain valuable data on gender issues. Crumbley traces the emergence of Aladura churches to human vision and charismatic quality in their respective founders who drew upon this resource and the existing socio-cultural realities to create a unique religious tradition that serves as a substitute to traditional religion and mainline Christianity. She traces the gender practice in

Yoruba traditional society and European Christianity and emphasizes the impact, which the British educational and religious institutions have on the role of women in Yoruba culture. Crumbley concludes that the local and the global gender practices have combined to produce a wide variety of gender practices in Aladura churches. At the core of her work is the interplay of ritual, gender, and institutional role, particularly of women in worship and outside worship. In doing this, the author observes and describes worship sessions in the three churches and concludes that variations abound in gender practice between the churches. She emphasizes the ideology of menstrual taboo that is associated with rituals, worship, and institutional roles of women. In this regard, the author locates gender practice in the CAC in between those of the CLA and CCC. To her, females in CAC enjoy a considerable liberty during worship, play unrestricted role during rituals, and are opened to opportunities for institutional responsibility. However, they are restricted from the chancel and headship of the church. This is however not based on menstrual taboo but church tradition. Crumbley identifies lots of female restrictions associated with menstruation in the CCC much more than in TCLA. In the latter, females are integrated into the rituals, institutional hierarchy, perform various responsibilities, and have access to the chancel where they sit among the rank and file of men. However, this is periodical as they are restricted between their menstrual flow and purification after it. In analyzing gender relation and the variation in its practice between the churches, the author concludes that the phenomenon is multifaceted and requires multidimensional approach to explain gender dynamics in Aladura churches. In doing this, she applies Patricia Hill Collins' concept of 'matrix of domination' which emanates from a combination of history, culture, and power relation in the larger society. The author concludes that internal dynamics of the churches and their interdenominational engagements contribute to the variance in their gender practice. However, the author's focus excludes the trend of transformation in gender practice, which the churches are experiencing.

In another study, Crumbley (2008) examines the new trend in gender practice in the TCLA, CCC and CAC within the context of website appropriation in the three churches. The author describes the non-representation of female graphic image on the websites of the churches as an extension of the churches' gender practice from their respective sacred physical grounds to the cyberspace. She draws one's attention to the religious consequences of the Berlin conference of 1884, which led to the Christian evangelisation of Africa and the reformulation of western Christianity as can be seen in African Christianities, notably the Aladura. The author examines Aladura ambiguous sensitivity to gender issues, which has been extended to their (Aladura churches) cyberspace in the diaspora. The author emphasises the variation in

female representation in the cyberspace between the three churches she studied. Although women in CAC enjoy a wide range of liberty during church worship and minimal restriction in roles and administrative functions, according to her, none of the graphic images in the church official websites is female. Similarly, TCLA which has more elaborate policies of female inclusiveness in church ordination and administration lacks female inclusive policies in its use of cyberspace. The websites of the CCC do not carry any female graphic image either, except that it carries important information on rules of restrictions, which female must observe. The study reveals a great deal of patriarchy, male dominance in ritual and administrative leadership and the extension of gender denial to the web pages of the Aladura churches in diaspora.

Fatokun¹⁷ (2008) presents a detailed study on the significance of water in the life of the AICs, particularly the Aladura type. He examines the AICs cultic use of water to solve lots of existential problems of individuals, and the illegal control of water resources, which the healing activities of the churches have resulted into. The author concludes that the cultic use of water among the AICs has both negative and positive sides: solving people's life crisis situations through ritual bath and also affecting the lives of people negatively through their illegal control and use of good water resources that are meant to be harnessed and managed for public use. The author however blames government for its negligence and non-promulgation of decrees that can control the ritual use of water resources for healing purposes. In his study, Fatokun examines the role of water in Christian rituals and human life: sacrament and drinking for life sustenance, but it goes beyond sacramental usage in the AICs, especially the indigenous ones. The study does not address the change in the ritual use of water, if any, in the C&S, TCLA and CCC, which this study intends to investigate among other aspects of the spiritualities of the three churches.

In one of his relatively recent studies, Adogame (2009) examines the material culture of the CCC in the diaspora. The author provides insights into the ranks and robes, icons and ritual objects of the CCC. He concludes that the materiality of the Church's beliefs is rooted in the worldview and socio-cultural milieu of the Yoruba where the Church was nurtured to growth. Adogame argues that the nexus of biblical and African traditions in the beliefs and ritual practices of the church suggests some idea of continuity and change. He brings to the fore the politics of cultural identity, which the CCC intensifies through biblical justification of its

¹⁷ A Nigerian scholar and church historian with research interest in Pentecostal studies.

beliefs and practices and it emphasizes this in its hymnal, rituals, sermon, and electronic and print media. The author's focus is an aspect of the larger concern and scope of this study.

Jegade¹⁸ (2010) traces the history of TCLA in Ekitiland whose growth and expansion he attributes to schisms and healing practice. The author explains the schism as that, which is associated with "ego and idiosyncrasies" (89). In doing this, he highlights the personality crisis between a female charismatic Gbadura and the male minister in charge of TCLA Odo-Oja, Ikere-Ekiti, which began in 1978 but culminated in the church break up in 1984. Envy and crisis of confidence further heightened the relationship between the charismatic female leader and other TCLA branches, which earned Gbadura and her group autonomy in 1985 and the adoption of a new name "the Church of God Aladura". Aside schism, the author explains that female fertility that is attributed to spiritual healing in the church earned her the much popularity, increased membership and expansion that eluded TCLA in Ekitiland since 1937 when the first branch was opened. The author however concludes that the endless circle of splinter formations that emerged from the TCLA in Ekiti, and which end up as autonomous churches to an extent, downsizes the number of branches that TCLA would have had in Ekitiland. Jegede's ethnographic case study does not provide insights into the organizational change and transformation in the spiritualities of TCLA over time.

In another study, Jegede (2010) examines the influence of Ekiti cultural elements on the beliefs and practices of Aladura churches in Ekitiland. The author examines *akodi* communalism, and divination practice in CAC, C&S, TCLA and CCC and the appropriation of same in solving human existential problems that confront members and visitors to the churches. He explains the affinity between Ekiti religious tradition and the faith tradition of TCLA as a great cultural adaptation that is more of contextualization rather than syncretism in normative sense (53).

Johnson (2011) examines Aladura quest for authenticity within the background of the spirituality, religious, cultural, social and economic realities of their emergent environment. The author's focus is on CAC, C&S, TCLA, and CCC. He associates this with foreign domination of the leadership of the mainline churches, which led to African church formations. The author states that the influenza epidemic in the second decade of the twentieth century led to the emergence of Aladura Christianity in Nigeria. The author probes into the shortcomings of the mission churches upon which the Aladura established their authenticity (156-159). He explains that Aladura authenticity is anchored on their claim of

¹⁸ A Nigerian scholar of Pentecostal studies.

providing solutions to anxieties and insecurities such as witchcraft, disease, failures and the quest for the knowledge of the future, which is the spiritual diagnosis of human crisis situations common referred to as divination. The author concludes that the cultural, social, and spiritual deficits of the mainline churches, inability of traditional religion and its specialists to confront the bubonic plague, and the emerging social change and its consequences form the basis of Aladura authenticity. However, the study in approach, scope and content does not address the concern of this study.

Alokan, Alabi, and Babalola (2011), Nigerian scholars of religious studies with research interest in Pentecostal studies, examine the problems associated with leadership and the consequences of leadership power tussle in indigenous churches in Nigeria. The authors see this phenomenon as a major factor that promotes schism and proliferation in the AICs in Nigeria. The authors trace the politics of disloyalty, doctrinal disagreement, personality conflicts and manipulation of prophetic gift in the CAC and C&S. Alokan, Alabi, and Babalola note that nonchalant attitudes of church leadership to disgruntled individuals within the church and the recognition that is attached to leadership title combine to influence leadership crisis. Although the authors see the body of Christ as one, their analysis is that the future of Pentecostals in Nigeria, particularly the CAC and C&S is uncertain because the churches are witnessing unending circle of secession and internal leadership crises. This study intends to, among other areas, investigate further into shifts that the churches are experiencing in their leadership crises with the context of organizational transformation recorded over time.

In a very recent work, Jegede (2012) examines female leadership in Aladura churches amidst the ambiguous position of the churches on female leadership role. The author attributes the positive development to the influence of Yoruba religion and culture on the beliefs and practices of Aladura. The author traces the history of male dominance in Christianity to the strong patriarchal emphasis, which developed together with the religion in the midst of two Mediterranean cultures: Jewish and later Graeco-Roman worlds in which women are inferior and subordinates to men. This, the author supports with rich biblical references, notably Deuteronomy 24:1; 1 Corinth 11:5; and Col 3:18:1 Tim2:11-15. The author makes use of abundance of data from Yoruba traditional religion and culture on women leadership in administrative and religious matters to drive home his position on women leadership in Aladura churches. Basically among the Yoruba, women are not allowed, in most cases, to head the highest position in the traditional administrative setting. Yet, they are allowed to lead their women community, represent and agitate on their behalf; and exempted from certain

traditional rituals. Yet, there are chief priestesses of deities. The author concludes that the Yoruba traditional religious and cultural position on women is inspirational to the growing number of women leaders in Aladura churches, drawing examples from Sofia Odunlami, Captain Abiodun Akinsowon, Rev Mothers Gbadura, Owayin, Babayemi, prophets Oyenekan and Lady Evangelist Odeleke. The author concludes that though the patriarchy position of the bible has seemingly turn the body of Christ into two: those for and those against women ordination and leadership position in the church, such discourse adds strength and authenticity to Aladura where women have found it safe to exhibit their God-given leadership talents in church administration and ritual participation. However, the study does not establish the ambiguity in women leadership in Aladura churches and the transformation, which the women folk experience in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC including other current trends in the organizational, beliefs and practices of the three churches.

In one of his most recent books, Adogame (2013) examines the beginning, growth and cultural politics of African led independent Churches in their host European environment. The author typologizes the African-led Churches and maps their religious geographies within which he locates the first appearance of the Aladura Churches in the 1960s. He sees the African independent Churches, of which the C&S, TCLA, and CCC are a part, as all-encompassing capital, namely spiritual, social, cultural, and finance and concludes that these are spiritual and material resources with which the African Christians and their Churches impact positively "within the triangular contexts of Africa, Europe and North America"(p119). The author concludes that African Christianities in the diaspora can best be understood within the context of migration, religious transnationalism and modernity. The author is diasporic in interest and focus.

1.3.3 Review of Unpublished Works

Samples of undergraduate and graduate long essays obtained for review from the Lagos State University, Ojo and Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife are case studies that probed into the history, beliefs and practices of the Aladura and their contributions to the environments where they exist. One of the long essays examines female leadership in Aladura churches using Captain Abiodun Emmanuel of the Cherubim and Seraphim Society (CSS) as a case study.

In his undergraduate thesis, Ogungbile (1987) did a brilliant comparative and theological study on glossolalia and spirit possession in the C&S in Ilesa. He presents the medical explanation of glossolalia and spirit seizure as a mental disorder with physical expression.

From the religious perspective, Ogungbile draws on the Old Testament, New Testament, Islamic, Graeco-Roman and Ancient Near East traditions to explain glossolalia as unexplainable divine gift and manifestation that is associated with the spirit of God at work. Humans generally are people of inquisitive nature who want to know about the past, present, and future. Hence, the author sees the contribution of the C&S, Ilesa from the perspective of its revelation service to its host town and the surrounding communities. The author examines the manifestation of glossolalia and spirit possession, its genuineness and contribution to solving existential problems. Although this study shares similarity with Ogungbile's work as it probes into the spiritualities of the Aladura of which spirit possession and divination/revelation is a part, the point of departure between the two is that this study focuses on all encompassing issues of transformation in three major strands of Aladura as a multiple case study in three major cities in Nigeria.

Meadows (1990) examines the dynamism in the internal operations and giant strides in evangelism and expansion in CSMC Surulere from 1971 to 1990. The author attributes the success to the influence of elitism and modernity. The author notes that the combination of elitism and modernity produced elaborate administrative and organizational structure that helped place the church on a model ladder in comparison with other district headquarters of the CSMC in Nigeria. The study sees the elites in the church as a capital responsible for contributing operational principles typical of a secular firm (64-69). The study highlights how elitism has impacted on the church in the areas of architectural design of the prayer house, information generation, dissemination, and management using electronic media and the cyberspace, and deemphasizing old practices that have put Aladura churches on the cultic books of the mainline churches. The study sees elitism and modernity from the positive perspective of church development. However, it is an overstatement to declare that the elites in the church constitute about seventy percent of the population in the absence of demographic statistics to substantiate such figure (196). This study examines far reaching transformation in a wider perspective than Meadows' study.

In his master's dissertation, Ogungbile (1992) adopts a comparative analytical method in establishing a wide range of relationship between the practice of revelation in Aladura Christianity and *Ifa* divination in Yoruba traditional religion. At the core of his study is the concept of *ori* the spiritual representation of the physical head, on which the practice of revelation and divination in the two religious traditions lies. The author investigates the processes and models of revelation and concludes that the two religious traditions share

similarities in their means of obtaining information from the spiritual realm through dream, audition, spirit possession and prophecies. His work establishes that the traditional spirituality of the Yoruba shapes the healing practice of the Aladura. However, Ogungbile's work is dated and that the author examines a minor aspect of Aladura spiritualities, which constitutes part of the focus of this study.

Kilanko (1996) examines the life and times of a female spiritual icon in the C&S and a contemporary of the generally acclaimed founder of the C&S Saint Moses Orimolade Tunolase whom an informant refers to as *Ajagunmokadi*¹⁹. The author examines the humble background of mother Abiodun, her membership of the Anglican, trance experience and her role in the evangelical group of the C&S during its formation. The author presents mother Abiodun's charismatic qualities and leading role in the days of founder Orimolade. The study posits the co-founder of the C&S as a rare female who in 1929 became the first female church founder and leader of an independent church in the comity of Aladura churches in Nigeria. This study differs from Kilanko's in scope and focus.

The present study as stated earlier in this chapter is located in Nigeria where the Aladura emerged and was nurtured to a transnational religion. The reviewed literature presents rich data on the spirituality and operations of the three major strands of Aladura that are being studied. Yet, none of the works reviewed in this study provides current data on how the Aladura churches are responding to the diversified and competitive religious landscape in Nigeria. Furthermore, none of the literature provides information about the theoretical root factor from the perspective of the theory of religious economy that can be factored into the transformation in the organizational structure, survival strategies, and spiritualities of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. The dynamics of innovation and continuity in the churches' rituals, symbols, doctrines, programmes, social services, and liturgical practices of the three churches are not the major focal points of previous studies. Some of the previous studies are conceptual, leaving a wide range of Aladura phenomena, which this study intends to investigate. Some previous studies treat Aladura churches in a compact whole and also as case studies. The current activities of the C&S, TCLA and CCC and their response strategies to the dynamics of the religious landscape in Nigeria within the theoretical frame of this study will be used to analyze how they have been able to reposition themselves in comparison with how they were in the past.

¹⁹ A sacred word and the title spiritually revealed and given to only Moses Orimolade confirming his divine task of forming a religious body with the purpose of bringing the idolaterous and the sick to Christ and proclaiming Christ's salvific essence through preaching and healing (Interview with O. O. Sowande, CSMC, Apapa-Oshodi Express Way, Surulere, Lagos, 03 August, 2011).

1.4. Theoretical Approach

1.4.1 Market Theory and Aladura on Nigeria's Religious Landscape

Religious market theory is a model of the theory of religious economy. The theory of religious economy refers to the interactions of religious organizations and religious persons within the secular market framework of consumers and choice options, producers and market commodities, demand and supply, and competition. Within this frame, religious organizations can be regarded as firms that require the collective efforts of members in the production and supply of religious commodities, and the general success of the organization. In this regard, to understand the behavior of religious organizations requires the application of microeconomic principles that seek to understand how organizations and members behave and take decisions on production of goods and services within their limited human and material resources and how market conditions compel them to redefine themselves.

Reading economics into religion is associated with the pioneer attempt of Adam Smith²⁰ and later Max Weber²¹. Their works are a foundation on which theories of religious economy have developed. In his "wealth of Nations", Adam Smith at the beginning of the industrial revolution in Europe reflected on the general economy of great nations of the west. In his description of the nature and causes of the wealth of nations, Smith identifies the division of labour as significant to the creation of wealth in which everyone is allowed to contribute his/her quota through skilled labour, trade and technological innovations. Smith concludes that all this leads to efficiency and economic growth of a nation, and that through this, the wealth of a nation can be measured, particularly the production of a wide range of goods and services. He argues further that production increases not by hoarding metals but by increasing the productive capacity of the nation, and expanding its market through deregulation in order to increase its trade.

Smith's idea of market economy is that economic system is automatic and when it is left to its self with a substantial freedom, it regulates itself. This is what Smith calls "invisible hand", but that market ability to regulate itself is affected by monopolies, tax preferences and other privileges that are extended to some actors in the economy at the expense of others. Smith's argument is that such self-interest of government and producers of market commodities has considerable influence on secular firms as well as the clergy. Smith's position is that government regulations on the market, which tend to support either free market or monopoly has its positive implications especially for its benefits of competition, and negative outcome

²⁰ A Scottish moral philosopher and sociologist.

²¹ A German sociologist, lawyer, and social economist.

for monopolistic policy. In this regard, Smith (2012 book five, chapter one) examines the relationship between politics and religion in his time and argues that if politics had not aided religion in such a way that a state adopted a sect and its tenets to the neglect of others, every man would have had the options of choosing his own religion and priest as he thought proper, and that there would have been multitude of sects and every teacher of the tenets would have felt within himself to be under necessity to employ all strategies to preserve and increase the membership of his fold. To Smith, every teacher (priest) of the tenets of his group, in competitive spirit, would not afford to fail or else his congregation would close down. He concludes that the effect of government regulations affects the churches as in secular organizations (Smith 2012).

In his “the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism”, Max Weber argues that capitalism in northern Europe developed when the protestant Calvinists ascetic teachings encouraged people to take up secular job and develop their own trade, acquire wealth and also reinvest their wealth for continuous dividends. As a result of this, according to Weber, countless number of people became inspired into mass production of commodities and services.

Although Max Weber’s work is understood as an explanation of the rise of modern capitalism, it is far more than that: Weber explains that in the Germany of his time, most of the business leaders, owners of capital, and most of the higher skilled labourers and managers were Protestant church members, not Catholic; the Protestant also had higher educational achievements than their Catholic counterparts; and the reason behind all these advantages was that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particular parts and regions of Germany had rejected Catholic church rule and control over every aspects of their lives and had pursued their economic interests and had become prosperous.

Basically, Weber opines that modern capitalism grew out of ascetic doctrine of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries puritan churches and sects, namely the Calvinists (Presbyterians), Baptists, Quakers and Mennonites, who placed hard work, time and material success in the center of their lives at the detriment of leisure, friendship and hobbies. Weber posits that the evolution of capitalism is the religious source, which further led to the development of policies that regulate the economic conduct of people and also deemphasize luxury (Weber 2002).

Scholars have introduced economic principles to explain religious behaviour patterns of individuals and groups, and the consequences of such behaviour. Prominent among them are American sociologists Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge who introduced the market

model of the economics of religion to explain how religious organizations and individual members behave within the context of a market economy. In 1987, Stark and Bainbridge co-authored “a theory of religion” in which they explain human actions and consequences within the context of religion; that humans rationally weigh the costs of religious good against its rewards; that humans are rational actors that usually maximize rewards and minimize costs in their exchange for scarce rewards, which religion provides ‘compensator’ for. The authors provide insights into the distinctions between religious monopoly and religious pluralism, and the consequence of a deregulated market. In particular, Stark is an advocate of the application of rational choice theory in understanding religious behaviours of individuals and organizations. This has been argued extensively.

The religious market theory explains that religion is a commodity of choice. Like a secular market where commodities are being traded, selected and bought, different religions abound in the larger society and people make choice of what religion they like among many options. Like the secular market, members of religious organizations are regarded as consumers and collective producers of religious commodities. By this explanation, religious organizations are regarded as firms, competing firms that require the collective contributions of everyone in the organizations towards production and supply of religious goods; harmonization of various segments of the organizations and networking of information and human and financial resources for competitive advantage.

Market theory explains that in a deregulated religious market, government does not adopt a state religion and that its constitution provides for freedom of religious expression and association. The government does not fund the clergy and the activities of the religious organizations, but the degree to which religious market is deregulated and the extent of its market driven tendency varies (Finke and Stark 2003). The C&S, TCLA, and CCC are located in Nigeria’s religious market that is largely unregulated. The Nigerian constitution (1999: IV, 38) makes provision for freedom of religious worship, association, and formation of religious groups. The country does not adopt a state religion, but subsidizes religious organizations. The ambivalence of the government on regulation is seen in its entrenchment of religious freedom in the nation’s constitution and its differential support to Christianity and Islam and neglect of other religions.

Market competition is a major characteristic. In a relatively free market, the extent to which it is unregulated determines its plurality and diversity. This in turn precipitates competition. Deregulation policy of government engenders increase in population of religious

organizations and unending cycle of new religious formations that compete among themselves for members. In such market condition, there is the tendency for its segments to become narrower due to more entrants into the market who also have their respective segment focus. This leads to niche overlap: more religious organizations can be found focusing on similar preferences, felt needs of people and such niche overlap leads producers (religious organizations) to redefine their products (religious commodities) for more attractiveness or explore other segments of the market where they feel less threatened (Christopher Scheitle 2007). The Aladura are located in this competitive market condition in Nigeria. The government deregulation policy makes the market to be diversified. Aladura churches compete with other religious organizations for members and relevance. Observations revealed that Aladura churches focus on similar market preferences; they produce similar religious commodities and this has made each strand to redefine its spiritual commodities and also explores more market segments in order to sustain its membership and also attract more members. Although there are commonalities in their spiritual package, yet there abound considerable differences in their spirituality and social services as contained in chapter four of this study. The variation is probably due to chance or deliberate attempt to carve different niches for themselves.

A deregulated religious market is demand and supply driven. Consumers (adherents) shop for products (religious goods) that meet their felt needs. Basically the producers of religious goods observe the market conditions to find out what goods are in demands. The identified demands determine what religious commodities are produced and supplied. Due to some overlap in the production and supply of religious goods to a particular segment of the market, there are tendencies for the segment to be overburdened with similar commodities and which also makes the producers (religious organizations) to redefine and repackage their products for competitive advantage. According to Hamberg and Petterson (2002:97), “the more competition “religious firms” face, the more likely they will adapt their products to the demands of the “consumers” in order to maintain or increase their market share”. This market condition is applicable to Aladura Christianity in Nigeria in that the emerging social, economic, political and religious challenges, which are marked features of societal change have, to a large extent, determined what (they) Aladura churches claimed they produce and supply to both registered and casual members.

Importantly, registered and casual members of Aladura churches consider available information on spiritual commodity options and weigh the commodity cost against its benefits

in order to decide on their level of commitment. According to Stark and Finke (2000:37) a deregulated market provides enabling conditions for adherents to maximize choice opportunities and that “within the limits of their information and understanding, restricted by available options, guided by their preferences and tastes, humans attempt to make rational choices”.

In a relatively free religious market, there is the tendency for religious organizations to demonstrate some resilience through innovative market strategy, but its effectiveness and sustainability determine their (religious organizations) continuous existence and relevance. According to Miller (2002:441) religious organizations normally face the pressures of innovation, which competitive market creates, but that the sustained ability with which a religious organization responds to the pressures “defines the nature and viability of its strategies”. Stark (2006:5) sees the competitive pressure as that which requires strategy and that religious organisations that respond more effectively and innovatively to the competitive market will grow, while those with less effective strategies will decline and gradually close down; according to Stark, “the more effective and innovative organizations will grow, and the less effective organizations will decline and eventually disappear”. Iannaccone (1991:158) places emphasis on commodity; that “a particular religious firm can flourish only if it provides a commodity that is at least as attractive as its competitors”. The resilience of Aladura churches in the deregulated religious market and the extent of its competitive ability are observed in the innovative strategies with which they produce and package their commodities and these are laid out in this study.

The market theory provides a frame for understanding the context and process of the transformation of Aladura churches. Within the frame of secular market economy, the Aladura churches operate in a landscape that is religiously pluralistic, which encourages strong competition for members and relevance, and in order to achieve this, the churches reassess their administrative structure and strategy, and also repackage their spiritual commodities to meet the felt needs of members and solution seekers who visit the churches. However, the theory does not authenticate or disprove the believers’ claims that their choices and actions are based on divine inspiration. According to Stark and Finke (2000), the theory only speaks about the human side of religious experience. The theory has helped to explain the resilience of the Aladura from the human side of their religious experience. Although the market theory emphasizes maximum profit in choice of options, this study does not see the Aladura as profit oriented churches. Rather, the study adopts the market metaphor to explain

market conditions that compel the Aladura to intensify strategies that help them meet the spiritual and social needs of members.

1.4.2 The Theory of Syncretism Applied

The encounter of religions and its by-product of mutual borrowing, synthesis or mixture of elements from different religious origins has remained a discourse in religious organizations and among scholars of religion. This is viewed from two major perspectives: normative and descriptive. Normative category of syncretism implies that there is a pre-existing religion and its original elements and that combining two different religions or incorporating contrary, contradicting elements from other religions to create a new religious tradition is a deviation; and that the borrowed elements are impure, inferior and bad. The descriptive category explains syncretism as the normal outcome of encounter of different traditions. Every human society is dynamic and religion is a product of human society. This implies that every religion is a composite. The encounter of people and cultures through migration and communication is bound to result in some borrowing, mixing, and even domesticating elements drawn from different and contradicting origins.

The introduction of elements drawn from conscious experiences and acclaimed divine instructions have combined to transform Aladura spirituality to its present form. The hydrotherapy that was revealed to Sophia Odunlami²² eventually became a marked feature of healing practice in Aladura churches. However, much dynamism has been introduced into ritual use of water, worship and healing practice in Aladura churches. The theory of syncretism is here employed to inquire into African, particularly Yoruba cultural elements in Aladura beliefs and practices. A review of literature revealed human tendency to combine two or more independent but different ideas to form a new tradition. This abounds in religious and non-religious systems. This tendency has been variously conceptualised as syncretism, hybridity, mixing, enculturation and adaptation.

Jorgensen²³ (2013) uses a mathematical set theory of boundedness to probe into the nature of Christianity, whether it has bounded or unbounded quality. In mathematical set theory, a distinction is made between individual elements and sets of elements. If similar characteristics exist between individual elements and members of a set, they are bounded by their shared traits, but if they do not share characteristics they are not bounded together. The author's analysis is that if the historic Christianity is taken to be a unified and integrated set, various

²² She was a young Primary school female teacher when she revealed that rain water should be collected, blessed and used to wash body and sprinkle around the home. Cf Robert Mitchell 1970:101-102.

²³ A Danish theologian.

Christian formations and denominations can be regarded as subsets within the main set. This does not foreclose the fact that each subset might have evolved its independent elements such as rituals, texts, doctrine and members. Christianity is bounded if it is defined by its 'membership' in relation to its historical, cultural and social context, but if it is unbounded it means that it has boundaries in relation to other boundaries. The author says that the use of syncretism as a normative or descriptive category will depend on whether one sees change as a retrogression or a decline in belief or a sign of "creativity and vitality" (p.101). Jorgensen suggests that simultaneous hybridization or amalgamation of two or more cultural traditions would suffice to explain syncretism and also sees this trend in the simultaneous Christianisation and indigenisation as that which results in the formation of new religious movements within Christianity.

Jorgensen concludes that analysing boundaries of Christianity throws more light on the nature of Christianity: that Christianity is unbounded because of its integration into historical, social, and cultural contexts, having the same confessions, denominations, believers, and doctrines across subsets. He says that "throughout its globalisation, Christianity has absorbed elements, thoughts, and truths through syncretistic processes thereby manifesting itself anew in various contexts" (p.109). Non-members have regarded Aladura incorporation of various non-Christian principles into its hydrotherapy as syncretism in normative sense and also as a theological mismatch. For the liberalists, the position of the dialectical or post-colonial/postmodern group on syncretism is short of the meaning that members derive from such faith tradition. To the liberalists, it is a process of creativity and reformulation for the domestication of Christianity.

Shaw and Stewart (1994) examine the concept of syncretism from both contentious and liberal perspectives: impurity versus purity, incompatible versus compatible, and negative versus positive. But the authors ascribe neutrality or positivity to syncretism on the ground that humans invent traditions or cultures and that no culture is static because, daily, humans interact through migration and communication and also try to transform the old or local to meet current and global standard. By this, purity cannot be ascribed to traditions. The authors trace the origin of the usage of syncretism to Plutarch who first used it to describe the coming together of the warring and different Cretans against common enemies; a moral and political unity, in spite of differences that abound among them. According to the authors, "all religions have composite origins and are continually reconstructed through on-going processes of synthesis and erasure" (p.7).

Shaw and Stewart associate syncretism with power relation where, in the process of interaction or contact the seemingly dominant culture tries to impose itself on the weak, and where the latter attempts not to lose out completely but tries to domesticate the former to make it its own. The Aladura churches are a typical example. Aladura Christianity is a domestication of the historic Christianity among the Yoruba. In this case, the reception of Christianity was not total. Yoruba cultural elements have been introduced in order that meaning could be made out of the Christian religion. This power relation in most instances lead to fundamentalism as observed in most trouble spots in the Middle East notably Iraq, Afghanistan; and Nigeria, Mali and Somalia in African sub regions. Such identity and hegemonic negotiations are not only associated with religions, but also with marriage, migration and political ideologies. Therefore syncretism is the process of defining meanings out of a combination of multiple but distinct traditions.

Berner (2001), a German historian of religion, in his contribution to the debate on syncretism asks whether the concept should be used or discarded. The question arose against the backdrop of the different negative meanings that syncretism has assumed after Plutarch used it to describe the coming together of the warring different Cretans against their common enemies. Berner suggests a reconsideration of the heuristic model of syncretism; that syncretism is better defined from two distinct levels: the levels of 'element' and 'system'. The former refers to elements drawn from different religious traditions to form a new religious tradition. In spite of the mixing, there is strong condemnation of contrary religious elements and emphasis on boundaries between religious traditions. Empirical data revealed that the C&S, TCLA, and CCC integrate Yoruba cultural elements and biblical traditions to form their faith tradition. The use of natural objects such as coconut, chicken egg, honey, water from the spring, rain, well, and river for ritual healing in Aladura churches is a common practice in traditional religions. Syncretism from the perspective of a system is a de-emphasis of boundaries between religions through incorporation of different religions to form a new religious system. Chrislam²⁴, Global Church of Christ, Hallelujah Movement²⁵, and One Love Family²⁶ are syncretistic religions that incorporate different religions. Although the author acknowledges the limit of the model on the ground that it was originally constructed for understanding the historical development, structure and relationship between languages, the

²⁴ A Nigerian religion and a mixture of Christianity and Islam emerged in Lagos in the 1970s.

²⁵ After harrowing experience, Ademola Onibonokuta incorporates Islam, Christianity and Yoruba traditional religion to form his religion.

²⁶ A Nigerian, Mohammed Shuaib Ajirobatan, a former staffer of the Nigeria Airways incorporates Christianity and Islam in his religion.

author suggests that the mixing that abounds in religious traditions should be regarded as “survival” category. He sees the hydrotherapy method of healing in the CCC particularly the use of the “green water” and other non-biblical elements in the belief and practice of the church as a mark of survival even as the church condemns traditional religion and other contrary traditions.

Pye²⁷ (2004), drawing on Kamstra’s exposition on syncretism, attributes the emerging normative meanings of syncretism to Christian theologians. He explains that syncretism is the coexistence of different and alien elements from different cultures in a religion; that syncretism is a natural concept and that humans are naturally syncretistic. The author states that “Even a prophet-however filled he may be with the divine-simply needs the speech and the situation of his audience in order to be comprehensible at all” (60). He explains that religions change over time; the meanings of some elements borrowed from different religions change according to context even as they continue to coexist with each other while others may lose their original meanings; and that since religion is naturally syncretistic and that humans are naturally syncretistic as well, traditions will ever be reconstructed in time and space, as such, syncretism should be given a phenomenological approach. The belief and practice of the Aladura have changed over the years: from the simplest hydrotherapy of sanctified rain water to complex ritual use of assorted waters mixed with solid and liquid substances for curative and prophylactic purposes.

Empirical data obtained from the field work for this study revealed that the sources of synthesis in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC beliefs and practices can be classified into three. The first source is the Yoruba traditional religion and culture. Through conversion from traditional religious worship to Christianity, pioneer members came into Aladura churches with their baggage of Yoruba beliefs and cultural orientation. The second source is the use of mystical literature by prophets. The use of mystical books such as the sixth and seventh books of Moses, the seven keys to power, and Solomon’s book of palmistry by prophets is a discourse that has lingered over the years in the churches. The third source is revelation. Prophetic messages, which are ritual recipes that involve the use of Yoruba cultural elements, angelic names and the recitation of the psalters, are believed by members to be divine messages. The three sources are premised on the desire for spiritual power, which some individuals believe can be harnessed to solve life crises that confront humans. In this study, the first two sources of mixing are classified as conscious sources of mixing. The prophecy through trance, dream

²⁷ A historian of religion.

and clairvoyance is the semi-conscious category. During some of the researcher's participant observations, it was a common thing to hear persons praying in the C&S, TCLA and CCC and acknowledging some natural laws, for example, "river does not reverse its course; the mountainous problems that God has surmounted on your behalf will never re-emerge" (*omi kii san k'o b'aju wehin; oke isoro ti olorun ba o se koni gbe'ri mo*). The attributes of God are often mentioned in prayers. Members also believe that certain phenomena work in their natural ways and do not reverse themselves. These are typical of Yoruba beliefs in the potency of natural law as can be seen in their coded words, potent speeches or incantations (*ayajo, ofo and ogede*), and in the potentials of praise names of people (*oriki*). Spiritual incubation where individual goes through ritual cleansing and fortification for a number of hours or days while residing in the church on mercy ground (*Abe abo*); females as pollutants and ritual neutralizers; the ascription of both masculine and feminine genders to God; and the ritual use of nature are fashioned after Yoruba religious beliefs and practices.

Although syncretism has attracted derogatory meaning to itself, this study employed the theoretical concept as a frame for understanding the transformation in the beliefs and practices of Aladura churches over time and to describe same. The reality of this transformation is what Ulf Hanzern (1992) says is made possible by globalisation and cultural diffusion due to increasing direct contact between different cultures. Aside syncretism, hybridity, creolization, bricolage and synthesis are alternative concepts that seem to convey a meaning that is similar to syncretism. Hybridity is a concept in the biological sciences, which explains the fusion of two animals or plants of different species to create new species, while creolization is a linguistic term that refers to the mixing of people of African and European descents, which produced creole cultures. Bricolage in the practical and creative arts is the use of diverse range of materials to create an art work. Synthesis is a word that does not belong to the biological sciences, linguistics or practical and creative arts. It is the combination of different things to form a new. Syncretism is used in this study not as a theological concept that explains the coming together of different religious traditions as a negative development, but in a descriptive sense. None of the alternative terms best provides a frame through which the faith tradition of the Aladura can be understood.

The theory provides a lens through which a descriptive analysis of the faith tradition of Aladura churches can be made. The theory focuses on the encounter of pioneer members of Aladura with different religio-cultural ideas and how such encounter has produced an integrated religious tradition of Aladura churches. The theory has helped to explain the human

side of the religio-cultural borrowings that have continued to shape the faith tradition of Aladura churches.

1.4.3 Performance Theory and Aladura Spirituality

Performance is a multidisciplinary term that is associated with action, expression, and assessment in a wide range of areas, namely theatre, dance, sports, ceremonies, rituals, and life activities in general. Performance can be scripted or unscripted, consciously staged or daily life activity, and usually involves the performer and the audience. According to Thompson (1985:78), performance is “the mode of assessment of the ‘textual/character/actor’ interaction. Performance is interestingly placed at the intersection of the text, the actor/character and the audience”. Performance theory refers to a frame of ideas with which performance is critically studied both in its artistic and aesthetic forms. It has no single origin; it originated in different fields of knowledge. In the social sciences, performance as an academic discipline is associated with the collaborative efforts of two scholars: Richard Schechner²⁸ in performing arts and Victor Turner²⁹ in anthropology. Both scholars brought theatre and anthropology together to provide a lens through which human daily life events and rituals can be understood as performance driven (Phelan 1998). Erving Goffman (1959) explains that every human is a performer; he/she acts out one thing or the other on daily basis and almost in all moments of life; and that all what we eat and wear, including our conversations with other humans are all performances that showcase lots about us, others and the society in general. Goffman says that an individual who plays a role either scripted or unscripted is conscious of the fact that he/she is being observed and naturally wants his/her audience (observers) to get some impression out of the performance being staged.

As both expression and assessment of human realities in the society, Margaret Drewal (1991:1) says that “performance is the praxis of everyday social life; indeed it is the practical application of embodied skill and knowledge to the task of taking action”. In fact, Drewal (1991:2) presents a broader conception of performance as:

A means by which people reflect on their current conditions, define and/or re-invent themselves and their social world, and either re-enforce, resist, or subvert prevailing social orders. Indeed both subversion and legitimation can emerge in the same utterance or act.

²⁸ An American scholar of performing arts.

²⁹ A British cultural anthropologist who did extensive studies rituals.

Schieffelin (1998:195) sees performance as “‘symbolic’ or ‘aesthetic’ activities”, which are embedded in everyday life and which humans articulate in their worldviews. Although Schieffelin sees these expressive processes from the lens of western theatrical performance, the basic idea in this notion finds relevance in Aladura spirituality. The Aladura churches particularly the C&S, TCLA, and CCC articulate their worldview and constructed identities and express them in performative acts as in worship, rituals, symbolic gestures, objects, numbers, colours and paraphernalia. Without these realities and expressions nothing can be said of Aladura faith traditions. In this regard, Schieffelin (1998:195) says “without living human bodily expressivity, conversation and social presence, there would be no culture and no society.”

Schieffelin sees performance as processual with conscious intent and commitment of the performer. Drawing on Humphrey and Laidlaw’s position, Schieffelin (1998:197) explains that performance requires intentionally “formulated strategies” with which “we act both for ourselves and in the eyes of our beholders.” The relevance of Schieffelin’s position on the intentionality of performance and its processual nature can be located in the purposive worship and practices of the Aladura and the strategies, which they designed for sustaining their relevance. However, contrary to Schieffelin’s position, not every performative act of the Aladura is intentionally formulated. Spirit possession, glossolalia, and trance are experiences from the altered state of consciousness of the gifted, and such unconscious or subconscious state cannot be passed for an intentionally formulated performance. Members of Aladura churches claimed that their liturgies are their peculiar way of expressing the significance of the divine in their lives and that of the church and that the strategies with which they showcase their spiritualities are meant to seek the attention of their audiences for membership and to encourage them to partake in the divine salvation that abound in their beliefs and practices.

Performance as an accomplishment is what Schieffelin says requires an assessment or rating as in sports or business discourses. In problematizing performance beyond the domain of performative acts, Schieffelin explains that performance also entails evaluations of the expressive culture, which partly rest on the performers themselves, and most importantly their audiences or observers. Self-assessment of Aladura churches compels them to redefine their operations in the competitive religious market. The assessment, which members make of their commitment in comparison with the rewards they record, determines their retention of their membership or their choice of a new religious organisation. Furthermore, the assessment,

which non-members make of Aladura churches' response to felt needs of people is discernible in the interest, which people express in joining the churches either for full or casual membership.

Schieffelin draws a line of demarcation between performance and the notion of text. Although the author argues that performance should not be treated as text, he acknowledges their commonality in their beginnings, middles, and ends. Yet, he says performance differs in its performativity because it creates its effects in its audience who live with its impact, and that performance as a living social activity takes place within space and time, but "texts are changeless and enduring" (p.199). The living activities of the Aladura are both spontaneous and scripted performances. Members are expected to conduct themselves according to church doctrine and other rules of practice. Their designed liturgies are the basis for conducting worship. As prophetic churches, emphasis is also placed on unwritten word of God as basis of their activities. The integration of scripted and unscripted performances in Aladura worship and ritual practices usually create effects on members and non-members. This was observed in individuals who choose to be permanent members in their respective churches and those who choose to be casual members or solution seekers.

The relationship between performer and spectator in western theatrical conception, according to Schieffelin, is problematic because of its assumed illusionary nature. If the relationship is that of illusion as against reality, the author asks: "where are the truth and efficacy in ritual located"? (p.202). He however does not rule out the role that performative acts play in the social construction of reality. Devoid of western conception of illusion in the theatrical relationship between performers and audiences, the performative acts of Aladura churches are expressions of their beliefs, those realities that have been drawn from their traditional religions and cultural backgrounds that are integrated into the biblical tradition of the church. The materiality of their beliefs is seen in their use of white garments, colourful robes, different designs of metal and wooden staffs, and natural and man-made ritual substances. The robes of different colours and designs and staffs signify ranks, office and cell identity within the church. The healing sessions, where the 'spiritualists' go in trance, speak in tongues and prophesy are performative acts that are meant to address the existential problems of attendees who are pleased to receive divine messages, which the prophet claims to bring. The sacred names, sacred oil, water, perfumes, other natural objects and their use in performing ritual cleansing and healing of the afflicted constitute performative actions that

express members' strong belief in sacred power and materialised faith, by making it a tangible experience.

In analysing the performative acts of the Aladura, Schechner's (1988) notion of performative act will suffice here. Schechner's notion is that there are certain qualities that a performance should have. They include special time, special value of objects, non-productivity, appeal to others, rules, performance places, audience, self-assertion, completed performance, performed by group, symbolic reality, and script. These are main characteristics of Aladura ritual performance, which involves sacred time, sacred place, and special value for natural and manufactured objects used in rituals and worship. Such ritual performance is also expected to have no monetary gains. In Aladura rituals and worship, there are rules/restrictions binding on individual or group participants who are either being watched or assessed by audience/non-participant observers and the participants themselves. The ritual performance is the symbolic presentation of the beliefs and lived experiences of members.

The theory has helped to explain the human side of the lived experiences that revealed a lot about the Aladura and the society of their emergence and spread. The theory is not set to prove or disprove the influence of the transcendence in the activities of Aladura churches but to explain their lived experiences as performative acts that showcase their resilience in a competitive religious environment.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Qualitative Method

This study employed qualitative research method to obtain firsthand data on the current realities about Aladura churches from the perspectives of members. According to Monique Hennink *et al* (2011:10), qualitative method provides "an in-depth understanding of the research issues that embrace the perspectives of the study population and the context in which they live". Although it suggests the absence of quantitative data, qualitative method requires the support of the quantitative where numerical data is available in a study. In this study, qualitative method is used in conjunction with the quantitative due to available demographic data. The Aladura churches are made of major and minor strands and share a lot of commonalities. Yet the strands vary in history, liturgy, doctrine and social representation. As a result of internal and external variations, this study employed a multiple case study approach in which, three major strands of Aladura churches, namely the Cherubim and Seraphim, the Church of the Lord Aladura, and the Celestial Church of Christ were investigated and results were analyzed comparatively according to their respective social circumstances. According to

Yin (2003: 47), multiple or collective case study enables a researcher to analyse within and across settings and predicting similar or “contrasting results”. A number of churches were chosen from each of the strands, and an in-depth qualitative investigation was used to collect and evaluate relevant and adequate data about the churches. This involved the use of observation, interview, and historical documents. In addition to the qualitative instruments for data collection, a set of questionnaires were designed to measure the self-perceptions and self representations of members of the selected Aladura churches.

Ordinarily, it is important to measure and compare membership statistics of these churches over a period of fifty years (1960 to date) in order to generate data on membership dynamics such as the length of their membership, why members join or withdraw from the churches, record of newest members, education, and job of members. But the statistics do not exist because most churches do not keep adequate record of membership statistics. More so, there is no private or government institution that collects such data. The Nigerian government does not, as a matter of policy, require churches to keep and submit their respective membership statistics; it is left at the discretion of churches. Such quantitative data were almost impossible to collect within the time frame of this research. Hence, in-depth qualitative method was used in collecting data. In the absence of data on the attendance of members, a considerable demographic data were obtained on social status and membership dynamics in the churches.

1.5.2 Observation

Observation technique offered the opportunity to see a number of important phenomena and be part of a number of religious activities in order to describe “what happens when it happens, and how it happens”, and record them without bias or prejudice (Lune 2010:243). The observations were both participatory and non-participatory, but in all cases, the aim was to observe and record what happened in different church settings such as prayer meetings, Sunday worship, baptism ceremonies, church weddings, bible classes and consultation and healing sessions. Sampled churches in the three study areas of Jos, Ibadan, and Lagos were visited during the six-month field work. The researcher took part in the consultation and healing rituals in CCC Mokola provincial headquarters, Ibadan; and similar sessions at CSMC, Apapa-Oshodi express way, Lagos, C&S Pentecostal, Sango, and TCLA, Mushin, Lagos. A number of Muslim attendees were identified in the course of participating in worship and healing sessions.

1.5.3 Interview

Oral interviews enabled interviewees to respond freely to questions raised and spontaneously shared experiences on a great deal of issues bordering on innovations and continuity in the churches. Interviews were conducted during the six months of field work in Jos, Ibadan and Lagos. During the six-month field work from May to October 2011, thirty interviews were initially conducted in the three cities. Since the research areas are located in the home country of the researcher, the periods of visit to his family were also used to obtain more data from the field and this swelled the number of interviews to fifty three. The number of interviewees differed among the study areas because those who volunteered themselves for interview were more available in Lagos than Ibadan, while Jos had the lowest number of members who made themselves available for interview. The list of interviewee is provided on the last pages of this study.

Interviewees were drawn from male and female members of the respective major strands of Aladura churches. Renowned church leaders were interviewed one on one. The spiritual leader of Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church (CSMC) Samuel Abidoye was approached for an interview during his visit to the CSMC Jos. Due to busy schedule the researcher was compelled to visit him in Kaduna city where the world headquarters of the church is located. Due to language barrier, one-on-one interview could not be conducted with the leader of the CCC Mobiyina Oschoffa who is fluent in spoken French, but struggles to speak little Yoruba. Because of this gap, he requested for a print of the interview questions, which he responded to through the General Secretary of the church Emmanuel Adegoke. The Primate of the Church of the Lord Aladura could not be reached for a face to face interview due to his scheduled visits to dioceses and provinces that coincided with the period of field work. However, the researcher had direct e-mail correspondence with the Primate. A personal interview was conducted with the renowned televangelist Gabriel Fakeye of the CSMC, Apapa-Oshodi express way, Lagos.

Other key interviewees included branch church ministers/heads, high ranked members, prophets/prophetesses, choir leaders and members, principals and lecturers of theological institutes of the churches being studied, youth fellowship members and attendees at consultation/healing sessions. These are significant members who have adequate information about their respective sections of their churches. Both male and female members of the churches formed the interviewees. The interviewees were drawn from across the age ranges that were also designed for the administration of questionnaires: from 25years to 75years and above. This is because members who are twenty five year old and above are assumed to have

considerable information about previous and current operations of their churches over a period of time either as born or converted members.

Fifty three interviews were conducted most of which were in Yoruba. This was based on the choice options of interviewees. Those who preferred to share their experiences did that on the ground that they felt more comfortable to reveal lots in their mother tongue than English, which requires them to search for some English words to explain some issues which at the end would be inadequate. Yet, a number of Aladura members who chose to share their experiences in English provided essential data on continuity and change in their respective churches. Data obtained in Yoruba language were transcribed and translated into English by a linguist who specialized in Yoruba language. The bulk of members who gave information to the researcher in English were the student youth, graduates and well-read elders. Data obtained from the interviews were enormous. All the data were transcribed. The most relevant data that addressed the focus of the study were selected, thematized, chapterized and developed, while relevant publications were reviewed and used to corroborate oral data from interviewees.

The insider/outsider question: This research was carried out in Nigeria, the home country of the researcher, and on Aladura churches of which he was a member of the CSMC one of the major strands of the Cherubim and Seraphim. These two instances qualified the researcher as an insider. His voluntary but gradual withdrawal from the membership of the CSMC, which began in 1995 placed him on the outsider category. This dual position placed the researcher at a vantage position to do a critical inquiry through interview and observe phenomena in the absence of membership affiliation, and to use a number of familiar members to access data from the church leadership and other significant members. However, the experience was not totally pleasant because there were instances where the researcher's withdrawal of membership of the Aladura resonated and seemed to block his access to key informants. The question of whether the researcher would come back to the CSMC was always on the front burner as he negotiated his way towards getting information from the significant members of the church. The researcher's experience in the CCC visited was similar to what he went through in the CSMC, except that some of the shepherds contacted doubted the objective of his research bearing in their minds the "green water" and "ritual" rhetorics which they claimed some none members use to deconstruct the salvific essence of Christ which CCC stands for. The researcher's participation in some worship sessions and healing service provided a platform on which he was able to build some mutual relationships with shepherds

and other key actors in the church. Encounters with members of TCLA did not pose any suspicion as members who volunteered to be interviewed did not raise any doubt or critical questions about his religion or church denomination.

1.5.4 Questionnaire

Questionnaires enabled the researcher to obtain relevant data for the study. The questionnaire items were classified into biographic, membership dynamics, liturgy, and evangelism. The questionnaire items in biographic and membership dynamics categories were framed in ways that elicited reliable demographic data with which statistics were generated in chapter two of this study. Data obtained from the liturgy and evangelism categories were integrated into the descriptive analysis in chapters three to eight of the study. Although the researcher was unable to access statistical records in the churches visited, a considerable statistics that was generated formed the basis on which the study arrived at a position on some biographic and membership issues about the churches studied. The statistical analysis was done in comparison with existing data in previous studies. One hundred and fifty questionnaires were given out to members who belonged to the age categories of respondents designed for this study, namely 25yrs to 34yrs, 35yrs to 44yrs, 45yrs to 54yrs, 55yrs to 64yrs, 65yrs to 74yrs, 75yrs and above. The questionnaires were used to generate information from members of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in each of the three cities of study, giving a total of four hundred and fifty (450) questionnaires. Out of this number, three hundred and eighteen (318) were filled and returned through research assistants. Responses to items on biographic and membership dynamics in the churches were collated, coded, entered into the excel database that was created, analyzed in frequencies and percentages and presented in bar and pie charts. The statistical results were discussed and the biographics that are provided in the previous literature were used to corroborate the new demographics where applicable.

1.5.5 Documents and electronic materials

Data were obtained from documents and electronic cassettes and compact discs. Libraries of the department of religious studies of the Lagos State University, Oto-Ijanikin, and Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, were used to access relevant data on the histories, developments and expansion of Aladura churches from published books, journals, and undergraduate and graduate theses. These have helped in the examination and description of historical facts about the churches in the pre-new Pentecostal and new Pentecostal eras. Some publications of the churches were also obtained. These to a great extent provided the researcher with rich data about the phenomenon being studied in the three churches. Church journals, almanac, Sunday school reader, liturgical and doctrinal books, constitution, financial regulations, and published

reports provided great insights into the dynamics of the churches. The influence of ‘the letter’ could be seen in the number of books and ‘pamphlets’, which individual members wrote and published. Notable among the authors whose works were accessed are the Primate of the church of the Lord Aladura, Rufus Ositelu, the Baba Aladura Samuel Abidoye of the Cherubim and Seraphim movement church, Bishop Tunde Gbogboade of TCLA, and Barrister Emmanuel Bada. The personal assistant to Special Apostle Gabriel Fakeye provided an audio cassette, which contained some information about the beginning of the church and its rise to fame. The General Secretary of the CCC Emmanuel Adegoke provided video cassettes that contained an amissal session and the new categories of ranks and robes in the CCC.

1.5.6 Scope

The study describes and analyses the innovations in organizational structure, rituals and symbols and the strategies of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC churches in Nigeria. The churches are located in Lagos, Ibadan, and Jos and the target members vary in terms of educational attainment, economic empowerment, and rank in the hierarchy of the church. More so, the three churches in the three different cities will offer a variety of data on similar issues and in different locations. Three capital cities were chosen because they are the administrative headquarters of their respective local government areas with a number of towns and villages. The presence of a great number of different religious groups, their regional or district administrative headquarters, coupled with their vibrant social and religious activities, provide a platform for examining and describing how the selected churches are coping with the challenge of religious pluralism, competition, and increasing influence of modernity.

Lagos is a fast growing megacity with diverse and rapid population growth due to industrialization that is made possible by increasing number of indigenous and multinational industries and heavy rural-urban migration particularly from different parts of Nigeria. Drawing on the 2006 Nigerian population census, Lagos has the highest population of nine million and the highest population density of two thousand six hundred and seven (NPC 2010). It is a megacity that is known for its highest presence of different indigenous and foreign religious groups. The Cherubim and Seraphim was officially inaugurated in Lagos in 1925. The Celestial Church of Christ, though began in Porto Novo in 1947, was introduced into Lagos in 1950 and was nurtured to growth and expansion there. The TCLA though began in Ogere in 1930, it is a few kilometers from Lagos where it was nurtured to growth and expansion. Lagos is a city known for its religious enterprise and upsurge of Pentecostal Christianity. It is also known for its vibrant but non-violent proselytization among different major and minor religious groups. Studying Aladura Christianity in this megacity will provide

the context for investigating changes in organizational behavior of the Aladura churches in a highly competitive and dynamic religious environment.

Ibadan is chosen because it is one of the cultural capital cities of the Yoruba where Yoruba traditional religion demonstrates strong resilience in its encounters with Islam, Christianity and other religions. Ibadan is a cosmopolitan city where John Peel and Robert Mitchell conducted their previous studies on Aladura churches. It is the capital of the defunct Western Region, which played and continues to play host to different Yoruba sub-groups and other ethnic groups across the country. Doing a research on the Aladura in this context will provide an update on the classical study, which previous scholars of religion did in the ancient, but fast modernizing city.

The third study area is Jos, a cosmopolitan city in central Nigeria that was not included in the previous major study on Aladura Christianity in the country. The city is the capital of plateau state and hosts indigenes drawn from different parts of the state who are mostly Christians, and migrant ethnic groups from different parts of Nigeria. The city is also known for its host to the world headquarters of the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN), mainline churches, and increasing number of new Pentecostal Churches. The incessant ethno-religious crises in Jos city between the indigent groups who are mostly Christians and the Hausa-Fulani migrants who are largely Muslims have redefined the settlement pattern of the city such that residents can be located in different parts of the city along ethno-religious line. This religious geography has compelled various religious organizations to relocate to safe havens and initiate programmes and strategies for coping with the competitive religious landscape and uncertainties that characterize the interaction of different religious groups in the religiously volatile city.

Chapter Two

Aladura and Religious Landscape

2.0 Introduction

The Aladura churches emerged and operate among other religious organizations and respond in diverse ways to the pluralistic religious environment in Nigeria. This chapter presents the nature of Nigeria's religious environment from the perceptions of informants; from the perspective of observed phenomena; and the data gathered from previous studies. The chapter presents the origin of Aladura; it describes the pluralistic nature of Nigeria's religious landscape; the regulation of the religious market, the proliferation and classification of Aladura churches; and the formation of various reconciliation bodies that have been formed to unite the various splinter groups.

2.1 The Aladura

Aladura Christianity is a vibrant indigenous Christianity that has emerged in about a century ago, grown and transformed into a transnational religion. The goal of Aladura churches is to bring people from their unbelief to Christ and to heal the sick. This has constantly defined Aladura's self-assessment of where their brand of Christianity was at a time past, where it currently is in the comity of churches, where it has spread to, where it is yet to spread to, and how to take it to places where it has not registered its presence. The work of the Holy Spirit is the pillar behind the evangelism and proliferation of Aladura churches, but this is not unconnected to the importance of migration, considering the fact that establishment of churches cannot occur while a holy spirited individual stays in a place.³⁰ The churches at the onset, due to inadequate fund, relied much on the self-sacrifice of migrant members who were willing to take the churches' faith-traditions to their respective new abode.³¹ Importantly, splinter groups have greatly helped to put Aladura churches, particularly C&S on the proliferation scale.³²

The formative period of Aladura Christianity in Nigeria was that of association, dissociation, and split. These characteristics first manifested when it transformed itself from a nameless

³⁰ Interview with Daniel O. Otakoya, 26 June, 2011, Agbowo, Ibadan.

³¹ Interview with S. O. Kalesanwo, 04 September, 2011. Ojuelegba, Lagos. This is corroborated by previous study on the role of migration and migrant Christians as conduits for exportation of faith and culture to parts of the world. See details in Jehu J. Hanciles "Mission and Migration: Some Implications for the Twenty-first century church" *International Bulletin of Missionary research*, 27, 4 (Oct. 2003):146-190; Peter N. Stearns, *Cultures in Motion: Mapping Key Contacts and Their Imprints in World History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001, pp. 36-42, 60-73.

³² Interview with Timothy Okunola, 22 July, 2011, Lagos.

group of prayer warriors within a parent church, the Saint Saviour Anglican church to the Precious Stone Society (PSS). The PSS later associated with a North American Pentecostal group, the Faith Tabernacle (FT), and The Apostolic Church (TAC) of Great Britain.³³ The Apostolic Church of Great Britain subsequently metamorphosed into Nigerian Apostolic Church (NAC), then United Apostolic Church (UAC), and finally Christ Apostolic Church (CAC).

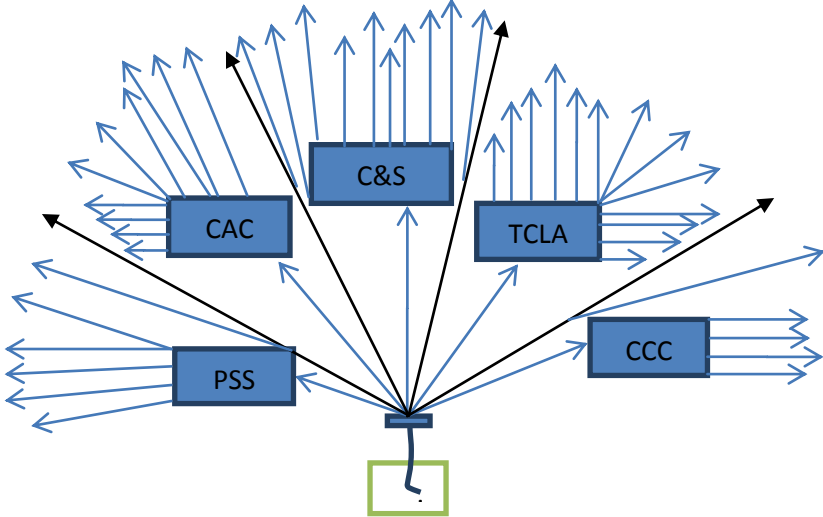


Figure 2. Emergence and Spread of Aladura Christianity

The green rectangular box represents the Anglican Church where it all started. The small dot in the green rectangle represents the small group of prayer warriors, which included Shadare. The blue curved line, which came out of the green rectangular box, represents the emergence of the prayer group out of the Anglican Church and later metamorphosed into an independent prayer group called the PSS, which is in the blue rectangular box. The small blue rectangle, little above the green rectangle, represents the foundation period of the PSS and CAC, which emerged directly out of the Anglican Church, and the C&S, TCLA, and CCC that emerged independent of the historic prayer group. The blue arrows that shut out from the blue rectangular boxes represent the spread of each major church to other parts of the world. The black arrows shutting out from the mall blue rectangular box represent other independent

³³ The prayer group was proscribed in its parent church on the ground of doctrinal differences; as an independent group seeking for strong footing, growth and expansion, and immunity against oppositions from the colonial authorities and mainline churches, it associated with two classical Pentecostal groups. See details in Samson Adetunji Fatokun “I Will Pour Out My Spirit upon All Flesh”: The Origin, Growth and Development of the Precious Stone Church – the Pioneering African Indigenous Pentecostal Denomination in Southwest Nigeria” *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research*, 19 (January, 2010). Accessed January 30, 2012. <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyber19.html>; Ayegboyin and Ishola, *African Indigenous Churches: An Historical perspective*, Lagos: Greater Heights Publications, pp. 76-77; Klaus Koschorke, *African Identities and world Christianity in the 21st century*, Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005, p.69.

Aladura churches, namely the brotherhood of the Cross and Star, the Evangelical Church of Yahweh, Holy Sabbath Church and many others.

Joseph Bayo Esinsinade Shadare³⁴ and others, in 1933, pulled out of TAC of Great Britain and re-adopted the foundation name of the group, Precious Stone Society, which today seems not to have a significant growth and expansion record. Since its inception in 1933, the new (then) PSS as at 2010 established ten branches in Ogun and Lagos States out of the thirty-six states of Nigeria, and one in the United States of America (Fatokun 2010). The CAC is a significant actor in the religious market with branches and splinter groups in Nigeria and other parts of the world, and has about five million members spread across the globe.³⁵ Within the periods of associations and dissociations, other independent Aladura groups emerged; particularly at that early period were the C&S and TCLA. The CCC emerged much later after it was formed in 1947 in Porto Novo.

2.1.1 C&S

The C&S began as a Christian body on the ninth of September, 1925.³⁶ Moses Orimolade³⁷ started his missionary journey earlier than 1925 because he left his place of birth, Ikare in 1915 on a missionary journey that took him to Lokoja, Zaria and Kano, and on his way back passed through Ilorin and Osogbo and finally arrived Lagos in 1924.³⁸ Within its first five years of existence, C&S witnessed series of internal crisis of allegations and counter allegations, which resulted in the breakaway of Christiana Abiodun Akinsowon's group. This turned out to be the beginning of the proliferation of Cherubim and Seraphim.³⁹ This was not taken as a good development because the church was too young at that time when misunderstanding broke out between Moses Orimolade and Christiana Abiodun Akinsowon on allegations of unclean affair, which members of the church claimed Orimolade and Akinsowon separately had, but this later became a characteristic pattern that has helped C&S

³⁴ A prominent figure in Saint Saviour Anglican Church, Italupe, Ijebu, and the leader of the foundational five members that formed the Precious Stone Society; a renewal group within the Church.

³⁵ In the CAC official website, the church provides an assumed figure of members but has no information of the number of its branches. The church may be experiencing inadequate record keeping. See detail in Accessed February 02, 2012. <http://www.cacworldwide.net/info/about.asp>.

³⁶ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan. In corroboration, the official website of the Eternal Sacred Order of the Cherubim and Seraphim states that C&S was registered under the Company Ordinance Cap. 18, No. 316, February 1930 shortly after Madam Abiodun Emmanuel broke away from the main body of the church in 1929; Accessed March 12, 2012. <http://www.esocs.com/>.

³⁷ Founder of the C&S whose birth was surrounded by myth. See detail in Joseph Omoyajowo, C&S, 1982.

³⁸ Interview with Adewale A. Gbadebo, 29 August, 2011, Lagos. See Omoyajowo 1982, p.3.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

to proliferate very fast to places.⁴⁰ By 1933, the church had split into five: the C&S Society headed by Christiana Abiodun Akinsowon, the Eternal Sacred Order of the C&S headed by Orimolade, the Praying Band of C&S headed by Ezekiel Davies, the C&S Western Conference headed by one W. F. Sosan, and the Holy Flock of Christ headed by Major Abiodun Babatunde Lawrence. It was much later in 1941 that the northern conference of the C&S split to form C&S Movement Church. These groups have produced lots of splinter groups with the exception of Holy Flock of Christ which adopted a completely different name but has remained Aladura in belief, doctrine and practice.⁴¹ As at August 2011, the C&S had split into five major churches, namely Eternal Sacred Order of the C&S (ESOCS), C&S Society (CSS), Sacred Order of C&S (SCSC), Praying Band of C&S (PBCS), C&S Movement Church (CSMC), about fifty constituent churches that have identified with the C&S Unification by registration, and countless number of splinter C&S churches.⁴²

The Eternal Sacred Order of C&S (ESOCS) is regarded as the mother church of the C&S which Moses Orimolade headed until his demise in 1933. Christiana Akinsowon and her loyalists broke away from it to form the Cherubim and Seraphim Society (CSS) in 1929. Since then the ESOCS has carried on the banner of Christ, growing from strength to strength, not deterred by the breakaway groups that emerged after Christiana Akinsowon and her group pulled out from the main church.⁴³ Before the death of its founder Moses Orimolade in 1933, the church had established branches in Lagos area, Saki, Oke Ogun and Ibadan.⁴⁴ The church has its branches in states of the federation of Nigeria including Abuja, and has taken the gospel of Jesus Christ outside Nigeria, to parts of Africa namely the Republics of Benin, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Togo and Cameroon; United States of America, United Kingdom, Canada, and Germany and has about sixty provinces.⁴⁵

Migrant members have been chiefly responsible for the spread of C&S to parts of the world. Within Nigeria, members who are civil servants on transfer to other cities and traders who move from one abode to another for better business opportunities have contributed to the spread of C&S. They are enjoined to stand firm in their belief and share the word of God,

⁴⁰ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan. But Omoyajowo (1982, p.66) states that it was “a conflict of personalities within the Society...Orimolade by his unparalleled qualities and Abiodun by her feminine charm and youthful bearing”.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Interview with O.O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴³ Interview with John Ibitayo, 16 August, 2011, Ibadan. On the official website of the church, Orimolade sought for Police intervention to separate Akinsowon from the membership of the cherubim and seraphim due to unending conflict, and it was done. See the first page of Accessed March 14, 2012. <http://www.esocs.com/about/history/>.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Official website of ESOCS. Accessed March 14, 2012. <http://www.esocs.com/about/history/>.

doctrines and practices of the church with Christians and non-Christians and this has greatly helped the church to spread.⁴⁶ Schism borne out of personality clash and self claim of divine call common among the ordained prophets has influenced the proliferation of the church. There are those who have left the church due to leadership crisis or morality question or whose separation from the church was attributed to divine call.⁴⁷ An informant claimed that one Ibikunle was ordained Prophet and shortly afterward, he no longer attended church service regularly and his participation in church activities reduced because he had a number of clients that used to meet him at home for spiritual guidance and special prayer. As his clients increased in number, he initiated one hour worship on Monday, Wednesday and Friday of every week. Ibikunle eventually left the church to form his group.⁴⁸

The Cherubim and Seraphim Society (CSS) split from ESOCS in 1929. What made Christiana Akinsowon break away from ESOCS was due to rivalry between her and Moses Orimolade: some members admired and extolled the unrivalled healing power and leadership qualities of Orimolade, while others acknowledged Christiana Akinsowon's youthfulness, beauty, and missionary role; there were separate accusations of moral indecency of the duo (Omoyajowo 1982:66-70). The persistence of such attitudes among members has schismatic effect on the CSS, and as a typical example, Prophet Xavier Babatunde Hotepo was a member of one of the local branches of the CSS in Akowonjo but he currently heads a splinter group known as Heavenly Host C&S, Badagry.⁴⁹

Shortly after the breakaway of Christiana Akinsowon, the Praying Band of C&S under the leadership of Ezekiel Davis also split from the main church in 1930. Following the breakaway of the Praying Band, the representatives of the local branches of the mother church from Abeokuta, Ile-Ife, Agege, Ondo, Ilesha; Ijebu-Ode and Ibadan met after fruitless efforts to broker peace in the crisis in the mother church, and declared their autonomy as C&S Western Conference (Sacred Cherubim and Seraphim church) in 1931 (Omoyajowo 1982:75-76). The SCSC since then has spread to places in Nigeria and the USA with a total of forty-seven districts.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Interview with Adeoye Bolome, 05 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁷ Interview with Gboye Osunti, 13 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁸ Interview with Gboye Osunti, 13 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Official website, SCSC. Accessed March 16, 2012. <http://www.sacredcherubimandseraphimchurch.org/home.aspx?igid=32638>.

The C&S began in Northern Nigeria in 1937 by members who were civil servants that were transferred to that part of the country.⁵¹ This is largely due to the fact that the church is independent of government or external financial support and that the church had, at the onset and relatively now, relied on self-sacrifice of members who are endowed with charismatic qualities and can access resources for proselytization. By this circumstance, the C&S Northern Conference (now CSMC) emerged in Kaduna in 1937 when a number of migrant members came together to worship at the residence of one Mrs Adebisi (Mama Ondo).⁵² Characteristic of the C&S, the group had its crisis which led to its split into two factions. It is important to note that the CSMC had the urge to distance itself from “controversies, disputes and trivialities” that split the C&S at its beginning, but it became affected by factional tendency which it tried to avoid.⁵³

Government workers who were members of the C&S on transfer to Minna, Jos, Zaria, Kano and other towns in Northern Nigeria including traders and artisans who chose to leave the southwest for the north were instrumental to the establishment of the CSMC.⁵⁴ The CSMC established branches in all the nineteen Northern States and has about thirty district headquarters and chairmen.⁵⁵ The CSMC made its entry into southern Nigeria in September 1960 through selfless effort and commitment of a member and an employee of the Nigerian Railway Corporation on transfer from Zaria to Lagos in December 1959. There were other members who came from the North on transfer to Lagos and who joined efforts with those who had started evangelism on the platform of the CSMC. Since then the church has spread to parts of southwest, southeast and south-south regions of Nigeria.⁵⁶ The CSMC has also proliferated beyond the shores of Nigeria: it was established in London in 1965 through the efforts of its current world head Pastor Samuel A. Abidoye and other migrant Nigerians who were members before their sojourn in London. The London branch is the district headquarters of other branches in Europe. The CSMC made its entry into USA in 1976, Italy in 1981, and West Germany in 1987. In all, the CSMC has fifty-two major districts in Nigeria.⁵⁷ Europe

⁵¹ CSMC Worldwide 70th Anniversary Programme of Events, 23rd-25th April, 2011, p.13, but in contrast, the official website of the CSMC, Accessed March 12, 2011. <http://csmovementworldwide.org/about%20us.htm>, states that the church movement was formed in 1927 and in 1937 three elders were unanimously chosen to head the affairs of the church. This could not have been so soon considering the emergent date of the main body in Lagos in 1925; this may be a typographical error.

⁵² The Holy Order of CSMC, Worldwide 70th Anniversary Programme of Events, 23rd-25th April, 2011, p.13.

⁵³ The Holy Order of CSMC, Worldwide 70th Anniversary Programme of Events, 23rd-25th April, 2011, p.13.

⁵⁴ Official website of the CSMC, (About Us). Accessed March 12, 2012. <http://csmovementworldwide.org/about%20us.htm>.

⁵⁵ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan. But the church's 70th Anniversary Programme of Events contains pictures of district chairmen of which twenty-five represent their respective districts in northern Nigeria.

⁵⁶ Interview with O.O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁵⁷ The Holy Order of CSMC, Worldwide 70th Anniversary Programme of Events, 2011, p.13.

and America are classified as zones because none of the two has up to ten local branches, which is a requirement for a district; there are about one thousand and forty churches that made up the districts and zones, with about one thousand and twenty paid prophets.⁵⁸

2.1.2 TCLA

The founder of TCLA Josiah Olunowo Ositelu claimed he had a divine call on the night of 19 May, 1925 in the form of great light that flashed unto him and in that light was a large eye, which reflected as the great orbit of the sun; he claimed he later began to see visions and received revelations, and that on the 18 August, 1925, he heard a divine voice : “as Elijah and Elisha have been anointed, so thou has been anointed and appointed from above” (Ositelu 2009:115; Turner 1967). The three different divine experiences prepared Ositelu for further encounter with the divine and the formation of his religious group in 1925 but which was inaugurated on the 27 July, 1930. He had his first open air revival service on the 9 June, 1929. The manifestation of God’s spiritual work in Ositelu at the revival earned him popularity in many parts of southwestern Nigeria. The spread of fame and increase in followership culminated in the foundation laying ceremonies and inauguration of many branches first in parts of south-western Nigeria and later in other parts of Nigeria, Sierra-Leone and Liberia. TCLA spread to Ghana, Benin, Togo, Ivory Coast, Europe and the United States of America.

Oshitelu (2009) records that Emmanuel Adeleke Adejobi and Samuel Omolaja Oduwole pioneered many Nigerian branches and some branches outside the country. The two missionaries, Adejobi and Oduwole pioneered TCLA in Monrovia in the republic of Liberia, and Freetown in the Republic of Sierra Leone in 1947. They established TCLA in Ghana 1953. In 1961, Oduwole pioneered TCLA in Lome the capital of Togo Republic. One may infer here that the pioneer missionary work of Adejobi and Oduwole fast-tracked the proliferation of TCLA across the Nigerian border much earlier than other Nigerian indigenous churches. Similarly, Adejobi went to Glasgow, Scotland in 1961 for his theological training and in 1964 established TCLA in London which became the first African independent church in Europe. The C&S became the second entrant in the United Kingdom in 1965. TCLA established local churches in Australia, Belgium, Benin, Belgium, Benin republic, Brooklyn-New York, France, Luxemburg, Germany, New Jersey, Providence-republic of Ireland, and Spain.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Data obtained from Most Senior Apostle I. A. Adeyemi, Secretary (Administration), CSMC World Headquarters, Kaduna, Nigeria, 19 October, 2011.

⁵⁹The official website of the Church of the Lord Aladura. Accessed April 07, 2013.http://the-church-of-the-lord-aladura-worldwide.org/forum/viewtopic.php?f=3&t=9&sid=dad3e0183_b07a1f6_a3c9d8127909fa97.

Migrants who were already members of TCLA back at home automatically become the church's missionaries that take the church's faith-traditions to various parts of the world.⁶⁰ In mega cities, members whose residence are quite distant from their church of worship alternatively encourage fellow members who live in the same area to combine efforts to form a local branch that later grow and increase in membership and activities. This development, one might conjecture here, is instrumental to the proliferation of TCLA.

Between 1930 and 1961, TCLA faced the challenge of primary and secondary cases of breakaway individuals and groups. In all, the church had eighteen cases of breakaway on allegations ranging from indiscipline, dissatisfaction over remuneration, dispute over the organization of the church, doctrinal argument, charisma, and divine call (Turner 1967:89-109). The splinter churches later reconciled with their mother church (TCLA) as branches. The schism extended to Ghana. Members of TCLA Ghana levelled allegation of administrative excesses and personality conflict against the pioneer missionaries Adejobi and Oduwole and this culminated in the autonomy of TCLA in Ghana in November 1966 with no administrative subordination to TCLA world headquarters in Nigeria (Simon Atiso-Doe 1990:1-3).

Similarly, the "mutual suspicion and envy" between the prophet in-charge of TCLA, Odo-Oja, Ikere-Ekiti and a female member of the church R. O. Gbadura led to her (Gbadura) forming a splinter group in 20 September, 1984. The split and subsequent autonomy culminated in the change of name from the Gbadura-led TCLA to The Church of God (Aladura) on 6 July, 1985. Yet similar, TCLA established a branch in Ado-Ekiti in 1965, but was relatively unknown until 1974 when one Mrs Babayemi claimed she became a member of the church and had the fruit of the womb after fruitless years of marriage. The news of Babayemi's break-through filtered around the town. Babayemi soon assumed important role in the church that "gave rise to crisis of confidence" between her and the prophet in-charge of the church; her claim in September 1987 that she received a divine call to found her own church heightened the crisis as many female members of the church went with her to form Jerusalem Church of the Lord International (JCLI) on 20 September, 1987 (Jegade 2010:90-93). TCLA formed eleven ecclesiastical provinces.⁶¹ In an e-mail document, the demography

⁶⁰ Interview with Samson Olanrewaju Olorode, 01 September, 2011, Lagos.

⁶¹ Interview with Samson Olanrewaju Olorode, 01 September, 2011, Lagos. Ositelu (2009:184-188) corroborates this in his record of eleven ecclesiastical provinces, but does not have data for the number of dioceses.

of TCLA is six million, eight hundred thousand worshippers; one hundred and twenty Dioceses; three thousand two hundred Parishes; and three thousand Pastors.⁶²

2.1.3 CCC

Samuel Bilehou Joseph Oshoffa founded the Celestial Church of Christ (CCC) on 29 September, 1947 in Porto Novo, Republic of Benin. Oshoffa claimed God called him to preach to those who run after fetish priests and other powers of darkness that at death they cannot see God because they have the mark of Satan on them; to carry out divine miraculous works in the name of Jesus Christ. He had a divine experience in the thick forest. In the course of his divine experience in the forest, Oshoffa healed a hired canoe paddler, one Kudiho in Agange, and raised Emmanuel Mawuyon from dead. He raised Tinavie from dead when his church was barely two months old and performed other miracles. His church spread to many towns including Gbaji from where some fishermen introduced it into Lagos in 1951 (CCC Constitution 1980: 2-14).

From Lagos, the CCC proliferated to parts of Nigeria and extended beyond the Nigerian borders to towns and cities in West and southern African sub-regions, Americas, Europe, and the Asian Pacific. Between 1947 and 1977, the CCC spread to many parts of the world with a total number of parishes put at four hundred and seventy-six. In 1996, the CCC demography was two thousand and fifty-one parishes of which Nigeria had one thousand, seven hundred and forty-four parishes alone (Adogame 1998). Currently the CCC has four arch dioceses located in Imeko (Celestial City), Ketu, Makoko, and Abeokuta; seventy-seven provinces, nineteen dioceses; and about six thousand, two hundred and eighty-four parishes worldwide (CCC Bible lessons and Parishes 2012:27-103).

2.2 The Nigeria's Religious Landscape

2.2.1 Traditional Religions

The religious landscape in pre-independence and post-independence Nigeria is pluralistic, but in the post-civil war Nigeria, the religious landscape has been more pluralistic than the period before. Like the conventional market where individuals or organisations exchange commodities, services and information, the religious landscape has conventional market characteristics of diversity and competition. John Onaiyekan (2010:2) gives a vivid description of Nigeria's religious landscape and wants one to note:

⁶² E-Mail from Primate Rufus Ositelu. Accessed March 18, 2012. cla.primate@googlemail.com. This is an increased spread in comparison with what WCC recorded as TCLAW's demography: 98 Dioceses, 1,500 Parishes, 2,000, Pastors and 3,600,000 worshippers, but these seem to be dated because the website was last updated in 2006. Accessed March 18, 2012. <http://www.oikoumene.org/gr/member-churches/regions/africa/nigeria/church-of-the-lord-aladura-worldwide.html>.

[T]he number of places of worship, the volume of holy noises that are emitted everywhere, the array of religious leaders with various titles and robes and the fervour with which we not only practice our faith but at times violently confront one another.

Onayekan describes the passion with which clerics acquire and display titles, and the sudden violence that at times occurs among people of different faiths.

Basically, traditional religions formed the foundation of Nigeria's religious market. Various ethnic religions, in spite of the age long presence of Islam and Christianity and other religions, demonstrate some resilience through private and public worship, festivals, and life crisis rituals. Peter Ogunjuyigbe (2004) confirms the persistent belief among the Yoruba about "born to die" children (*Abiku*) and people's preference for traditional approach to their (*Abiku*) survival. Similarly, Fawole *et al* (2007) examine the complementary role of the traditional healers in the management and cure of childhood fever using oracle consultation, interpretation of dreams and physical appearance of the sick, application of boiled and ground herbs, incisions and scarification. Their study reaffirms the resilience of traditional beliefs and practices in the age of advanced health care and Christian presence in Nigeria.

The composition of Nigeria, which is put at about 619 ethnic groups, gives a clear picture of its religious diversity.⁶³ The Nigerian ethnic groups share considerable similarities and also differ to a great extent in culture, beliefs and practices. Some traditional religions, due to contacts with external peoples and ideas, have transformed themselves into different new religious movements. This has added to the plural and diverse nature of the Nigeria's religious market. The resilience of traditional religions is seen in the Yoruba petty sayings: religion (reference to Christianity and Islam) does not foreclose our worship of deity (*esin o pe a mo s'oosa*); if you swear to an oath using Christian Bible or Qur'an, you will go unharmed, but if you swear to an oath using *ogun*, it is repercussive (*t'o ba fi bibeli tabi kurani bura, o o mu je, sugbon t'o ba fi ogun bura, aro yoo ro mo*). Festivals are organised for the worship of respective deities. The devotees of the god of iron and war (*Ogun*) celebrate their annual

⁶³ It is arguable that groups that share dialectical similarities with other groups are distinct ethnic groups or subgroups and this may be responsible for a variety of figures. The 1952 Nigerian census records 248 ethnic groups and since then a variety of figures have been suggested ranging from 374 to 619. See Roger Blench and Mallam Dendo "Position Paper: The Dimension of Ethnicity, Language and Culture in Nigeria" Report prepared for DFID, Nigeria, Cambridge, November 2003, p.3. Accessed January 02, 2012 <http://www.rogerblench.info/RBOP.htm>; James S. Coleman "Nigeria: Background to Nationalism" Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958; Ogoh Alubo "Citizenship and Nation Making in Nigeria: New Challenges and Contestations" Identity, Culture and Politics 5 1&2 (2004):137; Eghosa E. Osaghae "Structural Adjustment and Ethnicity in Nigeria" *Nordiska Afrikaninstitutet*, The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies Research Report no.98, Sweden, 1995, p.16.

worship at, king's market (*Oja Oba*) with the sacrifice of a matured male dog, palm oil, roasted yam, palm leaves, palm wine, cold water, and kola nuts. The medicinal and spiritual values of the items are acknowledged in the prayers (*iwure*) against domestic and public harm from all manner of metal objects. Other devotees observe respective days set aside for their gods. According to Adejumo (2009:45-60), the priests, priestesses and devotees of god of thunder (*Sango*) demonstrate their belief in the deity at private and elaborate worships. Falola (2011:4) reveals the resilience of Yoruba religion in the diversified religious market through the people's worship of the two hundred and one gods in Ile-Ife and the age long and sustained visits of pilgrims and worshippers to the historical and holy city as "the spiritual, cultural, and historical centre of the Yoruba world".

In the southern part of Nigeria, the annual festival of *Osun Osogbo* is one among many traditional religious festivals, which many Yoruba people across religious divides participate in. Kayode (2006) highlights the sacredness of the key actors of Osun Osogbo, the sacred spots of the river goddess, and the seriousness with which worshippers commit their faith to the goddess for blessing of the womb and prosperity. Nabofa (2005) and Usuanlele (2005) in their separate studies provide great insights into the origin and reformation of *Igbe* indigenous charismatic movement among the Urhobo which were attributed to the colonial administrations prohibition of indigenous religious practices of neutralising sorcery and witchcraft powers; the consequent death of many people allegedly trapped by these powers; the after-effect of the 1918-1920 influenza epidemic; and the overwhelming influence of Christianity on traditional religion. These reasons provided a platform on which Idubor⁶⁴ launched the relevance and popularity of his healing powers in 1926. The emergence of new religious movements within traditional religions and their diversity, we might infer here, are attempts to shift away from the past, if not total, at least to a considerable level, in response to internal change and a new way of doing things made possible by contact with outside world including the challenge posed by Christianity and Islam.

The pre-Islamic period in Northern Nigeria was noted for its different ethnic religions of the larger Hausa, Fulani, and Kanuri groups in the present States of Sokoto, Kano, Jigawa, Katsina, Zanzara, Borno and Yobe, and the smaller groups scattered over today's States of Adamawa, Taraba, Plateau, Kaduna, Bauchi, Gombe, Benue, Kogi, Kwara, Niger, Kebbi, and Nasarawa. Northern Nigeria refers to the old Northern region and the present nineteen States of Nigeria which also make up today's North-East, North-West and North-Central geo-

⁶⁴ Usuanlele (2005:384) writes that one Idubor appeared in 1926, gave prophetic messages and began indigenous healing activities that eventually marked the beginning of the *Igbe* cult.

political zones of Nigeria (International Crisis Group Africa Report 68). The survival of *Bori* cult in post-Islamic Northern Nigeria has been largely due to the fact that its central belief in the powers and activities of spirit forces has found favour with Islam which recognises mystical powers and spirit forces. Umar Danfulani (1999:423-440) attributes the survival of *Bori* cult to its feminine tendency, very untypical of Christianity, Islam and other religions that are largely the preserve of the male; its “historical adaptation and dexterity” and its contribution to alternative medicine. In Kano, Islam had overwhelming influence on the Maguzawa, a Hausa ethnic group originally of Kano extraction and their traditional religion that is centered on *Bori* cult. Currently, they are scattered in rural communities (*nguwoyi*) in many northern Muslim emirates in Sokoto, Kano, Jigawa, Katsina, Bauchi, Niger and Kaduna States, and in the neighbouring country of Niger. Adeline Masquelier, an anthropologist, has done extensive studies on the diasporic *Bori* religion in the republic of Niger. In one of her studies, Masquelier (2001) highlights *Bori* as a body of spiritual forces in physical things, specifically humans and other natural objects, which are being managed in *Bori* religion through performative acts of ritual, dance, music, spirit possession and healing. The author provides great insights into resistance and change in *Bori* religion and the meaning that worshippers constantly make out of it through intervention in their social and economic deficits. Those who are still practicing the traditional religion in the diaspora have continued to keep the *Bori* ritual performance and celebrations alive.

The entry of Islam into this region of Nigeria has had significant impact on ethnic religions, especially in the Muslim dominated cities, towns and villages where the ethnic religions are less visible today. In spite of the overwhelming influence of Islam in the ‘core North’,⁶⁵ ethnic religions coexist with Islam and this has led to some form of religious mixing as exemplified in the spirit world of the Maguzawa religion. Other ethnic religions in the region have experienced some integration. In this regard, Matthew Hassan Kukah and Toyin Falola (1996: 30) say the heads of pre-Islamic ethnic religions in Northern Nigeria extracted “what they wanted from Islam and combined it with the local religions and culture”. In the non-Muslim areas of central and northeast regions, some traditional religious practices have persisted. Masquerading, divination, and traditional healing practices have thrived among the people of central Nigeria such as the Tiv, Idoma, Igala, Ebira, Nupe, Ngas, Taroh, and Gwari.

⁶⁵ A phrase generally used to denote twelve majority Muslim States in Northern Nigeria namely Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara.

2.2.2 Islam

Islam emerged in northern Nigeria in the ninth century through the trading activities of Muslim Berbers along the caravan trade route from North Africa. The Berbers were *Ulamas* teachers of the Qur'an; others were *marabouts* (holy men) and traders who combined their exploit in commerce and *Jihadic* strategies to spread Islam. By the sixteenth century, Islam had been adopted as a state religion in the Bornu Empire during the period of Mai Idris Aloma between 1571 and 1693 (Kenny 1996). At the onset, Islam made little impact because, to a large extent, it was the religion of the merchants, the *Ulamas*, the *marabouts*, and as Hussaina Abdullah and Ibrahim Hamza (1998) note that the ruling elite whose duty was to spread the religion and practice of Islam had weak attitude towards it and as a result, most rulers combined Islamic rituals with non-Islamic practices and never paid serious attention to proper conversion of their subjects. Abdullah and Hamza further opine that the proselytization efforts of the Wanwagara and the treatise on Islamic governance which Al Maghili, a learned Islamic scholar wrote for Muhammadu Rumfa, the first Muslim ruler of Kano, in the second half of the fourteenth century furthered the Islamization of the North.

The integration of Islam and indigenous religions in the North as can be seen in the *Bori* cult among the Maguzawa,⁶⁶ the need to purify it, and the zeal to create a theocratic state of Islam influenced Sheikh Usman dan Fodio's 1804 *Jihad* that can be regarded as the second phase of the spread of Islam in Nigeria. In fact, the 19th century was epochal in the history of religious market in Northern Nigeria considering the fact that it was in this century that Sheikh Usman dan Fodio launched his Islamic reformation that also aided its fast spread to more parts of the Northern and the southern Nigeria. According to Kenny (2004:184), the 19th century was a watershed in that it marked the emergence of "evangelical and educational jihad" by the Catholic and the Protestant missionary societies. This was the period of the second coming of Christian missionaries who established schools as they embarked on evangelism.

Over the years in Nigeria, Islam has metamorphosed into *turuq* brotherhoods and anti *turuq* or Salafi sects with different understanding of Islamic values and the radicalizations of Islam. There emerged the major Islamic Sufi brotherhoods or *turuq*, namely the Qadiriyya and the Tijjaniyya,⁶⁷ and later Salafi groups like Izala: Jama'at Izalatil Bidiawa Iqamatus Sunnah

⁶⁶ An ethnic group in Kano (*Maguzawa*) and Katsina (*Kutumbawa*) that is associated with *Bori* cult, a pre-Islamic indigenous religion that centres its beliefs and worship on spirits *Iskoki*.

⁶⁷ The two groups emerged at the onset of Islam in Northern Nigeria. Most likely that some of the merchants, Islamic teachers, and the *marabouts* who brought Islam into the North were members of these groups. The former is named after its founder Abdul Qader Jeelani Al Amoli, an Iranian, and the latter is named after its founder Sidi Ahmed Al Tijani, an Algerian. The former remains the sect of the Sultanate with its centre in Sokoto, while the latter forged a niche within the trading network of West Africa with headquarters in Kano.

(Movement against Negative Innovations and for Orthodoxy), the Ahmadiyya Muslim Movement, the Ansar-Ud-Deen Society, the Derika/Taurika, the Kaulu/Kablu, Nasrul-Lahi-L-Fatih Society (NASFAT), Jama'at Tajdid al-Islam (Society for the Renewal of Islam), the *Ihkwan* or Muslim Brothers or *Yan Broda*, and Alsunna Wal Jamma. Alao (nd: 28ff) records eighty six names of Islamic groups registered in Nigeria but is silent about the government agency that registered them. Similarly, the author has a list of twelve radical Islamic groups in Nigeria.⁶⁸ The emergence of these groups, in our understanding, increased the scope and pace at which Islam spread to many parts of Nigeria, and as a consequence impacted on the growing pluralism of Nigeria's religious landscape.

There is no particular date that can be held on to as the exact date when Islam entered Yorubaland, but it came in long before Christianity was introduced to the Yoruba in 1842. Ibrahim (2005) records that Islam first came into Yorubaland in the second half of the eleventh century through the Malian Muslims generally referred to as the Hausas and that the first mosque was built in Oyo Ile in 1550 which served only the foreign Muslims as there were no Yoruba Muslims at that time. Progressively, Islam registered its presence in other Yoruba settlements: the first mosque in Iwo was built in 1655, while that of Iseyin was built in 1760; the first mosque in Lagos was built in 1774, while that of Saki was built in 1790. Osogbo had its first mosque in 1889. Afonja's invitation of the Jihadists' support to emancipate Ilorin from the old Oyo Empire, and the later conquest of Ilorin by same Jihadists in 1874 (Gbadamosi 1972) is considered as a strong factor for the quick spread of Islam to other parts of southwestern Nigeria. Ejiogu (2011:81-82) does not see how "the Fulani Jihad and its excessive impact...translate to direct Fulani interference in the practice of the Islamic faith in the heart of Yorubaland" except for the Yoruba Muslims who had to leave Ilorin for other places shortly after the Jihadists captured it in 1874.

El-Masri (1967:250) records that before the end of the 18th century Islam had become visible in southwestern Nigeria and by 1810 had spread to Osogbo, Iwo, Saki, Ibadan and other parts of south western Nigeria, and towards the third decade of the 19th century, it had recorded a significant number of Yoruba Muslim mosques, devotees, and visible Islamic activities. Since its early presence in Ibadan, Islam has grown and expanded. Observation revealed that various Islamic groups appropriate the media to disseminate their teachings to the larger audience; there are paid adverts and programmes on private and government Television channels, radio frequencies, and in the print media; Qur'anic learning and teachings are conspicuous in

⁶⁸ Cf Ramzi Ben Amara, "The Izala Movement in Nigeria: Its Splits, Relationship to Sufis and Perception of Sharia Re-implementation" (PhD Diss., University of Bayreuth, 2011), 46-58.

mosques, special schools for Islamic knowledge, and residences of Muslim clerics. In spite of Yoruba reception of Islam and its subsequent spread, the people's practice of Islam has been considerably peaceful during the period of research. The reason is captured in Ejiogu's (2011:82) assertion that "Yoruba Muslims were indeed Yoruba first, Muslims after that".

High schools and tertiary institutions specially established for the acquisition of Islamic knowledge are owned by individual Muslims and groups. These have significantly made Islam socially visible among other religious groups. Islamic groups such as Izalla, Tijaniyya and Qadiriyya brotherhoods, Ahmadiya, Ansar Ud Deen, Anwarul Islam, Nurul Deen, and NASFAT have, through *Tafsir* and other Islamic programmes made themselves more visible. The interaction of religious groups in both north and south of Nigeria is relatively different: there abound some religious frictions and violent attacks in the two parts of the country, but record shows that the north has experienced lots of religious crises much more than can be found in the south of the country. The clash between the Izala and the Tijaniyya groups is a typical example of less violent religious conflict in the southwest of Nigeria.⁶⁹

2.2.3 Christianity

Christianity emerged in Nigeria much after the advent of Islam. The first attempt to introduce Christianity to Nigeria through the kingdoms of Benin and Warri in the sixteenth century failed because the Portuguese missionaries diverted their attention on their discovery of more pepper in India (Kalu 2005:24-43). The second phase of Christian presence in Nigeria started in 1842 when both the Wesleyan Methodist and the Anglican (CMS) came into Lagos through Badagry to begin evangelical mission. The CMS, the Methodist, the American Baptist Mission, the Roman Catholic Mission SMA, and the Presbyterian Mission were the earliest Christian denominations in Nigeria. Christianity gained a fast and strong foothold in southern Nigeria, but its spread to the North was very slow. By the end of 1850, the CMS had established churches at Abeokuta, the Methodist in Lagos, the Presbyterian in Calabar, and the Southern United States Baptists in parts of Yoruba land; and in 1868 the Roman Catholic Order had emerged in Lagos and had reached the East by 1900 (Turner 1967:3).

Later entrants were the African churches that emerged from the mainline churches due to leadership crisis and the zeal to commune with God in less docile manner in which church service was being conducted in the mission churches. The European clergy dominated the

⁶⁹ Sanni (2010) reports that extreme ideology and non compliance to Court judgement on the ban on the use of loudspeaker by the two groups caused the clash in a predominantly Hausa settlement in Ibadan that left thirteen people wounded. Cf. Accessed January 13, 2012. <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/13-injured-as-islamic-sects-clash-in-ibadan/80457/>.

leadership of the church as opposed to the indigenisation policy of the CMS Home Secretary Rev Henry Venn, and introduced some repressive rules and regulations into the church against the African Christians in the areas of polygamy, marriage, Eucharist, baptism and confirmation. This culminated in the emergence of some schismatic groups namely the Native Baptist church, later known as Ebenezer Baptist church which David Brown Vincent and Moses Ladejo Stone formed in 1888 out of the Lagos Baptist church. The United Native African church, later First African church which William E. Cole led, emerged in 1891 as a response to the CMS missionaries' negative treatment of Bishop Crowther. Jacob Kehinde Coker in 1901 formed African Church, Bethel (African Church Organisation) out of Saint Paul's CMS church, Breadfruit, Lagos as a response to CMS's dismissal of the Nigerian assistant bishop James Johnson. Similarly, some expelled leaders from the Methodist church, Lagos in 1917 formed the United African Methodist Church on the ground that they (the expelled leaders) were polygamists (Anderson 2001: 60-63; Alokun and Ogunyemi 2011: 22-23). According to Grimley and Robinson (1966: 290), the schism in the Bethel Baptist Church, Lagos which culminated in the founding of the Native Baptist church in 1888 "had far reaching significance on Church growth". This may be attributed to the emergence of unending circle of independent church formations of African origin that came up after the birth of the Native Baptist church.

More entrants emerged notably the Qua Ibo mission, an inter-denominational mission, which began its evangelization in Calabar in 1887. In northern Nigeria, the Sudan Interior Mission was established in central Nigeria in 1893⁷⁰, the Sudan United Mission in Wase, Plateau State in 1904, the Cambridge United Missionary Party (CMS-CUMP) in Panyam in 1907, Kabwir in 1910, Sudan Interior Mission SIM in Miango in 1906, and Roman Catholic Mission RCM in Shendam in 1907 (Danfulani 2001:17-28). The prophetic Garrick Braid group emerged out of the Niger Delta Pastorate at Bakana in 1910, while the Precious Stone Society (the first *Aladura* group in the southwest of Nigeria) emerged in 1918. Today, there are major and minor strands of *Aladura* churches in Nigeria. The Salvation Army emerged in Lagos in 1920, the British Apostolic Church in Lagos in 1931, the American Lutheran Church (LCMS) in Ibesikpo clan, Akwa Ibom State in 1936, and the Assemblies of God in Enugu in 1939. Most of these Christian formations have come under the umbrella of Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN). Drawing on Ayegboyan and Ishola's (1999:17) classification, all these churches can be typologized into the mission Churches, which began in 1840s, the Ethiopian/African Churches, which seceded from the mission Churches in the 1880s due to leadership crisis, the

⁷⁰ However, work did not start until late 1930s.

Classical Pentecostals, which emerged in the 1920s⁷¹, the indigenous/independent Pentecostals, which emerged in the post-World War I of which Braide's Christ Army Church and the *Aladura* are pioneers, and the new Pentecostals, which emerged in the 1970s.

2.2.4 The Diversity of the Religious Market

The religious market in Nigeria, like the secular, is pluralistic and dynamic. The multiplicity of religious groups and the emerging new religious formations engender active proselytizing and constant renewal of strategies for competitive advantages. Nigeria's religious market structure is a platform for both intra and interreligious competitions. Each religious group in a religious market claims to articulate and respond to varied needs of devotees (Koenig 1999: 97-104).⁷² Such claim of response inspires and sustains considerable participation and commitment of devotees (Abel 2005:5). Aside from the articulation and responsiveness to social, economic, political and mental strains, which religious groups emphatically claim to offer and which tend to attract devotees, the plurality of the religious market in Nigeria offers a wide range of choice options. Plurality of churches and the desire to obtain spiritual satisfaction from whoever can offer it encourage multiple membership and participation.⁷³

When asked about the number of churches that operate in the same environment where his Church is located and his perception of the churches in his vicinity, an informant said:

I cannot ascertain the number of Cherubim and Seraphim churches neither do I have adequate record of other white garment nor non-white garment churches including non-Christian worship centres in Challenge area where my church is located, but there is a wide variety of structures, make-shift camps, residences, and shop-like spaces where people enter and exit in the name of worship. One's closer look at some of them reveals that they are non-Christian places of

⁷¹ The classical Pentecostals first appeared in Nigeria when the Precious Stone Society in 1923 invited and affiliated with the Faith Tabernacle in Philadelphia, but due to doctrinal disagreement and negligence of the FT towards the Nigerian FT, they broke away and the Nigerian FT invited and affiliated with the British Apostolic Church in 1932 and later adopted Apostolic Church as its name. See detail in D. Ayegboyin and S.A. Ishola, *African Indigenous Churches: An Historical Perspective*. Lagos: Greater Heights Publications, 1999. Other classical Pentecostals include the Assemblies of God 1939, Four Square Church 1941, and the Apostolic Faith Church 1944.

⁷² Contrary to Lee Kirkpatrick's argument that religion is not responsible for adaptive behaviour and interpersonal relationship of individuals but by-products of numerous psychological mechanisms in humans, Koenig (2001) associates religion with mental health, social behaviour and stability of humans. Cf Lee A. Kirkpatrick "Towards an Evolutionary Psychology of Religion and Personality," *Journal of Personality* 67, 6 (1999): 921-952.

⁷³ Interview with Adeniyi Olatunji, 20 July, 2011, Lagos. Olatunji further explains the multiple memberships citing an example of a lady who is an active member of an Anglican Church but is registered in his Church as a member of one of the Bands, and also plays active role in the Church.

worship. Yet, some can be identified by the sound of their musical instruments or megaphone hung at the top edge of their buildings.⁷⁴

The above extract gives a clear picture of the plural and diverse religious groups in an area in Ibadan. The freedom with which individuals or groups can secure a place to congregate and possibly meet the spiritual needs of those who patronise them encourages many worship centres to emerge and compete for greater patronage and growth.

The religious market in Nigeria is robust and volatile. Its robustness was seen, for example, at a location in Ibadan where different strands of Aladura churches, a Mosque and a traditional healing home coexist without hassle. This situation finds relevance in a Yoruba aphorism, which says: the sky is wide enough for birds to fly without obstructing one another (*Oju Orun to eiye fo lai fi ara kan ara* meaning). One of the Provincial headquarters of TCLA is located in the densely populated Oke-Ado area in Ibadan. Opposite the TCLA is Christ Life Mission Church Cathedral (Aladura) Incorporated (CLMCCA). The church building is a modern church building with well-furnished interior. About ten metres further was Jesus Power Church of God (Aladura). The church is constructed with woods on a high concrete platform. About thirty metres up Victory School Road, Oke-Ado on which CLMCCA is located was a traditional healing home, and further still was Nurudeen Mosque. When asked about his perception of his church operating in the midst of other worship centres in Oke-Ado, an informant explains:

It is a matter of dispensation [...] When we talk about denomination, we are talking about an organization, but when we talk about the church as an organism, not an organization, then the universal idea of the church being a property of our Lord Jesus Christ comes in...The Lord dominates the cultures of the whole world with Pentecostal presence of the Holy Spirit, which spreads from one place to another in different dimensions. A lot of Hotels have been converted to churches [...] God operates, organises, expands and extends His kingdom on earth in different forms, and every church has to struggle to develop one strategy or another.⁷⁵

The above explains the religious diversity of an area in Ibadan and the competitive spirit with which religious organisations operate within such a market condition. The negative side of the diversity is seen in the suspicion, hate and open violence between the Christians and the

⁷⁴ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

⁷⁵ Interview with Amos Ajibola, 20 June, 2011, Ibadan.

Muslims in some parts of Nigeria. Deadly attacks on worship centres show the negative side of religious diversity in Nigeria in which lives and property are lost almost on daily basis. Intra sectarian conflicts to a great extent can be noticed in the religious market in Nigeria.⁷⁶

Within Christianity, the mission churches, the old and the new Pentecostals, and other churches that are hybrids of the old and the new Pentecostal churches are active. But observation revealed that the neo-Pentecostals are more vibrant in their activities in comparison with other churches. They are more visibly seen occupying residential and commercial spaces, and social centres that have been turned to worship centres. The new generation churches are more accessible in terms of distance and time than the mainline churches that are sparsely located in structures originally built as worship centres within the cities. The mainline churches demonstrate their resilience, with less aggressiveness, through active involvements in innovative missionary and church planting strategies; establishing educational institutions, and providing other essential social services. The competition among various Christian churches shows considerable mutual relationship and networking. Christian Association of Nigeria provides an umbrella and a platform for inter-denominational networking for the mutual spread of the gospel and for peaceful coexistence of members regardless of their little differences. Yet, there are latent conflicts among various Christian groups. When asked about how he feels about the presence of some worship centres located in the same environment where his Church is also located, an informant explained:

We are not burdened by the presence of other religious groups; that their church worships disturb ours or what? Or that they are more educated than us? Which is the biggest flowing river? It is the ocean. The ocean usually expresses its joy and happiness to God by its overlapping tides, splashing at the banks without being obstructed by anybody or objects.⁷⁷

From the above interview extract, we can infer that the devotee's rhetorical questions and metaphor confirmed some latent rivalries that usually arise from a multi-religious environment where religious organisations compete for members and relevance.

⁷⁶ The Maitatsine uprising, the Izalla sectarian crises, and the Boko Haram insurgences are few among other examples. See details in Andrew A. Ovienloba "Conflict and Conflict Transformation of Religious Fanaticism in Northern Nigeria: A Cultural Theoretical Approach" *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 3, 1 (2011):72-89; Abiodun Alao "Islamic Radicalisation and Violence in Nigeria". Accessed January 21, 2012. www.securityanddevelopment.org/.../ESRC%20; Jonathan N.C. Hill "Sufism in Northern Nigeria: Force for Counter-Radicalization?" May, 2010. Accessed January 21, 2012. <http://www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil/>; N. D. Danjibo "Islamic Fundamentalism and Sectarian Violence: The "Maitatsine" and "Boko Haram" Crises in Northern Nigeria." Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. Accessed January 21, 2013. www.ifra-nigeria.org/.../N-D-DANJIBO-IsI.

⁷⁷ Interview with Amos Ajibola, 20 June, 2011, Ibadan.

Referring to a similar religious market environment, an informant said:

The work of God is progressing so much that you hear of new brands of churches that are being established almost on daily basis and I doubt much whether CAN has accurate statistics of the body of Christ in Nigeria and how many new ones are being formed daily.⁷⁸

In a nuanced manner, a member of the Celestial Church of Christ (CCC) claimed that the CCC like an ocean is not rivalled among other waters; it does not compete with other churches or adopt their practices; it uses the gift of the Holy Spirit to attract members to its fold in a society that is flooded with all manner of religious groups.⁷⁹ The claim that the CCC occupies an unrivalled position among other religious groups in the environment as expressed by an informant is a nuanced way of expressing latent rivalry that exists in a competitive market. The presence of a Pentecostal church beside the CCC, which the informant heads, and other worship centres that are visible by their billboards and loudspeakers, to our mind may inspire rivalry.

The religious market to a large extent, contests space in the residential, educational, commercial and industrial areas of the cities. Residential buildings are sold out to prospective religious groups, and are restructured to accommodate worshippers for religious activities. School classrooms are appropriated as temporary worship centres, while religious revivals are carried out on school play grounds. Business centres and industrial warehouses that are affected by economic regression and left desolate are either bought over by Christian groups and restructured as worship centres or leased out to interested groups for worship and other church activities.

In spite of the positive contributions of various religious bodies to the society, the noise emanating from the loud speakers which religious organisations use constitute inestimable health hazards to humans. Also, there is noise from both small and big generators. The constant failure of power supply has compelled worship centres to purchase and use electricity generating plants, which emit lots of carbon. The effects of this pollution on human health can be inestimable. Studies have shown that noise is an auditory stressor that affects hearing ability and other health related matters. The carbons from the generating sets are consequential on human respiratory system and also have implications for interreligious conflicts (Ayantayo 2009).

⁷⁸ Interview with S. I. Akindoyin, Shepherd, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

⁷⁹ Interview with Gabriel Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

Sign posts and large billboards characterize the religious landscape. Lots of them carry names of religious groups, addresses of worship centres, daily and weekly programmes, and in some instances portraits of church founders. The C&S, TCLA, and CCC appropriate sign posts and imposing billboards and often carry the portraits of founders and key actors at the special events.



Figure 3. ESOCS Revival Poster capturing symbolic image of deliverance, ministers from across Aladura churches, and song ministration. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu. September, 2012

Churches use signposts and billboards to advertise their spiritual commodities. There are billboards that carry clear images and prints, and there are those that are of low quality, but the basic idea behind those advertisements is captured in Richard Sizemore's (2006:1) opinion that advertising God simply requires courage and joy that break all barriers, and that:

[I]t means instead of privatizing your beliefs, you go public with them. Instead of hiding behind your faith, you courageously live it out for all to see. Instead of feeling ashamed at being labelled a Christian, you rejoice in it.

The religious landscape also plays host to indigenous *Ogboni* Secret Society, the Reformed *Ogboni* Fraternity, the Ancient Mystical Order *Rosae Crucis* (AMORC), and Oriental religions, but these are not as socially visible as Churches and mosques. Their presence is often acknowledged in the condemnations that are expressed about them and some social crises that tend to implicate them. Christian funeral rites on a dead member and the contestation of such rites by secret society members who request church members and the

children of the deceased to stay away from the corpse to allow them perform certain rites on their dead member are quite revealing.⁸⁰

Religious groups that integrate elements drawn from two or more faiths have continued to maintain their niches on the religious landscape. The *Ijo Orile Ede Adulawo ti Kristi* (IOEAK) (the National Church of Christ), the *Ijo Orunmila Adulawo* (IOA) (the Indigenous Faith of Africa), and One Love Family are examples. The *Ijo Orile Ede Adulawo ti Kristi* (IOEAK) emerged in Lagos in 1919. It appropriates the power of language and culture particularly of the Yoruba in expressing African spirituality and inspiration within the frame of the Christian Church (Ogungbile 2001: 67-77). *Ijo Orunmila Adulawo* (IOA) emerged in 1934 as a splinter group from *Ijo Orile Ede Adulawo ti Kristi* following doctrinal controversies that ensued between the founders of the former (IOA) and the latter (IOEAK). The controversies over alleged syncretism made Oshiga to break away and formed *Ijo Orunmila Adulawo* where devotees express undiluted traditional beliefs and worship of Ifa, but in a modernised way, structured after a Christian church (Simpson 1980).⁸¹

The *Ijo Orunmila* appropriates media technologies to disseminate indigenous faith tradition to the larger audience. Since four decades or more, the group runs a periodical TV programme on Lagos Television (LTV), bringing to the public view its beliefs, worship, intercessory role in human crisis situations such as barrenness, failed marriages, protection for pregnant women, and child delivery. Members clad in white apparel as in *Aladura* churches but differ in their pattern of garment. They are present in parts of southwestern Nigeria, notably Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, and Osun States, and the United States of America.⁸²

Sat Guru *Maharaj ji's* religious group, One Love Family, is located on New Holy Land at Km 10, Ibadan-Lagos express way. It is visible amidst controversies and popularity. As an entrant in the religious market since July 1980, Shuaib Ajirobatan popularly known as *Sat Guru Maharaj Ji* creatively integrates Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Yoruba traditional

⁸⁰ Interview with Tewogbade, 15 June, 2011, Ibadan. Tewogbade's failure to give an example within his church suggests that his church may not have a record of such incidence; he might be alluding to it considering reported cases in the media of some elder statesmen and average Nigerian Christians whose membership of secret societies came to the open at their funerals. Cf Godwin Ifijeh "AMORC Offers Free Membership to Anglican Priests." Thisday, Monday, March 4, 2002. Accessed January 14, 2012. <http://wwwrn.org/articles/10744/?&place=nigeria>.

⁸¹ George Simpson (1980:148-149) writes that the group has hymn book and a prayer book that contains a collection of Ifa stanzas from which sermonal topics are derived like the Christian Holy Bible, and that three other splinter groups have emerged from it- *Ijo Orunmila Ato*, *Mimo*, and *Ilupesin*. Cf George Brandon "From Oral to Digital: Rethinking the Transmission of Tradition in Yoruba Religion". In: Jacob K. Olupona and Terry Rey. eds. *Orisa Devotion as World Religion: The Globalisation of Yoruba Religious Culture*. London: University of Winsconson Press, 2008, p459-460; Thomas M. Ilesanmi "The Traditional Theologians and the Practice of Orisa Religion in Yorubaland" JRA xxi, 3(1999):216-226.

⁸² Simpson 1980, *Ibid*

religions to create a niche for his religious group among other religions in Ibadan. Apart from his New Holy Land, Ajirobatan appropriates the print and the electronic media to reach out to more audience about his mission and commission. He has a media coordinator who organises press briefing for him and also chooses the media house to be used for reaching larger audience.⁸³

Hackett (2008:19), citing Grace Kao, agrees that proselytization refers to initiatives, discourses, and strategies employed to bring about “a significant change in the pre-existing religious commitments, identity, membership, or lack thereof of others”. Proselytization is a marked feature of the religious landscape. It requires some freedom that is guaranteed by constitution and personal respect for other people’s faith. Religious freedom entails the liberty to practice any religion(s) of one’s interest and conviction, to convert to another religion of one’s choice at any time without fear of molestation, and to embark on nonviolent preaching within and across religions without any attack for doing so. The National, Continental, and International Laws in their respective declarations on religious freedom enjoin all that world peace and development are anchored, in part, on the recognition of individuals’ rights to freedom of religion, worship, association, assembly, and education.

These are clearly spelt out in the United Nations’ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly on religious freedom in articles 1, 2, 18, 19, 20, and 26; the declaration of the General Conference of the International Labour Organization against all forms of discriminations against employees, particularly on religious ground in article 1, section 1; the UNESCO declaration on the relevance of acquisition of education devoid of religious distinction, for the promotion of peace and security in article 1 sections 1 and 2; the African Union (AU) declaration on non-discrimination of rights and freedoms of religion in articles 2, 8, 9, 10, and 11; and the Nigerian Constitution on freedom of thought, conscience, and religion in chapter iv, section 38, subsections 1,2, and 3 (Scalabrino 2003: 152-154; 329; 342; 589-592).

⁸³ Ajirobatan speaks on diverse issues about the state of the nation in some of the Nigerian daily newspapers. See Ola Ajayi “Sat Guru Maharaj Ji Wants Lamido, Okonjo-Iweala Sacked,” Vanguard, Sunday, November 13, 2011. Accessed January 13, 2012. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201111141277.html>; Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria Ibadan National Station, “Sat Guru Maharaji Urges FG to Approve New Media Salary,” Accessed January 13, 2012. <http://www.radionigeriaibadan.com/news/mediapress/1382-sat-guru-marahaji-urges-fg-to-approve-new-media-salary>; Nkem Nelson “Nigeria: Sat Guru Maharajji Tasks Nigerians,” Daily Champion Monday, May 7, 2007. Accessed January 14, 2012. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200705070338.html>; Oladipo Ayinde “Of Sat Guru Maharaj Ji’s Mission as a Saviour,” Nigerian Tribune Wednesday, January 11, 2012. Accessed September 14, 2012. <http://tribune.com.ng/index.php/opinion/34086-of-satguru-maharaj-jis-mission-as-a-saviour>.

Hackett (2008) is of the opinion that proselytization is an issue that is associated with the broader questions of resurgence and conflict in modern pluralistic societies. According to her, this is because it hinges on constitutional provisions of religious freedom which she sees as “a controversial freedom” (p.3). It is controversial considering the fact that the constitutional freedom is often abused and in turn conflicts with the principle of freedom and peace. She concludes that focus should be on conformity to the standard of expressing and disseminating one’s faith in a pluralistic society within the scope of constitutional freedom and peace. However, Hackett adds that a group’s evangelization is to another, proselytism which is conceived as the opposite of proselytization (p.1-12).

Proselytization with freedom varies in some parts of Nigeria. The south is predominantly Christian while the north is predominantly Muslim, but this does not foreclose some ethnic religions existing along the two major religions.

Religious activities in Ibadan and Lagos are vibrant and dynamic, extending evangelization across denominational and religious boundaries. Christian proselytists are visible at Bus Stops and motor parks. With the help of megaphone, the evangelists engage the travellers and other persons with the rhetoric of Christ the saviour of the world, not minding whether the listeners are Christians or Muslims. In the moving ‘*Molue*’ passenger Lorries and Taxi cabs, Christ is preached and Christian tracts are distributed with much freedom. At times, the mobile preacher, at the end of his/her preaching, solicits the cooperation and charity donation of his/her listeners in order to sustain the mobile preaching.

Giant and smaller sign posts are visibly mounted at strategic locations where the attention of pedestrians and motorists can easily be captured. Some bill boards carry portraits of Jesus, preachers, founders, logo of the church, and gospel messages. Some are designed to carry basic daily and weekly activities of the church. Some bill boards carry the background picture of a healing session.



Figure 4. TCLA Billboard. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu 2012.

Christian bill boards are mounted on roadsides, and at times side by side those of other religions. Although there were reports that security agencies have uncovered an Islamic fundamentalist group in Ibadan that planned to stage a jihad, disrupt Christian revivals and posters, and attack *ogun* worshippers as an extension of the spate of massacre of people in worship centres in the north, the State Security Service and other security agencies rose up to the challenge (Fabowale 2010). Interestingly, there are churches built side by side Mosques and have co-existed for many years. The Ansar-ud-deen mosque, which coexists side by side with First Baptist Church on Adebayo Street, Jos is a typical example.

Churches use modern media technologies in their witnessing and missions to larger audiences across faiths. The Catholic, Anglican, Aladura churches of major and minor strands, and the new Pentecostals have paid adverts and programmes on government and private Television channels and Radio frequencies. Religious programmes on Radio and TV are censored to avoid provocative religious statements that may negatively influence the religious sensibilities of people. Churches that have adequate funds for weekly, monthly or quarterly programmes do so without restriction from government or people of other faiths, and also publish weekly, monthly, and annual bulletins without restrictions. These are freely distributed or sold.

The proliferation of churches in towns and cities and in all private and public areas has created a picture of a religious geography of Yoruba local and urban settlements and also demonstrates a considerable religious freedom that abounds among the people. Churches are built on acquired plots of land without restrictions from the government except where their purchase violates the government laws on land acquisition and registration. Some houses are bought over and restructured as worship centres. Some warehouses and hotels that have

closed down are either bought over or leased and converted to worship places; and public buildings such as primary and secondary schools are used for Christian crusades. Cinema halls and hotels are common spaces that are reconstructed either temporarily or periodically for Christian activities.

A good number of large Christian crusades have been successfully staged in various parts of the southwest of Nigeria. Ibadan, Lagos, Abeokuta, Akure, Ilesha, Ado-Ekiti, Ilorin and a host of other towns have played host to a number of Christian crusaders from within and outside Nigeria. The German evangelist Reinhard Bonnke, Andreas Heubner, Bernie Moore, Daniel Kolenda, Obedience Olakunori, Emmanuel Adeboye and many more crusaders and miracle performers have a record of stories of evangelistic success in the south west of Nigeria. A considerable number of Christian ministries have their crusade grounds along Lagos-Ibadan express way. Religious activities along this major road cause traffic jam which take relevant government agencies many hours to address.⁸⁴

Multiple memberships of religious organizations exist among the Yoruba. Worship across different religions and church denomination is largely due to individuals' search for instant miracles or on ground of invitation to special religious programmes. Similarly, religious conversion from Islam to Christianity and vice versa exists and is not taken to be a deadly issue for the convert and the converter.

The presence of Islamic sects and a considerable number of insurgences have restructured the human settlement pattern in Nigerian cities and towns, particularly Jos, which is one of our cities of focus. Observations revealed that the build-up of ethno-religious tensions between the Muslim Hausa-Fulani migrants and the predominantly Christian Jarawa, Birom, Anaguta, Afizere and the surrounding Amo, Irigwe, Rukuba indigenes in Jos, which started in the fourth decade of the twentieth century, became violent attacks in September 2001. This has culminated in a new human settlement pattern in the city compelling humans to settle, in some cases along ethno-religious line and generally along Christian/Muslim line.

The new religious geography has affected religious activities as some churches have relocated from Muslim dominated areas of the city to safe havens where Christians predominate. On the other hand, Muslims have relocated from Christian dominated areas to Muslim dominated areas where they seem to enjoy some freedom of worship. The Church of the Lord Aladura (TCLA), which began its evangelizing activities in 1956, has relocated from Kwararafa to Rukuba area of the city. African Methodist Church, Dilimi Street has relocated to a new place

⁸⁴ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12 October, 2011, Lagos.

yet to be identified by the researcher. The Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church (CSMC), Dilimi Street, which started in 1933 has closed down for more than two years after many years of occasional church services due to religious crisis. This has compelled its youths to organise themselves into a worship group along Bauchi Ring road. This has equally influenced the relocation of human and property. Some churches were set ablaze, while others were sold out. Members of TCLA, for example, claimed that their church building at Kwararafa was sold to a rich Muslim business man living close to the church.

The freedom of religious worship and proselytization has a boundary in Jos. There are “no go areas” in the city where religious activities that conflict with the religion of the residents are forbidden. It has become impossible for a Christian outreach to be organised in Muslim Hausa-Fulani dominated areas within the city. This indisposition to other faith also exists in the Christian dominated parts of the city where Muslim clerics dare not pronounce “*Allahu Akbar*” which can easily anger the Christian residents. Movement of people in Jos is to a great extent guided by individuals’ consciousness of “no go areas”. In peculiar areas where people of different faiths must interact, particularly commercial areas and social centres, anxiety is high because of unexpected explosion that may occur without any warning. At worship centres that are surrounded by residents of different faith, First Baptist Church, Adebayo Street, Jos for example, security agents are placed on alert to protect worshippers. Complementarily, worshippers are enjoined to stay clear of provocative gestures and utterances that can “wake up the sleeping dog”. Religious freedom in the context of Jos is being contested by unfriendly relationship between Christians and Muslims. Christian religious advertorials, particularly bill boards, posters, and fliers are not acceptable in Muslim dominated areas. Likewise the advertorials of Christian organizations are not acceptable in Muslim dominated areas of the city.

2.2.5 Regulating the Market

The religious market in which the C&S, TCLA, and CCC are actors is to a great extent regulated. In the pre-independence Nigeria, the religious market was to some extent regulated as was seen in the British administration’s intervention in the religious affairs of the nation. In the post-independence period, though there is constitutional provision for religious freedom, considerable regulations placed on the religious market indicates that government control of the religious organisations and their activities is with much intensity than in the pre-independence era.

The British colonial policy of “non-interference”⁸⁵ which placed restriction on the Christian missionaries from predominantly Muslim areas of the North regulated both the spread of Christianity and western education in the region and this is critical to the current educational development in the areas affected by the British government’s ambivalent policy. Osaghae and Suberu (2005:15) say “the British response was basically to preserve the Islamic Puritanism of the north and avoid potential inter-group tensions.” The aggressive tendency of the Muslim North against contrary faith as exemplified in the 1804 Jihad, and which is being carried over to the present dispensation in some parts of Northern Nigeria most likely influenced the colonial government religious non-interference policy.

Boer (1988:8-15) identifies more areas of regulations, which the colonial administration placed on Christian missionaries in the Muslim dominated areas. These are prohibition against teaching Christian faith to Muslim children under eighteen years of age; prohibiting the mission bodies from employing the services of single ladies as a guide against impropriety; the settlement policy of the colonial government of determining where it was “safe” or “unsafe” for the white missionaries to settle, generally seen as colonial administration’s diversionary strategy against Christian incursion into the Muslim dominated areas; instituting a four hundred and forty yards rule in which foreign settlers must settle 440 yards away from a Nigerian settlement for fear of disease infections, but which Boer sees as a ploy to prevent missionaries’ close friendly relationship with the Muslims; the lease policy, which required the Christian missionaries to seek for renewal and which also placed the indigent owners on the vantage position to renew the lease or to send the missions packing; and the restriction placed on the missions from opening Freed Slaves Homes, which was cited after some protests were lifted.

The colonial prohibition of some religious activities did not exclude the Aladura in the south west of Nigeria. Aladura emerged in the midst of reactionaries: first, they were a threat to the mainline churches that rejected the brand of Christianity that the Aladura evolved; its public acceptance due to the fact that its members were largely drawn from the existing churches; their internal crises, which at times required the intervention of traditional rulers and the colonial officials; and conflicts arising from witchcraft accusations that pitched the Aladura with the relatives of the accused. Against this backdrop, it was reasonable for the colonial

⁸⁵ The British colonial government promised not to interfere in the religious affairs of the Muslim North and this brought serious unpleasant relationship between the colonial administration and the Christian missionaries as Christian activities were barred for a long time. Later, the Christian missionaries penetrated the Muslim dominated areas through the establishment of schools which were initially set up on the invitation of the colonial government to train the traditional rulers and other officers. See Crampton, E. P. T., *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*, Zaria, Nigeria: Gaskiya Corporation Ltd, 1975, p.46-50.

administration to regulate the activities of the Aladura (Higgins 2010:54-75). Colonial regulation of religious activities was placed on Garrick Braide. The growing charismatic and prophetic qualities of Garrick Sokari Braide in the Niger Delta Pastorate church, culminated in his pulling out of the church. His preaching posed a threat against the leadership of James Johnson and the sale of alcohol from which the colonial government made much of its revenue. In addition, the conspiracy that he declared that the days of the whites were numbered attracted the wrath of the colonial administration. He was eventually jailed in 1916 (Wariboko 2010:95-96).

Recent study by Thomas Higgins (2010:54-75) reveals the influence of the colonial officials on the traditional rulers in order to regulate the activities of the Aladura in the south west of Nigeria. Higgins particularly, states that H. Child's "subtle propaganda" to persuade traditional rulers and district heads against the Faith Tabernacle (FT) (later CAC) on the ground of insightful statements against other churches and mosques had far reaching effect on the Owa of Ilesha who prohibited the FT from building its own structure or using other buildings as churches in the villages. Similarly, the Ajero of Ekiti in conjunction with the district colonial officer prohibited the CAC from acquiring land for church activities until certain conditions were met by the church. Higgins records more complaints against the abuse of peace which made the traditional rulers, with the support of the colonial government, to contain the Aladura. The proscription of Josiah Ositelu's published prophecies titled *Awon ashotele* and the warning issued out to him significantly made Ositelu to tread the path of caution in subsequent activities (Turner 1967:28-29).

In post-colonial Nigeria, government approach to religious matters is seemingly ambiguous. The religious market is largely unregulated given its pluralistic and diverse structure. Yet, the government intervenes in the religious affairs of the country when some religious issues tend to contradict its interest or when some religious issues and events tend to put the peace and tranquillity of the nation on the line. The 1999 constitution of Nigeria, Section 38 and subsections 1-4 gives individuals and groups the liberty to act out their beliefs without molestation, and clearly states thus:

Every person shall be entitled to freedom of thought, conscience and religion, including freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom (either alone or in community with others, and in public or in private) to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance. No person attending any place of education shall be required to receive

religious instruction or to take part in or attend any religious ceremony or observance if such instruction ceremony or observance relates to a religion other than his own, or religion not approved by his parent or guardian. No religious community or denomination shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for pupils of that community or denomination in any place of education maintained wholly by that community or denomination. Nothing in this section shall entitle any person to form, take part in the activity or be a member of a secret society.

It thus implies that the constitution prohibits the adoption of a state religion. It does not empower the three tiers of government to adopt an official religion either. This clearly provides a wide range of opportunities for an individual to evolve a religion or join any religious group of his/her choice, or facilitate the introduction of a new religious group from outside the country and to propagate same without fear of molestation. Individuals have the opportunity to choose from a wide range of religious groups to belong and participate in. The constitution allows the individual the freedom to change his/religion or belief.

Within this freedom, the Nigerian government demonstrates its control on religion. Government regulation is felt in the media and communications sector where it exerts considerable influence on religious broadcasting, and prints. Odunlami (1999) says the role the media plays in the preservation and promotion of national security and development compel the government to stringently regulate the sector against multiplicity of forces that threaten the security and developmental visions of the country of which ethnic cleavages and religious antagonisms are a part. The neoliberalization policies of the Nigerian government between 1999 and 2007 on media and communications industries, according to Olorunnisola (2009), softened its stringent monopolies of the sector; that the assumed developmental and transformational outcomes of the neoliberalization policies of the government have been influenced by the economic, political and cultural contexts within which the media and communications industries operated. He concludes that though the protectionist agenda of both the British colonial administration and post independent administrations up to the 1970s have softened, beginning from 1999, the Nigerian government has not completely deregulated the sector due to its role in human society.

The Nigerian government regulates religious and moral instructions by introducing Christianity and Islam as academic subjects in the school system to the neglect of other religions. Similarly, worshippers planning to build their places of worship or have newly

formed a religious group must register with the Corporate Affairs Commission.⁸⁶ In spite of the religious freedom, government requires religious groups that wish to stage open-air crusade or rally to request permission for such programmes. This is put in place in order to effectively wade into legal issues that may arise from ownership and leadership conflicts, and interreligious crisis that may emanate from the activities of various religious groups. Also, religious groups require from the government the licence for legal solemnization of marriage.

Within religious freedom, the government reserves the right to disallow any religious group whose open-air outreach or meeting is most likely to trigger conflict and unrest. This is a public safety measure against religious crisis. Similarly, the government regulates the number of religious festivals that are observed nationally by Christian and Muslim worshippers, but does not set aside any national holiday for any important festival of other religions. Various religious groups, within their religious freedom and available fund, use the media for larger categories of their audience outside their worship places. Again, government has reserved power to grant licence of operation to intending individuals or groups, be they secular or religious, but clearly restricts religious organizations from ownership of radio frequencies and Television channels.

Furthermore, the government regulates religious information or advertisements that are likely to generate vexatious response from the readers, listeners or viewers. The Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) placed a ban on the broadcasting of miracles on the Television and the Radio. This is to regulate the abuse of religious freedom and the consequences that it may have on the image of the country and the religious landscape. However, the ambiguous position of the government in its regulation of the religious market is often brought to the fore in its subsidies on pilgrimages to Mecca and Jerusalem; its subtlety on the implementation of Shari'ah in some states, and its controversial membership of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) during military era.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ It is a body that registers business names, non- governmental organisations and religious bodies, and also investigates their affairs. But there is no established case where the government refuses to register a new religious group.

⁸⁷ Nigeria rose from its observer status in the OIC during Murtala Muhammed regime to become a full-fledged member during Muhammadu Buhari regime. The denial of Nigeria's membership of this Islamic organisation by some sections of the society came to the open in 1986 when the Nigerian Military government announced Nigeria's membership of the OIC. Cf Edward P. Lipton, *Religious Freedom in Africa*, New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2002, pp.115-118; Don Ohadike "Muslim-Christian Conflict and Political Instability in Nigeria" In: John O. Hunwick. ed. *Religion and National Integration in Africa: Islam, Christianity, and Politics in the Sudan and Nigeria*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992, pp.116-121; Bukola A. Oyeniyi "Nigeria and the Organisation of Islamic Conference". In: Julius O. Adekunle ed. *Religion in Politics. Secularism and National Integration in Modern Nigeria*. Trenton, NJ and Asmara, Eritrea: AWP, 2009, pp. 195-216.

2.3 Typologising the Aladura

The Aladura Christianity, which emerged in Nigeria in the tail end of the second decade of the 20th century has grown and developed into major and minor churches. The churches emphasize fervent prayers and belief in the workings of the Holy Spirit as experienced at Pentecost. There is emphasis on miracle, healing, revelation, and care giving in Aladura churches.

Aladura churches can be categorised into two major types. There are Aladura churches that do not clad in white garments, and those that wear white garments. The former (non-white garment) include the Precious Stone Society and the Christ Apostolic Church, while the latter (white garment) include the C&S, TCLA, the CCC, the Holy Flock of Christ, Christ Life Mission Church Cathedral Aladura, Jesus Power Church of God, Holy Sabbath of Christ the King, Christ the Saviour Church Aladura, and Jerusalem Church of the Lord International. Among the white garment Aladura churches are the major and minor strands of the C&S, which demonstrate schismatic tendencies and have C&S either as prefix or suffix in their names. The major are so classified due to their years of experience, growth, and expansion. The minor strands do not belong to the first generations of the C&S and have less significant expansion. In most cases, they have few or no branches, operating legally or illegally, and have healing home characteristic.

Yet the C&S can be categorised into four phases: The first phase consists of the first C&S church (ESOCS), which founder Moses Orimolade headed. The second phase consists of the first set of schismatic C&S beginning with CSS, which broke away in 1929, which Christiana Akinsowon headed. Others are the Praying Band of C&S (PBCS) 1931, C&S Western Conference (CSWC) 1931 renamed as Sacred Cherubim and Seraphim Church (SCSC), and C&S Northern Conference (CSNC) 1941 renamed as Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church (CSMC). The third category comprises different autonomous strands that Charismatic individuals and migrant members of the C&S formed between 1933 and 1960s. They include C&S Agbo Jesu, New Jerusalem (1933)⁸⁸, Ona Iwa Mimo C&S (1938),⁸⁹ United Church of the Cherubim and Seraphim (UCCS), and C&S Church of Zion (1948).⁹⁰ The fourth phase of the spread of the C&S covered the period from 1970s till date. This is the post-civil war era

⁸⁸ Alfred Ajayi Akintobi (1844-1964) founded CSANJ independent of ESOCS and other schismatic groups, but had contact with Orimolade in Lagos, and allusively had contact with Ositelu in Ogere; CSANJ has 87 Parishes and each parish has between 10 and 30 branch churches in Nigeria, Africa, Europe and America. Cf L. A. Bankole, *Iwe Itan dida Egbe Mimo Kerubu ati Serafu Agbo Jesu, Oke-Ogun Agelu, New Jerusalem*, Ibadan: Tollycrown, 1995, p. 8-11; Official website, Accessed March 27, 2012. <http://agbojesu.com/>.

⁸⁹ Jacob Oke Adeola founded OIMCS in Igboho, Nigeria

⁹⁰ Elisha Ilene Ogunfeyimi (1901-1996) founded CSCZ, Ugbonla, Ondo State.

and the period when new forms of Pentecostalism have become more socially visible on the religious landscape. The Cherubim and Seraphim Evangelical and Cherubim and Seraphim Bible Ministries are examples of the C&S churches that have been established in Nigeria in the post-civil war period. In another classification, the ESOCS, CSS, PBCS, SCS, and CSMC formed the five mother churches of the Cherubim and Seraphim Unification Church of Nigeria (CSUCN), while other C&S churches in the unification are those that were formed independently of them (the mother C&S).

Yet, *Aladura* churches by their responsiveness to the dynamics of the religious market belong to two different categories. The conservatives in our context are the *Aladura* churches that seemingly defend and promote the continuity of their faith-traditions against the influence of modernity. They emphasise that the beliefs and practices of the church are products of divine revelation made available to the founders. There are claims that every bit of the tenets of the church has biblical justification; the context within which the church traditions were revealed and put into use is still relevant in new dispensations. Most *Aladura* churches have taken strides to redefine themselves in response to the changing religious market. Yet within their responsiveness they, to a large extent, manifest a border line between church traditions and modernization. The conservatives claim that those beliefs and practices that have earned the church some pejorative names have biblical justification. They support the enforcement of restrictions that affect the status of females and their participation in some church rituals, and other restrictions that affect both genders. Worshippers are reminded through official announcements during worship, among other important information, to keep to the tenets of the church. It is often reiterated through announcements the danger that may befall any member that flaunts the restrictions especially those that enjoin purity of the body, church and mercy ground. The central worship centre where most members are adults and aged is the platform for call to observance of such restrictions.

Most *Aladura* churches visited established youth fellowship/English section for the youth to congregate and worship due to generational gap. The youth fellowship/English section of the churches seemingly represents the modernist group within the church, though there seems not to be uniformity among various youth fellowships/English sections in this regard. Central to the position of the modernist group within the churches is that some aspects of the church tenets are mere physical practices of outward holiness, which they claimed do not correlate with the inner holiness of worshippers.⁹¹ Aside the youth fellowship/English section in the

⁹¹ Interview with Solomon Ogunbunmi, 23 May, 2011, Jos.

churches, there are splinter groups that can be categorised as modernists. Central to the formation is the idea that “a shift from the past” is imperative in the modernising world. This conviction places the groups on the modernist category. The importance of the “shift” is further emphasized in their initiative to change some tenets, which they claimed are unbiblical and make the church to lose lots of members. Much emphasis is placed on “introducing the simplest form of worshipping the ever living and loving God who attaches no significance to rituals, emotion or superstition, but contrite heart, faithfulness and obedience to divine instructions.”⁹²

Out of the CSMC emerged Gideon Oyedepo who headed the English/Youth Fellowship section of the CSMC, Surulere, Lagos before forming his religious group on the ground of divine call to purify and bring the church (C&S) back to Christian standard as it was handed down to Moses Orimolade. He (Gideon) was born into the CSMC, rose through the ranks in the church and headed the English Chapel of the church. Oyedepo claimed he received divine call and commission to reform the C&S brand of Christianity. He founded the Cherubim and Seraphim Bible Ministries in September 2001. Central to his reform is the flexibility with which he approaches C&S age long restrictions. In its transformation agenda, the church promotes family value which it claims is lost in the C&S whose members are substantially polygamous. The CSBM produces newsletters and biblical teachings that are distributed to members; and it established a Bible School that conducts free training of six months duration.⁹³ The CSBM claimed it networks with revival spirited men of God from the mission and new Pentecostal churches to organize open-air non-denominational crusades and that it shares pulpit with pastors from the Anglican and new Pentecostal churches. The CSBM’s position on reform in the area of diverse restriction is that if members do not wear shoes inside the church does not translate to righteousness or character building except if it can be proven otherwise; and that not wearing shoes cannot help one to be better characterized or win more souls to the kingdom of God through Christ, or to purify the mind of ungodly things.⁹⁴

The Cherubim and Seraphim Evangelical (CSE), which prophetess Bayewu formed and heads is another example of the modernist category. The church does not observe female restrictions. Both male and female are in the chancel and hierarchy of the church. She says the grace at the end of worship. At the time of interview, she claimed she has not reached menopausal age and that she carries out her secular and spiritual functions even when

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12. 10. 2011, Lagos.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

menstruating. She also claimed that menstrual blood is not impure and that restrictions attached to such female experience is one of the strategies which patrilineal societies employ to subordinate females. However, she does not rule out the implication of such restriction on female personal hygiene; that it helps the personal hygiene of females who stink during their period and do not care much about it.⁹⁵

The Christ Arrival International Church is an example of the modernist group that split from the CCC. Yet it retains some of the elements of the faith-traditions of the CCC. Pastor James Oni⁹⁶ founded Christ Arrival International Church (CAIC). He worshipped at the CCC and later left the church and formed the CAIC. He claimed God commissioned him to “continually announce to the world the essence, reality and imminence of the second coming of Lord Jesus Christ, by teaching and encouraging the observance of His commandments and the practice of standard and acceptable mode of worship.”⁹⁷ The CAIC’s pattern of worship is similar to the CCC; it observes some restrictions typical of the CCC. Yet it discontinued some practices, which it considered archaic and do not help members’ faith in God and Christ. The CAIC claims that it does not teach or practise rituals that are extracts of African and biblical traditions. The church forbids the belief in and use of colour candles, eggs, and some liquids for ritual healing.

There is the diasporic category. This consists of independent *Aladura* churches that emerged outside Nigeria. They have branches outside their country of emergence. Most founders of the diasporic independent *Aladura* churches were members of various *Aladura* churches in Nigeria and other African countries. Each of the churches is unique, yet they share some common features: white garment, manifestations of the gift of holy spirits and the sacraments namely baptism, confirmation, penitence, Eucharist, marriage, ordination, and anointing or unction. The Most Rev. Father Oluwole Aremu Abiola holds a doctorate degree and founded the Aladura International Church in London in 1970 and has branches in Ojodu-Ikeja, Lagos, and Andrah Pradesh, South India. Elder Adegboyega Elegbede founded the Truevine Pentecostal Cherubim and Seraphim Church (TPCSC) in 2008, Southwark, London. Prophet Segun Adeyeye founded Christ Covenant Church, Gerasdorf (near Vienna), Austria in 2007. He claimed he received a divine call and split from the CCC. A group of African migrants who were members of Aladura churches back in Africa came together to form Mt Sinai C&S

⁹⁵ Interview with O. Bayewu, 17 May, 2012, Sango.

⁹⁶ Primate (Dr) James J. Oni, a retired Police Officer rose to the rank of Senior Evangelist in the CCC before pulling out of the church.

⁹⁷ Mission Statement of the CAICO, official Website, Accessed March 15, 2012. <http://www.christarrival.Com/?id=4>.

Church, Minnesota, USA in 1992, but later split into two. The splinter group formed Holy Church of C&S Mt Sinai, Minnesota, USA in 1996. A group of five headed by Mike Amadi formed the Fountain of Peace Ministries of the C&S Church, Leyton, East London in 2004.⁹⁸

2.4 Unifying the Fragments

From inception, *Aladura* Christianity has demonstrated schismatic tendency. This is typical of prophetic churches that are formed by individuals who draw their legitimacy from their self-acclaimed divine call, display of supernatural power, and extraordinary leadership quality. Max Weber refers to such supernaturally gifted qualities as *charisma*. The gift of prophetic and healing powers occupies a central position in the belief and practice of *Aladura* churches. The trajectory of *Aladura* churches, particularly the C&S, TCLA, and CCC indicates that a number of charismatic individuals hardly mutually co-function for a long time in a group. Also, when the prophetic-charismatic founder dies, his demise seems to create a gap due to the absence of, or improper transfer of legitimacy to a successor. The presence of many specially gifted individuals who negotiate their relevance within a group, coupled with the problem associated with the routinization of the charisma of the founder often lead to leadership crisis and factionalization/schism. Adogame (1999) extensively discusses this phenomenon in the CCC, which emanated at the demise of Pastor-founder Oshoffa in 1985. Though researching into charisma and the problems associated with its routinization in *Aladura* churches is imperative, it is outside the focus of this study, which in future could be fully studied.

Breakaway of groups and individuals from *Aladura* mother churches to form new groups of worshippers gives rise to unending cycle of new strands of *Aladura* formations. Borrowing Roy Wallis' idea of plural legitimacy, Lewis and Lewis (2009:3) say religious organizations in which spiritual legitimacy is available to plural number of mediums especially in a spiritualist church are "more likely to experience schisms than groups that were "uniquely legitimate"". Wallis' theory fits into the schismatic experience of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC who are prophetic churches that have their share of breakaway of individual members or groups. In comparison with TCLA and CCC, there are a considerable number of schisms in the C&S.

Unlike in the C&S, the breakaway groups in the TCLA adopt different names which separate them completely from their mother church (TCLA). The leadership crisis in the CCC, which arose from the death of its charismatic founder Joseph Oshoffa, split the church into factions

⁹⁸ Interview with S.I. Akindoyin, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

that do not manifest schismatic characteristics as found among the C&S. In spite of the leadership crisis in the CCC, each faction proudly claimed indivisibility of the church, and that some time, some day the Lord God will restore unity to His fold. Considering the consequences of schism, the C&S and the CCC have separately initiated unification projects to transform themselves back to united and progressive bodies of Christ on the platform of C&S and CCC respectively.

2.4.1 C&S

Shortly before the first schism in the nascent C&S in December 1929, the Alake of Abeokuta, Oba Ladipo Samuel Ademola had in July 1929 initiated a peace talk which W. F. Sosan⁹⁹ facilitated between Orimolade and other sections of the society. Orimolade's insistence that the leaders of other sections of the church apologised to him as a prerequisite for his partake in the peace talk thwarted the effort of the Oba. In 1931, the representatives of the C&S in seven major cities in the southwestern Nigeria, under the leadership of W. F. Sosan met to reconcile the independent groups of Christiana Akinsowon and Orimolade, and other sections that were already aggrieved by the crisis, but achieved no success as leaders loyal to Orimolade turned them back (Omoyajowo 1982:65-82). This peace initiative marked the first attempt to unify the C&S.

There were further attempts to unify various strands of the C&S under one umbrella. In 1965, S. B. Oyekanmi of the Eternal Sacred Order of the Morning Star, and St Michael Star initiated the unification of all strands of the C&S. This made a land mark achievement. The committee called the leaders of various groups of the C&S to a meeting in September, 1965. Further meetings culminated in the formation of National Council of the C&S which drew closer various brands of the C&S but the Nigerian civil war affected its activities.¹⁰⁰

Much later in 1972, the spiritual leader of the CSMC Samuel O. Kalejaiye initiated a unification meeting which attracted a considerable number of representatives from different sections of the C&S.¹⁰¹ The committee made a great deal of proposals to foster unity and stem the tide of unwholesome practices of prophets and individual members in various sections of the C&S, but could not agree on a single body of the C&S, which would come under one spiritual leader. Importantly, the committee enjoined heads of various sections of the C&S to desist from self claim to the supreme leadership of the C&S, but this met with rejection from

⁹⁹ William Folarin Sosan was an Anglican member, a friend of the Aladura, and the private Secretary to Alake of Abeokuta, Oba Ladipo Samuel Ademola.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011.

¹⁰¹ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011. But Olukemi O. Kilanko (1996:83) states that fourteen different strands of the C&S attended the meeting.

Christiana Akinsowon who felt slighted and marginalised on ground of gender difference.¹⁰² The gradual development of the unification process motivated other independent groups of the C&S to join after the unification council had thoroughly screened them. Consequent upon further meetings, the unification council at its 26 May, 1986 conference in Ilorin elected Christiana Akinsowon (Emmanuel) as the supreme head of the C&S worldwide. Her ordination marked a watershed in the history of schism and unification of the C&S. It marked the beginning of yet another struggle towards the actualization of a single body of C&S, single spiritual leader, guided by a common organisational structure, constitution, liturgy, tenets, hymn book and evangelical goal.¹⁰³

All strands of the C&S that registered with the Cherubim and Seraphim Unification Church of Nigeria (CSUCN) as at 1986 were twenty one. As at August 2011, membership of the CSUCN rose to forty, but the C&S strands are much more than that.¹⁰⁴ The requirements for membership of the CSUCN as stipulated in its current constitution puts the CSUCN on guard against some “elements” that can water down the role and standard which it stands for.¹⁰⁵ In that regard, membership is not automatic. At national level, a new unit church has to have at least ten branch churches regardless of where they are located before it can be registered as a member. Where already registered unit church has less than ten branch churches, it shall be given a transitional period of five years to make up its deficiency, but where the unit church fails, the conference will have to take a decision.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, a new unit church that has less than ten branch churches or a “one-man church” is encouraged to register for its membership at the state chapter of the CSUCN where it is expected to redefine itself and grow in size and number in order to meet the constitutional requirements.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Section 3.5 of the constitution of the CSUCN categorises the membership of the church into two: group A consists of all unit churches with twenty or more branches; group B consists of all other unit churches with less than twenty branches, but this applies only to categorisation of registered members in order to encourage unit churches to grow more.¹⁰⁸

The CSUCN, using its constitutional instruments aims at uniting all independent units of the C&S under one umbrella body; harmonise doctrines and practices and forbid the use of sacrifice and fetish materials; and to promote the belief in the efficacy of prayers and

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

¹⁰⁶ The CSUCN Constitution, Section 3.2 and 3.4, 1999, p.2.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011.

fasting.¹⁰⁹ The CSUCN was aware of pejorative names which C&S has earned for itself due to its doctrines, practices and the excesses of some prophets. Hence section 5.6 of its constitution is designed to adequately take care of image problem arising from the prophetic ministry of the church, but the CSUCN is yet to be seen in action in this regard.¹¹⁰ The constitution empowers the National Council of Prophets to, in collaboration with the unit churches, discipline erring prophets and prophetesses, but this has not been visible except for disciplinary actions taken by each unit church on its own volition.¹¹¹ We can infer here that the CSUCN though registered by the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC) on the 9 September, 1999 as a church that unites all units of the C&S, it is in its toddling stage, powerless to implement most of its constitutional provisions. It has no physical structure; neither does it have a secretariat structure for itself where administrative functions are carried out. The CSMC, Surulere, Lagos provides a building of few offices where the C&SUCN uses as its secretariat.

2.4.2 TCLA

The breakaway of individuals and groups in TCLA began shortly after the church was officially inaugurated in 1930. According to an informant, the Primate founder Josiah Ositelu constituted a committee at each time secession crisis came up to reconcile the aggrieved individual or group with the church.¹¹² Shortly after the demise of the Primate founder, during the period of the second primate Adejobi, significant reconciliation and unification of the secessionists and their churches with the parent church (TCLA) was achieved: more than half of the number of the splinter groups was brought back to the church; and in some cases the secessionist founders were alive during the reunion, while the surviving children of late founders in conjunction with their respective elders-in-council agreed to go back to their mother church.¹¹³ In the last few years the church has not witnessed any schism in the church in Nigeria, but this does not imply that disagreements of all kinds do not exist along some fault lines in the church as a body.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ The CSUCN Constitution, Section 4, 1999, p.3.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Adeniyi Olatunji, 20 July, 2011, Lagos.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Interview with Bishop Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012. The informant could make any categorical statement that point to the fact that the founder successfully reconciled with a number of breakaway churches and individuals.

¹¹³ Interview with Bishop Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

2.4.3 CCC

Unlike in the C&S where personality conflict and allegations of moral weakness affected the relationship between the founder of the C&S Orimolade and Christiana Akinsowon, which resulted in schisms and necessitated reconciliation and unification initiatives, the death of CCC founder Oshoffa and the struggle for succession to the pastoral office split the CCC into factions and consequently necessitated reconciliation and unification committees. The leadership crisis in the CCC, which began shortly after the demise of its founder pastor Joseph Bilehou Oshoffa on 10th of September 1985 lingers and impacts diversely on the church. We might conjecture here that had there been a peaceful succession to the pastoral office which Oshoffa's death created, there might have been, or probably not, schisms arising from personality conflict, personal ambition, doctrinal disagreement, plural legitimacy especially among the prophets, financial accountability problem and other fault lines, which are unavoidable in prophetic churches.¹¹⁵

Put in the proper perspective, the lingering leadership crisis in the CCC is narrated from two main perspectives. In the first narrative, the strength of argument is in section 111(i) and Oshoffa's premonition of his (Oshoffa) death, which he demonstrated at some events that Josiah Owodunni¹¹⁶ claims sealed his appointment as the successor. According to the CCC constitution, section 111, clause i: "The successor to the office of Pastor can be from any rank in the hierarchy of the church and shall, at a time chosen by God to reveal this unto the erstwhile incumbent of the post of Pastor, be named and proclaimed the successor."¹¹⁷ Owodunni's line of argument is the assumed proclamation of a successor which he claimed pastor founder Oschoffa made on a number of occasions. "The founder of the CCC Pastor Oshoffa had a premonition of his death"; at some occasions which Josiah Owodunni has documented in a pamphlet¹¹⁸ especially where Pastor Oshoffa used a metaphor "*eniti aga e ga*" meaning "one whose chair is high" to describe his (Owodunni) position among the top six in the hierarchy of the CCC. It is understandable that Owodunni and probably some other members of the inner caucus would perceive that Oshoffa demonstrated that he selected Owodunni to succeed him.¹¹⁹

The second narrative seemingly watered down Owodunni's claim to the Pastoral stool: that the Pastor founder had no premonition of his death and that the instances which Owoduuni

¹¹⁵ Interview with T.O. Alao, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

¹¹⁶ One of the members of the pioneer Board of Trustees of the CCC; one of the first five in the CCC hierarchy.

¹¹⁷ CCC Constitution, 1980, p.37 cf Adogame, CCC. *The Politics of Cultural Identity*, 1999, p.60-70

¹¹⁸ J. K. Owodunni (2002: 10-12). *Facts about the Genesis of 'the Crisis' in the Church*. In six paragraphs, Owodunni claimed that the Pastor Founder Oshoffa, before his demise, selected him as Pastor of the CCC.

¹¹⁹ Interview with Josiah Kayode Owodunni, 14 August, 2011, Lagos.

cited to justify his selection as successor of the pastor founder of the CCC were some of the common things that the founder did to some persons in the hierarchy of the Church at some religious functions and this should not be taken as an allusion to selection of a successor; that the founder's death created a vacuum; that he (Oshoffa) could not fulfil his constitutional role as stipulated in section 111 (i); and that the leadership vacuum had to be filled in order to move the church forward.¹²⁰ When asked during an interview on Ogun State Television programme about who would succeed him, Oshoffa declared that the Holy Ghost would identify the person and such a fellow would be made known to him (Oshoffa), then he would personally announce to the whole world, but he died without naming his successor. By this statement, the next person in rank might not be the next person to succeed him.¹²¹ Considering the opposing narratives, we might infer here that it is unlikely that the argument over selection of Owodunni as successor was the primary factor behind the leadership conflict. Like Owodunni, Abiodun Bada claimed that the late founder selected him to be his successor. After Bada's death, one Benjamin Dusu Hunkanrin claimed that the late founder Oshoffa through revelation instructed him to work towards reconciliation in the church leadership; he filed a legal suit against Bada on the ground that Bada's pastoral leadership was against CCC constitution; and that the court should restrain Owodunni from parading himself as the spiritual leader of CCC because he dismembered himself from CCC following his secession in 1985. There was pre-existing tension within the hierarchy of the church and that the leadership tussle is merely a flashpoint that awoken the latent hostility.

Before the death of Oshoffa, the CCC already had some pockets of crisis. First, Oshoffa started his church in Porto Novo in 1947, made it a diocese before establishing the Nigerian diocese in 1951, but was occasionally visiting Nigeria until he left Benin diocese and permanently settled in Nigeria in 1976, promising the Benin diocese of coming back to Porto Novo, which he never did up to the time of his demise.¹²² Secondly, Owodunni had, at one time, drawn the attention of pastor Oshoffa to the omission of his (Oshoffa) name in the church's certificate of incorporation; pastor founder Oshoffa's name was not in the list of the board of trustees of the church. The pastor founder then instructed that the certificate be amended to include his (Oshoffa) name, Owodunni and other three names; "the founder's name should not be missing in the certificate of incorporation of what he founded"¹²³ Thirdly,

¹²⁰ Interview with Emmanuel Adegoke, 18 August, 2011, Lagos.

¹²¹ Interview with Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 March, 2012, Lagos.

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Interview with Josiah Kayode Owodunni, 14 August, 2011, Lagos. Cf The Angel Voice, a monthly newsletter of the CCC, North London Parish, Issue Nos 27 & 28, Vol. 4, March/April 1990, p.8-12.

Owodunni and S. Banjo¹²⁴ had in 1974 left the CCC headquarters to form their own Parish Ijeshatedo 1, with Owodunni as President while Banjo was the vice president; the duo had advocated for a welfare package for shepherds and other church workers, which founder Oshoffa was not favourably disposed to. In spite of the fact that Owodunni and Banjo formed their own church, the duo kept their membership of the board of Trustees and were not dismembered from the CCC.¹²⁵ Fourthly, conflict arose when the Diocese of Benin requested for Oshoffa's body for burial in Porto Novo where the CCC originated and where it also claimed as the home of the founder, but which Nigerian Diocese turned down on claim that Oshoffa had declared he be buried where ever he died and incidentally, he passed on to glory in Nigeria.¹²⁶ Fifthly, after Oshoffa's death has been confirmed, there was need for a successor. The Amun narrative¹²⁷ emerged and by this, Supreme Evangelist Alexander Abiodun Bada¹²⁸ was chosen as the new CCC pastor. The Benin diocese rejected the modality and its outcome and declared the three dioceses¹²⁹ must collectively appoint and anoint a successor. The Benin diocese however concluded that Bada should retain his former title-Supreme Evangelist and be recognised and addressed as the leader, not pastor because the CCC recognises one pastor who is regarded as the head of the CCC worldwide.

Consequently, the Benin diocese changed the title of the most senior in the diocese from Superior Evangelist B. D. Agbaossi to Pastor. Josiah Owodunni in June 2000 challenged the pastorship of Bada at the Supreme Court in Nigeria and got it nullified on ground that the CCC constitution did not support his (Bada) appointment or any other person that might be selected outside CCC constitutional provision; the constitution was for Nigerian diocese and could not be applied to other dioceses.¹³⁰ Owodunni in his parish adopted pastoral title following a court ruling which rendered his claim to the CCC pastoral office circumstantial. Bada as the head of the CCC lasted from 1985 to 2000. Ajose, head of the overseas diocese succeeded Bada in 2000 but spent only six days and died. The founder's son Emmanuel Mobiyina Oshoffa in Ketu, Lagos succeeded Ajose instead of J.O. Jesse. Jesse became the head of the Nigerian diocese in a faction in Tejuosho, Lagos. The CCC became more factionalised with the head of each parading himself as a pastor. The factions are Agbaossi in

¹²⁴ A member of the pioneer Board of Trustees of the CCC and one of the first five in the CCC hierarchy.

¹²⁵ Interview with Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 March, 2012, Lagos. Cf Olalekan Bilesanmi (2003). "Unending Succession Crisis in Celestial Church". *Vanguard*, February 16.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ A non-member of the CCC, Amun claimed he saw the late Oshoffa in a Rubber plantation and he (Oshoffa) gave him some objects, which on identification would show the person that would succeed him (Oshoffa).

¹²⁸ One of the members of the pioneer Board of Trustees of the CCC and one of the first five in the CCC hierarchy. He was also the then head of the Nigerian diocese.

¹²⁹ Benin, Nigeria, and Overseas dioceses.

¹³⁰ Telephone interview with Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 March, 2012, Lagos.

Benin, Emmanuel Oshoffa in Ketu, Josiah Owodunni in Ijeshatedo, G. Bolanle Shonekan in USA, Paul Surulere Maforikan in Tejuosho, E. O. Oladokun, and S. E. Orovboni in Mushin.¹³¹

The split into factions of the CCC attracted the concerns of some individual members who at different times formed groups to reconcile and unite various factions: the Global Unification Group (GUG), the Universal Unification Group (UUG), the Northern Elders Forum (NEF), and the Celestial Church of Christ Unification and Renaissance Mission (CCCURM).¹³² The groups separately worked for the unity of the CCC. Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo formed the CCCURM in 2004 after other groups seemed to have diminished in activities. Asebiomo claimed he had regular interaction with stakeholders in various factions of the CCC and enlightened them about his mission of reconciliation and unification. Asebiomo claimed he maintained personal and mutual contact with many elders across all the factions over a period of nine years and this, in collaboration with other unification groups, made it possible to bring together seven highly esteemed elders and inaugurated the Seven Reverend Fathers-In-Christ (SRFC) committee on 20th May, 2010 at CCC National Headquarters, Makoko. The members of the committee were M. A. Are, S. O. Banjo, P. S. Maforikan, S. E. Orovboni, T. E. Oshin, E. F. Oshoffa, and E. N. Zannu. The committee of seven elders was expected to:

[L]ead the Nigerian church with maturity both morally and spiritually towards a total coming together of the CCC in Nigeria as a diocese, Benin diocese and CCC in the Diaspora before a single head as Pastor can be spiritually anointed by God as predicted to the late Pastor founder.¹³³

With the support of the seven elders, CCCURG claimed it constituted the Gospel Diary/Bible Lesson Committee; the thirty-three members National Modalities Committee; the Implementation Committee; and the Council of Elders.¹³⁴ The CCCURM later aligned with other groups to work together under a single name: the Celestial Church of Christ Unification and Reform Group (CCCURG), but the merger could not work because they differed in their mode of operation: the CCCURM explores dialogue as the best option for resolving the lingering leadership crisis considering the fact that there are over eight cases in the law courts in Nigeria on purported constitution amendment by a faction, validity or invalidity of pastorship in the Nigerian diocese, series of court actions, judgments, appeals, claims and

¹³¹ Interview with Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 March, 2012, Lagos.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Pepe E. Asebiomo, "Opening Address" of the CCC Re-Unification/Reconciliation Efforts: Most Senior Elders, the 'Michairs' and 'Nehemiahs' Forum, holding at National H/Quarters, Makoko, Lagos, 17th June 2010.

¹³⁴ Interview with Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 March, 2012, Lagos.

counter claims that make the crisis yet to be resolved. The GUG and others prefer legal-based approach to resolving the problem in the church. The CCCURM, other three unification initiative groups, and all the factions in the CCC are collectively working towards the peace and unification project, of course, with the support of the SRFC.

The CCCURG claimed it has achieved the following landmarks:

- (i) The establishment of the Supervisory Council of Elders for the Nigerian Diocese.
- (ii) The Bible Lesson/Gospel Diary Committee produced the bible lessons for the CCC worldwide which came into use from January 2011 and work has commenced on the synchronisation of the adulterated CCC Gospel Diary and the 2012 Bible Lesson Edition.
- (iii) The thirty-three-member modality committee (National Unification Committee) was split into four sub-committees namely Administration, Liturgy, Finance, and Constitution review, and have variously looked into the strengths and weaknesses of the current administrative, financial, liturgical and constitutional aspects of the CCC worldwide and came up with a comprehensive reports in which recommendations were made as to how a united single entity of the CCC could be achieved. These reports were compiled into three volumes: proposed Amended Constitution, Administrative Guidelines, and Financial Guidelines. The credibility of these sub-committees lies in their being selected from all the factions, and in the rich academic and professional credential of each member.
- (iv) The implementation committee will comprise each sub-committee chairman and six nominated women member to be headed by possibly a legal luminary especially in the aspect of the constitution which is the platform on which other functions of the CCC derive their legality.¹³⁵
- (v) Owing to several litigations in the Law courts involving the CCC and their negative effects on the image of the church, it is expedient to persuade factions to withdraw their cases from court and to allow dialogue to take pre-eminence. In 2011, CCCURG contacted some eminent lawyers and judges in order to explore the possibility of arbitration procedure in resolving the crisis in the CCC. Each claimant to pastorship was to be represented by ten persons. The actors in this new initiative were scheduled to meet on the 28th of December 2011 at Imeko, Ogun State to critically examine areas of conflict and possible reconciliation. Adequate security was arranged to provide protection against unforeseen negative circumstances. Incidentally, the group could not meet due to the nation-wide industrial strike

¹³⁵ Asebiomo, P. E., Arikawe, A., and Oshodi, S. O. Press Release on the State of CCC in Nigeria Diocese and the Diaspora, 27th September, 2011, p.1-5.

against the Nigerian government removal of fuel subsidy. The next meeting of the arbitration group was scheduled for April 2012. It is hoped that when the Nigerian CCC crisis is resolved, CCCURG hopes to create a world body that will work out modalities for harmonisation, reconciliation and unification that will naturally usher in a substantive Pastor of the CCC worldwide.¹³⁶ But up to the final stage of this study, no major reconciliatory meeting has held and the unity of the CCC is yet to be achieved.

2.5 Summary

The chapter describes the social context and the diversified religious market in which the C&S, TCLA, and CCC operate. Nigeria is a pluralistic country with diversified religious landscape that is largely unregulated. The relatively free religious market economy is anchored on the constitutional provision for religious freedom. This has encouraged unending cycle of formation of different religious organizations and also promotes market competition among them. The traditional religions of various ethnic nationalities formed the foundation of Nigeria's religious market. Later entrants, namely Islam and Christianity and lots of their (Islam and Christianity) autonomous groups have redefined the religious landscape to be vibrant, competitive, rapidly changing, and to some extent violent. The oriental religions, the Rosicrucian, Eckankar, and religious groups that integrate different religious traditions have furthered the diversity of the religious market. The religious market condition manifests both latent and violent competition. There are inter-religious violent attacks that mostly play out between Muslim and Christian worshippers. Nigeria has a history of religious intolerance that often leads to loss of lives and property. This has defined the religious geography in Nigeria in a way that the northern part is religiously volatile with a considerable absence of religious freedom and proselytization across religious boundaries, while the south of the country is an epitome of religious freedom and tolerance. Within the diversity of the religious landscape, various religious groups employ strategies that can bring about increase in membership, branches and the sustenance of relevance within the context of aggressive proselytization through mediatization and social services. The C&S, TCLA, and CCC in the course of their development have experienced some schisms. The C&S and TCLA in their formative years experienced some breakaway of individuals and groups. There are five major and countless number of autonomous C&S churches worldwide. Most of the splinter groups in TCLA were reintegrated into the main body of the church after series of reconciliation meetings and agreements. The factionalization of the CCC is the result of the death of the Pastor founder and the succession tussle that followed his demise. Lewis and Lewis (2009:2-3) attribute

¹³⁶ Interview with Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 March, 2012, Lagos.

certain causal factors for schisms in religions, such as imbalance of resources among the heterogeneous members, personal ambition or personality conflicts, disagreement over doctrine or behavioural norm, death of the charismatic founder, and availability of options of legitimacy. Finke and Scheitle (2009:11-27) attribute social class dynamics and the religious market conditions as theoretical explanations for understanding schism and cohesion of religious organizations. The history of breakaway and factionalization in C&S, TCLA, and CCC contains some of the fault lines enumerated above as possible factors that can deter or promote schism in religious organizations. The crisis of schism and factionalization in the churches particularly C&S and CCC has necessitated the formation of bodies that are saddled with the task of reconciling the aggrieved individuals and groups for united bodies of Christ.

Chapter Three

Organizational Structure

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the organizational structures of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC are examined. The chapter describes how the three major strands of Aladura churches restructure and improve on their organizational structures for administrative efficiency and productivity. Due to the peculiarity of the C&S, the chapter describes the organizational structure of CSMC as a model for other major and minor strands of the C&S. Each of the strands has a history of autonomy, yet they have considerable similarities in organizational set-up, beliefs and practices. The chapter describes various arms of each structure and how they function against the backdrop of new challenges that the churches have to address. All the data in this chapter are sourced from observations, oral interviews, church Constitution, church publications, and some previous literature, notable among them are Omoyajowo 1982, Adogame 1998 and Ositelu 2009.

3.1 The Organizational Structure

3.1.1 C&S

The development of the organizational structure of C&S dates back to 1925 when the church emerged as a single religious organization that preoccupied itself with evangelism and spiritual healing activities but had less attention for organizational matters. According to Omoyajowo (1982:186), members held that “church constitution and administration are of secondary importance in matters of spiritual”. Moreover, giving spiritual matters a top priority is common to spiritual organizations. Creating an organizational structure helps to see at a glance how the organization functions: how tasks are allocated in units for effective management of communication and skills, which to a great extent, help in limiting role conflict for the progress of the organization. The less attention given to organizational structure and management of human relations and human resources seemingly influenced the conflict between founder Moses Orimolade and Christiana Abiodun Akinsowon, which later culminated in unending cycle of splinter groups in the C&S. In its formative years, the C&S at Odi Olowo, Lagos represented the nerve center where the Advisory Board whose function was “purely and entirely administrative” was located, while other sections were expected to recognize the authority of the administrative center (Omoyajowo 1982:186). This was not possible due to the absence of a structure upon which human relations, resources and role conflict would have been adequately controlled and managed. Currently, the C&S does not

have a centralized organizational structure neither does it have a centralized administration. The C&S has few major and countless number of minor strands owing to the schism of 1929¹³⁷ which later culminated in an unending cycle of schisms and new formations. Efforts geared towards having a central administration metamorphosed into C&S Unification, which currently comprises about eighty registered C&S churches as members.¹³⁸ The unification project is driven by the fact that the fragmented C&S could be united into a single entity and that “alliances among related religious organizations are more proactive” than those with distinct beliefs (Kent Miller 2002:449). Regarded as a cosmetic central administration due to the autonomous history of each member church, the CSU is yet to achieve its goal of evolving a central organizational structure that coordinates and manages the affairs of all strands of C&S.

The structures of the strands of C&S are at variance. Some have four-tier structure, others have three. Yet, some have two-tier structure while some others have one. Notably, the tiers of their structures explain their level of growth and expansion in terms of membership, branches and geographical spread. The ESOCS currently has four-tier structure: international headquarters, provincial, zonal/district headquarters, and branch churches. The oldest of the schismatic C&S, the CSS that Abiodun Akinshowon headed, and those of PBCS, SCSC, and CSMC in order of their emergence have four-tier structure respectively.

At the international headquarters of each of the strands of the C&S is the office of the *Baba Aladura*, which literally means father of the prayerful. Yet, the churches have different titles for their respective spiritual leaders. It is the central administration where both spiritual and secular affairs of the church are being attended. The current spiritual head of CSMC, on assumption of office in 2005 adopted “Most Reverend”, just as the spiritual leader of the ESOCS is addressed as “His Eminence”. The spiritual leader of the SCSC is addressed as “The General Superintendent, Most Elder”. In the case of a female spiritual leader, the spiritual mother is addressed as “*Yeye Aladura*” meaning mother of the prayerful. The late Christiana Abiodun Emmanuel (Akinsowon) acquired the title when she broke away from the C&S and founded CSS in 1929. Later in 1986 she became the *olori* (head) of the CSU and also retained her spiritual headship of her church. The executive council of the Cherubim and Seraphim Unification (CSU), after having duly considered her (Christiana Abiodun Emmanuel) significant role in the formative years of the C&S and for the fact that she was the

¹³⁷ The allegation and counter allegation that ensued between Moses Orimolade and Christiana Abiodun Akinsowon finally split the C&S into two namely the ESOCS and CSS.

¹³⁸ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011.

surviving most revered member next to Moses Orimolade before the schism, appointed her to the exotic position of *Olori* of all strands of C&S worldwide. Aside these criteria, the appointment was to end the personality crisis that came up between her and founder Orimolade, which their supporters fuelled and which eventually led to their split. She held this position until her demise in 1994. Since then, the headship of the CSU has been rotated among the spiritual leaders of the five major strands of the C&S, namely ESOCS, CSS, PBCS, SCSC, and CSMC. The *Baba Aladura* is the overall head and occupies the highest office designated as “office of the *Baba Aladura*” from where he commands both spiritual and administrative authority.

In CSMC, the office of the *Baba Aladura* operates with various boards, councils, ministries and departments for efficiency and productivity. The departments operate under the supervision of the spiritual leader in matters of welfare, transportation, education, communication, legal matters, evangelism, general maintenance and investment. For more efficiency and result-oriented activities, boards were established to offer bright ideas that are progress driven while councils were inaugurated to implement and co-ordinate various policies and programmes. Prior to 2005 when a new *Baba Aladura* came on board, CSMC had a board of property and investments. The General Conference of the CSMC at the annual general meeting, which held in Ibadan in 2005, appointed Samuel Adefila Abidoye as the spiritual leader and installed him in May 2006 at the annual Mount Horeb in Kaduna. Driven by the desire to strengthen the administrative base of the church and make it more dynamic, Abidoye initiated and inaugurated seventeen new boards, namely education, ordination, evangelical, women, children, prophets, pastors, church planting, church publication, budget and planning, investigation, youth, media and publicity, legal, finance, and welfare as part of his Hephzibah Project.¹³⁹ In addition, councils were inaugurated to improve the administrative strategies of the church. On a religious landscape that is largely unregulated, competitions are high and every religious organization strives for innovation, but “how an organization responds to these pressures over time defines the nature and viability of its strategy” (Miller 2002:440). The competitive religious market in Nigeria sensitized Abidoye to expand the structure of the church.

Below the office of the C&S *Baba Aladura* at the international headquarters are the zones. The previous spiritual father Christopher Adewunmi Shofarasin created zones in order to address the administrative challenges arising from increasing number of church districts and

¹³⁹ This is an administrative pet project of spiritual father S.A. Abidoye which has a seven-point agenda: evangelism, media technology, education, charity, finance and infrastructure, women, and youth.

branches. Specifically, districts were grouped into zones for administrative convenience and increased chances of representation at decision making levels. A zone comprises about six districts. At this level, zonal meetings are held and chaired by the host district chairman. At zonal meetings, each district is ably represented by the district chairman and other representatives that are nominated from church branches within the district. Decisions arising from such meetings are submitted to the General Secretary of the zone for onward presentation at the general conference for further deliberation and possible approval. The district leader that hosts a zonal meeting automatically heads the zone and chairs that meeting. His leadership role of the zone ceases at the end of the meeting. Another church district leader conveys and hosts the next zonal meeting. By this arrangement, the headquarters of each zone is not permanent. The host district headquarters automatically becomes the zonal headquarters but ceases to be as soon as the next zonal meeting and the host district headquarters are agreed upon.¹⁴⁰

The district headquarters formed the next administrative level where administration is more elaborate. A district comprises at least fifteen branch churches, each having a minimum of one hundred adult members. A district is headed by a substantive chairman at the district headquarters. Usually, the most senior ranked male member in the district is appointed as chairman. Basically, each church branch within the district should be at least two kilometers away from another, but this condition is not strictly enforced. A district may extend beyond a state boundary and there may be more than one district in a political boundary. The CSMC comprises eight districts in Lagos State. Each district has its executives who meet and deliberate on general matters of the district. Decisions taken at this level are implemented while others that deserve further attention are tabled at the general conference for further deliberation and possible approval.¹⁴¹

The local church administration is the lowest level. It is headed by a leader who is the most senior in rank. There are spiritual and administrative officers who help in the day-to-day spiritual and secular affairs of the church. The leader heads the Elders-in-Council, which deliberates on church plans and programmes. Problems and suggestions that emanate and which the Elders-in-Council is unable to address are tabled at the district conference for further deliberations. These may be recommended for further deliberation at zonal meetings or general conference.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

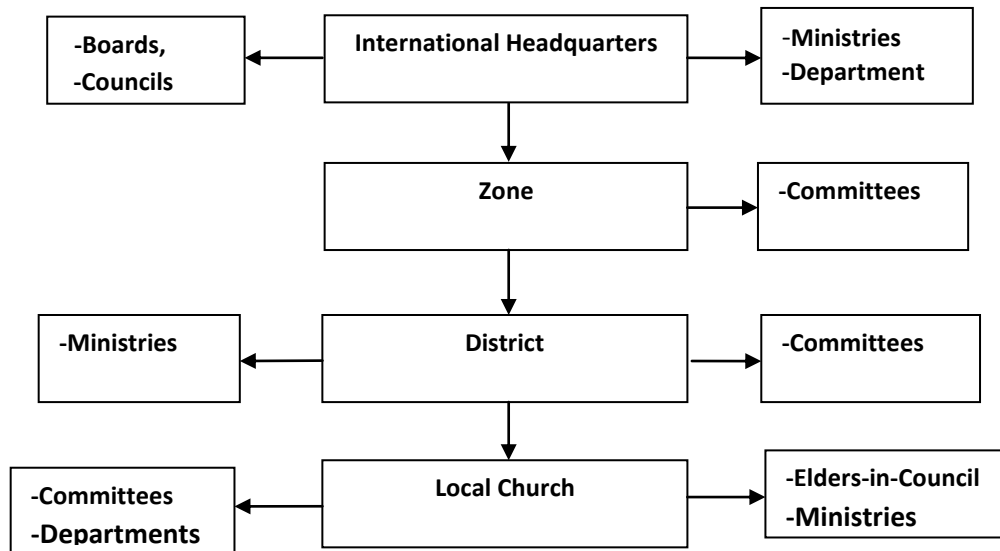


Figure 5. CSMC Organizational Structure

3.1.2 TCLA

The highest leader of TCLA is the Primate¹⁴², also addressed as “His Eminence, The Most Reverend Apostle” (TCLA Constitution 2011:16). His office is referred to as “the office of the Primate” located in the international headquarters. As administrative nerve center of TCLA, the international headquarters oversees both secular and spiritual affairs of TCLA churches worldwide; it plans, programmes and also facilitates the implementation of policy statements and programmes that are expected to impact positively on members, non-members and the society in general. The office of the primate operates and initiates new projects. Up to 1998, the office of the primate had a five-man staff that worked in finance, secretariat, and lands departments. Currently, the office of the primate employs the services of thirty staff working in over thirteen departments namely, general secretariat, finance, legal and lands, evangelical, computer and communication, retirement, pension and welfare, transportation, stores, maintenance and general duties, general office, Mount Tabieorar, education (primary, secondary and tertiary), and investments (cottage-Hospital, Bookshop, Printing Press and Block-industry).¹⁴³

In order to further enhance administrative convenience and efficiency in the headquarters, the office of the primate in 2005 established new desks, each with a coordinator that works closely with the primate’s office, namely Youth, Women, Children, Evangelical, Bible study, communication, music and drama. Furthermore, it established new ministries that oversee

¹⁴² The Primate is the designate of the constitutional and spiritual head of TCLA Worldwide (See TCLA: Revised Constitution, Ogere, Sagamu: TCLAW, 2011, p. 20).

¹⁴³ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

teaching, social and vocational, children, music, drama, youth and evangelical affairs of the church. It (the office of the primate) established new councils and associations, namely the elders' governing council, Reverends and canons councils, pastors and evangelists' councils, deacons and exemplary elders' council, deaconesses and exemplary elders' councils, army of Jesus council, ladies praying union council, and mothers' union and mother-in-Israel councils. The newly created associations involve the retired ministers, ministers' children, and female ministers. Through the newly created associations, women are further integrated into the main scheme of things in the church (Ositelu 2009:131-136).

The church's drive to reposition itself in the ever changing religious landscape in Nigeria is seen in its administrative strategies. In this regard, the office of the primate established internal consultative structures, which take major decisions that are supportive to the progress of TCLAW. The international general assembly, international executive council, primate-in-council, Board of trustees, ministerial consultative council, provincial executive council, stakeholders' forum, diocese executive council, zonal executive council, and parochial committee of each local church make up the internal consultative structures that help strengthen the workings of the administration at national and international levels. There are four administrative levels that are subsumed under the office of the Primate, namely provinces, dioceses, zones and the local churches.

Below the primate at the international headquarters (Arch Province) are sub-international headquarters (Provinces). Both the international and sub-international headquarters pioneer daughter churches, nurture and provide them with support. A province comprises a number of dioceses, but the smallest number of dioceses that make up a province is five¹⁴⁴. TCLAW currently has sub-international headquarters (Provinces) of Ogere, Gbinrinmi, Anthony-Village, Elegbata and Liberty in Nigeria. Other provinces are Togo, Ghana, Liberia, Sierra-Leone, and Europe/U.S.A./Oceanic. All Dioceses in a Province constitute an ecclesiastical province. In Nigeria alone, there are five ecclesiastical provinces that are subsumed under the Nigerian Province, namely Ecclesiastical Provinces of Lagos, South West-South, South West-North, East, and North. Not less than four Dioceses make an ecclesiastical province. The spiritual and administrative head of a province is the Bishop who is the "eye" of the primate at the provincial level.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ TCLAW Constitution, Revised edition, 2011, p.42.

¹⁴⁵ TCLAW Constitution, Revised edition, 2011, p.42.

A diocese comprises two or more zones that may be approved by the provincial conference. The creation of dioceses is for the purpose of advancing efficient church administration and to bring all activities of local churches under close watch in unit formations. The diocesan Overseer is the Chairman and head of the diocesan Church Council. A number of churches are grouped into zones. Not less than two zones usually make a diocese.

The next administrative unit of TCLA is the zones. Not less than six local churches make a zone. The creation of zonal church administration is to take church administration to the grass-root level and to engender spiritual and administrative coordination beginning with a handful of churches for efficiency and productivity.¹⁴⁶ The lowest administrative level is the local churches. A local church is the congregation of the body of Christ as may be approved by the General Assembly¹⁴⁷ of TCLA having met the requirements as stipulated in the constitution of TCLA. The local church is headed by a minister who oversees it and is answerable to the higher administrative units of TCLA.

In order to foster more administrative efficiency, the church established central executive council¹⁴⁸ which executes all decisions of the international general assembly of TCLAW (IGATCLAW). It also established Provincial executive Council which executes all or some of the decisions reached at the provincial executives conference that deliberates on all general matters that affect all the churches within the province (TCLAW Constitution 2011:38-41). Other councils include the supreme council of prelates, which elects the primate, gives spiritual guidance on matters that the IGATCLAW may refer to it, wades into matters of ecclesiastical discipline, and reviews church liturgies; primate-in-council which is a working committee that assists the primate in the area of general administration, appointment of priests and other duties as entrenched in article XVIII, section 2 of the TCLAW constitution; and diocesan executive council, which is formed by a group of local churches for the purpose of enhancing church work in the diocese.

The current dispensation enumerated above deviate from the findings of previous literature where, close to the end of the 1960s, TCLA had three-tier structure, namely the general conference, which stood as the highest court where the primate and his ministers deliberate on spiritual and administrative affairs of the church; the district councils that mediated between

¹⁴⁶ Interview conducted with Venerable Gbogboade, Principal, Aladura Theological Seminary, Ogere, 24/05/2012.

¹⁴⁷ It is a legislative body of TCLA that Comprises all provinces of TCLA and whose enactment is binding on TCLAW.

¹⁴⁸ It is a council that, through its secretary, implements policies and decisions approved by the International General Assembly of TCLAW. See details in TCLAW Constitution 2011:44-45.

the local congregations and the general conference; and the local congregations where the minister of a local congregation is a representative of the primate having both spiritual and administrative powers in the local church (Turner 1967:20-28).

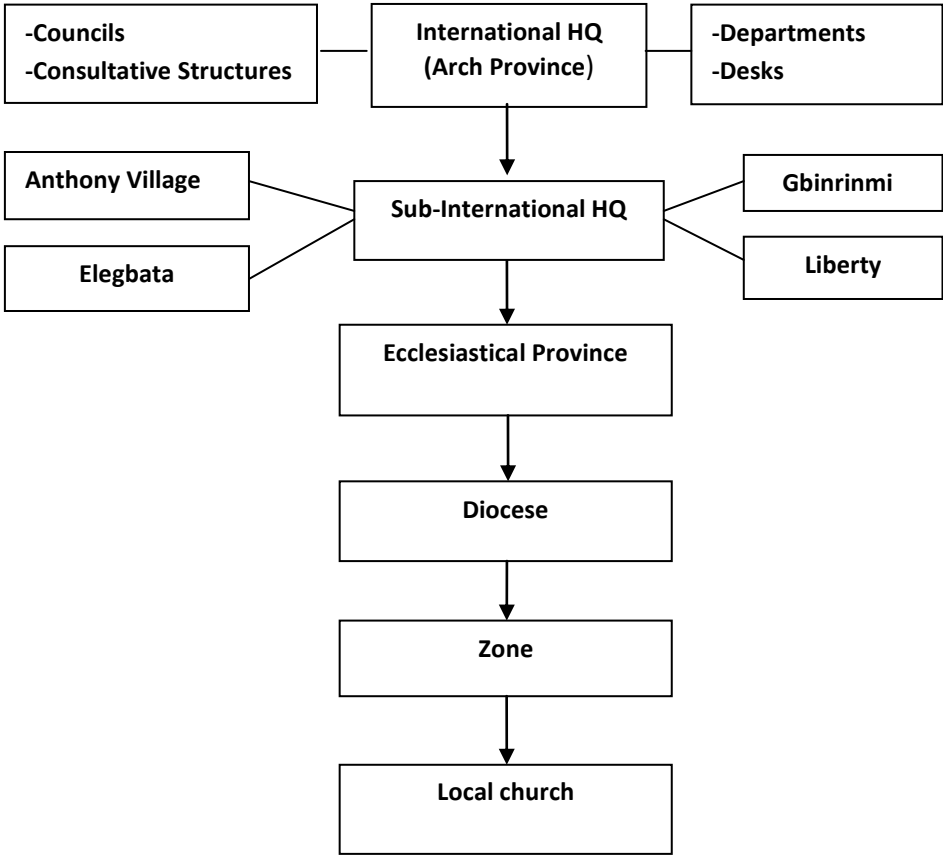


Figure 6. TCLA Organizational Structure

3.1.3 CCC

Pastor Emmanuel Mobiyina Oschoffa is the most visible spiritual leader of the CCC among other factional CCC leaders. He is the overall head, and oversees both spiritual and secular affairs of the church worldwide whose office is located in the international Headquarters, Ketu. The secretariat is located in a residence-like structure that comprises few room-offices. The proposed international secretariat is located along Lagos-Ibadan expressway; an office complex that currently houses the CCC Seminary and Leadership Training Institute, and the CCC Academy of Music and Music Technology. The Pastor-in-council, board of trustee, and world committee are critical to the effective function of the office of the Pastor. For efficient organizational network, there are departments in the secretariat that function in the areas of media and communication, welfare, transport, education, evangelism, property and investment and finance.

Although the world headquarters of the CCC is located in the prime view of Imeko Township road, Imeko in Yewa Local Government area of Egbado North, Ogun State, the pastor's residence and office are located in the international headquarters, Ketu where the pastor founder Samuel Bilehou Oschoffa and other previous pastors resided and carried out their administrative functions. The national Headquarters of the Nigerian Diocese is located in Makoko, Lagos while Arch Diocese headquarters is located in CCC Ijaiye Parish, Abeokuta, Ogun State. In the present structure of the CCC, the former Supreme Headquarters at Porto Novo is currently the Diocesan Headquarters of the CCC, Benin Republic. The Supreme Headquarters was the seat of the Supreme Evangelist who was second most senior ranked member in the CCC hierarchy during the days of the pastor founder Samuel Oshoffa. This new development is to forestall succession crisis, paving way for strict implementation of the constitutional provision on the matter of succession to the office of the Pastor (CCC Constitution 1980, Section 111, page 37).

In 1985 the founder was laid to rest at the world headquarters. There were claims that the late founder instructed that he be laid to rest in Imeko if he breathed his last in Nigeria. The Celestial city is the "Jerusalem city" of the CCC worldwide where members, regardless of factional affiliation, visit for the CCC annual world programmes. The Celestial city is a project, which is still under construction. It is a dream project, which on completion in the near future will assume its full functions.¹⁴⁹

Below the international headquarters in Ketu, Lagos State was the supreme headquarters in Porto Novo.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Emmanuel Adegoke, 06 April, 2013.

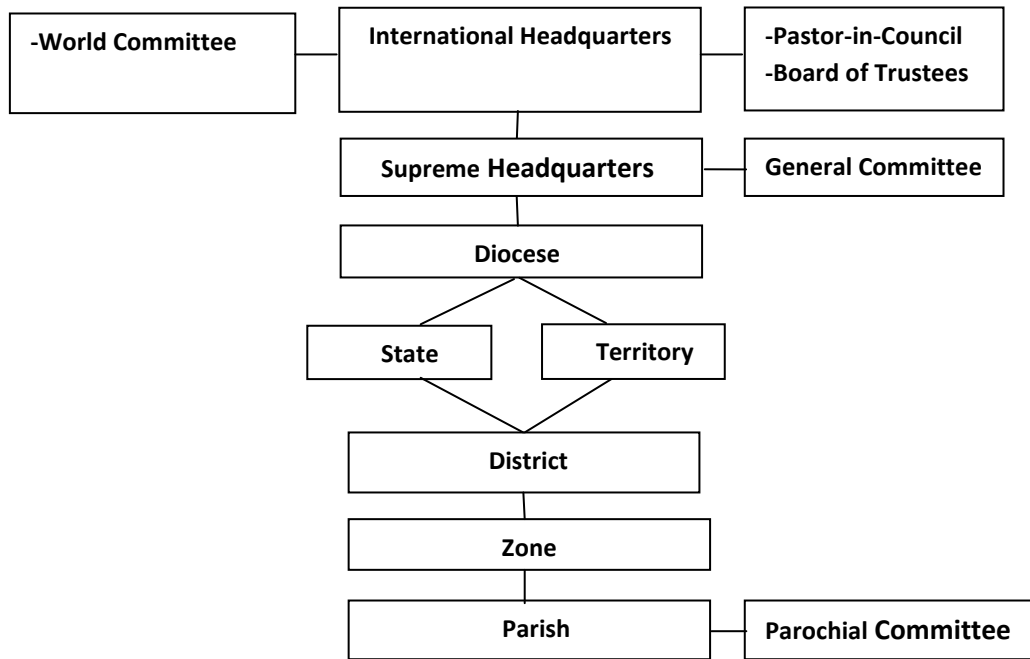


Figure 7. CCC Organizational Structure adapted from Adogame (1998:102)

Below the supreme headquarters were the dioceses, which were state and territorial in nature. A diocese comprises a number of parishes. Next level of the structure in descending order was the district, which comprised a number of zones. Below the district was zone, which comprised a number of partners. The parish was and still the lowest level of the CCC structure. The constitution of the CCC stipulates a four tier organizational structure of the church: the international headquarters, dioceses, districts, and parishes (CCC Constitution 1980:36).

Currently, CCC organizational set-up has been restructured into eight-tier to accommodate the world headquarters at Imeko, national headquarters at Makoko, and circuit, which is a major subset of a diocese. The change is to address the emerging administrative challenges due to increase in the number of parishes, which in turn influenced the size of districts, circuits and provinces. Currently, the CCC has twenty-one dioceses of which thirteen are in Africa, five in Europe, one in Canada, France, and United States of America respectively.

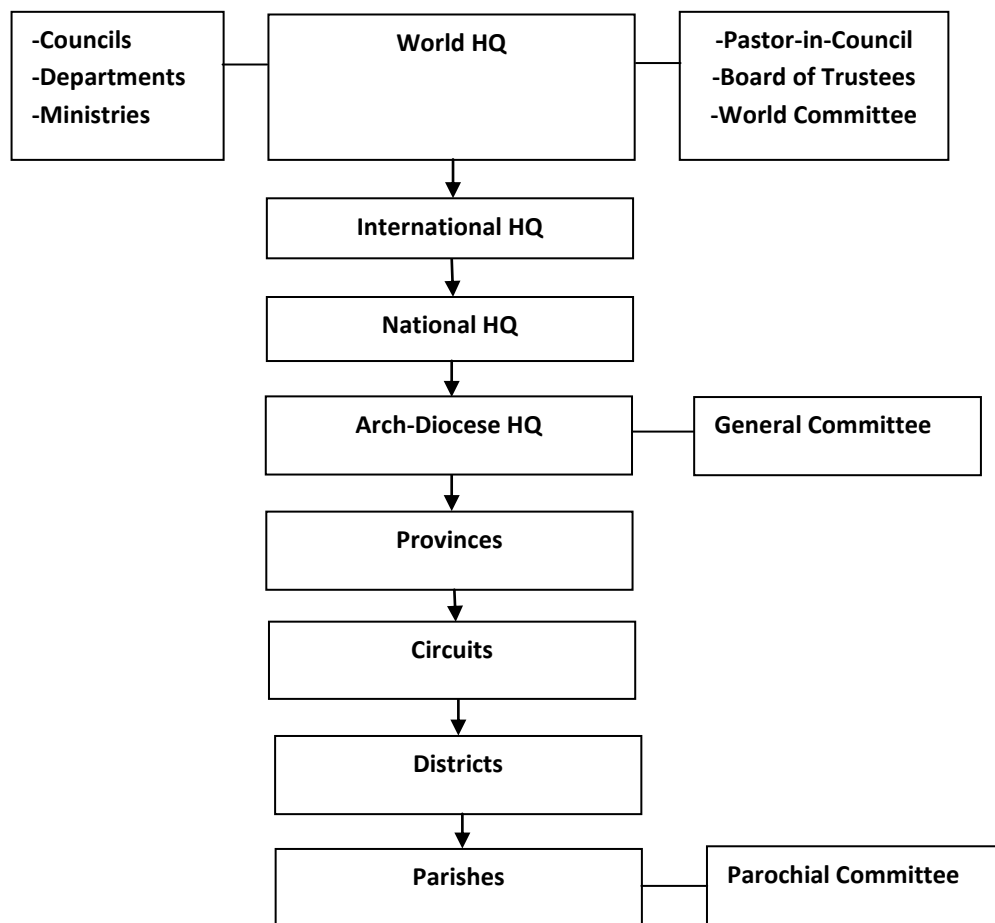


Figure 8. Current CCC Organizational Structure as at 2013¹⁵⁰

The Nigerian diocese comprises seventy-seven provinces, a considerable number of circuits, districts and parishes. In all, the parishes of CCC worldwide have grown to about six thousand and forty.¹⁵¹

3.2 The Hierarchy of Authority

The hierarchy of authority in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC emanates from the spiritual leader down the ranks and offices to the ordinary members who are yet to be inducted into the faith traditions of the church. Within the hierarchy, there is provision for checks and balances of power. The C&S general conference, TCLA general assembly, and CCC general committee serve as checks against unilateral decisions of the respective spiritual leaders. In each local church, elders-in-council or parochial committee as they are differently called in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC serves as check to the authority of the local church leader.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with Emmanuel Adegoke, 06 April, 2013.

¹⁵¹ 2012 CCC Lesson and Parishes. Lagos: Office of the Pastor, CCC Worldwide, 2012. p. 27-103.

3.2.1 C&S

The organizational structure of C&S is designed to create orderliness that is required for harnessing the collective contributions of members who differ in age, ability, and functions. According to Max Weber, certain factors necessitate the establishment of hierarchy; that the increase in the size of an organization, the complexity that is associated with its change in size, internal and external conflicts, class struggle, and the dire need for the management of human and material resources require that each actor in the organization identifies to whom he/she is accountable. Weber refers to this as bureaucracy. He emphasizes that bureaucracy requires formal hierarchy in which everyone is assigned functions and rules of operations up and down the hierarchical structure for the realization of organizational goal (Weber 1947).

A common feature in the hierarchy of authority across various strands of the C&S is the General Conference (GC) which is the supreme organ of the church. It is the highest organ of authority. At the General conference, collective decisions are taken on spiritual and secular matters. Such decisions are held superior to any other individual and sub-collective decisions, and are binding on the spiritual leader down the ladder of authority in the church.

Below the GC is the spiritual leader who wields a considerable degree of authority but is being checked by the General Conference. Although he assents to collective decisions made at the General Conference, the General Conference approves what he holds and appropriates as substance of authority. The nomenclatures of various lower strata of authority vary among strands of the C&S. In the ESOCS, the strata of authority below the spiritual leader, in descending order, are board of trustees, secretary, central management council, provincial chairmen, zonal/district chairmen, and branch elders-in-charge¹⁵². In the CSMC, below the GC is the spiritual father. Below the spiritual father is the spiritual father-in-council, followed by the General Secretary, district chairman, and the branch leader who holds the highest rank in the local church. The hierarchy of authority descends further to the choir leader, band leader, sideman (*ashona*), registered members, and probationary members or visitors.

¹⁵² Interview with Micheal Oyeneye, 02 June, 2012, Lagos.

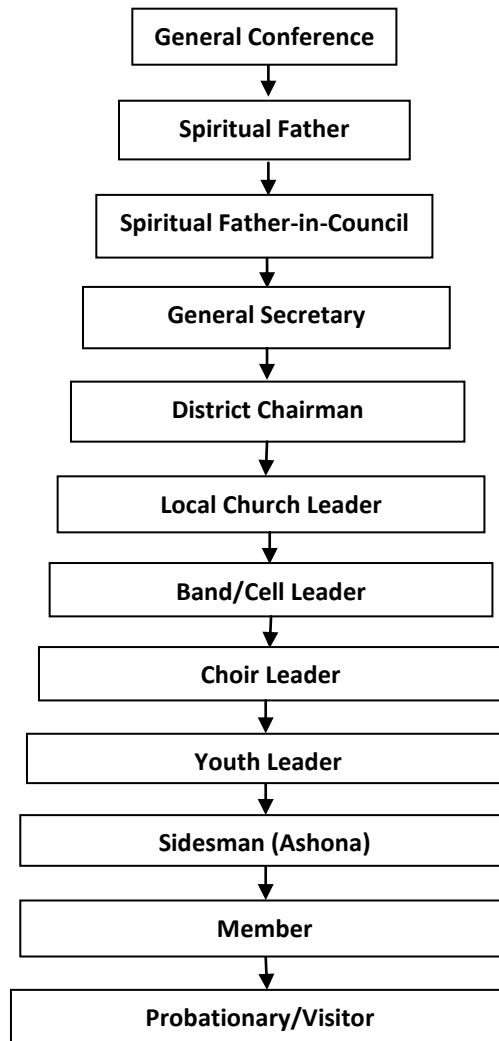


Figure 9. CSMC Hierarchy of Authority

3.2.2 TCLA

At the formative stage, authority in TCLA was concentrated in the primate founder Josiah Ositelu. He was the leader, overseer, minister, healer, director and worker. The primate was and still the highest spiritual and administrative head of TCLAW. Below the primate was the deputy primate. Growth and expansion of the church over time required more administrative initiatives and strategies. Therefore creation of administrative offices, functions, hierarchy of authority became imperative¹⁵³. At the apex of authority is the primate and below him is the Board of Trustees. Below the board of trustees is the International General Assembly (IGA). Below the IGA are the provincial head, arch-diocesan head, Provost, Zonal superintendent, local church minister, Disciple, Part-time Reverends, Pastor, Evangelist, Deacon and Deaconess, Worker, and Full member.

¹⁵³ Interview conducted with Tunde Gbogboade, 24/05/2012, Ogere.

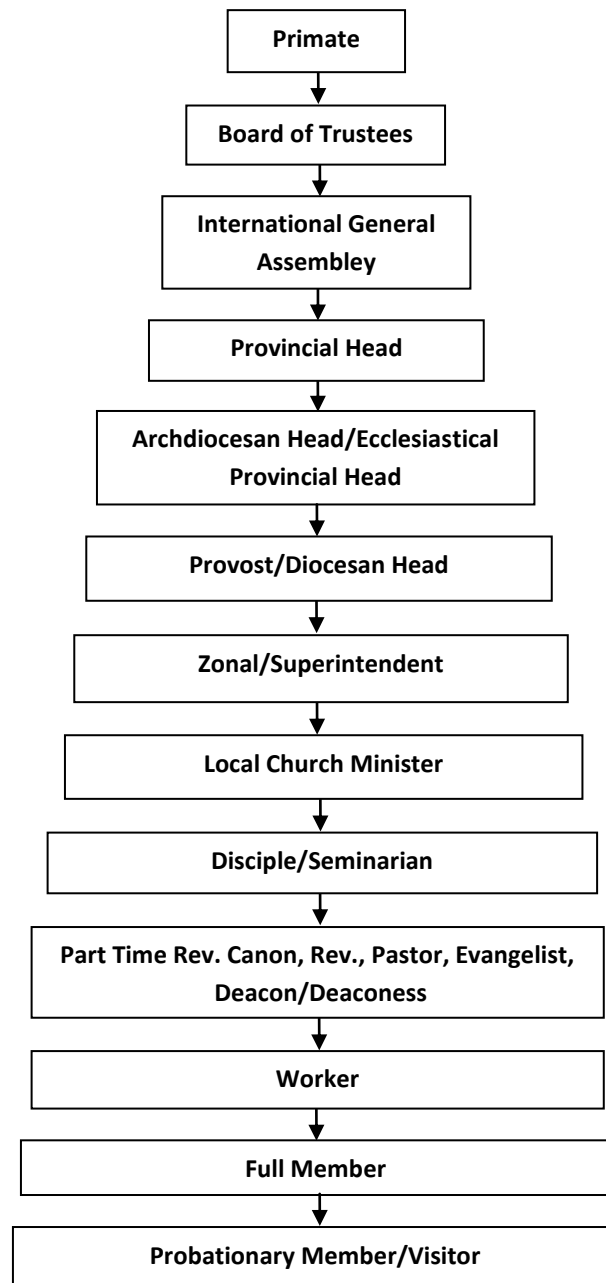


Figure 10. TCLA Hierarchy of Authority

3.2.3 CCC

At the apex of the hierarchy of authority in the CCC is the Pastor, the general overseer of the church. The Pastor has the “sole ultimate and unchallengeable authority on all matters affecting church life” be they spiritual or secular affairs such as doctrinal standards, evangelism, education, legal and disciplinary matters, planning and organization of programs and activities of the church world-wide (CCC Constitution 1980:36). In spite of the fact that the church is in factions, Pastor Mobiyina Oschoffa is more visibly seen and accorded the CCC pastoral authority. He appropriates administrative and spiritual authority from the international headquarters, Ketu which was the abode of the previous pastors of the church.

Below the Pastor is the general committee, which is the overall organ of the church that directs all the affairs of the CCC world-wide, yet is under the ultimate authority of the pastor. The general committee can be regarded as the parliamentary body of the CCC, which deliberates on all matters relating to the dioceses such as the constitution, doctrines, disciplines, and all publications. Its final deliberations are subject to the ultimate authority and approval of the Pastor.

The head of the diocese is the representative of the Pastor at the diocesan level. He oversees all affairs of the diocese and reports matters of his diocese to the council for further deliberations and consequent approval. The diocesan head may give approval for the establishment of a new parish and any religious or secular programmes that are instrumental to the growth and progress of members and the church. But this is subject to ratification by the Pastor.

Below the diocesan head is the provincial head. Originally, the constitution does not make provision for office of the provincial head. This is an innovation taken by the church to make church administration more participatory and efficient in the face of increasing number of members and parishes. The provincial head is the representative of the Pastor and oversees all affairs of the churches within his jurisdiction. As head of the province, he does not act arbitrarily. His decisions over all matters of the province are subject to further advice by the head of the diocese and final directive by the council that is headed by the Pastor.

Below the provincial head is the circuit head. Also, the church created circuits, though not supported by the church constitution, to further break administration of the church into units for productivity and efficient management. The head of the circuit supervises the affairs of the churches in all districts within his domain. He submits reports of events and issues concerning churches within his jurisdiction to higher authorities for further deliberations. Next is the head of the district who takes into consideration both spiritual and secular matters arising in all the churches within his jurisdiction and recommends for further deliberations, matters that require the attention of higher authorities.

The shepherd heads the local church, which is generally referred to as Parish. Just as a shepherd watches over his flock, the Parish shepherd oversees the spiritual and secular welfare of members under his domain. In conjunction with the parochial committee, he initiates programmes and events towards the progress of the church, and also looks into matters of discipline. Other members of the church in order of authority include the choir

head, band leader, full members of various ranks. The lowest are the visitors and solution seekers who are yet to be fully enrolled as members.

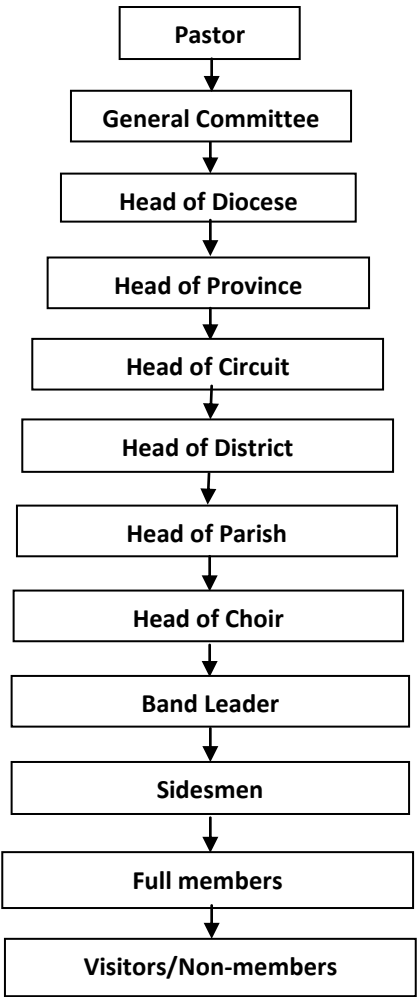


Figure 11. CCC Hierarchy of Authority

3.3. Workers

The structure in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC provides for both spiritual and administrative roles. They all have some commonality in major administrative offices, but are divergent in the setup of spiritual workers. The involvement of the females in both administrative and spiritual work in the three churches is at variance. In the structure of the spiritual workers in the C&S and CCC, less provision is made for female participation, unlike in TCLA where females are integrated in the spiritual and ministerial work throughout the hierarchy of the church. However, their menstrual days in the month obstruct their respective role. Females who have attained the menopausal age are not restricted in their participation in church activities and in the discharge of their ministerial work. In TCLA, most of the spiritual work assigned to females is ministerial. This is because females are ordained ministers and they

perform ministerial functions like their male counterparts and also hold administrative headship of the church that may be assigned to them. Non-ministerial female prophets in TCLA are actively involved in both substantive and *ad-hoc* spiritual work in the church. In the C&S and CCC, much of the spiritual work of the females is *ad-hoc*; they are not ordained to be ministers who, by virtue of that ordination function both spiritually and administratively.

3.3.1 C&S

The hierarchy of authority among spiritual workers in the C&S is dominated by men. The highest authority among spiritual workers is the spiritual father (Baba Aladura). By virtue of his office, he is both spiritual and administrative head. Through his induction, like any other member of the church, from the rank of Aladura to the highest rank, he has acquired adequate knowledge and training in the church doctrine, especially on how to conduct services, recitation of creed and special psalms, and how to carry out other liturgical assignments in the church. This is a common phenomenon among the strands of C&S.

Next to him is the conference supervisor of prophets. Though designated as supervisory prophet, his supervisory role extends to those yet to be anointed as prophets, namely visioners, dreamers, and members gifted with the power of trance. Below the supervisory prophet, down the hierarchy of authority, the nomenclatures vary among strands of the C&S due to size and structural arrangement. In the Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church (CSMC), the next level of authority below the supervisory prophet are the zonal supervisory prophet, district supervisory prophet, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, teachers and *Aladura* prayer warriors. Although the females are integrated in activities geared towards the spiritual progress of the church, the restrictions placed on them in the C&S seemingly put them on the edge of the church hierarchy. However, among the female folk, the most senior mother-in-Israel is ranked the highest authority. Next below her are the prophetesses and the female prayer warrior.

The spiritual father is the spiritual and administrative head of the church. He convenes and presides over all meetings of the general conference, oversees the affairs of the church such as spiritual salvation, ordination or anointing of members and foundation stone laying matters. He also functions as the arbiter between the church and other religious bodies, including government officials. In conjunction with relevant councils, boards and leaders, he confirms the appointment, ordination, promotion, demotion or removal of anointed members of the church. His appointment as the spiritual leader, though by seniority, depends on the general conference which is the highest legislative and authoritative body of the church. By this, the

general conference serves as checks and balances to the powers of the spiritual father. Hence he cannot take decision or initiate change arbitrarily.

The district chairman oversees both spiritual and secular affairs of all church branches under his control. He enjoys a considerable degree of autonomy and power. Yet, he is answerable to the spiritual father and the general conference respectively. Within the autonomy, he is expected to demonstrate some qualities, which include a great desire to lead, show some commitment to the mission and vision of the church as an organization, and must have integrity. As the representative of the spiritual father in his district, the chairman in conjunction with relevant councils and committees wades into matters arising from indiscipline, social and legal disputes, appointment and promotion of spiritual and administrative workers within his jurisdiction. Where a matter is unresolved or requires the attention and deliberation of higher body, he (district chairman) so recommends. He convenes district meetings at which spiritual and secular matters affecting every church under his control are being deliberated on or referred to the general conference for further deliberation. However, he does not preside over a district meeting where a matter in which he is directly involved is being discussed.

The church branch leader is the highest ranked member of the local church and presides over all the meetings of the elders-in-council. He oversees all the affairs of the local church, and with the support of other church workers, ensures its spiritual progress and administrative efficiency. He wades into matters concerning property acquisition and investments, social and legal disputes affecting the church and members, and makes appropriate recommendations to the district for necessary action. Where a matter requires the attention of the spiritual father, he shall, in consultation with the district chairman, act in that regard.

The conference supervisory prophet coordinates all the activities of the anointed prophets, streamlines their training, anointment and appointment. In conjunction with the council of prophets and coordination by the district supervisory prophet and head of Prophets in the local church, he (the conference supervisory prophet) ensures training and re-training of all prophets, prophetesses and other spiritually gifted individuals who are yet to be anointed; conducts revival services; provides spiritual guidance and counseling services to the church worldwide; and wades into minor misunderstanding among church workers under his domain.

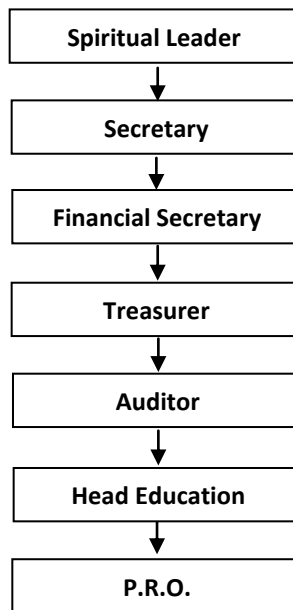


Figure 12. CSMC Hierarchy of Administrative Workers

However, he recommends all unresolved matters to the spiritual father and general conference for further deliberations. There is not much difference in the criteria for the position of supervisory Prophet among major strands of the C&S. Basically, individual conference supervisory Prophet is above forty years of age, with a minimum of secondary school education. However, holders of higher certificates have added advantage and his membership of the church should span twenty-five years or more. In addition, he must be married in Christian way acceptable to the church.¹⁵⁴ However, the office of the supervisory prophet at international, district and local church levels has been an exclusive preserve of prophets while Prophetesses operate under the shadow of their male counterparts.

Two types of workers have been found among the strands of the C&S, namely spiritual and administrative categories with differing emoluments (Omoyajowo 1982:213). Aside employed prophets who are posted to various local churches and some administrative professional workers employed by the leadership of each strand of the C&S by virtue of their acquired knowledge and skill, other workers are voluntary or anointed to various offices by their upward mobility in the hierarchy of the church, but are given some remunerations to encourage their spirit of selfless service delivery to the progress of the church.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Michael Oyeneeye, 02 June, 2012, Lagos.

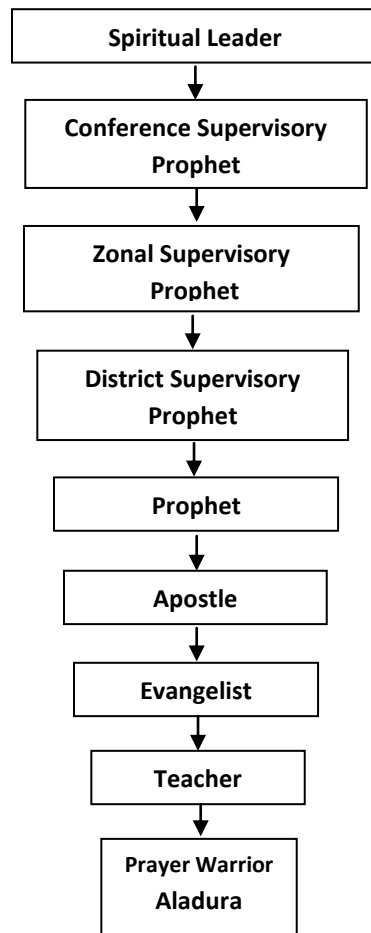


Figure 13. CSMC Hierarchy of Spiritual Workers

3.3.2 TCLAW

The constitution of TCLAW confers the title of “His Eminence, The Most Reverend Apostle, The Primate” or the general overseer of TCLAW (constitution of TCLAW 2011:16). As the overall authority of TCLAW, he presides over all meetings and functions of the International Churches Executive Council and the International General Assembly of TCLAW (IGATCLAW). The IGATCLAW is the highest legislative body of TCLAW¹⁵⁵. The primate does not take decisions arbitrarily; the supreme council of prelates¹⁵⁶ and the primate-in-council¹⁵⁷ guide him on doctrinal and administrative matters respectively.

As entrenched in the constitution, it is obligatory on the part of the primate to see to the spiritual and temporal welfare of ministers and officers of TCLAW (TCLAW constitution (2011:20-22) and also in diverse ways promote the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ and the

¹⁵⁵ The IGATCLAW is the legislative body of TCLAW and its enactments are binding on the primate and all the churches of the organization. See details in TCLAW constitution 2011:41-44.

¹⁵⁶ It elects the primate, gives spiritual guidance on matters referred to it by the general assembly, including doctrinal issues and other matters. See details on TCLAW constitution 2011:36-47.

¹⁵⁷ It is a working committee that assists the Primate on matters of general administration. See details in TCLAW constitution 2011:50.

objects¹⁵⁸ of TCLAW. The Primate is not by ascription. He is elected by the supreme council of prelates which is constitutionally empowered to do so after the demise of a primate. Such election is based on spiritual guidance after which the candidate who the lot falls on is proclaimed as the new primate. Although TCLAW is considerably gender-sensitive as in the integration of females into the ministerial and administrative duties, in the church, the post of the primate is exclusively the preserve of the males. There is no constitutional provision that stipulates the gender of the primate, but the trajectory of succession to the office indicates that men are highly favoured for the highest office.

The Provincial head is the overall spiritual and administrative head of the province which comprises a number of dioceses. Under the authority and supervision of the primate, the provincial head oversees the affairs of all the dioceses under his jurisdiction, recommends the promotion of officers in the vineyard, takes charge of the affairs of new converts, and heads the general conference of the province and provincial executive council. The position of the provincial head is by promotion of a minister to the rank of arch-bishop having met the requirements for the rank. The Arch-Bishop or Apostle, Arch-Bishop Mrs or Rev. Mother Superior have both administrative and spiritual functions of consecrating and anointing all lower ranks below the Apostle but subject to the approval of the primate, baptizing members to-be, solemnizing holy matrimony, spreading the gospel, establishing new local branches, and demonstrating a considerable gift of the Holy Spirit through laying of hands for healing purpose. The officers may function as provincial or diocesan heads as may be deemed fit by the Primate.

The probationary ministers are like helpers to the Senior Ministers under whose guidance and observation they (probationary ministers) perform some pastoral duties. However, they are exempted from performing baptism, Holy Communion, Holy matrimony, and funeral rites.

The disciple is a minister that is undergoing training. The male disciple performs Holy Communion, holy wedlock, baptism by immersion and burial rites. Whereas, the female disciple cannot perform same until she has reached the age of sixty years and has also reached her menopausal age. This further demonstrates the seeming ambiguity in the church's position on female leadership role and other activities in the church.

The Part-Time Reverend Canons, Reverends, Pastors, Evangelists, Deacons and Deaconesses perform non-ministerial duties as assistants to ministers in the church. On request, they assist

¹⁵⁸ The Objects of TCLAW refer to the object of worship of the organization: biblical readings and practice, spiritual and temporal welfare of mankind and others (TCLAW constitution 2011:14).

a senior minister when the need arises during naming ceremony service, churching of nursing mothers, Sunday school and bible class, healing service, church revival and evangelism, social services and publicity, organizing youths and pastoral visitations. Furthermore, they assist in the performance of church rites and organizing events for the purchase of church property and other ad-hoc duties (cf TCLA Constitution 2011:25-26). The general wardens assist in social welfare of the church. Both male and female in this category assist in the orderliness of the congregation during worship and other social functions that the minister may assign to them from time to time. Other workers include secretary, assistant secretary, treasurer, financial secretary, auditors, choir leader and organist, heads of schools and bible class, the Levites, the sidemen and side ladies, the army of Jesus and the Ladies praying union, the youth ministry, directorate of publicity, the mothers’ union, the evangelical, music and drama ministries and the council of laities (TCLA Constitution 2011:27-31).

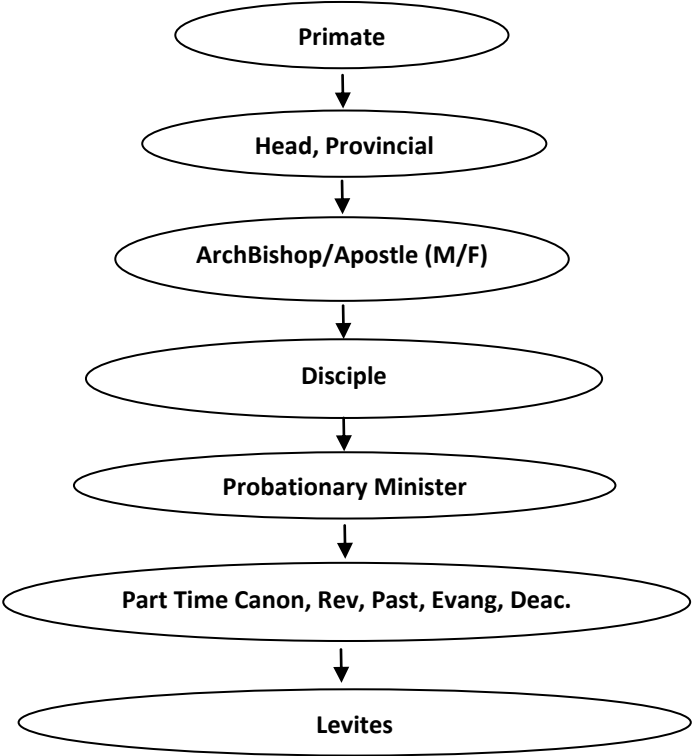


Figure 14. TCLA Hierarchy of Spiritual Workers

3.3.3 CCC

In the CCC, church workers are members, who are recognized as employees of the church, ordained or are awaiting ordination, and are recognized and appointed by the pastor to be his representatives. They are individuals who have forsaken secular and personal jobs for God’s work in the vineyard. The “Pastor” is the designate for the spiritual leader of the CCC who exercises authority over spiritual and secular affairs of the church. The “Pastor Founder”

exclusively applies to the first Pastor who founded CCC. Succession to the office of the Pastor is not by ascription or seniority, neither is it by lineage. A new Pastor can only emerge after God has revealed to the incumbent Pastor who will be his successor. It is expected that such a divine revelation shall fall on a member within the ranks as stated in the CCC constitution, section 111, clause I, page 37. Although no criteria are stated in the constitution other than divine revelation, membership of the church and non-attachment to a particular rank, succession to the office of the Pastor from the time of Pastor Alexander Abiodun Bada to the present has largely reflected a considerable level of educational attainment of the spiritual leaders of the church. With the exception of the Pastor founder Samuel Oshoffa who had lower secular education, his successors had higher education than he attained. Pastor Emmanuel Mobiyina Oshoffa obtained PhD degrees in computer science and religious studies respectively. The upward trend in the educational attainment of past and present Pastors of the CCC seemingly reflects a development which, though not officially adopted by the church as a criterion, could have a significant influence on the selection of future Pastors of the CCC alongside divine instruction.

The head of a diocese oversees the spiritual and secular affairs of the provinces, circuits, districts and parishes in his domain. As pastor's representative, he gives adequate report of affairs in his domain to the pastor. A diocese is headed by a senior evangelist who is appointed by the pastor. As part of his function, he conveys and chairs the diocesan meetings at which matters of discipline, welfare of workers, finances of the diocese, spiritual progress of the diocese are deliberated on. The diocesan head forwards issues that require further deliberation to the pastor-in-council. At the provincial level, the head is the pastor's "eye" in the province. By the authority conferred on him by the pastor, he ensures the general progress of the province which comprises a number of circuits, districts and parishes. Like the diocesan head, he conveys and chairs provincial meetings, gives approval within his limited authority for the implementation of some decisions reached and also submits report of meetings to the diocesan head for further action. The circuit head is the overseer of the districts and parishes under his jurisdiction. The head of the district carries out the Holy rites that are assigned to him. He does this with the support of heads of parishes within his domain. The head of a parish, like the district, circuit, provincial, and diocesan heads, carries out both administrative and spiritual functions in the local church which he heads. However, all workers in the vineyard, generally referred to as pastor's representatives or shepherds who are ordained and who perform all the duties of a spiritual leader are privileged to report spiritual and secular

matters of their domains direct to the Pastor for further deliberation and approval or sanction as the case may be.

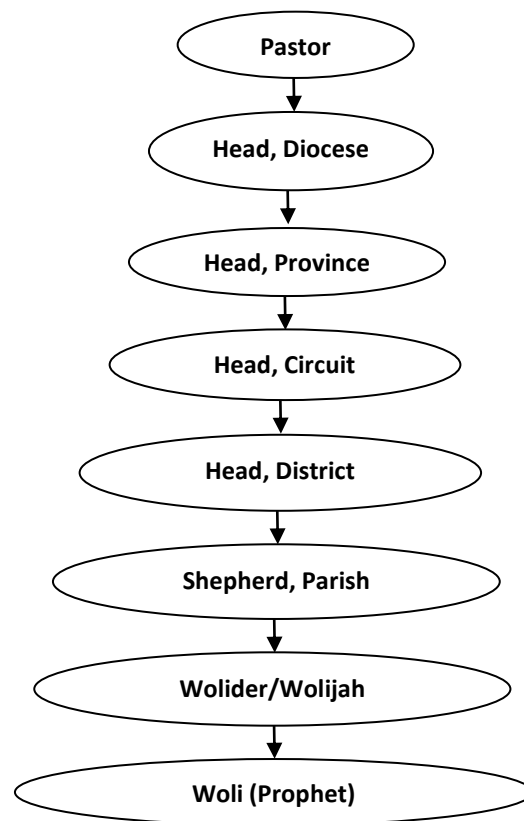


Figure 15. CCC Hierarchy of Spiritual Workers

3.4 Ranking

3.4.1 C&S

In the formative years of the C&S, Baba Aladura was the highest rank. This rank emerged following the claim that Moses Orimolade had a spiritual encounter with one Archdeacon Ogunbiyi and triumphed over the deadly charm. The warden of the Church became the victim of Ogunbiyi's attack on Orimolade, but Orimolade's prayer revived the victim and this earned him (Orimolade) the nickname *Baba Aladura* (prayerful father/father of the prayerful) (Omoyajowo 1982:34). Other ranks included Rabbi, pastor, Evangelist, prophet and Apostle. The schism in the C&S brought dynamism into ranking. While the major and minor strands of the C&S retained some of the rank titles that existed before the schism, new additions have been made. In the CSMC, between 1941 when it started and 1970 at the demise of its first Baba Aladura Emmanuel Ekundayo Coker, the church had eight ranks for the males and four female ranks. Between 1971 and December 2013, the males had two new additional ranks, while the females had four new additional ranks. This is charted in the section on ranks and robes in this study.

Rank	
Male	Female
Baba Aladura	-
Most Special Apostle	Special Most Mother in Israel
Special Apostle	Most Mother in Israel
Most Senior Apostle	Senior Mother in Israel
Senior Apostle	Mother in Israel
Apostle	Senior Lady Leader
Evangelist	Lady Leader
Teacher	-
Elder Brother	Elder Sister
Prayer Warrior/ Aladura	Prayer Warrior/ Aladura

Figure 16. CSMC Ranking as at 2014

3.4.2 TCLA

The Church of the Lord Aladura (TCLA) has a peculiar ranking order. The males and females are integrated into the church ranking order. At the apex is the Primate. Next below the Primate in descending order are the Archbishop/Apostle or Archbishop Mrs/ Reverend Mother Superior, the Right Reverend or Bishop Mrs/ Reverend Mother, the Venerable Archdeacon or the Venerable Arch deaconess, the Senior Prophet or the Senior Prophetess, the prophet grade I and II or the Prophetess 1 and Prophetess 2, the Probationary Minister (male/female), the Disciple/ Seminarian (male/female), the part-time Reverend Canon, Reverend, Pastor, Evangelist, Deacon/Deaconess, and Exemplary Elders in descending order, and full member.

Primate
Archbishop/Apostle or Archbishop Mrs/Reverend Mother Superior
Bishop/Right Reverend or Bishop Mrs/Reverend Mother
Venerable Archdeacon or Venerable Arch deaconess
Senior Prophet or Senior Prophetess
Prophet I
Prophet II
Probationary Minister (Male/Female)
Disciple/Seminarian (Male/Female)
Part-Time Reverend Canon, Reverend, Pastor, Evangelist, Deacon/Deaconess
Exemplary

Figure 17. TCLA Ranking

3.4.3 CCC

Ranking in CCC worldwide has evolved over time along its growth and expansion. From its year of formation in 1947 up to its introduction to Nigeria in 1951, ranking order was not visible. All activities and authority centered on the charismatic and prophetic founder Oshoffa who was everything to members: founder, prophet, leader, member, and administrator. The growing membership of CCC in Lagos at the early period of its introduction to the city and the caliber of people who joined the church played a significant role in the design and implementation of ranking. According to Crumbley (2008:61), the church attracted some Lagos educated elite such as Samuel Olatunji Ajanlekoko and Alexander Abiodun Bada who were employees of the Nigerian Breweries Limited. This had a wide range of influence on the church. Most members emphasized the biblical passage, which seemingly justifies ranking, stressing that Apostle Paul, for several years, remained a “brother” until he and Barnabas were commissioned to proceed on a missionary journey.¹⁵⁹

Basically, the Pastor Founder Oshoffa claimed divine instruction to anoint some members that were needed for full time work in the church. It was in this regard that he (Oshoffa) set out to anoint Alexander Abiodun Bada who volunteered himself for full time work in the vineyard. Though an early member of the church, earlier than Bada, Samuel Olatunji Ajanlekoko chose

¹⁵⁹ This is a paraphrase of Acts 9:17; 13:15.

to be a part time church worker due to his managerial position in his work place. The anointment of Bada, Yaman and a member of the CCC in Porto Novo as full time church workers marked the beginning of ranking in the CCC¹⁶⁰. Ranking in CCC has assumed some modifications. The current ranking differs from what it was about one and a halve decades ago when Adogame did his research on the church.¹⁶¹

Basis for upward mobility on the ranking ladder rests on the active participation of members in church activities and assigned tasks, and Pastor's sole recommendation whose discretion is unchallengeable. It takes a minimum of two years to move from a rank to another. However, this condition may be waived for a new member, especially an important figure whose membership may be considered advantageous to members and the entire CCC. Ordinarily, a newly inducted member is expected to rise through the ranks from brother/sister to Aladura (anointed brother/sister) after which he or she voluntarily chooses any of the three lanes that make up the lower hierarchy of the ranking system. Significant modifications have been made at the upper cadre of the structure. Venerable Most Senior Evangelist is ranked above Most Senior Evangelist. Superior Senior Evangelist (now Venerable Superior Senior Evangelist) is the next rank below the pastor, and is ranked above Assistant Superior Evangelist. As at 2013, the rank of Supreme Evangelist has ceased to exist.¹⁶² The new ranks were initiated to solve some grey aspects of the church constitution on ranking and to accommodate more members within the church hierarchy. The scrapping of the rank of supreme evangelist was probably to prevent further succession crisis that may arise from "the highest single position next to the sitting pastor", as a possible alternative to section 111 of the CCC constitution where a sitting pastor is unable to announce his successor. According to an informant, "the scrapping of the rank of Supreme Evangelist is intended to strengthen the enforcement of section 111 of the CCC constitution, which obligates the sitting Pastor to announce his successor; failure of which a body shall be constituted to appoint a successor from among the rank and file of

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Titus Olawale Alao 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

¹⁶¹ See Afe Adogame, *Celestial Church of Christ: The politics of Cultural Identity in a West African Prophetic-Charismatic Movement*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999, p.94.

¹⁶² Some misconception about the seat of the Supreme Evangelist is the possibility of the occupant's smooth succession to the office of the Pastor since he is the second highest member of the church. Alexander Bada occupied the position before succeeding the pastor founder Oshoffa who was unable to actualise Section 111, p.37 of the CCC Constitution.

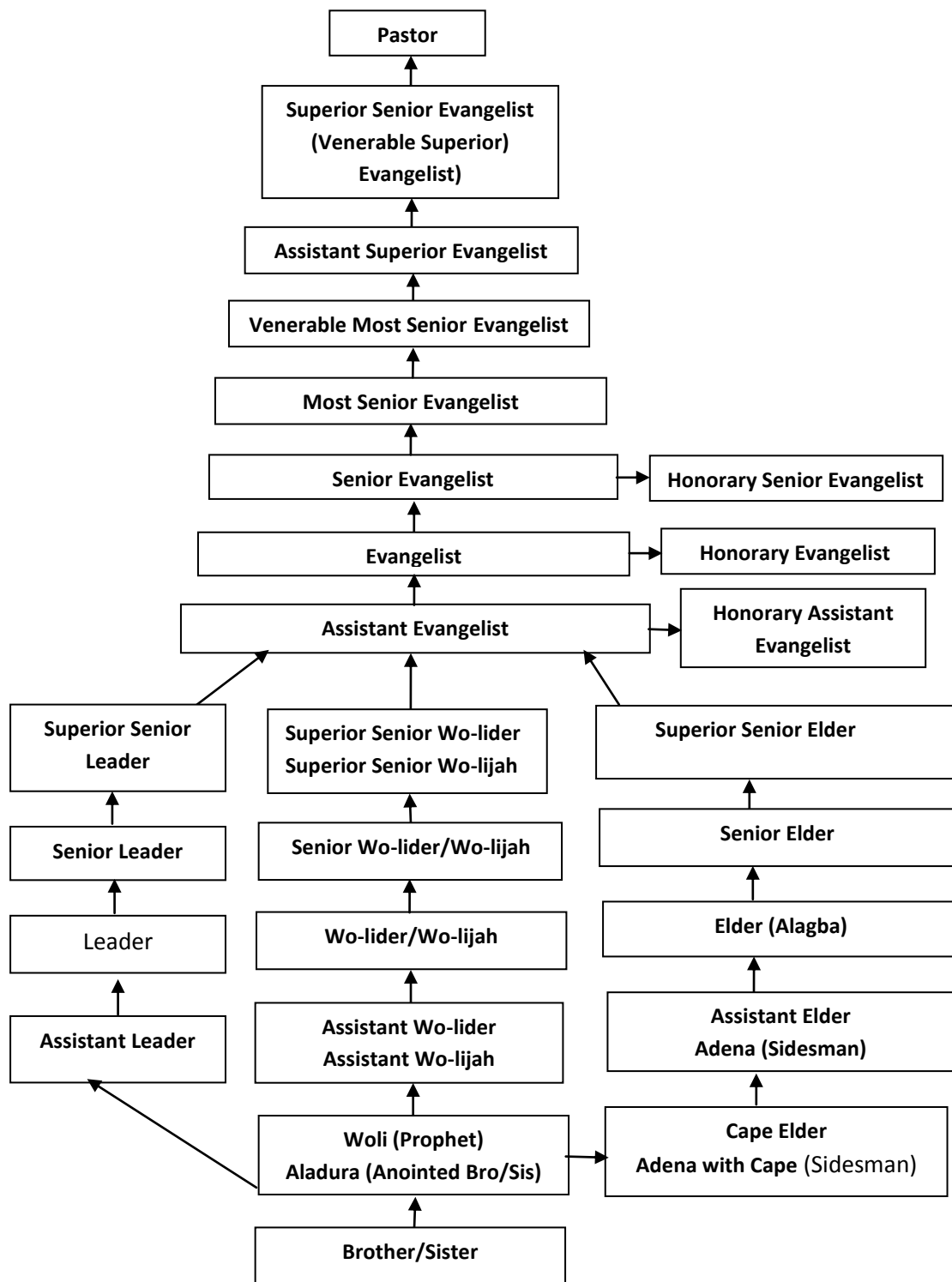


Figure 18. CCC Hierarchy of Authority and Ranking as at 2012.¹⁶³

church members. It is also to demystify the position of the second highest ranking member in the church hierarchy”.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 06 April, 2013.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

3.5 The English/Model Parish

The evolution of what is variously referred to as English chapel, English Section, English Parish, Youth Fellowship, Model Parish or Model Chapel varies among the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. In various strands of C&S, it is the after effect of campus Christian life experience of the youths of the church in the 1970s and their negotiation for the partial autonomy of worship. In the TCLA, it was the growing number of non-Yoruba speakers in churches located in predominantly Yoruba speaking areas of Nigeria and non-Yoruba speaking areas of the country, which necessitated the second primate of the church Adeleke Adejobi to start the project in TCLA Anthony village, Lagos in the middle of 1970s. Unlike in the C&S where the origin and survival of English chapel is associated with the youths and youth fellowship, the beginning of English chapel in TCLA is not associated with youths of the church. Rather it was a child of necessity meant to sustain the membership of non-Yoruba speaking members and a source of encouragement to non-Yoruba speaking visitors to the church. In contrast, the CCC youth fellowship constitutes the English section as most of them are secondary and tertiary institution students who prefer to worship and put the faith tradition of the CCC into practice using English as medium of expression. It evolved out of the need to correct some irregularities in CCC beliefs and practices found among the youths; the need to nurture them (youths) in the CCC faith tradition; encourage them to acquire bible based teachings; and to guide them in making heaven.¹⁶⁵ Like the C&S youth fellowship, the CCC youth fellowship began as a follow up of campus Christian experience in the 1980s.

3.5.1 C&S

In the CSMC, the spiritual leader's pet project tagged "Model Parish" differs from the general nomenclatures of English parish, English section, and model chapel/parish; the spiritual leader wanted both organizational and supervisory powers be vested in him for effective control over the model parish project.¹⁶⁶ The youth wanted freedom of worship; wanted to bring into worship those Christian experiences acquired on University Campuses and other tertiary institutions. Youths, in their respective churches plan and organize their own programmes of worship. C&S has a history shaped by the religio-cultural environment of its emergence and it

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Adewale Gbadebo, 29 August, 2011, Lagos. According to him, the Spiritual leader of the CSMC S.A. Abidoje, proposed a reform through an ad-hoc committee in which his office shall be vested with the power to establish and oversee "Model Parish" in each of the District Headquarters where youths can demonstrate a great deal of innovative ideas of Christian worship that can help move the church to greater heights. The heads of districts rejected the idea, arguing that they would not be part of a project that would be located within their jurisdiction but having no authority to oversee it. Similarly, it was rejected at the General Conference, the highest governing body of the church on ground that it was unconstitutional.

is not surprising that the dominant language of communication in the church, Yoruba, bores the youths. According to an informant:

Here in the Model Parish, you are not bored like in the main church; you carry out your activities in English language; everybody is actively involved, I mean sermon, choir, committees, programmes and other roles that are mostly performed by elders in the main church¹⁶⁷.

The scenario described above speaks of the current situation in the church and its consequence on the drift of youths to other churches where they have found a new trend of worship similar to what they have been familiar with on their various campuses. Consenting to the request of youths in the church to organize programme of activities for themselves has helped the church to stem the tide of youth members leaving the church for another. Confirming the change that the youths have introduced into the church, an informant said:

...our children fellowshiped with friends in different Christian groups on the Campus and acquired different Christian experiences. They complained about our language of worship, duration of service and other church activities. For these reasons, some youths have left the church for the new generation Churches. Those who decided to stay back have compelled us in the council to approve of their commencement of English chapel.¹⁶⁸

English chapel/Youth fellowship in C&S churches has evolved over the years. Youths in various churches of CSMC negotiated their separate worship at different times but came together as a body, for the first time, when the international headquarters initiated a week long programme for them during their long holidays in 1981. The venue was Cherubim and Seraphim College, Ilorin. Youth delegates from every branch of CSMC had the opportunity to socially interact and also learn a great deal of bible lessons, leadership skills, and how to set a goal and achieve positive results in life. The programme of 1981 had two major positive effects: more English chapels emerged in churches where youth fellowship had not started, and it metamorphosed into an annual “Youth Camp” programme.

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Rebecca Akinsulure, 14 August, Lagos.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011, Lagos.



Figure 19. CSMC English Service Chapel, Surulere, Lagos. Photograph by T. Baiyewu 2011

The CSMC, realizing that the youths are more vulnerable to change, coupled with the fact that they are the future leaders of the church, inaugurated Youth Council which designed an organizational structure and a model kind of Sunday worship adaptable to all youth fellowship branches of the church. The council coordinates all internal and external activities of the youths. The youths in various branches of the CSMC worldwide are brought together under one hierarchical structure. For fair distribution of responsibilities, and to give everyone the sense of belonging, posts and responsibilities are shared among the zones through national elections of the youth executives. Officers are elected by votes. The 2013 youth election held in May, at the CSMC Surulere district headquarters, Lagos during the annual youth convention of 2013. Elected officers emerged from Benin, Jos, Zaria, Kaduna, Ilorin, Lagos, USA, and Europe zones. The youths have their anthem, which Special Apostle Professor Olu. Atansuyi composed in the 1980s.

In order to strengthen the youths, the council in collaboration with youth representatives organizes and co-ordinates youth fellowships, seminars, workshops, retreats, conventions, conferences and dialogues, and also explores the possibilities of establishing youth fellowships where it is nonexistent, including Boys and Girls Brigade. It also organizes and co-ordinates annual Youth Camp and considers other programmes that can help develop potentials in the youths for their own (youths) use, for the spread of the gospel of Christ, and for the continuity of the faith traditions of the church.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ Cf CSMC Constitution, CSMC International Headquarters, Kaduna, 2004, p.22-23.

Driven by the drifts of youths to other churches either on marriage ground or for other reasons, the various strands of C&S organize an annual youth camp that offers their respective youths a wide range of Christian experience: building the spirit of mutual co-existence in youth, and creating in them the awareness of resisting challenges that impede individual set goal and aspirations. It also offers leadership training opportunities for the youths who are

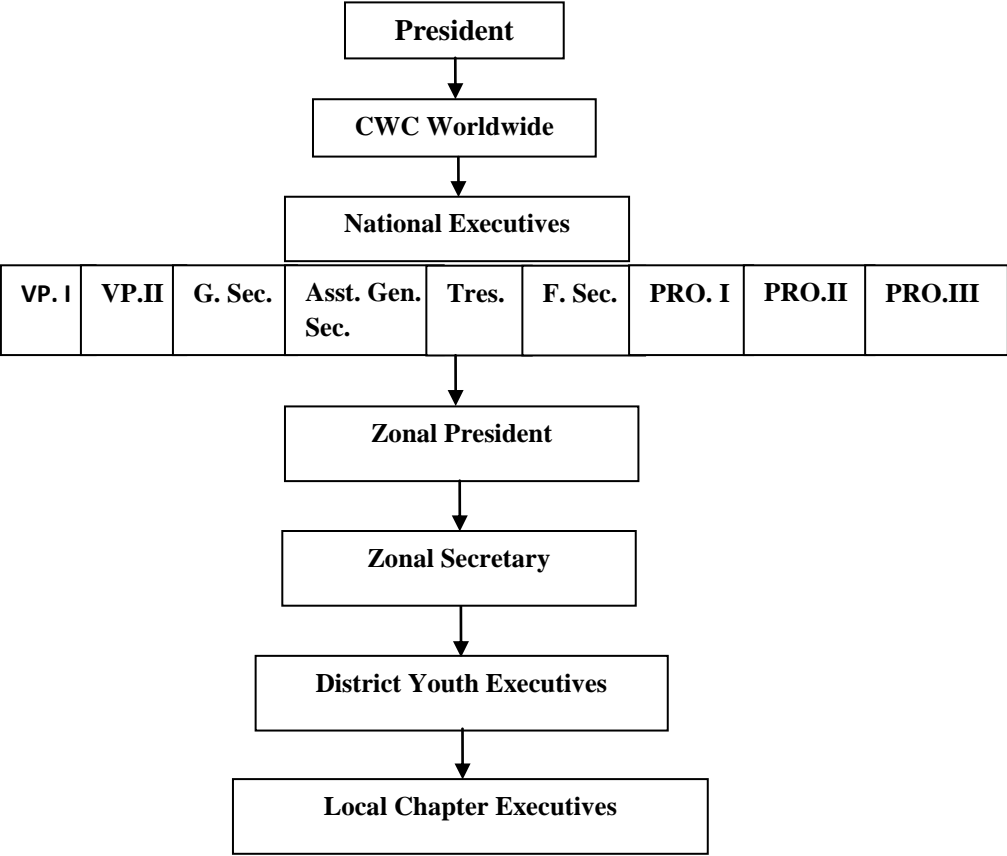


Figure 20. Hierarchy of the CSMC Youth Fellowship

future custodians of the church’s faith tradition. It is also a platform for encouraging positive relationships among sons and daughters of the church in the hope that it can lead to Christian marriage within the church. The church bears part of the cost for organizing the annual event for its youths. Parents also bear part of the cost for maintaining their wards in the camp. Donations from individual and corporate bodies are appropriated for the programme. The church expects that the programmes “will reduce the number of youths that drift to the new Pentecostal churches and make them to be more rooted in the beliefs and practices of the church for continuity”.¹⁷⁰

CSMC, Surulere district, Lagos independently organizes “Joy Youth Camp” annually for its youths in order to inculcate into them the fear of God and training them up into leadership

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Matthew B. Ajayi, 19 September, 2011, Kaduna.

position in the church and the larger society. It started in 1983 as a week-end retreat programme and metamorphosed into a week-long religious camping programme. It has also grown from a camp within Lagos to an annual event that is taken to a different location each year. It was held twice in Benin Republic in 2004 and 2011, while the event of 2006 was held in Ghana.

In order to sustain the church faith tradition in the lives of youths, C&S churches encourage their youths to form prayer groups on their various campuses. C&S unification prayer groups operate on the campuses of the University of Ibadan, Obafemi Awolowo University Ile-Ife, University of Lagos, Lagos State University and University of Jos.

3.5.2 TCLA

TCLA began with Yoruba as the major medium of communication during and outside worship. This was because the church emerged in predominantly Yoruba setting in South-West Nigeria. Non-Yoruba converts compelled the church to consider English and other languages. As the church was spreading to non-Yoruba speaking towns and villages, there was need to conduct worship and other church activities in the language of the immediate environment and English or French as the situation demanded. The second primate of the church, Emmanuel Adejobi took a bold step made worship and other church activities at Anthony Village Chapel conducted in English language because of the caliber of people that worshipped in the chapel that he (Adejobi) headed¹⁷¹.

Primate Olusegun Ositelu¹⁷² during his tenure compelled every branch church to conduct services in bilingual English or French and the predominant language of the immediate environment where the church operates. This policy is however not gazetted by the church; it is an administrative policy initiated to win more converts. As part of his efforts towards the progress of the church, late Olusegun Ositelu between 1991 when he was anointed as Primate and his demise in 1998 started the Sunday School and Bible Study Guide; established Evangelical and Youth Ministries, the Divinity School Ogere, Ositelu Memorial Nursery and Primary School, Ogere and Victory Night Camp (Ositelu 2009:120-124).

One of the administrative strategies of TCLA was to establish a branch church in which English is the medium of communication during worship and secular activities outside worship. This was carried out when, out of the four local churches that it established in Ogere town, it ensured one is purely an English chapel. The remaining three are bilingual. The

¹⁷¹ Interview with Matthew B. Ajayi, 19 September, 2011, Kaduna.

¹⁷² The third Primate of TCLA and one of the sons of the Primate founder Josiah Ositelu; lectured at the school of agriculture, Ibadan and holder of MSc degree in Animal Science.

Ogere English chapel was born out of the fact that the congregation is comprised of people from Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Togo and parts of Nigeria. The objective of English Chapel in Ogere was to create opportunity for non-Yoruba speaking residents of Ogere to worship and communicate in English during church activities in a way that they will feel unalienated in the church that was established in a predominantly Yoruba speaking community. The Okoko branch church in Lagos is similar to that of English chapel in Ogere in that about eighty percent of the congregation of members is Benin, Edo, Egun, Igbo and other extractions from Nigeria and neighbouring countries. About eighty percent of communication during worship and outside worship is English language. In branch churches, worship is split into two. English section is slated for early morning from 7am to 9am while the Yoruba service begins at 10am and ends at 12pm. In other branch churches, services are conducted in the predominant language of the immediate environment in which case, translation is done in English in the interest of members who do not speak the main language of communication in the church.

3.5.3 CCC

Model parish in CCC does not convey conventional meaning and scope in which a parish is established and set aside as a proposed church where mode of worship and other church activities, to a large extent, depart from what obtain in the main church. In the CCC, the English or model parish comprises youths who have their brief fellowships before joining the main church for the elaborate Sunday worship and other services on other days of the week. The youths have been encouraged further to worship together with other celestians on their various campuses. There are CCC students' prayer groups operating on the campuses of the University of Ibadan and University of Lagos. Although there are CCC parishes that are labeled "model parish" for example, CCC: Grace of God Model Parish, this does not represent a "new celestial church branch" that has integrated innovative ideas into CCC faith traditions¹⁷³. According to him (E. Adegoke), the idea of model parish in CCC does not mean that the church wants an archetypal CCC as response to modernization. "The church is ever responding to time, emerging religious space and new challenges"¹⁷⁴. However, there are CCC autonomous parishes that are labeled "ministries" by their founders, namely CCC Maranatha Ministries, CCC Genesis Ministries, and CCC Zion Crusaders. They operate autonomously and do not take part in the CCC central decision making body. They represent the modernist group in CCC which introduced changes into CCC faith traditions in their

¹⁷³ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

respective domains. There are claims at the CCC central administration that some proactive steps have been taken to dialogue with the groups.¹⁷⁵ The emergence of the group is largely one of the effects of the leadership tussle in CCC. The group does not owe allegiance to the International Headquarters in Ketu, Lagos but the churches classified under this group were founded by individual CCC members who have faulted the leadership process and general beliefs and practices in the CCC.

Modernizing the beliefs and worship of the CCC has been a discourse which members have disparate opinions of. Members have largely expressed the necessity for the church to move with time. According to an informant, “old faith traditions that emerged with the church more than six decades ago have relatively low acceptance among members who argued that such traditions prevent membership of the church from growing”¹⁷⁶. On the contrary, there are claims that modernizing the beliefs and practices of the church will remain a project of stiff opposition in a prophetic church where every action and programme is claimed to be directed by the Holy Spirit either through prophecy or the experiences of the patriarchs of the CCC. While the church does not deny societal change which influences it in many ways, it awaits divine instructions on additions or subtractions in the beliefs and practices which the modernists aspire for the church.

3.6 Theological Institutions

For the first six decades of the existence of Aladura Christianity in Nigeria, none of Aladura churches gave high priority to the establishment of formal theological school that could train prophets. The growth and expansion of the church was attributed to the charisma of the church founder and the gifted individual church members. Founders had little or no secular and theological education. This undoubtedly influenced the churches’ low attitude to formal training of the prophets. Founder Ositelu of TCLA and pastor founder Oschoffa of the CCC had little formal education compared to their counterpart Moses Orimolade of the C&S who had not formal education at all. The C&S, TCLA, and CCC commenced the theological training of their workers at different times; they all established their theological schools in the post-civil war period in Nigeria. The churches provide theological and leadership training to church workers and members. TCLA was the earliest theological education provider among Aladura churches in Nigeria, but the Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church (CSMC) currently has the highest number of theological schools among its Aladura counterparts in the

¹⁷⁵ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with Segun Mepolone, 28 May, 2012, Lagos.

country. The CCC is a late entrant in the theological education market. Although its first plan to establish a theological college was in 1971, this did not fully take off until March 2005.¹⁷⁷

3.6.1 C&S

The large number of prophets that had little or no formal education, though learned in spirit, and a number of members who craved for better understanding of the Christian faith through adequate bible teaching, compelled some strands of the C&S particularly CSMC and SCSC to establish theological schools. For six decades after the emergence of the C&S in 1925, various strands gave top priority to spiritual wellbeing, charity, and later secular education above formal theological training for their workers particularly the prophets. The attention of some C&S churches in this regard can be regarded as a response to the emerging challenge that the church workers face in the competitive religious environment. Previous literature on Aladura churches has described their leaders and prophets as having low formal education, and that members were largely drawn from the socially deprived in the society (John Peel 1967, Robert Mitchell 1970).

The CSMC, among other strands of C&S, for the first time in 1987 established Orimolade College of Prophets (OCP), Ilorin. Against the backdrop of absence of biblical training of prophets in the CSMC, coupled with the fact that considerable number of the prophets had little formal education, the church established OCP where each CSMC local church sent its ordained and yet to be anointed prophets for biblical and prophetic training meant to broaden their horizon in the study and understanding of God's words and divine manifestations. The local church recommended its prophets and those nominated for anointment to the district chairman who in turn recommended them to the GC for deliberation and approval. The training was made compulsory especially for those nominated for anointment as this conferred on them the status of ordained prophets. After completion of three to six months training, the college on behalf of the spiritual father awarded graduating prophets certificate of attendance, ordained and awarded them staff of office (prophetic staff).

The status and programme of the college however changed following several complaints that a number of prophets in training, shortly after graduating from the college, appropriated their prophetic staff as symbolic capital for forming their autonomous groups and earned worldly benefits from their clients. Against this backdrop, the GC deliberated and stopped the award of staff of office to graduating prophets. The college metamorphosed into Orimolade Theological Seminary and its structure and programme restructured to include both prophetic

¹⁷⁷ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011.

and pastoral training. Since its inception as college of prophets, the institute has been running its programme in its temporary site in the school premises of C&S College, Ilorin. Currently, OTS offers three months refresher course and two years diploma courses in theology and Christian studies. It proposes to commence six months leadership certificate course, two years leadership certificate course in theology, four years bachelor of Arts in theology, and four years bachelor of Arts in Christian Studies. The establishment of OTS in 1987 became a wakeup call to other C&S churches of all strands. The CSMC has, to a great extent, responded to the new development considering the number of theological colleges that various CSMC churches have established in Lagos State.

The CSMC Surulere district headquarters, Lagos claimed that the establishment of its Cherubim and Seraphim College of Divinity started as a bible class in 1986 and metamorphosed into its present structure and academic programmes. The college offers various biblical training leading to the award of certificate in Christian education, diploma in theology, bachelor degree in Christian education and master degree in divinity. In a similarly drive towards training its workers and interested members of the church, CSMC, St. Mary District, Oshodi, Lagos established Rivers of Life Theological College in 2005. It runs certificate, diploma and bachelor's degree programmes in theology in both Yoruba and English Languages. In addition to its courses, it offers studies in biblical languages, namely Greek and Hebrew.

The CSMC Kingsland district headquarters, Agege, Lagos established CSM College of Theology and Chaplaincy (CTC) in 2003. It started as Sunday School Bible class when the Church was at Sabo-Yaba, Lagos and was officially inaugurated on 23rd of May, 2003 after the church had moved to its present site at New Oko Oba, Agege, Lagos. Some academic staff were employed from among church members who had Bachelor's degree in theological education and those who had theological education after their secular degrees. Some products of the theological college who did excellently in their academic programme were employed as graduate assistants. The theological college currently employs the services of fifteen staff.

The CTC offers foundation courses that lead to the award of Certificate and Bachelor's degree in theology respectively and it operates in two annex campuses in Apapa and Ikorodu in Lagos. The college runs two semesters for a session: the first semester begins in September and ends in February while the second semester starts in March and terminates in July. All courses taught are examined at the end of each semester. Certificate and Diploma Courses are offered in English and Yoruba Languages, while degree courses are offered only in English

language. This is a language policy designed to cater for candidates who have weak educational background or whose proficiency in English language is poor. This set of candidates who form the bulk of certificate and diploma students' population who are allowed to receive lecture in their mother tongue for better understanding and academic performance in the programmes.

A certificate programme runs for a year while a diploma programme lasts for four semesters of two years duration. CTC opens for lectures on Thursday and Saturday of the week. On Thursday of each week, lectures begin from 1:00pm and terminate at 6:00pm, but on Saturday, lectures begin at 8:15am and close at 6:00pm. Before graduating, students are sent out to acquire three or six month practical experience in C&S churches other than the ones they currently attend. The College has seven departments from which knowledge is imparted to students. The departments are Evangelism, Pastoral, Prophetic, Apostolic, Biblical, Church Administration, and Christian Education. However, courses in each department are not codified and documented in an academic brochure. Instead, they are selected and arranged for four years within which certificate, diploma and degree students pursue their respective study programmes.

The first year curriculum is designed to give students foundational knowledge of their theological training. Courses offered include bibliology, theology, Christology, pneumatology, old and New Testament Studies, Foundation and Christian Ministry, Spiritual life and Church growth, history of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements, discipleship, ethics, history, tenet of faith, observances and practices of the C&S, Culture, customs and manners of the Bible land, and Systematic bible study. In year two, there are three courses that are brought forward from year one, but students are expected to learn more than they have learned in their previous year. However, there are twenty-two courses that take students deeper into theological education, namely soteriology, hamatology, ecclesiology, angelology and demonology, eschatology, visionology and anthropology, and homiletics. Others include church history and administration, Pastoral and Counseling courses, children ministry, introduction to Islam, Music, Hebrew Prophets, theses writing and practical experience. In year three, most part of year two courses are re-introduced and harmonized with few new ones namely evangelism, hermeneutics, spiritual life and divine healing, the books of Romans, Acts, Daniel and Corinthians, and Church Planting and administration. In year four, thirty-one courses are taught out of which twenty-three are brought over from the previous three years for advanced study while the remaining eight are being learned for the first time in

the programme, namely apologetics, theology of revival, philosophy of religion, psychology and theology, church growth, missiology, sociology and ministry with adults.¹⁷⁸

The CSMC Renewal Chapel, Alagbado-Agege, Lagos established Renewal Chapel Bible College (RCBC) in 2003. The CSMC Renewal Chapel, Alagbado-Agege, Lagos owns and operates the RCBC as a private institution and also gives it church grants. The RCBC's main objective is to train church workers and individuals across church denominations, enriching their knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and providing individuals with theological education that can help meet most challenges that confront the church today. According to its registrar, "Sermon alone cannot change character. Lectures, Seminars, Workshops and instituted programmes have proven to be of immense significance".¹⁷⁹



Figure 21. CSMC Renewal Bible College, Agege. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu 2012

RCBC has five departments of instruction, namely theology, general studies, commercial education, sixth form studies, and certificate studies. The RCBC runs a two-year diploma course programme for training men and women as ministers and bible instructors; four-month ministerial certificate programme designed for ministers and evangelists who do not qualify for post-secondary studies in theology; two-year bible instructors certificate for those who do not meet the college admission requirements but are trained as bible instructors for Sunday school services; four-year course programme leading to the award of a Bachelor of Arts degree in theology; preparatory general studies of two-year basic courses are offered in RCBC after which students who offer the courses are linked to overseas schools of relevance; two-

¹⁷⁸ Interview with J.B. Balogun, 18 May, 2012, Lagos. The Courses were read out from a six-page letter headed sheets that contain the entire college course programme and few explanations.

¹⁷⁹ Interview with P. Ogundele, 28 May, 2012, Lagos.

year diploma in business studies designed to prepare students who wish to sit for the intermediate examination of the Association of International Accountants London; and the sixth form studies or general certificate in education “A” level Arts preparatory programme designed for students who wish to pursue a degree in Arts¹⁸⁰.

Unlike the basic requirements for degree courses in conventional tertiary institutions in Nigeria, the general requirements for bachelor’s degree in theology are five passes at general certificate of education ordinary level and satisfactory completion of four years of post-primary teacher training or evangelist training.¹⁸¹ These requirements are designed to opportune as many church workers as possible who have deficiencies in their post primary school certificate to receive adequate knowledge and training that enables them perform efficiently in their calling. There is a physical structure which houses the library but stocked with few books. Yet there is a list of books purportedly compiled which the college claimed to have bought; they are one hundred and fifty-two books which cover some areas of disciplines such as old and New Testaments Studies, bible concordance, hermeneutics, biblical languages, systematic theology, doctrines of God, Christology, Soteriology, Pneumatology, Ecclesiology and Worship, Eschatology, African Christian theology, doctrines and denominations, church history, Christian ethics, family parenting, pastoral ministry, leadership, preaching-homiletics, evangelism, philosophy and apologetics, mission, Islam, counseling and psychology, Christian education, women and youth ministry and urban and rural holistic development.

The College started its programmes in 2003 with five academic and non-academic staff and has currently improved to nine lecturers. The pioneer students included eighteen diploma and three degree students of which one was a medical doctor while the other two had M.A in religious studies and MSc in Psychology respectively. As at 2012, enrolment in the college is thirty diploma and eight degree students. With the exception of two lecturers who hold PhD degree, others hold a Master’s degree in theology¹⁸². The remuneration of teaching and non-teaching staff is little when compared with lecturers in government tertiary institutions, but staff claimed they are determined to impart knowledge and ensure that the College survival is sustained. The selfless service and charity of the former Lord Rector of the College, late special Apostle Oladipo Daniel was revealed when questions were raised to probe into the financing of the college. The late Lord Rector sponsored most of the programmes, and

¹⁸⁰ Renewal Chapel Bible College Students Hand Book, Lagos: Renewal Chapel Bible College, 2002-2004, p.10-11.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 13–18.

¹⁸² Interview with P. Ogundele, 28 May, 2012, Lagos.

welfare of staff and students up to the time of his demise. In its strategy for financial self sustenance and to meet some administrative costs, the college introduced a sessional tuition fee of twelve thousand naira.¹⁸³

An enquiry into the theological education of pioneer lecturers in CSMC theological colleges revealed that most of them had their theological education in theological colleges and seminaries that other Christian denominations established. This means that the theological institutions were critical to the establishment and growth of CSMC theological colleges among Aladura churches. Some of the graduates of ECWA Theological College, Igbaja, Kwara State and United Christian Bible Canon College and Seminary, Ota, Ogun State have been employed to teach courses in the theological colleges. Other lecturers had their theological studies through correspondence programmes which some foreign institutions, namely International Correspondence Institute (ICI) Belgium and Westminster Chapel School of Theology, London. Some lecturers had their foundation degrees in the sciences and humanities. One doctor Oladipo is a medical surgeon who has been in medical practice for over ten years before he sought for an additional degree in theology.¹⁸⁴

The Proliferation of theological colleges as noticed among CSMC churches particularly in Lagos area has been a major concern of members interviewed who expressed that such development could affect the quality of training and the products of the colleges. The CSMC approves that its branches could establish theological schools provided they have both human and material resources to do so. This approval inspired some churches to establish theological colleges, which CSMC authority claimed were not standard enough when compared with major theological seminaries which the Catholic, Baptist, ECWA and Anglican churches established in Nigeria. The church swung into action and designed a minimum standard for the current and future theological colleges. Hence it designed a harmonized curriculum which the spiritual father recently assented to. In its few paged harmonized curriculum, the core of theological programme is split into seventeen major courses, namely the history of C&S, mode of worship in CSMC, Paraphernalia of prayer, five-fold ministry, evangelism, mission and prophecy, principles of counseling, pastoral theology, pastoral epistle and care, first and second Corinthians, Acts, Prison epistles, Hebrews Epistle, Synoptic gospels, major and minor prophets, leadership, spiritual warfare, and communication skill.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ Interview with P. Ogundele, 28 May, 2012, Lagos.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* As at the time of interview, the curriculum was yet to be published in booklet form. It was two-page official information, which the interviewee shared with the researcher.

3.6.2 TCLA

During the formative years of TCLA, the primate founder Ositelu, as a strategy towards building prophetic and pastoral ministries of the church initiated training programmes for his disciples before sending them out to spread the gospel, gather converts and establish branches. He began his school of discipleship in 1928, which had neither structure nor formal curriculum and specified course duration. This initiative, which the primate founder Ositelu took can be regarded as the foundation of the Aladura Theological Institute¹⁸⁶. The primary school education of the late founder and the experience as a catechist of an Anglican Church gave him (founder) the encouragement and idea to induct his disciples.

In furtherance of the objective of training its ministers “to lead, serve and actively propagate the Gospel of Christ in Nigeria and throughout the world”¹⁸⁷, the church in conjunction with a foreign organization, the Mennonite Board of Missions and the Theological Education Fund (TEF) of Indiana, U.S.A. formally started Aladura Theological Seminary and prophets and Prophetesses Training Institute (ATS/PPTI) at Anthony Village, Lagos on 27 January, 1971.

In 1971 primate Emmanuel Adejobi formally launched ATS which he had dreamt about in 1964¹⁸⁸. He (Adejobi) commenced preparation for ATS in 1968, compiled a 22-man Board of governors which Oba J.A. Laoye I, the Timi of Ede chaired, and had a long list of identified staff and officers, part-time and full-time which he submitted to the standing committee of the TCLAW General Churches Assembly. But of all the proposed 22-man board of governors, only Deacon J.A.O. Sofolahan appeared in the prospectus. With the noble objective at the back of his mind of “offering formal theological preparation for Christian leadership and service not only in the church of the Lord but also in other Aladura churches as well”, Adejobi succeeded in actualizing his dream. At his demise in 1991, ATS was renamed in his honour as Adejobi Memorial Theological Seminary (AMTS). The second Primate Emmanuel Adejobi facilitated the formal beginning and development of theological education programme of TCLAW. Building on the contribution of the previous primates of TCLA, the successive primates during their respective tenures have furthered the theological empowerment of both ministers and non-ministers.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

¹⁸⁷ “The Servant of the Living God: The Biography of Primate E. A. Adejobi (1917-1991)”. Lagos: Adeleke Adejobi Foundation (AAF), p.89.

¹⁸⁸ Late Primate Adejobi got the inspiration to found ATS from a dream he claimed he had in 1964 at the home of Harold William Turner in Steeple, Aston, England. See details in “The Servant of the Living God: The Biography of Primate E.A. Adejobi” (1917 – 1991), Lagos: AAF, 2006, p.90.

The formative years of the AMTS were full of inadequacies. The Mennonite Board of Missions and the Theological Education Fund of Indiana, U.S.A. sponsored the first principal of the Seminary, Reverend Benjamin Charles Hostetter¹⁸⁹ who was a radio preacher and had no knowledge of running an academic institution. Shortly after it commenced academic activities, the seminary began to experience some teething problems such as epileptic power supply, unstable water supply, overcrowded accommodation, inadequate finance, poorly stocked library, and few theologians as academic staff.



Figure 22. TCLA Theological Seminary, Anthony Village, Lagos. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu 2011

Thirteen courses were designed for the three-year programme. In the first year, courses offered included the old and New Testament Survey, biblical interpretation, systematic theology, the Bible and life, theology of mission, history of mission, mission today, evangelism and communication, homiletics, speech training, English language, and ideologies and religions.¹⁹⁰ The second year programme takes students through selected books of the bible, New Testament survey, biblical interpretation, systematic theology, the Bible and life, history of mission, and counseling. In the third year, courses included exegesis of selected bible passages, apologetics, missionary practice, modern theological trends, and the church today. Students who satisfactorily completed the three-year course were awarded the appropriate college diploma. If a student failed to reach the required academic standard, but “has shown diligence and fitness for Christian service, a certificate will be awarded in place

¹⁸⁹ Hostetter was a graduate of Eastern Baptist College and a successful radio preacher.

¹⁹⁰ Aladura Theological Institute Handover Note Submitted by Venerable Bankole Fabusoro.

of a diploma”¹⁹¹. Candidates who attended a programme that lasted less than a year were awarded a certificate of attendance.

Of all the teachers who taught various courses, only Mr. H. O Atansuyi received salaries. The seminary’s senate comprised nine members during the tenure of Reverend S.O. Olaoye as principal, while the visiting lecturers were six and included Reverend Mother Superior Deborah Oluwole and National Deaconess Priscilla D. Ashamu.¹⁹² Courses offered depended on the needs of individual applicants. A three-year programme was designed to prepare candidates for a diploma in theology, while the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) program was to enable candidates who had failed their West African School Certificate examination and those who had no result at all to receive extensive teaching for them to make up their papers.

Currently, the Seminary has more structured programmes. The three-year programme leads to the award of a diploma in theology. In the structured course outline, the seminary offers a theological education that is all inclusive, namely systematic theology I, which includes the doctrines of bibliology, theology proper, anthropology, hamatology and Christology.¹⁹³ Systematic theology II covers the doctrines of soteriology, pneumatology, ecclesiology and eschatology; systematic III, which covers the doctrines of pneumatology, angelology, ecclesiology, eschatology and divine healing. Other courses include spiritual and biblical counseling; evangelism, old and New Testaments Survey; general epistles; poetical books, namely Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon; major and minor prophets; Acts of the Apostles; Pastoral theology; homiletics; Pentateuch; revelation and Daniel; historical books, namely Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 & 2 Samuel, 1 & 2 Kings, 1 & 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther; Christian ethics; missiology; comparative religion; and church organization and administration¹⁹⁴. Although the seminary has not published these courses in brochure or pamphlet form, the handover note in which the courses were documented was quite informative.

There were nine pioneer students, but within the first three months, the number of students rose to thirteen. They were largely drawn from the host country Nigeria. Others were Liberians and Sierra Leoneans (AAF 2006:89). The current enrolment of both male and

¹⁹¹ “A New Theological and Spiritual Institution for a New Era”. In: Aladura Theological Seminary Prospectus, n.d, n.p. A Pamphlet produced by the seminary which contains brief information about the seminary and its academic programmes.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Aladura Theological Institute Handover Note Submitted by Venerable Bankole Fabusoro.

female is above forty, and averagely thirty-seven years of age. Although the college, as a matter of policy stated unequivocally in an undated pamphlet that “age is not a limitation... You’ll find it is exciting studying with men and women who are not all of your generation...”¹⁹⁵ currently, women’s age requirement is put at fifty years or below. The church considered that age for women unless they are not going to work with the church. A woman that is currently considered over-aged may be admitted for the programme if she wants to update her knowledge and go back to her local church as volunteer worker or steward. Preparing a woman of age fifty for a tedious ministerial work is considered unrealistic because her age and energy are unfavourable for priestly job.¹⁹⁶

The first buildings of the theological college were a wooden faith home of three rooms, a hall and a wooden chapel built on an expanse of land acquired by TCLAW at Anthony Village. The location is also known as Church Estate. In May 1972 for example, £565 was raised for developing AMNT (Voice of Spirit 1973). Proper structures were later built for administrative and academic purposes. In 2012, Adejobi Memorial Theological Seminary was relocated to Ogere, Remo where the primate founder of TCLAW started the unstructured discipleship training.¹⁹⁷ The permanent site of AMTS is situated in between the Tabieorar ground and TCLAW private school, along Lagos-Ibadan Express way, Ogere. The institution has adequate structures that accommodate Library, administrative offices, hostel accommodation for students, apartments for resident academic and administrative staff, and a chapel.

The seminary has fourteen substantive and part-time lecturers, but its library has few books. Some branch churches of TCLAW offer similar theological education, not as a full-fledged theological seminary where elaborate theological courses are being taught. Dioceses offer discipleship training programme to their church workers within their respective diocese. This is run at weekends. The diocese of Lagos East, Yaba offered discipleship training to its workers. The diocese invites lecturers from AMTS and elsewhere to give lectures and other training. It designed the syllabus and time table. At the end of a programme, participants are given certificate of attendance.

Aladura theological seminary (ATS) held its seventy-fifth graduation ceremony on the 30th of October, 2010 at Rufus Ositelu Event Centre, beside Victory Night Ground, Kilometer 60,

¹⁹⁵ “A New Theological and Spiritual Institution for a New Era”. Aladura Theological Seminary Prospectus, n.d, n.p. A Pamphlet produced by the seminary, which contains brief information about the seminary and its academic programmes.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

Lagos-Ibadan expressway, Ogere, Ogun State. It is currently affiliated with Lagos State University, and offers diploma and graduate degree programmes.

3.6.3 CCC

For the first time in the history of CCC worldwide, the church in 1971 attempted to formally educate its workers. A three member committee comprising Professor Emeritus Victor Adenuga Oyenuga¹⁹⁸, one Mrs Falobi and Mr Tommy Oke had a number of meetings and proposed structures and programme of study which it handed to the Pastor Founder Oshoffa for consideration and approval. This did not receive the deserved consideration because the Pastor agreed with elders of the church and considered learning in the spirit above secular education. The zeal to broaden the horizon of church workers in biblical and spiritual matters prompted late Pastor Alexander Abiodun Bada to organize a three-month training at CCC Makoko Diocesan headquarters for Shepherds and other church workers, but this was phased out due to lack of strong will for continuity of the programme. In 1986, CCC organized a Bible Study programme for newly approved applicants for full-time work in the church. This metamorphosed into Oshoffa Memorial Seminary. One Senior Evangelist Vincent headed the Seminary and was assisted by Superior Evangelist E.O. Falola, Senior Evangelist F. Ade Martins, and Evangelist Tunji Akande as Registrar.

The first set of students graduated at the end of a six-month course of study. The second set of students was dismissed before completing their programme due to their active involvement in student unionism and consequent rebellion that is uncommon in theological institutions. After this episode, the Superior Evangelist S.E. Orovboni as Shepherd-in-charge of Makoko Parish headed the CCC Seminary and Leadership Training programme. The church considered him (Orovboni) for this role because he was one of the few that were fairly educated among the CCC church workers, coupled with his managerial experience in his work place and his wide spectrum of knowledge in the CCC tenets, doctrine and administration.

Before S.E. Orovboni accepted the leadership of the Seminary, one Professor S.O. Odeyemi had begun a long vacation course for CCC students in science subjects, bible studies, and skill acquisition programme in soap making and catering in the premises of a school in Gbagada, Lagos. In 1981, the Seminary was located in one of CCC property at Idimu, Lagos. On the authorization of Pastor Alexander Bada, S.E. Orovboni and Professor S.O. Odeyemi headed the CCC Seminary and Leadership Training Centre and CCC Bible Institute respectively.

¹⁹⁸ Former Deputy Vice Chancellor of University of Ibadan, Africa's first Professor of Agriculture, and a world renowned nutritional biochemist. Cf A. Adesoye, *Sojourn: Emeritus Professor V. A. Oyenuga's Biography*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: RoseDog Books, 2010.

Shortly after the demise of Pastor A.A. Bada in 2000, the inability of the duo (S.E. Orovboni and Professor S.O. Odeyemi) to give detail report of their stewardship in the institutions required the proactive measures which the then newly appointed Pastor Emmanuel Mobiyina Oshoffa took to reactivate the institutions in question. The reactivated CCC Seminary took off in March 2005 under a new Rector, Superior Evangelist S. Olaniyi and a new Board of Management headed by Superior Evangelist S.O. Banjo, a pioneer member of the CCC Board of Trustees. The Seminary offers a formal training programme for full time church workers in CCC.



Figure 23. CCC Seminary and Leadership Training Institute, Lagos. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu 2011

Situated in the proposed CCC secretariat, Kilometer 53, Lagos-Ibadan express way, Ogun state, the rector of the institute emphasized that the goals of CCC seminary and leadership training institute are to teach the Bible line by line; research and teach the biblical truth concerning the tenets and faith tradition of CCC; and critically examine the faith traditions of CCC and separate unacceptable traditions that may at any time creep into the church.¹⁹⁹ The CCC seminary aims at educating and academically empowering the elect of God for a purposeful church ministry; empower the youths biblically to face contemporary and future spiritual and secular challenges; developing shepherds and other church workers through

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011.

education in the areas of pastoral competency, reflection, initiative and church ministries such as prophetic, teaching, Sunday school, choir, women, youth and evangelism.²⁰⁰

The CCC seminary and leadership training institute claims a mandate, which it drew from Acts 26:18: “To open their eyes, in order to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sin and inheritance among those who are sanctified by faith in Me”.²⁰¹ The seminary has gone a step further to strengthen this mandate by a teaching philosophy drawn from Isaiah 28:9&10:

Whom will he teach knowledge? And whom will He make to understand the message? Those just weaned from milk? Those just drawn from the Breast? For Precept Must be upon Precept, Precept upon Precept, Lime upon Life, Line upon Line, Here a little, there a little.²⁰²

The goals and objectives of the CCC seminary have considerably influenced the design of its course programme and curriculum.

The designed courses are, in part, a reflection of an integration of orthodox medical disease aetiologies and biblical reflection on human health and disease. An orthodox medical practitioner is given an academic position to teach a course on Ministry and Health Education, particularly preventive medicine to the seminarians. This is to equip the elect of God with the knowledge that can help them to adequately handle health matters that members and solution seekers may bring to their attention in their respective vineyards. In summation, the seminary offers systematic, pastoral, and sacramental theology, Christology, biblical study, leadership, management and administration, church planting and growth, evangelism, counseling and CCC tenet and faith traditions²⁰³. Lectures are organized and taught in English and Yoruba. This, to an extent, makes learning easier for students who are deficient in one language and to enable them acquire knowledge using the alternative language. Students are graduated and awarded a Diploma or Certificate according to the course programme that the individual offers.

The basic qualification required for academic staff of the CCC seminary is first degree certificate from a reputable University. The discipline must be relevant to the programme of the institution. In this regard, the seminary employs academic staff drawn from Secular

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ Celestial Visions and Dreams Ministers 2011. CCC Seminary Programme of Events for 2011 Graduating Students. Ketu, Lagos: CCC International Headquarters, 2011, p.3.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ CCC Seminary and Leadership Training Institute School Brochure. This is a six-page print-out document.

Universities as visiting lecturers. This has significantly reduced the expenses of the institution. Both diploma and certificate courses are run concurrently. Seminarians whose academic performance is high and who will qualify for diploma course examinations are identified as academic activities progress. Similarly, students who will qualify for certificate course examinations are identified through similar process²⁰⁴. In a class, there are those whose highest educational qualification is primary school certificate. Yet there are holders of Modern certificates and West African examination certificates respectively. Those who hold higher school certificates are diploma, higher diploma or university certificates. After their higher certificates, they considered theological education very important for their spiritual development and service to CCC worldwide. Teachers ensure that the individual differences among the students are taken into consideration in the course of lecture delivery and other academic exercises.

A diploma course student may in addition be allowed to offer certificate course in Evangelism provided he/she performs excellently in academic. At the end of the programmes, such a student may graduate with diploma in theology and certificate in Evangelism. Other certificate courses include certificate in Sunday school teaching and administration, and counseling. The seminary plans to commence certificate course in Pastoral Care and Counseling. What differentiate the diploma students from certificate students are their academic certificates. All categories of students require 72% of total attendance for the programme. Diploma students who fail to meet this attendance requirement will be disqualified from writing diploma examination.

During the 2011 graduation ceremony, the seminary graduated forty-three students. Out of this figure, seventeen obtained certificate in Evangelism, seven obtained certificate in crises counseling, while nineteen graduated with certificate in Sunday school²⁰⁵. The seminary employs the services of thirteen academic staff: three have PhD degree in theology, one has Master degree in Christian religious education, and two have Higher National Diploma certificate in Accounting. Other academic staff hold diploma in theology, bachelor's degree in Nursing and Environmental Health, and Master degree in social works. The institution's seeming sensitivity to gender issue is reflected in the number of females actively involved in the academic and administrative sections of the institution. There are two female academic

²⁰⁴ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011.

²⁰⁵ Celestial Visions and Dreams Ministers 2011. CCC Seminary Programmes of events for 2011 graduating students. Ketu, Lagos: CCC International Headquarters, 2011, p.5-10.

staff and three female administrative staff. Although there are female students in the institution, they are insignificant compared to the number of male seminarians.

The seminary organizes retreats and training workshops for full time church workers and interested members of the CCC. It designs a list of schedules which guides where and when retreats and training workshops are to be conducted for intending participants in various parishes worldwide. In this regard, the office of the Rector produces a handbook that is useful to both the facilitators of the academic forum and participants. Usually, the handbook produced for every training workshop contains a considerable number of paper articles written by academic staff of the seminary and other scholars from outside the institution. The 2012 Workers' Retreat Handbook, "Fight the Good Fight of Faith" programme held from 26th to 30th March, 2012. The handbook contains a number of informative papers. They include purpose and conditions of learning, shepherd's ministry to the terminally ill; Sleeplessness: A Clinical and Spiritual Exposition; the Mystery of CCC relationship with other Faith and Christian denominations; and In my Father's Home: Focus of Kingdom Ambassadors²⁰⁶.

3.7 Secular Institutions

3.7.1 C&S

For decades, the C&S had preoccupied itself with deliverance. Driven by the need to contribute to educational development of their various environments of existence, a number of the C&S churches established primary and secondary schools. The CSMC as a major strand established C&S College, Ilorin in 1969 to support the government, like other Christian mission bodies, in the provision of formal secondary education to citizenry. In particular, the church established it as a strategy for providing basic secondary education to its youths who form the human capital that the church needs for its continuity. Admission forms were sold to interested candidates in CSMC throughout Nigeria, but sixty students who were admitted formed the two arms of Form One that eventually became the maiden students of the college. The college initially operated a boarding system but when the population of students increased especially after the government took it over, the college had to introduce day system to allow students attend school from home. Currently, the college has a population of about one thousand, six hundred and twenty students of both junior and senior class levels. In addition, the college established pre-primary and primary school; which serves as a feeder school to the college aside candidates from other primary schools in the city. Although the government is yet to return the college to the church, the college bears the name of the

²⁰⁶ 2012 Workers' Retreat Handbook "Fight the Good Fight of Faith" (Summit Two) 26th-30th March, 2012. Ketu, Lagos: CCC International Headquarters, 2012, p.1-38.

church-C&S College. Various church branches are encouraged to establish schools according to their resources.

The CSMC branch at km 4, Apapa-Oshodi Express Way, Lagos established Orimolade Grammar School and St Michael's Grammar School for school age children of members and non-members. The church identified certain factors for establishing the schools, namely high cost of private schools in Lagos, quest for a better school setting and standard; which most government schools lack, and the concern to contribute towards increasing the level of literacy in the church, and society at large. The church ensures adequate funds as support for the schools to have adequate infrastructure, adequate instructional materials, and qualified academic and administrative staff in order that children receive learning with affordable cost. Furthermore, the church plans to commence, in no distant time, its vocational training for apprenticeship and development of skills in trades and occupations²⁰⁷.

In Jos, CSMC Dilimi Street took a giant stride to contribute to the educational development of Jos. In November 4, 1985 the church established C&S Primary School, which provides pre-primary and primary education to the children of members and non-members at affordable cost. Academic activities took off with a maiden enrolment of fourteen pupils, but its current population is about four hundred and twenty pupils. Furthermore in November 1998, the church extended its educational frontier when it established C&S College, Jos with an initial enrolment of forty-three students. The enrolment of students has increased over the years to about four hundred male and female students in all the levels of Junior and senior secondary school sections in accordance with Nigerian government policy on secondary school education.²⁰⁸

All the strands of the C&S, under the umbrella of the CSU, planned to establish a University in Nigeria. The C&S church members in their respective strands are encouraged to make free will donations to the actualization of Moses Orimolade University (MOU). There are claims that the federal government of Nigeria through its relevant agencies has approved the establishment of MOU, Omu-Aran, Nigeria. The proposed site of the University is Omu-Aran in Kwara State of Nigeria where a large expanse of land has been made available by the Omu-Aran and surrounding communities.

The C&S appropriates conferences and conventions to broaden the educational horizon of Church workers and members in the areas of church growth, pastoral and Christian

²⁰⁷ 40th Anniversary Celebration and 25 Years of Evangelism in Nigeria Programme of Events, Lagos: CSMC, Km 4, Apapa-Oshodi Express Way, Surulere, Lagos, 2011, p.31.

²⁰⁸ Interview with Yemi Alagbe, 08 May, 2012, Jos.

counseling and Christian ministrations. The National Pastors' Council (NPC) of the CSMC organizes its annual conference during which the pastoral ministry is brought to the fore and papers are presented on topical issues. During the fourth national conference of CSMC National Pastors' Council which held in September 2010, papers were presented on pain and stress management, good interpersonal relational skills as bedrock of a matured pastoral life, pastor's soul as a living sacrifice in the Lord, financial empowerment in poultry farming as a veritable tool for self-employment, Pastor's life in a challenging environment, and the relationship of the resourceful Pastor, effective leadership, and church growth. The Pastoral council had its maiden conference in 2007 and is planning its sixth national conference in September 2012.²⁰⁹

3.7.2 TCLA

TCLA considered secular schools as critical to eradication of illiteracy in the society. Children of members and non-members attend the schools. This is premised on its objective of raising the standard of formal educational of people who have never being to formal school and those who started but could not complete their secondary school education. Also the church strategically aimed at depopulating great number of semi-literate and illiterate members. By extension, it is the church's contribution to the educational development of the society and to increasing literacy level of the society. TCLAW established Aladura Comprehensive High School (ACHS) at Anthony Village, Lagos in 1971 and appointed Chief D.A. Olugunna to head it. The Lagos State government in the early 1970s took over mission schools in Lagos including ACHS.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ CSMC 4th National Convention/Retreat "Higher Level in Delight of the Law of God" organized by CSMC National Pastors' Council, 8–10 September, 2010, P. 14-33. Cf 5th National Convention/Retreat "Fresh Oil for Ultimate Fulfilment" Organised by CSMC National Pastors' Council, 7-9 Sept, 2011, P. 17–26.

²¹⁰ Before the Nigeria-Biafra civil war of 1967-1970, Christian mission bodies established most of Nigerian schools, which various governments grant-aided, but shortly after the war, various state governments at different time took over mission schools on ground that their curriculum and practices were irrelevant to the social reconstruction and economic development of Nigeria and that they were "divisive in the sense that denominational schools encouraged religious and tribal bigotry and unhealthy rivalry among the citizens". Cf N. A. Nwagwu, "The State Take-over of Schools in Nigeria: A Controversy", *Journal of Educational Administration*, 17, 1 (1979): 75-86; S. Adesina, 'Christian Missions versus State Governments in Nigeria: The Battle for the Nation's Schools'. *Religious Education* 68,4(1973):483-496.



Figure 24. TCLA Ositelu Private School. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu 2013

There were claims that, for the number of years when government took control of the school, it did little or nothing to improve the infrastructure of ACHS, and moral discipline of students was not adequately addressed. At the return of the school back to the church in 2001, the church swiftly embarked on rebuilding the school, its infrastructure, moral discipline of students, staff organization and recruitment, and effective teaching, learning and supervision of teaching staff.

Divine Grace School of Midwifery was established to provide medical education to interested members of the church and the public. It was established to produce man power that will be needed in the Divine Grace Medical Center, especially in the area of maternal health care department of the medical center. The establishment of the medical school is part of the long term plan of the church for the gradual development of a medical school of the proposed Divine Grace University/Aladura University.²¹¹

TCLAW established Aladura Private School, Ogere in 2002. The church organization is saddled with the responsibility of financing the two schools. The schools are not tuition free but affordable to average members and non-members who have their children in both schools. Various dioceses and churches have the privilege to establish Nursery, primary and secondary

²¹¹ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012.



Figure 25. TCLA School of Midwifery. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu 2013

schools. The years of war in Liberia impacted negatively to both the church and its education programmes. TCLA was more of a state church in Liberia and this status of the church also influenced positively the schools established by the church but the war dealt a devastating blow to the church and the schools.²¹²

3.7.3 CCC

Since its emergence in Nigeria in 1951, CCC had preoccupied itself with spiritual matters much more than its response to high demand for formal education, which only came in 1970s. The first step was to provide biblical education to its workers, which started in 1971. CCC's second attempt to provide basic education was premised on the need to contribute to the increase in the number of literacy in the church. In this regard, youth and education development committee oversees educational matters. Establishment of secular schools is not an exclusive responsibility of the central administration of the CCC worldwide. Dioceses, provinces, circuits, districts or parishes may, within the limit of their human and financial resources, establish pre-primary, primary and secondary schools within their respective domains. Quite a number of parishes established and operate secular schools. These are attended by children of CCC members and non-members. Aside their contribution to educational development of their environment of existence, they provide employment opportunities to qualified members of the public regardless of faith or Christian denominational difference.

²¹² *Ibid.* Tunde Gbogboade claims that TCLA enjoys official recognition and participation of past and present presidents and government of Liberia. The programmes of the church are sponsored and celebrated by the government of the federation of Liberia.

The establishment of Celestial Church of Christ Academy of Music and Art Technology (CCCAMAT) in 2010 was the initiative of a senior member of the CCC. Superior Evangelist Wole Adetiran²¹³ combined music teaching and administrative experiences, and passion for music to initiate a music project that has equal academic standard with similar course programme in conventional higher institutions in Nigeria. As the first Monotechnic of Music technology in Nigeria, CCCAMAT has the goals and objectives of producing remarkably competent music diplomats and certificate holders in performance, composition, musicology and considerable theoretical and practical skilled music technologists. The institute also set for itself the goal of providing skilled manpower in music and music technology needed in educational institutions, print and electronic media, recording studios, religious institutions, cultural centers, the armed forces, film industries, musical groups, and musical instruments fabrication industries²¹⁴. Basically, the institute whose establishment was spearheaded and programmed by the pioneer rector is meant to help choristers acquire sound knowledge of music with which real gospel music and ministration can be accomplished.²¹⁵



Figure 26. A CCCAMAT lecture Session. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu. May 2012

Courses offered at the academy are summed into four major areas namely music appreciation, choir management, professional studies of musical instruments, and general musicianship. In a broader perspective, CCAMAT offers Nigerian music as a course, which helps students acquaint themselves with music and culture of immediate and wider Nigerian environments. It also offers theory and rudiments of music, which helps students notate music, and sight-read

²¹³ A retired Musicologist and former Dean, School of Business and Communication Studies, The Polytechnic, Ibadan. He is the pioneer and serving Rector of CCCAMAT.

²¹⁴ Interview with Wole Adetiran, 28 May, 2012, Lagos.

²¹⁵ Interview with Abiodun Jimoh, 28 May, 2012, Lagos.

and sight-play musical pieces on the Piano and other instruments; Piano learning; Ear training and sight reading, which help to train the tone-deaf to reproduce musical sound and sing within the musical keys; English and Yoruba languages, which help improve the spoken language skill of students in both English and Yoruba languages, and also equip them for good music composition and rendition in both languages. Other courses include piano, applied music, history of western music, and orchestration. The CCCAMAT adopts the minimum standard for music and music technology designed and approved by National Board for Technical Education (NABTE). The rector of the academy, by virtue of his academic career and position in the Polytechnic, Ibadan has preserved a copy of the guiding curriculum for its certificate and national diploma course programmes, and other music programmes.

Lectures are delivered basically in English. In addition to conventional music courses, students are taught Yoruba, the language of the immediate environment to equip them for music composition in Yoruba. Both certificate and diploma students are taught concurrently but are distinguished by the type of examination they write at the end of the programme. The CCCAMAT, though affiliated to the Polytechnic, Ibadan, it is yet to gain full accreditation due to inadequacies in staff strength that is currently four male teachers, inadequate music facilities, and absence of independent physical structure for lectures, library, administration and administrative staff. The current enrolment stands at twenty-eight out of which eighteen are males. The academy is currently using part of the proposed CCC International Secretariat, Kilometer 53, Lagos-Ibadan express way, opposite OPIC Estate, Ogun State.

3.8 Finances

3.8.1 C&S

At its formative period of the C&S, the means through which monies were generated and kept in safe custody were not elaborate. Multiplying them was not the preoccupation of the church either. Rather, the church preoccupied itself with spiritual healing of the afflicted persons, prophetic power and sayings, and restoring physical and spiritual wellbeing of people. The church derived its financial strength from the tithes and offerings which members gave out to the church. Church funds were not substantial and were kept in the hands of trusted members among the elders in the church. They are trusted members of the church who practiced *Ajo gbigba* the local method of safe-keeping monies for traders. The dynamics of church finances and the growing demand, by members, for better finance practice propelled the church into modern ways of safe keeping monies, property and investment that keep the church financially self-sustaining.

The challenges of funding and sustaining evangelism programmes, church planting, church workers' welfare, charity donations, provision of social services, and other pecuniary issues have compelled C&S churches to diversify their sources of revenue. Every local church contributes an annual levy tagged "conference levy" and ordination levy to the international headquarters. At the international headquarters, funds are generated from investments of the church, namely bookshops, printing press, lodging houses, rent apartments; dividends from monies fixed in the banks, sale of publications and programs of events during national and international conventions. However, the bulk of the revenues accruing to the international headquarters of each strand of C&S come from the annual levy that every church branch contributes and the ordination fee which every member selected for ordination pays to the account officer of the local church for onward transfer to the international headquarters. The ESOCS mandates its churches in various districts and provinces to make their annual contributions to the international headquarters. Lagos contributes 25% of its total annual earnings to the annual budget of the international headquarters while the contributions of others categorized as special grade, super grade, grade one, grade two and grade three provinces are paid within their financial convenience.

In CSMC, ordination levy is paid according to rank. Local churches pay their annual levy to the international headquarters according to population size and location. The rank of special apostle attracts about fifty thousand naira, which the recipient of the rank pays as levy. Inability to fulfill the financial obligation required of an individual selected for ordination does not stop him /her from being ordained. However, the affected member's ordination is not certificated until he/she pays the levy before due recognition can be given to his/her new rank. Each tier of the structure pays its ministerial and non-ministerial workers their monthly emoluments. There is no minimum wage designed and strictly followed for remunerating workers in local churches across the tiers of the organizational structure. Local churches design the salary structure for their workers according to their financial resources. Although the international headquarters anoints and appoints prophets who volunteer to work for the church, each local church remunerates "conference prophets" posted to serve there. Adequate provision for remunerating retired prophets is yet to be made. The local church where the retired prophet worships is expected to give financial support to the retiree, even though the Conference gives some token retirement benefits to the retired prophet. This may not be the case if the prophet is alleged of moral impropriety, found guilty and dismissed.

Every local church generates its funds within approved possibilities. Aside tithes and offerings, the church generates funds from monetary donations that various bands make on their respective anniversary days, and annual church adult, children and family harvest thanks giving services. Collections during worship, namely weekly thanks giving, various church building projects and special collection for the needy help to build up church financial base. The church also organizes fund raising for the purchase of transport vehicles, musical instruments, establishment of private school, building of pastorium, and other projects that are capital intensive.

3.8.2 TCLAW

TCLAW has developed its finance structure from its simplest form of generating and keeping monies in the private coffers of trusted members of the church to an elaborate and modernized mechanism for generating, keeping and increasing monies in order to make the church organization financially self-sustaining. For the first time since its inception in 1930, TCLAW developed elaborate financial regulations that were documented in a forty paged book published in 2001 and revised in 2009. As an independent and financially self-sustaining church organization, TCLAW both in its constitution and financial regulations clearly spelled out its sources of income. The financial responsibilities of officers charged with accounting duties, the signatories to provincial, diocesan, zonal and local church accounts, the categorization of the sources of income of the church, financial sharing of the church according to percentage, the sources of income for ministers' retirement/pension fund and other financial matters of the church are unambiguously stated in the financial regulations book. This is with the intention of the church to lay a structure for proper accounting of church funds, good accounting for accountability, proper custody of church assets, judicious appropriation of church funds and checkmating unforeseen circumstances and loopholes that may engender financial impropriety (TCLAW Financial Regulations 2002:7).

In accordance with the best practices of TCLAW on money matters, there are approved sources of generating funds which all church branches of TCLAW explore in order to raise funds for administrative, social and evangelical matters. The church legally generates income through tithes, general thanks-offering, New Year, Easter, month ending and special thanksgiving offering, common offertories during normal, special and anniversary services, harvest thanks-offerings, education fund, fund for the needy, proceeds from collections during all saints Day Services, and Tabieorar celebration thanks offering. Aside the aforementioned, the church collects offerings that it finds necessary. The church may raise special fund for building a Pastorium and other church projects. It accepts special personal and group

donations in cash or kind. The church may be obliged to reject a personal or group donation if it finds the source to be morally questionable.

Within the first six decades of the history and activities of TCLAW pension scheme for ministers was not given the seriousness it deserved. In 1993, the then primate of TCLAW, late Gabriel Ositelu introduced the contributory pension scheme which the church organization expects to take adequate care of ministerial staff after disengaging from active service in the Vineyard. The rules and regulations that guide TCLAW pension scheme were documented and published in the year 2000. However, in 2002 primate Rufus Ositelu introduced the contributory pension scheme for non-ministerial staff.

Significantly, the pension scheme for ministerial staff is entrenched in the 2009 second edition of TCLAW financial regulations. However, the pension scheme for non-ministerial staff of TCLAW is yet to be included in the financial regulations. The retirement pension fund of ministerial staff is sourced from five percent of ministers' monthly salary contribution and other sources, namely contribution from local churches, the subvention of the church organization, interests on church deposits in the bank, and contributions from councils (TCLAW Financial Regulations 2009:18; 2013:15).

In the office of the primate, the newly created department of retirement, pension and welfare takes care of health insurance matters. The primate in 2008, for the first time in the history of TCLAW introduced Health Insurance Scheme (HIS) for ministers of God. The health insurance scheme is put in place to ensure healthy living of serving ministers of God in order that they may have healthy body and spirit to meet both spiritual and temporal needs of their respective congregations. The health insurance scheme guidelines are to help ministers of God know their entitlements and obligations in the scheme.

Aside the approved sources of revenue generation, TCLAW has invested in physical property. This is an effort geared towards diversifying the revenue base of TCLAW in order to achieve more efficiency and productivity in administrative and evangelical tasks of the church. The church has embarked on capital investments in physical property, acquiring stock shares and divesting part of its money in fixed deposits in Banks (Ositelu 2009). The church has established block industry which molds and sells cement blocks. TCLAW Garment factory was established in order to generate more funds for the church organization and to create employment opportunity for members and non-members.

3.8.3 CCC

The church as an organization requires human and material resources to function effectively and extend its frontiers. In this regard, the growth and expansion of CCC over the years have shaped its innovative financial approach to resource generation. The emerging challenges posed by increasing membership, parishes and administrative costs have encouraged the church to diversify its revenue sources. The CCC as a self-sustaining organization generates the bulk of its revenue from weekly tithes and offerings (*idamewa ati ore os'ose*) that members pay during Sunday worship. The tithe is in fulfillment of God's command as demonstrated by the biblical Israelites who gave out annually, one-tenth of what their farms yielded²¹⁶. Offerings are basic expressions of thanks, request and show of participation in the drive towards addressing some existential needs of the church.

Every Parish collects tithes and offerings from its members. Weekly offerings include offertory (*owo'gba*), alms giving (*itore anu*), offering for itinerary (*owo irin ajo, owo iko'le*) building offering, and thanks offering (*owo ope*). Annual harvests of adults and children to a large extent provide some financial leverage to the church. However, parishes are privileged to explore possible means of generating more funds in as much as they do not, in any way, lead to exploitation of givers or negative implications on CCC worldwide. The share of the revenue among the three major beneficiaries is based on percentage. The international headquarters, local church (parish), and the resident shepherd of a parish each receive one-third of all funds accruing from each parish. This is non-compliant with the biblical injunction that stresses that all the tithes, though other revenues can be shared, is for the anointed shepherd in the Lord's vineyard²¹⁷.

The church does not currently have structured remunerations for its workers. The revenue derivable in a parish determines what each worker in that parish gets, but this does not foreclose the plan of CCC worldwide to design an all-encompassing structure that include basic salary, allowances, insurance and retirement, taking into consideration disparate economic and social advantages of its parishes across the globe. Parishes are at variance in their harvest thanks giving services. Some parishes fix some amount of money that calibers of members should contribute to mark the annual harvest; some do not on ground that individual

²¹⁶ This is a paraphrase of the biblical injunction on tithing in Deuteronomy 14:22-29 (NIV): "Be sure to set aside a tenth of all that your fields produce each year".

²¹⁷ Interview with Segun Mepolone 28 May, 2012, Lagos. He alludes to the biblical Numbers 18 Verses 20-32: "The LORD said to Aaron, "You will have no inheritance in their land...I am your share and your inheritance among the Israelites". "I give to the Levites all the tithes in Israel as their inheritance in return for the work they do".

member knows how much divine blessings he/she has recorded throughout the season²¹⁸. Asked whether CCC worldwide divests part of its finances for financial sustainability, most members interviewed claimed that the church does not fix monies in the bank; it has no shares in industries, and does not acquire property; adding that CCC is the last ship of salvation without recourse to drive for mundane prosperity. However, there are insinuations that the church has diversified its sources of revenue in order to strengthen its capital base for adequate response to needs and aspirations of the church, members and non-members.

3.9 Women in the Church

3.9.1 C&S

Okome and Renne (2013) highlight the ambiguous position of the church and the larger society on the ability and purity of women with regards to power and leadership position in Aladura churches in Nigeria and diaspora. The authors compare the patriarchal dominance of leadership in the church with the larger society where women are not easily accepted as overall leader except for the female folk and conclude that such patriarchal hegemony has been broken by a few number of charismatic female church founders and leaders like Abiodun Akinsowon, madam Olatunrinle, madam Akanke Igbalaolu. The number of charismatic female founders and leaders in Aladura has increased over time. The current role of Women in the organizational Structure of C&S is a shift from what it was in the past when every arm of the church structure was the exclusive preserve of the male. Females were restricted from taking part in church worship during their menstrual period and were not considered significant at decision making that pertained the church.²¹⁹ Within the restrictions placed on women in the church, their positive contribution to the progress of the church is recognized. In this regard, CSMC established Women Council that is responsible for female affairs. The Council convenes women conferences where welfare matters and spiritual progress of female members are discussed. The Women leader heads the council that comprises the secretary, assistant secretary, treasurer, financial secretary, assistant financial secretary, auditor, adviser and a public relation officer. At the general conference, the head of women council convenes a general meeting of women during which reports from various districts and zones are presented and deliberated on. The secretary submits report of its annual meeting at the General Conference for further deliberation.

Women under the auspices of Women Council take active part in the general conference where decisions are taken on general matters of the Church. At the general conference,

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ Interview with Ade Okuribido, 25 May, 2012, Ibadan.

women delegates contribute to discussions on topical issues that are brought before the highest decision making body of the church. However, women are not ranked at par with their male counterparts. The position of the spiritual leader of the church is an exclusive preserve of men. Other tiers of the structure, namely zonal, district and local churches are headed by men. In churches established by charismatic women, the women founders delegate the highest ranked male members as representatives at the district, zonal or general conference. Although they cannot say the benediction after congregational prayer, they can perform such task in the congregation of females. A recent trend in the role of women in C&S is the fact that women are allowed to walk up to the Pulpit and read bible lessons during worship. Women who possess the ability to speak in the public and have demonstrated at various capacities in the church, their sound knowledge of the bible, are allowed to deliver sermons during congregational worship.

Female bands (*egbe obinrin*), provide opportunities for women to showcase their talents of organizing human and material resources. In their respective bands, they organize prayer sessions and welfare meetings during which individuals give short exhortations on moral and organizational matters that pertain women. At the administrative level of the church, women who the educational qualification are given the role of assistant secretary of the local church. In some local churches, women are made treasurers, auditors and other administrative positions which were exclusive preserve of men. Observations have shown that women who occupy some administrative positions possess basic higher certificates and experiences required of them to function effectively. There are few cases where women are integrated into elders-in-council that deliberates on general matters of the local church. These are new initiatives which have evolved out of shared mutual understanding among members towards the progress of the church. Availability of highly educated male and female members in different professions has encouraged the church to try out female members in various administrative positions in the church. The constitution of the church does not prescribe what administrative role the female should play in church matters.

The integration of women into the administrative hierarchy has been met with opposition from members who insist that such initiative contradicts the faith traditions of the church. However, the competency with which the appointed females carry out their administrative responsibilities influenced a significant number of members to support women in their negotiation for more responsibilities and leadership positions in the church. The absence of female paid prophets in C&S is, to a large extent, not borne out of the usual restrictions that

are placed on females; their motherly role in the home and their daily duties to their respective husbands are critical factors that made the church to exempt them from that role. Similarly, paid prophets agreed to transfer, at any time and to any church location, in the course of discharging their duties, but this aspect, to a great extent, puts the female prophets on the edge.²²⁰

3.9.2 TCLA

Turner (1967:44-47) records the ambiguous place of women in the church, which contrasts with the Yoruba treatment of women in traditional administration and rituals. The importance of women in ministerial and non-ministerial work is given a considerable priority in the TCLAW. Although TCLA is a prophetic church that emphasizes ritual dirt of female, by exempting them from some rites and rituals, the church demonstrates a considerable sensitivity to gender issues. Observations show that the church's position on female matters is ambiguous. The past and current primates of the church are men. There is much integration of women at the lower strata of ministers and officers of TCLAW. At each level of the hierarchy of the church, women are ranked at par with their male ministers. From the lowest to the highest stratum in the hierarchy, women are accorded their rights and privileges as their male counterparts except that they cannot be nominated or elected as primate. Men and women are actively involved in both ministerial and administrative functions of the church. Like their male counterparts, female ministers and laities of varying ages are members of decision making bodies including ministries in the church such as teaching, evangelical, children, prophetic, social, vocational, youth, and music and drama ministries. In spite of their integration into the hierarchy of the church and given ministerial position, their impurity to a large extent denies them some rights and privileges (Crumbley 2008).

The extent to which women negotiate their leadership role in TCLAW is seen in their membership of councils and bodies that take crucial decisions and formulate policies geared towards spiritual and administrative progress of the church such as supreme council of prelates, councils of Reverends, Pastors and Evangelists, the Primate-in-council, provincial executive council, elders' governing council, ministers' consultative council and TCLAW board of trustees. In spite of the fact that the church involves the female folk in a wide range of leadership positions and other church activities, it however restricts women from performing holy communion, holy wedlock, baptism by immersion, and burial unless the female minister has attained the age of sixty years and has also reached her menopause.

²²⁰ Interview with Adewale Gbadebo, 09 August, 2011.

3.9.3 CCC

The CCC recognizes the contribution of females both young and old to the spiritual and developmental programmes of the church. This is largely defined by the faith traditions of the church that are derived from biblical tradition and African religio-cultural influence on the church. The role of Felicia Yaman Oshoffa, the first wife of the pastor founder of CCC, in the formative years of the church as a “leading female figure” is a platform upon which the evolution of the spiritual and secular role of women in CCC can be adequately examined (Adogame 1999:23). Felicia Oshoffa was involved in the formation of the church, duly recognized for her prophetic sayings and also attended series of meetings in those early years of the church (Crumbley 2008:61).

The church recognizes the spiritual potentials of female members and encourages them to develop and manifest God given gifts during worship and for other spiritual matters that help the church to progress. Female members, like their male counterparts, demonstrate the gifts of the Holy Spirit as stated in the holy bible²²¹. Females who manifest proven spiritual gifts and have consistently appropriated them in church activities are anointed and allowed to rise at par with their counterpart male prophets on the prophetic hierarchical ladder. The church traditions as entrenched in the church constitution allow females to take part in collective and individually assigned prayers and to read bible passages as may be instructed by a preacher²²². They further demonstrate their importance in their contribution to biblical exegesis during bible study programme.

The church restrictions on females, to a great extent, limit the contribution of female in the church. They are restricted from the main stream of church administration and leadership as they cannot head a church, read the bible lessons, deliver a sermon, conduct church service, lead men in prayer, or say the grace after prayer as enjoined by Saint Paul in I Corinthians 14 Verses 34 and 35, and Genesis 3 Verse 16. Similarly, they are not allowed to come into the church, perform any spiritual function or stay very close to the church during their menstrual period until their menstrual flow stops and are sanctified following a laid down procedure²²³. Furthermore, a nursing mother can only be admitted into the church and allowed to partake in church activities after she must have stayed away from church for forty-one days after child’s birth.

²²¹ I Corinthians 12 Verse 7-11; 14:39; and I Thessalonians 5 Verse 19.

²²² CCC Constitution, 190, p.50.

²²³ CCC Constitution consists of various restrictions placed on female devotees, (189-194, p. 50-51).

There is no doubt that various restrictions have greatly reduced the religious freedom and contribution of female to the spiritual progress of the church and administrative efficiency of the church leadership. However, observations have shown the response of the church leadership to emerging role of Christian women in church planting and growth, and the efforts of women in negotiating their leadership role in the CCC. The leading role of female spiritualists/prophetesses in the organization and execution of Wednesday special “service for seekers” is exemplary. During this special devotional service which, to borrow the idea of Bell (1997:115), I categorize as “rites of affliction”, visionaries mostly female prophets reveal divine instructions and ritual recipes to each devotee, which when carried out according to instructions are claimed to heal the afflicted, repel evil forces and restore lost glory and long awaited break-through. Attached to each visionary is a secretary who writes the divine message and “ritual recipes”²²⁴ that are carried out as a solution to the identified problem of the devotee.

Women leadership role and management strategy have evolved over the years but these have remained within the female folk. Women groups within the church have witnessed tremendous transformation where women demonstrate both gifted and acquired leadership and managerial skills. Though restricted from the main organizational hierarchy of the CCC worldwide, women fellowship group is socially visible in the CCC. For the first time since the emergence of CCC in 1947, women groups in the church organized their first international convention in Lagos, March 2000. Although its central focus is on bible study and prayer fellowship, women have a wide range of opportunities of exchanging ideas, experiences and developing their potentials in the course of performing individual and collective roles. Through the fellowship platform, women negotiate their role in evangelism, counseling, seminars, hospitality, discipline in the home and church, intercessory prayers, women and youth empowerment.

3.10 Central Choir

3.10.1 C&S

Cherubim and Seraphim (C&S) as a body of major and minor strands of autonomous churches does not have a national choir. The seeming disunity and independency that exist among the streams of churches that claim Orimolade as their spiritual progenitor have made it impossible the C&S to have a single national choir. The Cherubim and Seraphim Unification

²²⁴ These are integration of tangibles, namely candle, palm frond, olive oil, holy water, soap, blessed perfume, fruits and biblical verses mostly chosen from the book of Psalms. Devotees claimed these ritual elements, when appropriated provide solutions to their existential crises situations.

Church of Nigeria, the administrative organ that is responsibility for uniting various strands of the church and for harmonizing their activities for best practices, is yet to draw a plan that can facilitate unity among different choir groups of C&S churches. CSUCN does not have any record of a national choir, which any of its registered members established. None of the strands of the C&S visited has a national choir.

3.10.2 TCLA

The C&S comprises major and minor autonomous strands and as such, does not have a single national choir that represents them. None of the strands of the C&S visited has been noted for establishing a national choir; but that plans are on to establish their respective national choir. The church of the Lord Aladura (TCLA) as a unified religious organization established its National Music Ministry (NMM) under which the National Choir is subsumed. This came up within the first ten years of the stewardship of Primate Rufus Ositelu. The church considers music as a tool of evangelism and a means of marketing itself through a music ministry and national choir that is saddled with song ministration and production. In its joint purpose for establishing Music and Drama ministries, the church intends “to expose the Church to a wider audience and to reach out and win souls for Christ” (Ositelu 2009:217). The NMM executives in 2009 commenced a series of visitation to choir groups in sub-international headquarters at Elegbata, and provinces in order to consolidate the efforts of the primate in establishing the ministry.²²⁵

3.10.3 CCC

For the first four decades of its emergence, CCC worldwide had not a central choir. Each parish, through the selfless efforts of some individual members, brings together both young and adult members who indicate interest in singing for the Lord. The selfless service of Superior Evangelist Wole Adetiran to the spiritual and material progress of CCC worldwide was once again demonstrated when he (Wole Adetiran) formed the CCCCC in 1987. The choir composes gospel songs and also sings hymns drawn from the CCC church hymn book. The choir sings choruses that cut across denominations namely Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, old and new Pentecostals including CCC, TCLA and others. The founder and director of CCCCC is currently working on the CCC hymnal project of scoring, harmonizing, and internalizing the melodies of the church hymns. The varieties of tunes with which various parishes and individual members of the CCC worldwide sing CCC hymns contradict the tunes

²²⁵ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 03 January, 2014, Ogere.

with which they were being sung at first compilation. This project is expected to save the original tunes of the CCC hymns from adulteration.



Figure 27. CCC Central Choir (CCCCC webpage)

The CCCCC has a record of forty-five performances outside the church most importantly at Aso-Rock Villa Christmas Carol, Abuja, Professor Wole Soyinka's seventieth birthday concert, British International High School, Aja, Lekki, International Choir competition, Republic of Benin, Osun state Polytechnic inauguration and in other church denominations such as cherubim and seraphim, Surulere, Lagos, Foursquare Gospel Headquarters, Lagos and Redeemed Christian church of God, Christ church Parish, Gbagada, Lagos.²²⁶ The CCCCC's silver jubilee celebration came up in 2012. Members of CCCCC are drawn from various CCC parishes worldwide.

3.11 Summary

This chapter presents the organizational out look of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. The foregoing describes the gradual buildup of the organizational structure of each church. The structural levels of each church depends largely on its followership, expansion and the management strategies employed in stratifying its branches for effective management and productivity on the parts of the respective branch leaders, spiritual and administrative workers and other members of the church. According to Weber (1947:15-19), in a *verband* or a corporate organization, it is important to have an internal differentiation of roles, where there is respect for authority; where orders are carried out and enforced by individuals and responsible administrative agency, from the highest authority to the ordinary member of the

²²⁶ Interview with Wole Adetiran, 06 April, 2013, Lagos.

group. He emphasizes the significance of subdivisions in a corporate organization where the whole administrative (*verwaltungsstab*) staff is subsumed under the highest authority *chief/leiter*. Weber classifies this authority into rational-legal (that, which is legitimized by rules, institutionalizes or empowered body); hereditary that is legitimized by the sanctity of immemorial traditions; and charismatic authority that is claimed on the basis of extraordinary or supernatural gifts.

At their respective formative stage, the three prophetic churches paid much attention to spiritual healing and preaching the gospel at the detriment of building organizational structure that could create enabling environment for clearly defined roles and functions for every significant member of the church. The emerging elaborate administrative set up in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC has created increased role differentiations between, in many cases, the charismatic authority of founders/leaders of Aladura churches and their followers. Although the founder/leader is revered because of his/her charismatic gifts and the authority which his/her office carries, the hierarchization of authority and its institutionalization in the Aladura church, to a great extent, has helped to demystify the old idea that the charismatic founder/leader had all encompassing powers and functions in his/her group. In this regard, the creation of administrative offices, secular and non-secular departments and ministries, the establishment of English model, theological and secular institutions, and finance department help to sustain the contributory roles of various members for administrative advantages of the churches.

The dynamics of the religious market in Nigeria and the increasing competition among religious organizations have compelled the churches to redefine their respective organizational set up for competitive advantages. According to Miller (2002), religious organizations are social enterprises or are like secular firms that require collective contributions of members in the production and distribution of spiritual commodities, and that potential pressures from within and outside the organizations particularly those that stem from drifting from tradition, accommodating external elements, emerging cultural contexts, stiff competitions with old and new religious organizations, and the government regulatory regimes encourage religious organizations to employ management strategies as dynamic response to pressures in order to sustain traditions and also bring about innovations for competitive advantages. In doing this, each church employs both human and social capital to structure and restructure its organization into units, departments, ministries and bands. This has been done to eliminate role conflict to some extent; to obtain human potentials that

individual member can offer for the progress of the church; to meet the demand and supply in the religious market; and to create competitive advantages with which it sustains its relevance.

Chapter Four

Aladura Spirituality

4.0 Introduction

The spirituality of the Aladura churches is the sum total of their religious beliefs and practices that marked them out among Christian churches. This involves their total cosmology, which includes their belief in God, angels, the gifts of trance, dream and prophetic revelation, and the integration of all these in their liturgy. According to Aylward Shorter (1978:4), spirituality is “the core of the Christian experience, the encounter with God in real life action”. All the data in this chapter have been sourced from the observations of phenomena and interviews carried out among members of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. This chapter describes the churches’ appropriation of sacred space and time, prophecy, consultation, health care, church hymnal and the choir, liturgical practices, and prayer.

4.1 Sacred Spaces

A number of literature about sacred space explain its heterogeneity and that it (sacred space) is constructed either through divine experience or situationally sacralizing space, time, objects, and human relations. Eliade (1987) opines that the way a religious person experiences space is different from that of the non-religious, and that the religious person experience sacred space as a centre point where religious humans have access to the gods, a symbolically highest point closer to heaven or underworld²²⁷; and that due to modernity, all space has become homogenously secular. Foucault (1986) argues that the space in which we live is not homogeneous; that it is a world of a number of oppositions, qualities and quantities, namely transparent versus dark space, high versus low space, celestial and terrestrial spaces, free versus restricted space, moving versus still space, private versus public space, and family versus social space; and that in spite of the fact that humans have the knowledge of delineating, desanctifying, or secularizing space, the entire cosmos is yet to be completely secularized because holiness still plays important role in how humans create or distinguish space. He concludes that behind all these space oppositions is the idea of the sacred; that there are heterotopias, something similar to sacred places, but not exactly sacred.

Of all spaces, Foucault is interested in spaces that have relation with other spaces but in inverted or unreal relation and categorizes them into utopia and heterotopia: the former is a fictional, unreal or nonphysical space, which has special relation with all other sites; not a

²²⁷ This is an allusion to the biblical reation of the world that was formless, empty and full of darkness. Details in Genesis 1 verses 1-2; John 1 verses 1-5.

neutral relation, but the one that represents, contests and forms the opposite of all other sites/place/space. The latter (heterotopias) are enacted unreal places, in which all the other real sites that can be found within the culture (that have been existing since the founding of human society), are at the same time “represented, contested and inverted” (Foucault 1986:24). The author then categorizes heterotopia into crisis and deviation heterotopias: the former are sacred, forbidden, restricted, privileged or reserved places for age grades; menstruating, pregnant, elderly, widows and widowers. These, according to the author have been replaced in our time by the heterotopias of deviation. The latter (heterotopias of deviation) are places for the deviants in the society, namely prisons, psychiatric centres, and rehabilitation homes. The author concludes that heterotopias can be found in all human societies; it can change in functions and meaning over time; it can contrast with several other different and incompatible places; it can be temporal or eternal; not easily accessible like a public place; and it has multiple functions.

Van der Lieu (1986:393) while agreeing to the heterogeneity of space, sees sacred space as a position of power where the effects of power repeat themselves or are being repeated by man; a place of worship, a sacred position, which “remains holy even when it has been long neglected”. Eliade (1987) agrees that space is heterogeneous and goes further to explain that the sacred shows itself to us in a strange encounter with the supernatural forces (hierophany); that humans sacralise space according to their previous orientations; and that sacred space is relational because what is sacred to religious persons can be neutral to non-religious persons. Graber (1976) does not deviate from the heterogeneity of space, but says that for us to understand the idea of sacred space there should be a separation between religious experience (personal encounter with sacred power) and activities of religious institutions. In this section, the spirituality of the Aladura within the context of their construction and appropriation of their sacred spaces is presented.

4.1.1 C&S

Spatial construction and appropriation are central to the expression of beliefs and practices of the C&S. Sacred spaces are socially constructed and sacralised for religious worship. God reveals places where he wants to complete his intervention in a particular crisis situation of an individual or group.²²⁸ Across various strands of the C&S, sacred space is constructed according to divine instructions. Previous researches show that the construction and appropriation of sacred space particularly hill-top and mercy ground have been found among

²²⁸ Interview with S. Adejumo, 11 September, 2012, Lagos.

the C&S (Peel 1968; Omoyajowo 1982). Peel (1968:58) and Omoyajowo (1982:76, 130) mention the construction of *Olorun Kole* Hill in Ibadan following the appearance of an angel in 1912 to a hunter named Egunjobi on the hill and the angel's prophecy that there would be war and epidemic that would affect the environment. Yet, its construction is borne out of self initiative and desire to effectively commune with God in a serene environment for greater results.²²⁹ The *Ile Adura* prayer house or church, private home Altars, *Ile Aanu* mercy ground, *Ori oke* Mountain top, *Aginju* wilderness, and other set-aside spaces are, for the C&S members, sanctified and sacralised meeting points of human dialogue with God for effective prayer outcome. According to Eliade (1987:20), space to a religious man is not homogenous; there are interruptions and breaks in it; "some parts of space are qualitatively different from others"; that the sacred space is "the only real and real-ly existing space", which possesses existential value for religious man, while all other space is profane, "the formless expanse surrounding it".

Mercy ground, mountain top, and river banks are spaces where most 'special prayers' are carried out. This does not foreclose the importance of prayer house where worship and other religious activities are ordered. Importantly, mountain top or hill top is not necessarily a physically high place. It is rather a place that is sanctified and dedicated for prayer, which becomes a 'high place' because members claimed that it is spirit-filled above the larger social space. Eliade (1987) says it is a symbolically highest point where the religious human experience the presence of the gods. However, the construction of sacred space, particularly the hill top, is a common phenomenon among various strands of the C&S churches. Up to the time of his demise in 1933, Orimolade did not erect a church building, but there was a registered group and a permanent place of gathering. Meeting in designated sanctified places for spiritual warfare and exhortation was a common thing that Orimolade and his group were always doing.²³⁰ The countless number of C&S formations with their respective constructed sacred places probably made the construction and appropriation of sacred space very popular among the Aladura.

Sacred mountain tops are constructed by individuals and groups who claimed to have received divine instructions in that regard. Hill tops are named after the towns in which they are located. *Orioke Erinmo* is a mountain top named after the town in which it is located, Erinmo near Ilesha. Others include *orioke Sobi* near Ilorin, *orioke Agelu* near Iseyin, *orioke Iragbiji* near Osogbo, *orioke Iragberi* near Ejigbo and Ilobu, and *orioke Horeb* in Kaduna. Mount

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

Horeb in Kaduna has been relocated to Ile Igbon, Oyo State. The spate of religious crisis in Northern Nigeria, particularly the Kaduna religious crises compelled the CSMC to relocate it to Ile Igbon. It was relocated to a place that members claimed God revealed, some three years back (2009), to the spiritual father of the organization Samuel Adefila Abidoye. Abidoye recounted the sudden outbreak of violence on the 9th of April 2011, shortly after Nigeria's general elections during which lives and properties were lost including the destruction of the Mount Horeb site.²³¹ Mount Horeb is currently located at Orile Igbon, about 24 kilometres away from Ilorin. Orile Igbon is a small town situated between Eyekorin and Ogbomosho. The church had its maiden worship at the new Mount Horeb, Orile Igbon on May 25th, 2011.

Orioke Olorunkole is a sacred hill top in Ibadan. The sacred hill top took its name from the natural cave-like shape. It has two parts: one part has a cave from which the sacred space derived its name. It is a house, which God has built (*Olorun ko ile*, God built a house). The cave is deep and its length has not been estimated. The other part is a selected place where most spiritual leaders meet to address crucial needs of their clients. Olorunkole hill is regarded by devotees who converge there as a located space of power where people commune with God without domestic or industrial disturbances. According to van der Leeuw (1986:394-395), such a natural place that is not built with hands but "hollowed out into such spaciousness by natural causes" will make one feel the divine presence; "your soul will be deeply moved by an inkling, a presage, of the divine"; that such location remains sacred and retains its power if humans have not reduced it to an inanimate thing, "deprived of its power". Located close to the University of Ibadan, the hilly sacred space has for many decades played host to lots of "Aladura men of power" and solution seekers across religious boundaries.²³² In the past, it was an annual event when charismatic men and women, the rich, average and the poor in Ibadan and other parts of Nigeria climb up for special prayers for about three to seven days. Close to the date of the annual worship on the sacred hill, prophets inform their regular and casual clients to meet them on the hill top where prophets jointly engage in spiritual warfare against wicked forces that are militating against their clients.²³³

There are self-acclaimed prophets who do not own a church but who have made the hill top a church where they usually attend to clients who believe very much in their charismatic power, and there are those who claimed to have received the call to construct or use a sacred hill top.

²³¹ Interview with Samuel A. Abidoye, 15 May, 2011, Jos.

²³² Interview with O. Bayewu, 17, May 2012, Sango.

²³³ *Ibid.*

Not every founder of a C&S church owns a sacred hill top, and it is not a must that a sacred mountain has to be used before prayers can be answered by God.²³⁴

In his description of the characteristics of sacred space, Foucault (1986:24-26) opines that heterotopias abound in every culture, can be made to function in a different fashion, and are not easily accessible because there are strings of regulations attached to their opening and closing. Attached to the use of the sacred hill are restrictions that enjoin body and ritual purity among male and female individuals that climb up its top for worship. Currently, *Olorun kole* hill top is synonymous with a commercial centre where self acclaimed prophets showcase their spiritual enterprise. It is a place where divine revelations attract lots of money and where problem ridden individuals get to know more prophets for future acquaintance and spiritual solutions. *Olorun kole* hill-top is also a place where prophets test both their divine gifts and acquired spiritual powers, and where they harness and declare the intervention of unseen powers in people's problems.²³⁵ In Yoruba beliefs, isolated hill tops are havens for unseen forces or apparitions who at one time offered protection to the people during wars, longevity, and fertility (Awolalu 1979:48). Similarly, there is recognition of higher angels among the Aladura members and that higher angels prefer isolated and dedicated spaces where they meet to jointly work efficaciously for the deliverance of individuals in crisis situations.²³⁶

Mercy ground (*Ile aanu*) is a designated space within the premises of the church where individuals or groups offer special prayers according to divine instruction. Members regard the place as holy and it must not be desecrated by dirt or the use of shoes. God reveals his chosen places of encounter to the prophet. He may choose a river bank, a wilderness or a particular spot within the church premises as a contact spot where he wants to finish his work in the life of a person or a group.²³⁷

Redefining the sacred space is a common trend among the Aladura churches that were visited. Cement floor has replaced bare and unsmooth ground, while cement blocks have replaced sizeable stones used in demarcating the boundary of a sacred space. Microphones and musical instruments are used during worship on Olorunkole and Horeb hill tops. Canopies are provided to shield worshippers from rain. Electricity is provided from mobile generators to

²³⁴ Interview with O. Bayewu, 17, May 2012, Sango.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶ *Ibid.* Informant however laid claims to divine discern in this regard. According to her, "If you are in spirit, you can feel and see the angels at work in a spirit-filled space", which Eliade (1987:20-24) refers to as hierophany.

²³⁷ Interview with Ayoola Ologodidan, 03 September, 2012, Lagos.



Figure 28. CSMC Challenge, Ibadan Mercy ground. Photograph by T. Baiyewu July 2011

power microphones and musical instruments and to light the place especially if activities are programmed for days and nights.

Members of the C&S have expressed their reservations for the use of mountain-top due to its abuse by self acclaimed healer prophets because such prophets take their clients to the sacred place for deliverance in return for money and other benefits. However, hill-top has remained a place for spiritual warfare, a spiritual refuge for solution seekers, and a place for fast reception of positive prayer outcome.²³⁸ Mercy grounds are noted for their modern architectural design. Although they are not roofed, the portraits of Jesus Christ, the designs of the altar, the concrete floor of the space, and the painting of the low and perforated walls convey the influence of modernization.

However, the modernists of C&S churches express their ambivalence towards the appropriation of designated sacred spaces for effective prayers. The CSBM deviates from the common belief and practice of appropriating mountain tops for special prayers. The church does not have one and does not plan to have it. However, the church does not see anything wrong in setting apart a special place for communing with God so long as it meets the biblical standard. Oyedepo justified his argument with biblical instances where Jesus Christ had to leave his disciples for a secluded place for prayers, and Moses went up the Mountain to commune with God, but stressed that these and other biblical examples of the use of sacred

²³⁸ Interview with O. Bayewu, 17, May 2012, Sango.

space have been jettisoned by some self acclaimed prophets.²³⁹ The CSE does not reject the use of mountain top for special prayers and does not have one either. The church places strong emphasis on divine instruction as the basis for its construction and usage.²⁴⁰ However, the church according to divine instruction constructed a “hill top” within the church premises. This serves the same purpose as the one created on a mountain top outside the city. This is according to the belief that “a sacred space that is constructed according to divine revelation is spirit-filled; spiritually elevated above the physical ground and is a designated space where believers encounter divine power for delivery and mercy”.²⁴¹

4.1.2 TCLA

The construction and use of sacred space like hill-top, mount Tabieorar, mercy ground, home alters, sea shores and the use of sacred objects such as staff of office, rosary, water and others have been found in TCLA (Turner 1967:101-109). The church has not deviated from this idea, but the aesthetic of sacred space has changed over time. In TCLA, members expressed belief that special prayers on mercy ground attract quick divine reception. The primate founder Josiah Ositelu, acting on God’s command, constructed mount Tabieorar (MT) in 1937 in Ogere. Since then it has become a pilgrimage centre where members and non-members visit annually beginning from 9th to 22nd of August of every year. There are claims that yearly, people give testimony of what God has done for them after visiting the place. Mount Tabieorar is not a physical mountain. It is a flat land quite secluded from the town. Members consider it as a spiritually high place where prayers attract fast reception from God. At its inception, it was a relative forest of trees and shrubs. The great multitude of ‘pilgrims’ to the sacred place and the challenge of modernization compelled the church to transform the place. Mount Tabieorar occupies a vast flat land along Lagos-Ibadan Express Way.

MT is fenced and has a number of halls where each group members engage in spiritual warfare for the period of the Tabieorar festival. The councils of Reverends, Evangelists, Pastors, Deacons, and Deaconesses have their respective halls. The church fixed toilet facilities for attendees to use; it provides generator to supply light and power the musical instruments of the choir group. It is attended by male and female, young and old, and visitors from other Christian denominations and religions. Members and visitors are enjoined to observe the church restrictions on the use of sacred places.²⁴² On the 22nd of August, various

²³⁹ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12 October, 2011, Lagos. He alluded to Matthew 14:23; and Luke 9:28; Exodus 19: 1ff to justify the use of sacred hill tops.

²⁴⁰ Interview with O. Bayewu, 17, May 2012, Sango.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 25 May, 2012.

groups come out to the Tabieorar ground. The primate reads out some divine messages to attendees. It is also an opportunity for people to give their testimonies. After August 22, females are not allowed to enter the main Tabieorar ground. A sub-section of the sacred ground is walled to create a private ground for the females. This is to protect the privacy of men from women and vice versa whenever they want to role naked or in their white garment.

The Victory Night Ground (VNG) is a sacred ground that the church constructed during the tenure of the third primate, Olusegun Ositelu. It is separated by a foot path from the MT. It is an evangelical ground. Services are conducted on the third Friday of every month. It is intended to bring people of other faiths and Christian denominations together in Ogere and also from other parts of Nigeria. On the VNG, the church relaxes its restrictions: menstruant members and visitors are allowed into the place of worship; attendees are at liberty to enter the worship centre with their shoes on; and it is not mandatory to wear white garment. It can be regarded as an interdenominational worship centre. Strategically, it is a ground for soul wining for Christ and particularly for the TCLA.

The mercy ground (*orile aanu*) is a place where a person or a group of persons can role on the ground naked or in white garment to express one's humility before God, mutilating the body to show one's helplessness and sense of remorse for sins committed; and an expression of punishment of the self before God. The naked rolling or rolling in white garment is a way of requesting special attention from God and quick solution to problems. Users of mercy ground are enjoined to comply with instructions guiding its usage. Men and women are not expected to enter the special ground with unclean body.

TCLA observes certain rites at the River banks and streams. Members claimed that these are designated places at designated time that are divinely revealed through prophets, dreamers and visioners in the church and that not every ritual cleansing and healing requires stream or river bath.

The spiritual cleansing is to ward off evil intension of wicked humans or to restore lost opportunity or health. The church also uses the river bank or stream for baptism. Aside the *ile aanu* and *orioke*, the church enjoins members to select a small space tagged "Michael Parlour" as a sacred space at the corner of a living room or a bedroom, erect a small table there on which a bible, a candle stand and worship items are placed and used for early morning and night prayers.²⁴³

²⁴³ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.



Figure 29. TCLA Mercy Ground. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu, 2013.

4.1.3 CCC

Adogame (1999:151-1164) in his study has found the construction and use of ritual space, and the idea of ritual time as crucial aspects of the spirituality of the CCC. The prayer house, mercy land and other sanctified places are ‘heavenly’ spaces/platforms where CCC beliefs, worship and healing rituals are acted out. *Orioke* mountain top in the CCC does not imply the physical use of hill top as a sacred space for special prayers. *Orioke* mountain top metaphor in the CCC implies a ‘spiritual elevation within the physical space.’ It is used to explain the spiritual state of a person in trance. The individual, though physically present in the terrestrial world, is spiritually present in the celestial world. While in the spiritual state, he/she abstains from food and drink; fasting and praying inside the church or in the mercy land, interceding for members and non-members, revealing information hidden from ordinary persons and revealing ritual recipes for combating existential problems. A private place is allocated to a person in trance within the church premises to provide some protection to visitors who consult him/her for guidance and prayers.

Mercy ground (*Ile aanu*) is a special ground set apart for meditation, where focus on the object of worship attains its highest level.²⁴⁴ It is a sacred space that is highly protected from defilement. Females are reminded not to step on mercy land during their period. Shepherds and other anointed men of God pray for persons who kneel before them facing the Altar. They pray over assorted fruits on a tray placed before the Altar. Individual may be required to go to the mercy land with a bottle of Olive oil, perfume, toilet soap and a bucket of water. These

²⁴⁴ Interview with J. Bomes, 27 October, 2011, Lagos.

objects are blessed by a shepherd or a number of anointed men and women as may be directed by God. A member claimed that prayer facilitated the descent of divine power into the material objects for use. Like in the C&S and TCLA, mercy may not require divine instruction for its



Figure 30. CCC Mokola, Ibadan Mercy ground. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu, 2011.

construction and use. Individuals can choose to stay away from human distraction or defilement and have his/her meditation on the mercy ground. If a female is required to be prayed for on the mercy land and she is ‘unclean’ at that moment, she is advised to kneel outside its boundary for prayers. Some are demarcated by a number of moulded blocks to about four feet high and the floor is sandy; some mercy lands are demarcated with metal pipes, and have concrete floor and decorated Altar. When asked why the use of mercy land has persisted, an informant claimed that members and non-members have greater faith in the reception of divine favour in such a place and also claimed that the sacred place is filled with divine presence for restoration than other places that are not revered.²⁴⁵

The use of river bank for special spiritual work is revealed through prophets and visioners in the church. It might be as filthy as the river in which the biblical Naaman bathe, the moment God instructs that it be used for healing purpose, it means he has rendered it holy and blessed it for the accomplishment of his healing work.²⁴⁶ Every spiritual cleansing that is done either in the flowing river or by its bank has biblical support: the healing of Naaman the Syrian warlord at river Jordan and John’s baptism of Christ at river Jordan.²⁴⁷ The ritual cleansing of

²⁴⁵ Interview with Adebayo Kayode, 06 May, 2012, Jos.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Kayode alluded to the leprous Naaman, the commander of the Syrian army who Prophet Elisha instructed to bathe in the muddy river Jordan (11 Kings 5:1-19).

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Matthew 3:13; II Kings 5:8-14.

Naaman and the water baptism of Christ strengthen one's faith in the sacredness of space divinely instructed to be used for worship or healing purpose.²⁴⁸

4.2 Sacred Time

4.2.1 C&S

Sacred time in the C&S is a concept that involves divine discretion. As prophetic churches, times of special prayers, and the duration of worship are sacred and determined by God through prophecy. The churches are aware of the biblical linear of time: there is the beginning and the end of time; there is the time to plant and the time to harvest; that humans are mortals but God is immortal; and that the end time manifests itself in the present.²⁴⁹ The Holy Spirit directs them in everything they do; they speak and sing as and when the Holy Spirit directs, and carry out special prayers at the divinely instructed time, especially when he wants to accomplish his work.²⁵⁰

Worship duration on Sundays and week days lasted as long as the Lord directed. There was strong belief that in the course of worship, the Lord can reveal that he would descend with blessings in an appointed time and everybody should be prepared to be partakers of the bountiful blessing that is about to come.²⁵¹

Yet, there is a shift in the duration of worship among most strands of the C&S. Observations revealed that there is a new trend in the duration of worship in the bigger C&S churches. The number of hours they spent during elaborate Sunday worship was a maximum of three hours, which members claimed has been a new development. The commencement time for Sunday worship varies among the C&S churches. In some churches, Sunday worship began with the Sunday school at 9am, while the main worship started at 10am and closed at 12:30pm. Yet in other churches, worship began with Sunday school at 7:30am, while the main Sunday service began at 10:30am and closed around 1pm. In most C&S churches, Sunday school began at 8:30 and closed about 9:45am for the main Sunday service to commence at 10am. Revival services were also time framed as it was not allowed to extend to 9:00pm or last into the dead night hours when transportation seems to be difficult for members to get back to their respective homes. The shift in duration of worship, which was previously tied to divine instruction, was due to work schedule of members who are employees of government and private establishments and others who are small and large scale traders and business men and

²⁴⁸ Interview with J. Bomes, CCC, 27 October, 2011, Lagos.

²⁴⁹ Interview with J. B. Balogun, 18 May, 2011, Lagos. The informant alluded to Genesis 1:1; Matthew 13:39; Psalm 90:2, 10; John 12:48.

²⁵⁰ Interview with Tewogbade, 15 June, 2011, Ibadan. Tewogbade alluded to 1 Thessalonians 5:16-18

²⁵¹ Interview with J. Omiyefa, 02 September, 2012, Lagos.

women. The new shift is absent especially in smaller churches. When asked how long a revival service would last in a small C&S church, the founder said: “until when God releases us” (*titi igba ti Oluwa yoo tuwa sile*).²⁵²

4.2.2 TCLA

In TCLA there is the belief that the leadership and instruction of the Holy Spirit determines the beginning and the end of every worship session. Currently, the church recognizes the Holy Spirit as the time keeper at worship sessions, and at the same time, the church regulates the duration of its worship session. It is mandatory for individual minister to manage the time of worship in a way that spirit possession and prophetic revelations during worship do not keep worshippers so long in the church at the detriment of domestic and professional obligations.

The church as much as possible manages its time of worship by following strictly its order of service. Yet, the church at times allows the Holy Spirit to take pre-eminence in what it does. In some instances, the Holy Spirit would instruct that worship should end at a particular time and the church has to comply in the belief that it is to avert impending danger that may befall a member if worship terminates earlier or later than expected.²⁵³

Increasing domestic and professional demands and security challenges have compelled the church to adjust some of its time of worship. Sunday worship begins at 9am and terminates at 1pm. The Wednesday Holy Spirit service, which previously commenced from 9pm and terminated at 1: 00am, has been adjusted. Currently, Holy Spirit service commences at 5.30pm and ends by 7.30pm. Similarly, Night Vigil begins at 12am and close at 3.30am and members are allowed to leave for their respective homes at 6am to avoid unforeseen negative circumstances that may occur if they leave earlier.

Sacred time includes three hourly prayers and any time that a visioner may reveal as God’s appointed time for special prayer to be offered. At every third hour, the church observes prayer: early morning prayer is at 5.30am, prayer for the holy spirit is at 9am, prayer for the church is at 12noon, prayer for the ministers of God is at 3pm, prayer for victory and thanksgiving is at 6pm, bed time prayer is at 9pm, while 12midnight and 3am are hours for vigil prayers. It encourages its members to observe those three hourly prayers especially when they are fasting, believing that those hours are sacred.

²⁵² Interview with Ayoola Ologodidan, 25 May, 2012.

²⁵³ Interview with G. Tanimowo 29 June, 2011, Ibadan.

4.2.3 CCC

In the CCC sacred days and time are revealed through the Holy Spirit and there are special rituals that are carried out during the sacred time (Adogame 1999:159-164). In the CCC, the time for the commencement of worship is known, but the time when it will come to a close is left for the Holy Spirit to decide.²⁵⁴ On Sunday, members know when Sunday school begins and when it ends. They know when the main Sunday service commences shortly after Sunday school, but when it will end is best known to God. Determining when to end the worship means dictating to God or timing God. In this regard, an informant gave an instance of disobedience to divine instruction and repercussion of the disobedience.²⁵⁵ The divine dictate of time, which the church regards as sacred can be explained in terms of the belief of members and its relevance to the protection of either a particular person or a number of persons present in the church. It also explains their belief in the descent of the divine blessings which may elude members if worship closes earlier than when God decides to 'pour down His blessings on worshippers present'.²⁵⁶

Sacred time is critical to the positive outcome of a special spiritual work carried out for a purpose. There are special times that God reveals when certain prayers and spiritual activities should be done. These times are: 6am, 9am, 12noon, 3pm, 6pm, 9pm, 12midnight, and 3am. Prayer rituals are prescribed and carried out in any or a combination of these hours. Members of the CCC provide both biblical references and divine revelations to support the relevance of those hours.²⁵⁷ In the CCC, these hours are loaded with divine power and authority, which makes spiritual work done during any of these times potent, while noncompliance with any of these hours as may be commanded by God results in a mission unaccomplished.²⁵⁸ The informant claimed that there is bound to be failure of spiritual work done outside divine appointed time and that other reasons for ineffective prayers include absence of right relationship with fellow human beings, lack of faith, ambiguous prayer request, using materials that God does not approve to be used for a spiritual work.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁴ Interview with J. Bomes, 27 October, 2011, Lagos. The informant alluded to Ephesians 2:10; Psalm 100:3.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.* He claimed that the only incidence recorded was the case of a woman who was asked to stay to the end of worship on a Sunday, but sneaked out and left for home to attend a social club meeting. She was knocked down by a motor car on her way home.

²⁵⁶ Interview with Gabriel Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* They are hours when historical spiritual events occurred at the dictate of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit has not ceased to manifest during the sacred hours: the Holy Spirit descended on the disciples at Pentecost during the third hour of the day, 9am (Acts 2:1-4); Christ was crucified in the third hour, 9am (Mark 15:25); Christ gave up his spirit in the ninth hour, 3pm (Matthew 27:50).

²⁵⁸ Interview with J. Bomes, 27 October, 2011, Lagos.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

4.3 Prophecy

4.3.1 C&S

Prophecy has remained a significant feature of the doctrine and practice of the C&S and is associated with vision, trance, dreams, and clairvoyance (Omoyajowo 1982:87-88). Previous scholars have discussed extensively on prophets and prophecy in the C&S, emphasising it as a divine gift, which both ordained and yet to be ordained prophets with little or no formal education use as charismatic power, and which to a large extent was associated with evangelism and drive for membership (Peel 1968, Mitchell 1970, Omoyajowo 1982). Divinely gifted individuals display one or more of these categories. Male and female members who possess any of the gifts display it during church worship. There are ordained and yet to be ordained prophets. Their staff and robe indicate their category of the spiritual gifts that an individual belongs in the church. There are employed prophets on the pay role of the church and ordained freelance prophets. The paid prophets do not head churches and are all males, except where the founder of the church is a prophetess who in principle is the minister of the church but her ministerial role is left for the highest ranked male to perform. Prophets are like the ‘spiritual Joshua’ of the church with the responsibility of overseeing the spiritual matters that involve the church, the ordained prophets, and other spiritual workers. There are prophetess founders whose authority cuts across spiritual and secular affairs of their churches. A prophetess in this category is prophetess Bayewu of C&S Evangelical (CSE) who performs her ministerial functions and says the benediction after church service.

The CSMC has not deviated from its practice of employing ordained resident prophets. Employed prophets are sent to branches of the church as resident workers. It is not all the churches that have resident paid prophets. In some cases, the male or female founder of the church usually is the resident prophet and founder. The job of a resident prophet is an exclusive reserve of the male prophets who are transferred from one church to another after having satisfactorily served in a church for a number of years. They are transferred within and across districts. Apart from leading special prayer sessions in the church, the resident prophet delivers sermons, gives prophetic messages and pays welfare visits to members’ houses. Visitation to members’ houses depends on their (members’ houses) proximity to the church where the prophet is resident. The prophet takes a walk to the ones that are within the vicinity of his location, and the church makes necessary provisions for his visit to members whose

residences are quite distant from the church. Such arrangements however vary among churches due to their sizes and financial resources.²⁶⁰

Prophetic revelations in the church vary among various strands of the C&S. In bigger C&S churches, prophecies meant for individual members are not given church service since they require some privacy. Prophecy that concerns the church as a body is delivered within the glare of the congregation. Similarly, prophecy that is a general warning to all members is revealed to the hearing of every member. In smaller churches, divine messages are given in the open. The owner of the message is seen kneeling down as a mark of reverence, not for the speaker but for the divine that is speaking through his messenger. But in bigger churches, during revival services, visioners walk into the vestry and give their messages for the church secretary to record and deliver to the persons concerned. This is done to control the duration of the revival service.

Visioners are consulted privately or publicly. Prophets and visioners attend to members and visitors in matters of spiritual guidance. The *Shiloh* service is the oldest way of attending to the spiritual needs of members and non-members. At *Shiloh*, common to find different sizes of white glass or plastic water containers, toilet soap, assorted fruits, olive oil and sponge are kept at the alter for blessing. Most attendees are women, composed largely of pregnant women seeking for good health and safe delivery, and women looking for the ‘fruit’ of the womb. Other reasons for attending the *Shiloh* include prosperity in businesses, protection over children; spiritual guidance on the right decision to take in life endeavours, search for gainful employment; life partners, and other profitable ventures. Attendees include traders, artisans, owners of small and large scale industries, and civil servants.

A new trend in the spiritual service is the introduction of mass consultation service on a particular day of the week for spiritual guidance on a wide range of issues. The researcher observed that in the CSMC Surulere, there are programme days within the week that offer members and non-members the opportunity to meet prophets and visioners for spiritual guidance on diverse life crisis issues. This does not require consultation fees and one is not forced to meet the prophets either. Every Tuesday, attendees across religious and denominational boundaries enjoy the services that the “spiritualists” offer. Individuals queue up and turn by turn they move up to the prophets to hear what God wants to say about their desires. Other spiritual workers in attendance guide individual consultees on how to carry out the divine instructions that have been handed to them. When asked about how she got the

²⁶⁰ Interview with A. A. Adebayo, 15 May, 2011, Jos.

information about the spiritual services in the church, particularly the consultation service, a Muslim woman said:

A friend brought me to this place. She is also a Muslim. I have come here for a number of times now. Although there is improvement, I have always kept my coming here away from my husband.²⁶¹

The C&S churches are at variance in the standard that is set for the spiritual service providers (prophets and visioners). In the past, there were no hard and fast requirements for the post of a prophet. Thus in time past, without your knowledge of the bible, and regardless of your inability to read and write, if you could make prophetic declarations that came to pass or could go in trance and reveal divine messages, your consistencies in any or all of these divine gifts could earn you a prophetic ordination.²⁶² While this persists in smaller churches, the bigger C&S churches introduced some standard requirements that the persons have to meet before they can be ordained as prophets. The requirements can be categorised into two: verification of the authenticity and consistency of the gifts that the gifted exhibits and his/her educational attainment.

The implementation of the two basic categories also varies among churches. A spiritual investigation may be performed on a person before he/she is ordained as a prophet. This usually involves the most senior prophets who carry out special prayers using the names of nominated candidates in order to know whether the individuals will be good prophets if ordained. Some are chosen while some are dropped.²⁶³ After the prayer session and lot casting, they are sent to a theological school where they are trained in the beliefs and doctrines of the C&S, the moral obligations of prophets, biblical exegesis, homiletics and other subjects that can help refine and prepare them for the spiritual tasks ahead.²⁶⁴ Another requirement is formal education, which the individual is expected to have acquired before being nominated for ordination. The possession of secondary school certificate is the minimum educational requirement, but higher school certificate and pastoral training are an added advantage. In the past, most prophets did not receive adequate formal education as many of them were primary school drop-outs.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ Interview with Maimunatu Alarape, 11 October, 2011, Ibadan.

²⁶² Interview with Timothy Okunola, 22 July, 2011, Lagos.

²⁶³ Interview with Timothy Okunola, 22 July, 2011, Lagos.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

Various strands of the C&S have separately taken steps to ensure that their prophets are trained and operate according to the best practice in the prophetic ministry. They operate at Shiloh and “meet the prophets” programmes. In C&S Ogo Oluwa Tedo, prophets and prophetesses in training exhibited divine gifts of prophecy, dream and trance. This, according to an informant, is a biblical requirement which Prophet Samuel fulfilled during his apprenticeship under Prophet Eli who instructed him on how to respond to God’s call and instructions. Thus in C&S Ogo Oluwa Tedo, both the ordained and the prophets in training are consulted for divine guidance and this greatly helps in membership drive.²⁶⁶ Those who were healed of their problems have become members of the church, while others have gone back to their respective churches and religions.²⁶⁷

The CSMC in the first half of the 1980s introduced some essential requirements for the ordination of prophets. Furthermore, it has created a structure for effective supervision of its paid and freelance prophets. In each district, there is the supervisory prophet who routinely supervises the activities of prophets and visioners through visitations and meetings. In the past, the CSMC had prophet Akinrele that supervised all the prophets of the churches all over the world. Currently the General Supervisory Prophet (GSP) delegates this responsibility to zonal, district, and resident supervisory prophets who in their respective capacities monitor the activities of the spiritual workers. They check their excesses, and keep track of their records. Importantly, the zonal supervisory prophets deputize for the GSP in their respective zones.

Each district supervisory prophet coordinates the activities of the prophets in all the local churches under the district. He keeps adequate record of each prophet and visioner and recommends who may be ordained to the General Conference. It is also the supervisory prophet that organizes training for those who are about to be ordained including those who are already ordained and organizes seminars to broaden their horizon on the demands of the prophetic office in accordance with the goal of the church. In Oko-Oba district, spiritual workers in the vineyard attend meetings and lectures on the second Saturday of every month. The lecturers are sometimes invited from secular universities and theological seminaries to give relevant talks on the role and multifaceted demands of the prophetic ministry.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Interview with Ayoola Ologodidan, 25 May, 2012, Lagos. She alluded to the Call of Samuel under the tutelage of Eli in 1 Samuel chapter 3.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ Interview with Niyi Olatunji, 20 July, 2011, Lagos.

The church also requires those nominated for ordination to be married or to show an evidence of being engaged with a life partner. There must be satisfactory evidence that a nominee for ordination is legally married, his union with his wife must have been solemnized in a Christian church. If she/he is not married but is currently engaged in a relationship, the nominee for ordination should be able to get a reference letter from the relevant persons and should be able to introduce his/her partner to the church elders for acknowledgement. S/he is expected to include the name of his/her spouse in the bio-data forms, and may be required to come along with his/her partner to the venue of the examination and interview, and sit together as the interview progresses.²⁶⁹ This clarification is done in the belief that ordained prophets who are single may lack the moral rectitude with which to get along with the prophetic calling. S/he may be fornicating in his/her search for a good partner and the prophetic office may suffer serious setback.²⁷⁰ This criterion also hinges on counselling as a bachelor will not be in the position to offer counselling on issues concerning married life.

In C&S Bible Ministries, prophecy is a lifelong ministry and nothing should be done to dent or damage it. The church acknowledges that unscrupulous elements have damaged some destinies of persons using prophecy to defraud innocent persons. However, the church does not allow any body to rise up and make a public prophetic revelation during or outside worship. If a prophet has a divine revelation to pass onto an individual or the church itself, s/he has to go to the mission manager and tell him what God has revealed. If it is a good promise from God, the mission manager tells him/her to pray for its physical fulfilment. If it is a negative message, the church is required to raise its voice to God against its occurrence.²⁷¹ Similarly, the C&S Evangelical does not prohibit prophecy, but enjoins prophets and visioners to meet the individual concerned one on one. However, if the revelation is for the entire congregation, it is revealed for general consumption and prayers are said for its establishment if it is positive and to avert the evil, if it is negative.²⁷²

4.3.2 TCLA

The TCLA does not offer elaborate prophetic service where prophets and visioners are on hand to attend to a mass of members and visitors who have come for spiritual guidance on crucial issues. Instead, revival service, Tabieorar festival, Victory Night service and night vigils create opportunity for worshippers to enjoy prophetic service. The church minister is on hand in the church or in his/her office to offer spiritual guidance to people who consult

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12 October, 2011, Lagos.

²⁷² Interview with Prophetess O. Bayewu, 18 August, 2012, Sango.

him/her. Currently, the busy schedule of ministers has compelled them to set aside time when they can attend to the spiritual need of members and non-members.²⁷³ This is done to avoid ministers neglecting other church programmes and services. In order to create efficiency and improved services, each minister aside the seminary programmes, organizes an in-house training for visioners, prophets, and dreamers on how to manage divine messages that are revealed to people. Every member of the TCLA beginning from the rank of Teacher, which currently is replaced with Probationary Minister, is a prophet. Among them were those with the gift of evangelism, administration or vision. A seminary graduate becomes a probationary minister, then prophet grade two and later prophet grade one. After this rank (prophet grade one), he/she ascends to the rank of senior prophet, venerable, bishop and archbishop in that order, and finally to the rank of primate if he is destined to be. The spiritual workers in the church meet within the week to remind one another about their call to duty and the spiritual progress of the church.²⁷⁴

4.3.3 CCC

In the CCC, prophecy, visions, trances and dreams play a crucial role in communication between members and the divine (Adogame 1999:181-186). However, prophecy has assumed elaborate system redefined to address the challenges that members and visitors to the church face. As a prophetic church, the CCC is guided by divine revelations in its worship and practices. The church recognises a variety of divine gifts as spelt out in the Christian bible.²⁷⁵ Members and visitors who manifest any or a number of the gifts are given proper attention on how to further develop the spiritual potentials to the advantage of the individuals and to the glory of God and the progress of the church. The church uses the prophetic ministry to mediate in the spiritual and social problems of members and visitors. The international Headquarters of the CCC posts on its website basic prophecies that involve the entire CCC worldwide as an organization and all its members and visitors. Members are warned against revealed impending danger that may affect the church or individual members. Some portions of the bible particularly some chapters and verses from the book of Psalms, a number of candles, a number of days of fasting and further instructions are posted on the CCC website for members to access and comply. The power of prophecy is demonstrated on Wednesdays during the service for the Seekers. The service commences at 9 am and lasts till when all the attendees are attended to. The researcher attended one of the sessions of the service for the

²⁷³ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ I Corinthians 12:1-11.

seekers. Every attendee is required to purchase a small empty-page booklet and a white candle. The



Figur 31. Free Spiritual Consultation Session, CCC, Mokola, Ibadan. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu 2011

service commences with a call to worship followed by prayers for the forgiveness of sin, sanctification and mercy. A few minutes exhortation is given after which attendees who are seated are asked to consult prophets one after the other.

The church makes sure that enough prophets and visioners are available in the church to attend to attendees. Each ‘spiritualist’ has a secretary who collects the writing booklet from the consultee in order to write down the divine message meant for the consultee. This booklet is taken to a shepherd who screens the message to enforce some standard where and when necessary. The individual is further directed to the most senior shepherd of the church who advises that the spiritual recipes should be followed and also directs some elderly male members to guide on how the ritual should be carried out. Usually, there is a shop within the church premises from which spiritual items for the ritual can be bought.

Aside the collective prophetic service that the church provides for people who seek for divine intervention in their crisis situations, individuals can meet any spiritual worker that is available around the church for prayer and prophetic guidance. The church compound is always busy with various kinds of spiritual assignments which individuals or groups carry out. Prayer warriors who pray over ritual items are on hand to carry out any spiritual assignment that may be given to them. They do not demand for payment for the job they

render. The prophetic service that the church through the prophets and visioners collectively provides is to avoid temptations and exploitations that may arise if members and visitors were to privately consult the spiritualists in their private places and at their respective private time.

As a basic spiritual instrument which sustains the church's membership, the church redefines the ministry (prophetic ministry) in order to maintain best prophetic practices. The church recognises the human weakness of the prophets and visioners notably, sexual harassment, greed, ungodly ritual formulae and practices. It excommunicates or transfers erring spiritual workers in the belief that a new environment may provide opportunity for penitence and self-regeneration. The dismissal of erring worker depends largely on the frequency or gravity of the offence. The Parochial committee of each Parish takes stock of the good and bad behaviours of each worker and sanctions him/her accordingly. As may be required, erring shepherds are sent back to the seminary for retraining where he/she is put under surveillance as his moral thought is been remoulded.²⁷⁶

The standard requirements for training and ordination of prophets were non-existent. The church has initiated new requirements that have redefined the prophetic ministry. The gifted are been placed under close watch as they put their spiritual gifts into use in church activities. The authenticity of their divine gifts is been tested in some ways: the hot liquid from a burning candle would be splashed on the legs and hands of the gifted who is in trance in order to know whether the person will feel the pain; the expression of pain arising from the hot candle liquid indicates that the trance experience is not real.²⁷⁷ An object may be hidden within the church and a person in trance would be requested to find out the location of the object. Any candidate who fails to locate the hidden object would be disqualified and would be advised to keep building on his current spiritual form by fasting and praying.²⁷⁸ Their all-round behaviour is being tracked and used to determine their recommendations for the prophetic office.

Aside the divine gift, the nominees must have completed their secondary school education. Higher school certificate or a University degree is an added advantage. The nominees are then sent to the seminary for an all-round training: they are exposed to theological, language and medical health courses that help broaden their horizon on how to handle prophetic declaration and spiritual and social matters that solution seekers lay bare before them. Ordained shepherds who had not secondary school education are encouraged to update their level of

²⁷⁶ Interview with E. A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011, Lagos.

²⁷⁷ Interview with Titus O. Alao, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

formal education. The international headquarters through the office of the Rector of the seminary organizes occasional worker's retreat which provides additional principles and their application needed by prophets, dreamers and visioners in the course of dispensing their divine duties in the church.

The CCC leadership considers the central position of the prophetic ministry and enjoins that every parish should organize a special service for its prophets, prophetesses, dreamers, visioners and persons seeking for the gift of spiritual power. The special service is organized on Friday of every week. It commences at 12 noon and terminates at 1pm. The service is to re-energize the spiritual power of each worker and to specially request God to bestow divine powers upon seekers of spiritual power. It is conducted on the mercy land which is sanctified by prayer, burning of incense, and the sprinkling of holy water. After sanctification, the shepherd of the parish conducts the special service. Hymns sung and individual and collective prayers offered during the service are a request for the descent of the Holy Spirit, a variety of spiritual power, peace, rebirth, and authentic prophecy.

Each person is required to have a white bottle filled with water, and a stick of white candle. After prayers, sermon and a call to good moral behaviour and dedication to God's work, every person is placed before the Lord (each person lies down with the head placed before the Altar) and the shepherd of the parish dusts every person with Altar cloth (symbolising spiritual cleansing). Everybody has his/her bottle of water in his/her hand, while the white candle stick is lit. The shepherd sprinkles holy water on each person and prays for them. Individuals are also expected to pray on their own even as they place their body before the Lord.

After getting up much later, they are expected to drink some content of the water and take the remaining home for further use. The placement before the Lord symbolises rededicating oneself for divine re-energization without which individual is empty of divine power. The lit white candle symbolises purification of the self of all manner of infirmities, brightening all forms of darkness that may stand in obstruction to divine power in the individual. The drinking of the sanctified water in the white bottle symbolises taking in the divine power that is believed to have descended into the water in the course of the special service.²⁷⁹ The researcher observed that the prophet commands spiritual authority through his/her spiritual gifts, prophetic ordination, and acquired theological education, which to an extent reflect the rational approach, which the church additionally employs in its prophetic ministry. Members regard the prophet's speeches and signs of blessing as potent. This, most likely encourages

²⁷⁹ Interview with Gabriel Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

members and non-members to kneel before the prophets or take either liquid or solid materials to them for sanctification, victory and prosperity. This is a spiritual capital, which the church uses to sustain its membership and relevance in the dynamic and competitive religious market.

4.4 Week-day Programmes

4.4.1 C&S

Each strand of the C&S has a variety of programmes for each day of the week. This, to a large extent, that sustain the commitment and attendance of members. Programmes and time schedule also vary. *Shiloh* service is a common programme among strands of the C&S. It commences from 9am and lasts to 12noon on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Healing services, bible study, revival services, spiritual incubation (compulsory stay in the church for a number of hours or days for spiritual fortification) (*abe abo*), and meetings of groups and committees keep the church and members busy with activities on daily basis. Traders, artisans, business men and women, and employees attend the week-days programmes that they find most convenient, especially *Shiloh* and healing services. It is here that attendees have the opportunity to hear revelations and carry out some special prayers as may be directed by God. During an informal interview, at Wednesday *Shiloh* service, an informant claimed she came over so that God could speak through his prophets to guide her on job offers.²⁸⁰ Healing practice in the C&S involves “the sick” and divine intervention that provides guidance on what to do and how to go about healing the sick. The sick in the context of the church is an individual who lacks completeness in any aspect of his/her life. For the church, ill health denotes lack in any aspect of human health, social needs, and the wholeness of life.

The C&S Ogo Oluwa Tedo observes the *Shiloh* service daily at 9am from Mondays to Fridays during which healing sessions take place and God speaks through the prophets. In the C&S Evangelical, *Shiloh* service is on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and it is largely attended by women, young females and a few men. On Tuesdays, the prayer warriors (*afadura jagun*) are on hand to engage in spiritual warfare to intercede for members and non-members of the church. The prayer session starts from 7pm and ends at 10pm. Revelations are scrutinized by superior visioners especially when it has to be interpreted from a heavenly tongue to Yoruba or English by a gifted person. The church, on daily basis, is busy with the presence of pregnant women, women seeking the fruit of the womb and those with gynaecological cases.

²⁸⁰ Informal interview with one Habibat Lawal, 03 July, 2011, Ibadan. She claimed to be an employee at a Petrol Station but had no uniform of her work place on her, 03 July, 2011. She expressed her dissatisfaction over her job and needed some spiritual guidance in her choice of two better job offers that were before her.

It is common to find other men and women members in the church premises from 4pm up to 6pm attending various committee meetings and other church week-day programmes.

In CSMC Surulere, *Shiloh* service is on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of every week. It commences at 9am and terminates at 12pm. On Tuesdays, there is a deliverance service from 7am. It is also a day when people meet the prophets and prophetesses for spiritual guidance on many life issues. The Daniel Band offered the service. Also, it is a day set aside for a special service that is attended by people with various kinds of *oke isoro* mountainous problems. The service commences from 9am and terminates at 3pm of the same day. The first Wednesday of the month is dedicated to ‘protection service’, which commences at 4pm and terminates at 6pm. At this time also, there is “Aladura service” the prayer warrior service. On Saturdays, there are band meetings and prayer sessions in respective bands, chapels and choir practice. On the first Saturday of every month, there is “A day with the Lord” prayer session. Sunday worship begins with Bible study (Sunday school) at 7am and lasts till 8.45am. The main Sunday service starts at 8.45 am and terminates at 1pm. The Sunday worship timing applies to the five sections of the church, namely the main church, the youth fellowship, the Disciples of Christ ministry, the English chapel, and the children ministry.²⁸¹

4.4.2 TCLA

The TCLA officially has church programmes on Wednesdays, Thursdays, Fridays, and Sundays. According to an informant, the healing and evangelical programmes of the founder at the inception of the church were not ordered; every day was for preaching and healing, and that the Anglican experience of the founder influenced his arrangement of programmes according to days in the week.²⁸² Monday, Tuesday and Saturday are officially free days in the week but each local church is enjoined to occupy those days with church programmes that can, to an extent make the church a beehive of activities.

The midweek service tagged “Holy Spirit service” is on Wednesday. It is a day for request of Holy Spirit, which members claimed is central to the accomplishment of individual and collective tasks. Thursday is for bible study. This is to help both young and old grow more in the knowledge of the bible. Learning activities during the bible study class are in accordance with the contents of the church annual bible study guide. The TCLA Friday is the clinic service day. It is the service for spiritual healing.

²⁸¹ Interview Rebecca Akinsulure, 14 August, 2011, Lagos.

²⁸² Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere. The informant had no information about when the TCLA first ordered its weekly programmes. 24 June, 2012.

Items are blessed and used by members. The sick that are not physically present are prayed for and sanctified water is taken to them for use. Friday of every week is dedicated to spiritual bath. This is a day when children go to the church to bathe with water that the ministers of God have sanctified. Children also use sanctified oil to rub their body after bath. This is done in the belief that the ritual bath will fortify the children against wicked human agents, unseen negative forces, and will ward off dangers of all kinds.

4.4.3 CCC

Each CCC parish visited had week-day programmes that keep the church busy with activities in the week days. There is considerable flexibility in the number of church programmes and the time when each programme commences and terminates in the day. The week-day programmes are designed to engage members who, to a considerable extent, would have drifted away to other churches that provide a number of church activities that keep the church and members busy with God's activities.

The 5.30am prayer is from Monday to Saturday. Because parishes vary from one city to another, and also in their location within the city, participation of members in the early morning prayers significantly varies. In the northern part of Nigeria, particularly in the religiously volatile city of Jos, it is risky to walk a distance from home to the church for early morning prayers, hence turn out has been very low. In the southwest of Nigeria, particularly Ibadan and Lagos, members blamed their infrequent absence at the early morning prayers on inadequate fund and occasional scarcity of fuel. Although not an elaborate activity, strands of anointed men and women are in the church premises and are being approached by members and visitors for a short prayer and possible divine message. Officially, bible class is scheduled for 6pm-8pm. Parishes are flexible about when to commence the Monday bible class and when to end it. Security challenges, transportation cost and stress attached to it, and power outages are determining factors.

The premises of CCC parishes visited were relatively busy with activities beginning with early morning prayers at 5:30am. Members and visitors whose special prayers span a number of days were found almost daily in the church premises engaged in some form of spiritual warfare. The entire CCC worldwide, Nigeria as a nation, government functionaries, traditional rulers, and the entire world are prayer points.

On Wednesday of every week, there are two special programmes that come up shortly after 5:30 early Morning Prayer: the service for the needy and seekers of all kinds of favour commences at 9am, and the service for divine mercy commences at 6pm. The former involves

lots of the anointed males and females who go into trance for the purpose of obtaining divine messages. The service comes to a close after all the attendees have been given their messages and guided on how to carry out further divine instructions. The second special service is conducted to request for divine mercy. It commences at 6pm and terminates at 8pm. In CCC parishes in Jos, commencing mercy service at 6pm is considered risky due to the security challenges in the city.

The Church is a host to members who stay in the church for a number of days for prayer rituals for self fortification, which is referred to as spiritual incubation (*igbele Oluwa*). Others meet in the church to deliberate on committee matters. Persons that are given divine messages on Tuesday who are instructed to immediately commence the necessary rituals are found in the church premises.

Friday is a power day when prophets, prophetesses, dreamers, visioners and seekers of spiritual power meet to re-energize their spiritual gifts and also when people who are seeking for divine power are claimed to receive theirs. The service in the past commenced at 6pm and lasted for two hours. Currently, the service begins at 12noon and terminates at 1pm. Security challenges and social inconveniences necessitated the shift in the timing of the special service. Members and visitors maximize the advantage of having the service in the mid-day: shortly after the special service, they (solution seekers) approach the spiritual workers for prayer and guide. This, to a large extent provides an advantage for solution seekers who may miss out on the special services that take place on Tuesday and Wednesday; a multiple advantage for solution seekers who do not miss out spiritual warfare and mercy services of Tuesday and Wednesday respectively.

The special service for pregnant women is on Friday. The special service commences at 3pm and lasts for about two hours. Every pregnant woman is expected to have a white bottle filled with water, and a white candle stick. Inspirational choruses and prayers convey the positive desires of the pregnant women: thanking God for not being barren, seeking for divine power to conquer both known and unknown agents of wickedness that may want to attack their foetus, and the request for divine grace to have safe and joyful delivery. Like the power day service, the pregnant women are placed before God including their water bottles and white candle sticks; the shepherd uses the Altar cloth to dust the pregnant women (symbolizing spiritual cleansing). As the pregnant women lay on the floor meditating, the shepherd prays for them. After a short while, they are asked to rise up and drink out of the water and take the remainder home for further use.

Sunday is the Lord's Day when the church hosts more worshippers than it appeared in the week days. The researcher observed that more vibrant church activities take place much more than can be observed in the week days. The day begins with Sunday school at 8.30am. The CCC is flexible about the commencement of Sunday school. For a better Sunday school teaching and learning experience, the CCC through its Seminary and Leadership Training Institute inaugurated in 2011 the maiden Sunday school teachers' conference. Sunday school teachers and facilitators are sponsored by their respective parishes to the conference for further empowerment on the scriptural basis for Sunday school, Sunday school curriculum, objective, teaching methodology, organization of the Sunday school building, the five basic steps in supervising the Sunday school, the ten commandments for the Sunday school teacher, and making the Sunday school more relevant to the current societal realities. The second Sunday school teachers conference came up on 7th to 10th August, 2012 at the Seminary Campus, kilometre 53, Lagos-Ibadan Expressway, opposite OPIC, Ogun State. The conference produced the first set of trained Sunday school administrators in the CCC.²⁸³

The researcher took part in one of the elaborate Sunday services, which commenced at 10am with the sanctification of the prayer house by seven men with seven white candles, enough incense to burn, and a bottle of holy water to sprinkle around. The seven candles were distributed and lit on specified seven spots within the church: the four corners of the church, male entrance, female entrance, and the altar. This is followed by a short prayer outside the church to commence the procession that is accompanied by processional hymn. Other events that followed included lighting the candles on the candle stand in the altar, call to worship, prayer and hymn for forgiveness of sin, prayer and hymn for thanksgiving, three members prayers, hymns for first and second lessons, sermonal prayer and hymn, Sunday collections, thanks-offering, closing prayer and benediction. The Sunday service terminated about 2pm.

The researcher took part in a number of worship sessions and watched prophets, visioners and other individuals who were in trance pass divine messages to members and visitors. On few occasions, both the visioners and recipients of divine messages went out of the church to complete the communication and reception of divine messages. This was done to avoid distraction as worship progressed. The role of the spiritualists in the dissemination of divine message to the persons concerned adds relevance to the day's worship.

Vigils are conducted at 12 midnight. This is one of the sacred hours that the church considers significant to potent prayers. It commences at 12 midnight and extends beyond 3am. It is

²⁸³ Interview with Gabriel Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

mandatory for every parish to observe night vigil at 12 midnight of the first Thursday of every month. During the New Moon service, members adore God with reverence. It is also a time of spiritual warfare when thanks are offered to God in respect of the past months. Members also commit the new month into the hands of God for full control over every activity that members will carry out. Night vigils are also observed individually or collectively according to divine instruction. Due to security challenges, members are allowed to go home after the vigil varies from 6am.²⁸⁴

4.5 Health Care

4.5.1 C&S

Healing home and healing rituals are synonymous with Aladura churches. Previous scholars have discussed the significance of healing home and ile agbebi (Maternity Home) in the C&S as part of the church's response to members' and non-members' health and economic challenges (Mitchell 1970, Ayegboyin and Ishola 1997). Care of the pregnant women is one of the major aspects of healing in the C&S. In churches where *Ile igbebi* (maternity home) exists, the nurse (*Iya agbebi*) attends to expectant mothers, females expecting the blessing of the womb, and nursing mothers. It is an age long practice that has experienced transformation over the years. The nurse took delivery of women in labour with the use of blessed water, prayer, bare hand, Izahl (disinfectant), and razor blade. This was done with little or no knowledge about the health implications of the instruments, which were in most cases unsterilized. The *iya agbebi* was chosen according to divine instruction. In some cases, the founder of the church as a prophetess also functioned as *iya agbebi*.²⁸⁵

In the C&S churches that operate fully fledged maternity homes, none of the resident *iya agbebi* is a trained nurse or midwife. Among the maternity homes visited, one *Iya agbebi* is a trained Agricultural Economist of the University of Ibadan who claimed she was trained in the spirit. According to her, God reveals the coming of any pregnant woman or any woman looking for the blessing of the womb to her, and instructs what steps should be taken to approach the problem. She states that there are those that are to be operated in the Hospital due to narrow pelvic and other medical reasons and there are those that God revealed have the problem of the placenta coming out before the baby or are carrying a number of babies without using any ultrasound equipment for diagnosis. Furthermore, there are women that have been recommended for surgery due to blockage in their fallopian tubes and other medical setbacks and due to divine instructions, surgeries have been carried out successfully

²⁸⁴ Interview with Titus O. Alao, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

²⁸⁵ Interview with Adewale Gbadebo, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

and healing has been effected.²⁸⁶ There are medically trained nurses and midwives who work in government and privately owned clinics and hospitals that are members and do offer medical assistance in the form of instructions and guide for a better medical practice in the maternity homes. An informant claimed that in any moment of her absence, there are qualified nurses in her church who provide prenatal and antenatal care to women. They take delivery according to her and also help in the purchase of essential medical equipment needed for effective medico-spiritual services that the church renders to both poor and rich women. She states that the only medical doctor in her church has been a great resource in rendering medical services to the church in the areas of guide and referrals.²⁸⁷

Similarly, a church founder and *iya agbebi* claimed she was divinely commissioned to operate a maternity clinic in the church and provides gynaecological services to members and non-members; and that she was trained locally on technics of safe baby delivery for nine years.²⁸⁸ The informant claimed that there are qualified nurses in her church who often give professional advice on safety precautions against infections of the baby and the mother. In all cases, women with gynaecological problems including pregnant women are encouraged to seek modern medical diagnosis or register at maternity section in government hospitals as the case may be. This is to supplement the spiritual intervention that the church offers to combat unforeseen circumstances that may defy modern orthodox medical solution and especially against unseen evil forces that may be militating against the joy of an individual.²⁸⁹ Each church that offers maternity services set aside some rooms where women are being attended to including a separate room for women in labour.

There are cases where the maternity home has closed down. In CSMC Surulere, Lagos, the qualified nurses and doctors in the church are organised to provide some first aid services to people within the premises of the church, specifically during worship sessions and when there are other church activities taking place. Aside from orthodox medical attention, water and oil are blessed and given to patients. If a health case requires prompt or further medical attention, the patient is taken to the nearest government or private hospital.

4.5.2 TCLA

The TCLA from inception provides spiritual guidance and healing services to female members and non-members with various gynaecological problems. Women looking for the

²⁸⁶ Interview with O. Bayewu, 17 May, 2012, Sango.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ Interview with Ayoola Ologodidan, 25 May, 2012, Lagos.

²⁸⁹ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

fruit of the womb, women desiring spiritual protection for the growing foetus and safe delivery, and women who require spiritual protection for themselves and their babies receive attention in the church. In the past, female ministers and other female members who had the traditional knowledge of child delivery provided maternity services in the church especially in cases where government hospital was quite distant or where the pregnant woman could not afford the cost of attending government hospital, or that the delivery time was too close for her to be sent to government hospital in the absence of vehicle to transport her to the hospital.²⁹⁰ These services have been upgraded to modern medical care.

The TCLA established a clinic at the international headquarters, Ogere about seven years ago. It employs the services of auxiliary and qualified Nurses who work in the clinic. Female ministers who trained as auxiliary Nurses are being used in this regard. A male minister who trained as medical doctor is the resident doctor in the clinic. On visitation days when pregnant women come for check-up, the antenatal service in the clinic is accompanied with prayers and singing: the pregnant women have fervent prayer session, singing and dancing session, hand clapping, a bit of jump ups, walking and dancing around; and lectures on usual signs and symptoms and the essential foods to be taken.²⁹¹

The clinic organizes ritual bath for the pregnant women at the stream. Ministers sanctify water for the pregnant women to drink and bath at home. The clinic has modern medical equipment. Major medical cases are referred to government hospital. This elaborate holistic medical care is absent in TCLA branch churches that the researcher visited.

4.5.3 CCC

The CCC recognizes that the power of the Holy Spirit is critical to safe delivery of babies by mothers. The church appropriates maternity home in this regard to take delivery of pregnant women who would have been operated on in government or private hospitals. Aside the divine intervention that members claimed has save a number of women from caesarean operation, it saves cost for pregnant members and non-registered members who cannot afford the expensive cost of medical care in the private hospitals, and also provides alternative to women who cannot withstand the delay in the antenatal and post natal services that government hospitals render, not minding the unfriendly attitude of some government nurses during labour.²⁹² Not every CCC parish runs maternity home. Where the parish does not provide maternity service, the church blamed it on lack of strong will on the part of qualified

²⁹⁰ Interview with Samson O. Olorode, 01 September, 2011, Lagos.

²⁹¹ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 June, 2012, Ogere.

²⁹² Interview with A. Oyegbile, 16 July, 2011, Ibadan.

nurses or members who are locally trained in the art. Where the church provided the service before the maternity closed down, the church blamed it on the relocation of the *iya agbebi* resident local nurse to another town and the inability of the church to find a person to carry on the work in the maternity.



Figure 32. CCC Mokola, Ibadan Maternity Home. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu, 2011.

In the past when one of the rooms of the resident shepherd was the labour room,²⁹³ few of the CCC parishes visited that provides maternity service have a structure specifically built for maternity service. There is a shift in the modern medical knowledge of the persons involved in the maternity service. The CCC, Mokola parish has a separate building which comprises both consulting and labour rooms. In it, there is average provision of modern equipment like the sterilizers, hand gloves, disinfectants, water, bandage, cellophane-sealed mattress (water-proof packed) on which the woman in labour is usually kept, blessed spiritual items like olive oil, assorted blessed perfume, holy water, sanctified medicated soap and sponge. Government trained nurses and prophetesses who learned the art of taking delivery are on hand to attend to pregnant women according to the dictate of God. Although the maternity home offers both antenatal and post natal services, the services are being supplemented by the Wednesday's seekers and mercy services and Friday's special service for the pregnant women.

4.6 The Hymn and the Choir

4.6.1 C&S

²⁹³ Interview with Gabriel Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

At its formative stage, Omoyajowo (1982:159-160) emphasises that the C&S borrowed some of its hymns from the Anglican and also compiled few of its inspirational songs. The C&S began with *orin emi* inspirational songs rendered in Yoruba language. Prior to the C&S schism in 1929, inspirational songs emerged from spirit-led individuals at the revival services of founder Moses Orimolade. The first hymn composer of the C&S was one Ayo Coker and one Mrs Josephine Adesola who was the first choir mistress of the church. The duo compiled the first C&S hymn book (Omoyajowo 1982: 60-61). The inspirational choruses assumed a regular feature in the church, especially during elaborate revival worship service. During revivals, inspirational songs were sung and are still being sung, starting on a slow tempo and gradually rising to a very fast crescendo, accompanied by clapping of hands. It is common to see some persons getting possessed by the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues or in the Yoruba language. The familiar songs and choruses that were compiled found their way into the hymnal of all the strands of the C&S. The hymnal of each strand of the C&S is a combination of the first hymns of the C&S that were composed then, together with later compiled inspirational songs of the church, and some hymns from the Anglican and Methodist hymnals.

The non-Anglican and Methodist elements in the C&S hymnal are not tagged by their composers as they are found in the Catholic and Anglican hymnals too. By this standard, each strand of the C&S has its unique hymn book. The Anglican and Methodist hymnals, however, have a considerable influence on the content, arrangement and tunes of the C&S hymns. Some hymns may have their root in the Anglican and the Methodist, but the C&S churches have changed their tunes and, in other cases, even the wordings. The current edition of the CSMC hymnal, which has about one thousand hymns, is an improvement on the previous edition that had only nine hundred and one hymns. The hymns are classified into fifty-five categories according to their purpose and period when the church used them in worship. Basically, they are classified according to their relevance in different human crisis situations, human relations with God and fellow humans and the seasonal programmes of the church. The founder of the C&S, Moses Orimolade and early members of the church came from an Anglican background. The hymnals of ESOCS, CSS, PBCS, SOCS, CSMC, CSOIM and other strands share some commonality in the first choruses that emerged before the demise of Orimolade. They also share some differences arising from some inspirational songs that were contributed by of some individuals in their respective strands.

The CSMC hymn book that has been edited a number of times has also at different times been translated into English by a few persons. In 1962, the CSMC had its first edition published in Ibadan as *Iwe Orin Mimo Fun Egbe Mimo Kerubu Ati Serafu Gbogbo Agbaiye*, meaning hymn book for the C&S Worldwide. Its second edition was printed in Kaduna in 1970. The C&SU produced what it called a comprehensive hymn of all C&S churches in 1999. Its content does not substantially differ from the existing hymnal, it has some few additions. In 2002, the English chapel of the CSMC Ilorin published some selected Yoruba hymns that it translated into English. Similarly, in 2004 one Fapojuwo Olowookere²⁹⁴ of the CSMC International Headquarters, Kaduna translated some selected C&S hymns from Yoruba to English. The choir of the English chapel of the CSMC Surulere, Lagos compiled and rearranged the English and Yoruba versions of the C&S hymnal. It was published and printed in Lagos in 2005 by Divine Echo Christian Life Publication. The same publisher printed its second edition in 2007. The most recent effort being made to redefine the C&S hymnal came from the CSU in 2009, when it edited and published it. The pioneer of Yoruba translation of the C&S hymn to English was one Olu Famodimu. As inspirational songs, they drive people to faith, prayer and action even as they provide members with practical ways of expressing faith and the divine purpose for which the founder was commissioned to start the church.²⁹⁵

Originally, the C&S started as a group without a choir. Traditional Yoruba choruses were rendered from inspiration during sermons, praise, and revival worships. It was common to find some persons interjecting a preacher with choruses from inspiration, while at times, the congregation had to learn an inspirational song while the sermon was being delivered.²⁹⁶ Some local drums, gongs, beaded gourds and some metal rattles were introduced to accompany both solemn and fast inspirational songs to make every rendition melodious to the entire congregation. Members who indicated interest in coming together as a group saddled with chorus production started the first choir group of the C&S.²⁹⁷ The choir group of the major strands of the C&S had a humble beginning with local musical instrument. The C&S has been greatly influenced by foreign secular and gospel audio and video songs and movies, which have influenced the remoulding, content and form of church songs and choruses, including instruments.²⁹⁸ The local base drum has been replaced with ordinary or electric set

²⁹⁴ Olowookere before his demise was the choir master of the CSMC International Headquarters, Kaduna.

²⁹⁵ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12 October, 2011, Lagos. His position on the contents of the hymnal is that founder Orimolade, early and later members were commissioned to announce Christ in the way the bible instructs, but that the church has derailed, and this is one of the points of emphasis in the C&S hymn book.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁷ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

²⁹⁸ Interview with Solomon Ogunbunmi, 23 April, 2011, Jos.

drums. Local metal rattles have been replaced with the tambourine, while the beaded guard has been replaced with mother instrument that produce similar sound like that of the guard. There are varieties of string instruments ranging from the guitars lead to bass guitars. Organs and the piano have been introduced into church music, including assorted wind instrument.

The integration of the string, wind and percussion instruments including selected songs from the church hymnal and chorus songs into worship went through a gradual development. The church recognized the role of the choir in church ministration and of human emotional stability. Churches are at variance in size and development of the choir group, its musical instruments, music education of choristers and their formal educational attainment, standard requirements for joining the group and welfare for 'the significant members'.

Major strands of the C&S have invested a lot in the purchase and maintenance of modern musical instruments because of the potentials of the choir in church ministration. The CSMC Surulere choir which began simultaneously with the church in 1971 started with twenty members. In the 1980s, membership rose to thirty. Currently, it has over a thousand and five hundred male and female choristers devolved into four sections of the church. These four groups are the main church, the Disciples of Christ Ministry (DCM), the Youth Fellowship, and the Children Ministry. In the main choir, membership age requirement is from about forty years and above, while the DCM choir age requirement is between thirty and fifty years. The youth fellowship choir is for teenagers and those in their early or late twenties and the children ministry choir is for children below twelve years. All the groups are under one central choir and a Choir Master General (CMG) coordinates it.

Each group has its coordinator who reports to the Choir Master General who is Most Senior Apostle Prophet Korode. The groups do things together during their choir festival and while running central programmes. People are chosen from all the groups for the big show or any other events, including studio recordings. In terms of gender, in any church, women are always more than men. At the onset, the choir group never came up with any objective than to sing unto the Lord and to use their voice and instrument to praise him. In the later years, the group came up with M³ objective, implying Music, Melody and Message, so that whatever composition the choir does, it should be musical, melodious, and imbued with inspiring biblical messages. The group has chosen itself to be part of the people who effect positive behavioural or attitudinal changes in the society through musical evangelism. It explores the shooting, looting and burning of human beings and their property going in the society, especially in the crises prone north and other vices as referral points for prayer. The bible

remains its source material for music composition.²⁹⁹ The bell and the local drums that were used in the past are still being used on exceptional conditions, while modern musical instruments project the presence of the choir on an elevated platform on the right side of the large prayer house.

Repositioned to provide the best song ministration and quality content in composition and rendition, the choir requires interested individuals to possess a minimum of secondary school education while higher education is an added advantage. This does not apply to the children's choir group. Additional requirement across the sections of the choir groups is good human relations, moral uprightness and a good and trainable voice. Interested candidates are voice tested and also voice trained as the case may be. Unlike in the early stage of the history of the choir group, members are encouraged to learn various musical instruments for maximum utility and are also encouraged to train for various vocal parts such as lead vocals, back-up vocals, baritone and others. Unlike in the past, the choir group has musicologists who studied music in the university. For instance, Segun Williams practices music with the Nigerian Air Force Band, Baba Doris is also a trained musician from the Nigerian Army Band, while there is Dr Bimbo Sowemimo who handles the youth choir. Thus the level of education in the choir group is very high, in fact much higher than it was at the onset.³⁰⁰ The group has above thirty (30) record labels. The group also has its own recording studio, which is about to be commissioned and opened for the group and public use in order to generate funds for the group and the larger church.

At times the church gives some stipends as transport cost to its instrumentalists, vocalists and other members of the group through the choir leadership. This to a large extent encourages members' commitment and steadfastness without drifting to other churches that have good or better offers for them. This morale booster, however, does not apply to all the churches. The sophistication of musical instrument of the choir groups also varies according to their successes in garnering externally generated revenue from musical programmes outside the church and also the financial support they receive from the church. The church, the choir, and individual free-will donations have been the sources of the transformation in musical instruments of choir groups. Common instruments include various types of modern

²⁹⁹ Interview with Jide Ogungbade, 31 August, 2011, Lagos.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

keyboards, saxophones, trumpets, guitars and drum sets. The churches have not abandoned the clapping of hands during worship.³⁰¹

4.6.2 TCLA

TCLA began in 1930 with inspirational songs and choruses usually sang in the native Yoruba dialect of the founder. The founder of TCLA composed lots of the inspirational songs of the church. A few number of the early ministers had a considerable number of songs to their credit. The composition of the inspirational songs were a reflection of their ministerial experiences in their encounter with witches and witchcraft powers, temptations, healing of different illnesses, and appreciation to God for healing success.³⁰² The TCLA hymnal comprises of long and short songs, which the founder and other spirit-inspired ministers composed and a considerable number of hymns lifted from the CMS hymnal. The experience of the founder as a member and catechist in the CMS including the Christian background of his early disciples, most likely, influenced the admixture of the hymns. The actual year when TCLA compiled its first hymn book could not be obtained by the researcher due to the fact that members that were interviewed had not a copy and that they (respondents) had no information of its year of publication. However, Turner (1967:295) records that Ositelu already had some inspirational songs as early as 1927 and two years later, J. Ade Aina and other members had contributed theirs, which made up one hundred and fifty seven hymns and a supplement of fifty songs all in Yoruba.

The TCLA has improved on its hymnal over the years. The *akewi ijo* the church poets and *asewe orin ijo* the church hymn book production committee have produced a number of editions including additional songs and translation into English. Turner (1967:296) records three editions of the church hymnal, notably those of 1932 which has one hundred and fifty seven hymns and fifty lyrics; the 1940's edition, which was an improvement of the previous edition; and the Yoruba and English edition of 1958, which had three hundred and eight hymns out of which ninety seven were original hymns, while the remaining hymns are of CMS and other western sources. A notable member that contributed to one of the editions of the hymnal was Chief Ashamu.³⁰³ The 1988 edition of the hymnal that was printed in London contains seven hundred songs and is structured into thirty-two according to their relevance to the church's seasons, tenets, human crisis situations, and occasions, which the church observes weekly, monthly and annually.

³⁰¹ Interview with Jide Ogungbade, 31 August, 2011, Lagos.

³⁰² Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

³⁰³ Reverend Chief Emmanuel Oyedele Ashamu was a successful entrepreneur who donated plots of land to the church and also financed the production of the 2001 edition of the church hymn book.

The structure of each edition does not differ from others. The 2001 and 2010 editions do not differ in structure from the previous ones except that each edition contains some additional hymns. The hymns are arranged into canticles, introduction, doxology, morning prayer, evening prayer, Lord's day, thanksgiving, advent, Christmas, missions, lent, palm Sunday, passion, Easter, ascension, spiritual hymns, trinity, word of God, prayer, service, house of prayer, faith, victory, hymns for children, holy days, end of the year and new year, holy communion, holy matrimony, burial of the dead, harvest, living water, general hymns. In addition, the hymnal has supplementary hymns that are subsumed in thanksgiving, Christmas carols, passion, Easter, spiritual hymns, service, and an additional classification tagged discipleship. The TCLA published the enlarged edition of its English hymnal in Ogere, 2001. It is structured as the Yoruba version of the church hymnal except that not all the Yoruba hymns have been translated into English. The newest edition of the church's hymnal in English enlarged edition was printed in 2011.

The choir uses the church hymnal and its composed choruses in its musical ministrations. The location of the church, the independent resources of the choir and financial support from the church determine the sophistication of the choir group. The history of each of the TCLA choir groups visited is that of a simple beginning when there was not strict requirement for joining the choir. One's ability to read and write and show of interest in singing for the Lord were required. Children required the confirmation of their parents before they could join the choir; today, children still require the support of their parents. Age and rank in the church were not barriers to membership. Musical instruments were at the simplest stage; it started with clapping of hands and local drums and other instruments were later introduced-bass drum, beaded gourd, iron gong, and two plane sticks; local drums were accompanied with manual organ in urban areas.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ Interview with Olufemi Ayeni, 26 June, 2011, Ibadan.



Figure 33. TCLA Choir, Oke Padre, Ibadan. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu 2012

The current pre-requisite for membership begins with a hand written application letter. Applicants are allowed to participate in choir rehearsals for about two months during which he/she is observed and assessed on voice training, lead singing, backup singing, piano, guitar, percussion and wind instruments. The assessment enables the choirmaster to accurately place the applicants where he/she can be of premium utility in the choir group. The variety of robe of the choir, namely maroon colour robe for Sunday worship and the purple colour robe for anniversary service makes the group attractive.

The choirmaster's access to relevant literature and his reading habit have a great influence on the transformation that a choir group experiences. When asked about the source of his innovations in the choir, an informant emphasised the need for the choirmaster to update his knowledge of music in order

[T]o move with time and to keep the choir within the modern development in musical composition and rendition. I got a hand out on music from a friend which I study in order to broaden my horizon in music. I organize training sessions for choristers in the areas of percussion, keyboard and string instruments I also partake in keyboard training because I do not know how to play it and I want to know it; the trainer has musical school where people are trained in voice, song composition, wind, percussion, string, and keyboard instruments. He is being paid to train us, most likely, he will award certificate of proficiency at the end of the training.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁵ Interview with Olufemi Ayeni, 26 June, 2011, Ibadan.

Quite a number of choristers are tertiary institution graduates. The choirmaster studied Fine and Applied Arts at Federal College of Education (Special), Oyo while his assistant studied Industrial Technology at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. The organist of the TCLA, Oke Padre, Ibadan studied music at Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and teaches music in a high school. He also offers consultancy service to artists who are preparing to go to music studio for recording.

The TCLA choir groups that have adequate equipment receive the permission of the church to extend their ministration to outside the church. They give brief biblical exhortations at members' wedding, burial, birthday, and house warming ceremonies and also supply melodious songs. The TCLA allows its choir groups to appropriate monies that they generate from their musical ministrations at social functions including free will donations and financial support from the church for the purchase and maintenance of musical instruments, and choir robe. At times, members are offered some stipends as morale booster especially after a successful performance at special occasions.

4.6.3 CCC

The earliest set of hymns of the CCC was composed and sung by one Mawuyon whom the Pastor founder of the CCC Joseph Oshoffa raised from dead in 1947; the late founder also composed inspirational songs (CCC Constitution 1980:23-28).³⁰⁶ Other early composers were prophets who while in trance usually revealed inspirational songs before revealing divine messages and also rendered inspirational songs to communicate divine messages to persons concerned; their content bordered on recognition of angels and their roles, the glory of God, the blessings of God, repentance, call to holiness, recognition of contrary spirits and their antidote in Christ, and hymns that relate to crisis situations and church calendar; the songs were written down by vision writers for compilation.³⁰⁷ The hymns are completely inspirational devoid of borrowing from the Anglican and the Methodist.³⁰⁸ Adogame (1999:135-139) had earlier discussed extensively the revealed inspirational songs of the CCC, highlighting their translation into Egun, Yoruba and English and taxonomised into forty-one themes.

³⁰⁶ Emmanuel Mawuyon Guton was the Pastor founder's sister's only child. God, through Pastor Oshoffa healed him. He became the first prophet of the CCC and the Evangelist of the CCC in Ivory Coast. He was credited to have revealed inspirational songs and divine injunctions about Holy Communion, candleholder, Pajaspá, call to worship and watchnight service. See CCC Constitution p.23-28.

³⁰⁷ Interview with J. Bomes, 27 October, 2011, Lagos.

³⁰⁸ Interview with Wole Adetiran, 06 April, 2013, Lagos.

The Pastor founder in 1974 verbally prohibited non-CCC hymns and some ritual practices that he found unacceptable. These prohibitions were compiled and made available as official press release from the office of the Pastor. In the CCC explanation on the rules and regulations on worship CCCR&RW (1974:4, 5), the Pastor Founder Oschoffa's statement reads:

Concerning hymns, we must not sing in our Church any hymn of other denominations. The ones descended by the Holy Spirit is what we must always use...There are still many more hymns to come from the Holy Spirit. It is as we sing these spiritual hymns that the power of God will descend and the work of God will continue in the Church. While TCLA and CCC have their respective central hymn books, the C&S hymn books are that of unity in diversity. Early inspirational songs of the C&S have formed a remarkable part of the hymnals of various strands of the church.

This instruction to our observation has become ineffective as songs and choruses outside the church hymnal were sung during a number of worship sessions that the researcher participated in.

There is the Songs and Hymns Technology Review Committee whose members meet on schedule to harmonize all the inspirational songs of the CCC and to ensure that the original tune of each song is not lost because it noticed the variations of tunes with which some songs are being sung in different parishes.³⁰⁹ The committee examines and documents the historical background of each inspirational song: whether it was through prophecy or inspirationally composed; the composer, and the situation at the time of its composition.³¹⁰ A typical CCC hymn *mo ti mo p'elese ni mi, Oluwa darijimi o*, (I acknowledge I am a sinner, O'Lord forgive me) was composed by a prophet who was held in a trance for a sin that he committed somewhere and had to confess.³¹¹ The committee is also responsible for developing the sol-fa syllables of each hymn; the music education of some members of the committee is paying off in this regard.³¹²

The CCC at the onset did not incorporate clapping and drumming in its worship. Two tiny planed sticks, *agbamole*, bass drum, and iron gong were the main instruments that were first

³⁰⁹ Response of Emmanuel Mobiyina Oshoffa, 18 September, 2011, Lagos.

³¹⁰ Interview with Wole Adetiran, 06 April, 2013, Lagos.

³¹¹ Response of Emmanuel Mobiyina Oshoffa, 18 September, 2011, Lagos.

³¹² *Ibid.*

used in the choir. Modern string instruments, wind instruments, key board, percussion instruments, tambourine and beaded guard were later introduced into their joyous worship. The resources of a parish determine the modern instruments of its choir. The church gives financial support to the choir, while the choir raises funds for the purchase of instrument through free will donation of instruments and money, playing at occasions on invitations and fees, sale of cassettes and discs of songs produced by the choir, and renting out of some instruments to some groups of gospel commercial singers.³¹³ Current basic requirements for membership of the choir include secondary school education, good voice, ability to differentiate tunes, and positive human relationship.³¹⁴ Aside church hymns, the choir sings choruses in different languages.

A number of CCC choirs have composed songs and produced a number of record albums. The choir of CCC Makoko, Lagos was the first among the CCC choirs worldwide to produce a record album in the middle of 1970s. The choir of CCC, Yemetu, Ibadan was the second when it produced its first record album in the late 1970s. The choir of CCC Mokola, Ibadan produced its first record label shortly after Yemetu had produced. The record labels of the CCC choirs of Makoko, Yemetu, Mokola and other CCC choirs are a total of forty-three and have been compiled and produced on a single Mp3. Out of the forty-three labels, Mokola produced nine, Yemetu produced eleven, and Makoko produced twelve. Other CCC choirs produced eleven record labels.³¹⁵

4.7 Liturgical Practices

4.7.1 Holy Communion

4.7.1.1 C&S

The Holy Communion is one of the seven sacramental rites that the C&S accepts and practices. The Eucharist is the symbolic re-enactment of the last supper of the Lord Jesus Christ as contained in the Christian bible.³¹⁶ As a call to renewal of the church covenant with Christ, his earthly mission, his value of humility and self-sacrifice, and the abundant grace therein, most members of the various strands of the C&S interviewed rhetorically affirmed the Eucharist as a proof of the Christian content of the church. Omoyajowo (1982:145-147) discusses this extensively much of which has not changed with time. In anticipation of the annual Holy Communion, which is conducted on a good Thursday night, before the Good Friday, members are reminded to right their wrong relationships with persons they have

³¹³ Interview with Music Ambassador, 25 December, 2013, Ibadan.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ See Matthew 26 Verses 17-30; Mark 14:12-26.

misunderstanding and malice; to clear any obstructions to the reception of the abundant saving grace in the Eucharist.³¹⁷ Strands of the C&S however vary in their observance of the Last Supper. Most members of the major strands of the C&S interviewed claimed that the annual observance of the Eucharist is biblical and that any alteration done to it is unbiblical and unpleasant to God who enacted it through Jesus Christ. A branch church (Saint Mary C&S) of the CSMC strongly differs in its understanding and observance of the Lord's Supper. The Saint Mary C&S believes that the more it observes the Eucharist, the more there would be blessings for members who partake in it including the church as a body. Hence the number of times that the church observes the Lord's Supper is significant to the abundance of blessings, which the church claims to offer its members and casual attendees. The church conducts Holy Communion Service during each of its special quarterly programmes and on the Good Thursday at Easter. This translates to five times in a year. Similarly, one of the modernist C&S churches, the C&S Bible Ministries deviates from the number of times of the observance of the Eucharist in the conventional C&S. It observes the Lord's Supper once in a month because according to it,

Jesus says, "as often as possible, do it in remembrance of me"; the more you assume the blood and flesh of Christ in the Eucharist, the more you are blessed and the more your faith in Christ is renewed.³¹⁸

Even though its preparation and blessing is an all-male affair in the conventional C&S, it is not so in the Faith in Christ C&S, the CSBM, and the English Chapel/ Youth Fellowship groups of the major strands of the C&S visited in Jos, Ibadan and Lagos. In these groups, preparing the meal (bread and wine) and its blessing before being served involves active participation of a body of delegated male and female members. In most of the conventional C&S, partakers must be in their white garment when taking the Holy Communion. This compulsion is shared by modernist C&S churches and youth fellowship groups that comply with the wearing of white garment. This requirement is absent in CSBM and the youth fellowship group of the CSMC in Jos.

4.7.1.2 TCLA

Turner (1967:200) records that the Holy Communion/the Last Supper is observed three or four times in a year: at annual consecration service, Mount Tabieorar in August, Easter, and Christmas/New Year. The TCLA observed the Lord's Supper on the Holy Thursday of every

³¹⁷ Interview with Jide Ogungbade, 31 August, 2011, Lagos. The informant alludes to 1 Corinthians 11:23-34.

³¹⁸ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12 October, 2011, Lagos.

year, a day that precedes the Good Friday of Easter. It also observes the Lord's Supper on other special occasions. But about ten years ago, the church issued a new instruction that the Lord's Supper should be observed once monthly, twelve times in a year, but church branches do not strictly follow the new order.³¹⁹ Most members claimed that it is most inconvenient because the Supper is conducted in the evening after morning service. This entails leaving the church for home after morning service only for the communicants to go back to the church in the evening regardless of the distance of members' houses to the church.

The church is pragmatic about the time it observes the sacred communion. When it is taken in the morning or day time during special occasions, the church calls it Holy Communion. The special occasions include solemnization of Holy Matrimony, birthday celebration and seminars of ministers. Basically, the communicants are full members who have observed the baptismal rite. The church has relaxed the enforcement of rules that allow only communicants partake in the Lord's Supper because it (the church) does not know those who are real communicants and those who are not.

4.7.1.3 CCC

In the CCC, the rite of the Holy Communion is one of the sacraments that are observed. The CCC enjoins parishes and members to observe the rite quarterly and on Holy Thursday (day before Good Friday), on special occasions, namely marriage, funeral, the remembrance service for the departed souls and other occasions that the church may consider important for the rite to be observed.³²⁰ The response of a number of shepherds to the question of the number of times that the church observes the rite of the holy communion showed that some are not conversant with the section of the constitution on holy communion, while others claimed that they do not subscribe to any instruction that contradicts the number of times that the event took place in the bible.

Most members interviewed agreed that it supposed to be observed as the church constitution stipulates: Christ enjoins that it should be done as many times as possible.³²¹ Yet, the church does not strictly follow what the constitution says; it observes the good Thursday as the Holy Communion day and at times overlooks other important occasions when it supposed to be observed.³²² When asked about the observance of the holy communion in the CCC parish that he heads as shepherd, an informant maintained that he and his members observe the

³¹⁹ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

³²⁰ The CCC Constitution, p.31.

³²¹ Allusion is made to I Corinthians 11:24-27.

³²² Interview with Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

sacrament once in a year, on the holy Thursday as it is recorded in the bible; that though Christ enjoins that it should be done as many times as possible, it should not be done for a few years and abandoned; Jesus did it once and if he had continued to live, he would have repeated it once yearly.³²³

The administration of the Holy Communion is the sole responsibility of the Pastor in the international headquarters and the shepherds in the parishes. The Pastor, the shepherd, and male church workers are allowed to prepare the holy meal and interaction with the utensils in which it is prepared. Females are not allowed to get close to or touch the meal. The sacred meal is eaten in the order of members' rank in descending order (from the highest to the lowest in rank). Partakers are members who have received the sacrament of baptism in the CCC.

4.7.2 Baptism

4.7.2.1 C&S

Adult baptism by immersion in a safe, flowing river after a probation period and baptismal lessons have been found among the C&S (Omoyajowo 1982:145). Although different strands of the C&S differ in the probation period for a new member to qualify for baptism, and also slightly differ in their baptismal orders, they do not observe infant baptism. A convert, regardless of his/her previous baptism in his/her former church must be baptised in the C&S (C&S Tenets of Faith 1990). Most importantly, the C&S baptismal orders have been largely drawn from the Anglican baptismal orders. The C&S churches believe and practice water baptism and the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Infant baptism is insignificant in the C&S. The church accepts persons from about eight years old for baptism, contending that Christ was not baptized at an infant age.³²⁴ The C&S rather asserts that he (Christ) was grown enough to understand the meaning of baptism and he could decide whether to accept that John could baptise him or not.³²⁵ Most members of the different strands of the C&S interviewed claimed biblical authority for the church baptismal programme for its new converts by total immersion in a flowing river that does not pose any risk to the baptizer and the baptized. According to an informant, the baptismal candidates must have been steadfast in their church attendance for about six months to allow for a substantial observable record of their general behaviour and disposition to the tenets of the church. Also, the candidates are subjected to baptismal class

³²³ Interview with J. Bomes, 27 October, 2011, Lagos.

³²⁴ Personal interview with Solomon Ogunbunmi, 23 May, 2011, Jos. He alluded to Christ's baptism age in Luke 3:21-23.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*

where they are taught about baptism and its significance and about other Christian and church doctrines.³²⁶

Members claimed that the church often times flaunts those standards in their aggressive drive for new members, which noticeably occurs when a new person willing to join the church is a well-placed person in the society. Unlike in the past when it was compulsory for a new person in the church who was coming from a Catholic or Anglican background to be re-baptized in the C&S, members claimed that the church is emphatic on baptism only for converts from non-Christian backgrounds. It can be conjectured here that, aside from the aggressive drive for more members, the church noncompliance with the set standards occurs when new members already had their baptism in their previous churches. The C&S Bible Ministries places emphasis on the baptism of the Holy Spirit and the need for the new members to be baptized or re-baptized as the case may be to prepare them for non-water baptism of the Holy Spirit as the climax of the physical baptism.³²⁷

4.7.2.2 TCLA

Adult baptism has been found in TCLA on the ground that infants cannot confess or give adequate account of their own stewardship at infant age (Turner 1967:188). The The TCLA does not observe infant baptism, but adult baptism. By infant baptism, the church refers to children from one month old to seventeen years old. The church baptizes its members at age eighteen; it considers an eighteen years old person is mature enough to decide for her/himself whether to accept Christ or not. Baptismal class is organized for candidates during which they learn much about the tenets of the church, and during which the candidates take decision either to remain the class for baptism or to abandon it entirely.

Baptismal rite confers on the candidates the right to partake in the Lord's Supper and the communion meal, and election into laity office. It is carried out on the river bank.

4.7.2.3 CCC

Baptism is one of the sacraments that the CCC observes. Candidates are subjected to a baptismal class that spans about eight weeks where they are taught the tenets of the church and must have fulfilled one year unbroken membership of the church. The baptismal candidates are taken to a flowing river which is not deep and the water is not dirty. There, candidates are immersed into water three times in the name of the father, son and Holy Spirit.

³²⁶ Interview with Solomon Ogunbunmi, 23 May, 2011, Jos.

³²⁷ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12 October, 2011, Lagos.

Female candidates are enjoined not to wear transparent cloth that can expose their nudity while in the water or outside the water.³²⁸

4.7.3 Solemnizing Holy Matrimony

4.7.3.1 C&S

The C&S recognizes the institution of marriage as entrenched in the Christian bible. Members are enjoined to follow the precepts of the Holy Bible as written in 1 Corinthians 7 verses 1 to 40 in their search for life partners; seek the consent of their parents in their choice of spouse; seek the face of God in their choice of marriage partners; go into fervent prayers for divine power to discern the right partner; and also encouraged those who are spiritually weak to approach the prophets for a guide (Fakeye 2000). Couple dressed in white praying garment instead of the conventional bridal gown and suit has been found among the C&S (Omoyajowo 1982: 146). The solemnisation order has been largely drawn from the Anglican order of marriage. In some of the strands of the C&S visited, some innovations have been found in their marriage order.

Most of the churches visited obtained licence from the government which allows them to solemnize the relationship between a male and a female in the church. The increasingly dynamic and complex human society has compelled the church to suggest court marriage to couples as a supplement to the solemnization in the church, to arm the partners against any law suits that may arise in the course of their legal union.³²⁹ Although prophecy and the consent of parents take pre-eminence over medical compatibility in marriage guide, the church encourages would-be couples to consult medical experts for general medical examinations in order to know their HIV status, blood group, genotype and other genetic and sexually transmitted diseases and make recommendations. However, the church does not compel spouses to do all that, but through counselling programmes for the singles, they are enjoined to seek and consider medical advice as critical to a joyous married life; the singles in the church are encouraged to look inward in their search for life partners.³³⁰ This, we want to conjecture here, is to increase the membership of the church and also to sustain the utility of the licence, which allows the church to conduct holy matrimonyes. Although polygamy was not openly encouraged or discouraged in some C&S churches, particularly among the old generation strands of the C&S, the modernist strands particularly the CSBM rejects and enjoins its members against polygamy.

³²⁸ Interview with J. Bomes, 27 October, 2011, Lagos.

³²⁹ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011, Lagos.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

Before the end of the solemnization session, the newly wedded couple and their parents, separately appear before the congregation for thanksgiving and fulfilment of vow.³³¹ The big expectation of the church from the couple and their parents, in our own conclusion, explains the church's aggressive approach towards fund raising.

4.7.3.2 TCLA

The recognition of Christian and customary marriages and ambiguous approval of polygamy has been found in TCLA (Turner 1967:231-247). The church has not deviated from its marriage practice, except that it now places emphasis on the need for would-be couple to seek medical advice and laboratory tests to determine their compatibility health wise. TCLA acquired government approval to solemnize the union of a male and a female. By this approval, its branches throughout Nigeria have the legal right to conduct wedding service in their respective churches. Currently, a church branch that does not have a marriage register book is allowed to use that of the Diocese to conduct marriage service and make the couple and parents sign it including marriage certificate form.

Young TCLA branches that do not have the marriage register book and marriage certificate forms are compelled to get their copies. Conducting marriage in a church and also issuance of marriage certificate confer a high status on the church; it is one of those things that every branch of the TCLA aspires to provide for its members.³³² If conducting wedding services for members help sustain the church membership, it therefore means that members are sure of having it done for them or their children and there is no need to join another church that provides such opportunity. The church does not use the wedding occasion to generate funds for the church like it does during burial outing.

4.7.3.3 CCC

The CCC recognizes the institution of marriage between a man and a woman. It solemnizes the holy matrimony in accordance with the marriage act under which the church is licensed by the government. The church observes the CCC constitutional provisions, though scanty, on marriage in (CCC CCnstitution 1980:51). The elaborate marriage orders of the CCC are enshrined in the CCC Order of Service (n.d.:11-13). Although the marriage orders and contents seem to be originally designed by the CCC including the marriage ritual speeches, the order of the ritual speeches is seemingly fashioned after the statements of oath and responses in the Anglican marriage orders. The CCC recognizes marriages solemnized in other Christian churches, and all vows made at the marriage blessed in the CCC and enjoins

³³¹ Interview with Emmanuel Adebayo, 20 May, 2011, Jos.

³³² Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

the couple to keep to their marriage vows, the noncompliance of which the church considers sinful. The solemnisation of marriage on Saturdays and Sundays has been found in the CCC visited. However, Adogame (1999:170) records that marriage in the CCC is mostly held on Sundays during devotional worship.

Although the church is officially silent about its position on monogamy or polygamy, members interviewed claimed that the church has a history of solemnizing the singles and not those who are already married. When asked further about his opinion on marriage and members in the church, an informant said that the founder of the CCC was a great polygamist whose polygamous life had impact on marriage in the church; that the church does not frown at polygamy but does not preach out rightly against it; that he was born into the church about forty-four years ago and has not seen where the church solemnized the union of a married man with a single lady.³³³ CCC marriage is more ceremonial than it was in the past; the church relaxes its restrictions, allowing members and visitors without *Sutana* (white garment) to take part in the solemnization service and does not announce to menstruating female visitors to stay outside the church.³³⁴ The church also recognizes the consent of parents as critical to solemnization of marriage and does not recognize polygamy as an obstacle to the spirituality of members and reception of God's grace.³³⁵

4.7.4 Child Naming

4.7.4.1 C&S

The C&S recognises and conducts child naming in a ceremonious way. This is done on the eighth day in accordance with the biblical injunction in Genesis 17 verse 2, and Luke 1 verse 59.³³⁶ The researcher observed Honey, salt, water, white candles and the Holy Bible in the items used in christening the new born; the tastefulness of honey and salt and the nutritional value of honey are acknowledged in prayer for the baby. According to an informant, the lighting of seven white candles signifies brightness to any part of the life of the baby that may be darkened by the strategies of Satan or the bad deeds of evil persons.³³⁷ Due to the distance of the house of some members to the church, naming a child in the church as it was in the past has been modified: if the parents of the new born baby choose to Christian their child at home, the church has to nominate some elders that will go to officiate the Christening of the

³³³ Interview with Daniel O. Otakoya, 26 June, 2011, Ibadan. He could not substantiate his information as his parish has no record indicating that every marriage solemnized there was purely between the bachelor and the spinster.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ *Ibid.*

³³⁶ Interview with A. A. Adebayo, 15 May, 2011, Jos.

³³⁷ Interview with Ambrose A. Beckley, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

baby at the residence of its parents; but if the parents of the new baby choose to have their baby christened in the church and can withstand the stress of traffic jam and its effect on the baby and the mother, the church is obliged to comply.³³⁸

In ESOCS, SCSC, and CSMC churches visited, both the mother and the baby are restricted from entering the church after the naming rituals on the eighth day until the day of dedication, which varies according to the gender of the baby. The modernist C&S churches differ in that regard: the CSBM, though christens a baby on the eighth day, delegates members of the church to officiate the naming at the home of the parents of the new baby for the convenience of both and parents. It also differs in the aspect of child dedication: once the baby is named and the mother and baby are medically fit to move around and interact with other persons, the family can dedicate their child in the church.³³⁹ This contrasts with the first generation C&S churches that emphasize forty days for the male child and ninety days for the female child before they are dedicated. In the CSBM, both baby and mother are not unclean while away from the church before dedication, as regarded in the first generation C&S churches.

4.7.4.2 TCLA

The naming of a child and the circumcision of male children on the eighth day; the churching of mother and child as stated in Leviticus 12 and the rejection of clitoridectomy has been found in TCLA (Turner 1967). Although the church started in Yorubaland where clitoridectomy is practiced, it has continued to discourage female circumcision. The TCLA is flexible about the venue where a child is named. The parents of the new born may choose to name their child at home or in the church and the items that are used in the naming ritual have remained unmodified: orange, banana, sugarcane, honey, sugar, salt, water, and *aadun*³⁴⁰ granule corn cake.³⁴¹ The items are metaphors used to communicate to God the desire of the church, parents and well-wishers for the new born baby: Orange is sweet and its seeds can be planted to germinate into orange trees that produce their own orange fruits and this translates to absence of bitterness in the life of the child and that the baby will grow to have his/her own children and would be a blessing to multitudes of people; because of its sweetness, humans create paths to access orange trees in the thick forest and this means that the baby will be a useful tool that every person in the society will always approach for good things in life.³⁴²

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12 October, 2011, Lagos.

³⁴⁰ A local snack made of granule maize, palm oil, salt and pepper.

³⁴¹ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

The nutritional and spiritual values of sugarcane are acknowledged in the naming prayer. Sugarcane is sweet: the baby shall not know bitterness; the raging bush fire does not consume the sugarcane plants like other trees and shrubs in the forest, therefore “the mark of God’s ownership shall be on the child and evil shall not befall him/her”; Banana fruit is soft and sweet, therefore “the child will know no bitterness in life and that however mountainous his/her problems may be in future, they will be surmounted”; Honey is sweet and nutritious and represents knowledge, prosperity, and wealth and these attributes are acknowledged in prayer for the baby; “Sugar is sweet: the baby will not know bitterness”; “Salt makes food to be tasty: the baby will be possess solutions to problems of his own generation”; “Water is life: the baby shall live long to be an achiever and give testimony of the saving grace of God”; “*Aadun* is made of corn and a planted corn germinates into multiple maize cobs and grain seeds: the baby shall be blessed with children and he/she shall be prosperous”.³⁴³

The church rule on child dedication is still enforced according to the Levitical law, which enjoins that parents should dedicate their female children after completing sixty-six days outside the church, while male children are dedicated after thirty-three days, and the church has been consistent with this policy.³⁴⁴

4.7.4.3 CCC

Child naming is in accordance with the biblical injunction and prophetic instructions. Seven different types of fruits, salt, honey, sugar, two packets of white candles and incense are used during naming. Seven white candles are arranged in a white basin, but three sticks a lit. The remaining four candles are lit later and water is gradually poured inside the white basin. The palms of the prophet are sprinkled with holy water as sanctification before he carries the baby, while the mother stays away from the church: she is not allowed to have any contact with spiritual material until after some time. These are symbolic: members believe that the sweetness of the fruits and their nutrients in human body translate to the joyous life that the baby will live here on earth; as the fruits, salt, honey and sugar have nourish impact in human body so shall the baby grow to make positive impact in the life of people and the society.³⁴⁵ Adogame (1999:165-169) highlights the seven different types of fruits needed for the naming rite; the christening of the baby on the eighth day regardless of the health condition or location of the new baby; the restriction placed on the mother of the baby not to enter the church because she is regarded impure until after forty-one days when she is obliged to

³⁴³ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.* Tunde Gbogboade refered to Leviticus 12:2-5.

³⁴⁵ Interview J. Bomes, 27 October, 2011, Lagos.

observe the thanksgiving rite or child dedication in the church; and the purification of the mother of the baby at the entrance of the prayer house.

The order of service for child naming has not changed. The edible materials have not changed either. However, some degree of flexibility has been noticed in the rule on where to name the child. The child may be brought to the church for naming or named at home as it pleases the parents. The church has not officially approved or gazetted this policy.³⁴⁶ It can be conjectured here that security challenges and economic advantages of the parents may determine where they want their baby to be named.

4.7.5 Burial

4.7.5.1 C&S

The ritual aspects of burial rites in the C&S have not changed. Corpses are not allowed into the church or its premises for a number of reasons. First, God is not the God of the dead but of the living; second, corpses are dirty bodies that defile; and third, they symbolise sadness and are not expected in the house of prayer and the place of joyous worship.³⁴⁷ The immediate relatives of the deceased take responsibility of dressing their departed or beloved person in a white prayer garment, with complete white socks and hand gloves.³⁴⁸ A brief burial service is conducted at the residence of the deceased after which it is taken to the cemetery for final interment.³⁴⁹ The church allows the deceased to be buried in his/her compound if the relatives choose to or if the deceased left instructions to that effect.

Unlike in the past when burial outing was done in low-key and the family of the deceased expressed their appreciation for the support that the church gave the family in their moment of grieve, burial outing is celebrated with lots of social activities today, an occasion which the church explores for fund raising as the children of the deceased are expected to pledge a project or financial donation towards the progress of the church.³⁵⁰ The church is financially self-sustaining and this, to some our mind, has encouraged the church to raise funds in this ways and others that it may approve to sustain its administrative, evangelical and social services in the competitive religious market.

4.7.5.2 TCLA

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.* Informant gave an instance of reported threats to life that a member politician received coupled with the state of health of the mother of the new baby close to the delivery and naming day.

³⁴⁷ Interview with A. A. Adebayo, 15 May, 2012, Jos.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁰ Interview with Adeniyi Olatunji, 20 July, 2011, Lagos.

Burial in TCLA has been extensively discussed (Turner 1967:253-261). The TCLA burial rites have not witnessed much modification: wake keep, order of burial service and burial outing service as stipulated in the church liturgy (TCLA Handbook of Liturgy 2006:72-76) remain unchanged, but the family of the deceased is at liberty to choose whether to celebrate burial outing at the residence of the deceased or in the premises of the church; it decides where the dead should be interred and when to observe the burial outing; and the church does not concern itself with family tradition that may be observed on the dead and does not reject any member that observes family tradition on his/her dead relative.³⁵¹ By this flexibility, we can conjecture here that the church would have lost some of its members to other churches if it restricts members' observance of family tradition on their departed relatives.

However, burial outing is in most part a social occasion where the children of the deceased, relatives and friends commit a lot of money and other resources into making the ceremony a success and where also the church takes the advantage to raise funds for its administrative and evangelistic progress. The status of the children, relatives and friends of the bereaved determines what the church may encourage the celebrants to do towards its progress: it may encourage celebrants to donate money, musical instruments, communication equipment, or pledge a project for the church, and also encourages visitors to make a vow, using the joyous celebration as a contact point to request God to grant them the grace to be celebrated by their own siblings, relatives and friends while envelopes are distributed to attendees to "sow seeds" for the Lord in anticipation of God's abundant blessings.³⁵²

4.7.5.3 CCC

The CCC recognizes the temporal world as a marketplace while heaven is the home above and this is demonstrated in the CCC beliefs and hymns (Adogame 2000:3-29). In this regard, the church recognizes and performs naming rights to usher in the baby into the marketplace where spiritual warfare is the key with which the baby grows, assumes responsibilities in the church and the larger society. It (the church) also performs burial rites as enjoined in the CCC Order of Service (1980:19-21) to usher the dead on a smooth journey to home above. When asked about his experience of the church burial service over the years, an informant said that the church has its own way of performing burial rites on the dead quite different from the Anglican, Methodist and other church denominations; the burial services at the residence of the deceased and at the final resting place have not changed except that burial in the CCC is increasingly more of social event where the church takes the advantage of generating

³⁵¹ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

resources to sustain its administrative running cost, evangelism and social services, and where the children, relatives and friends of the deceased display their social and economic capital.³⁵³ Although the church derived the legitimacy of its order of burial service from the inspiration of the pastor founder and early members closest to him, we want to assume here that their experiences in their former churches cannot be ruled out in the design and implementation of the church order on burial matters.

The church has held on to its funeral rites which it performs on its dead members. Yet, the church is permissive of the flamboyance with which the family of the deceased celebrates the burial outing of their departed one; it does not restrict the social investment of the children and relatives of the deceased member in the burial of their departed one but uses the occasion to encourage them to make a meaningful contribution to the progress of the church as a mark of continuity of the good work of their beloved one in the church, which death has cut short.³⁵⁴ The permissiveness of the church towards the increasing social dimension of funeral ceremony is associated with the influence of modernity; also it is an independent African church that is all round self-sustaining and finds burial thanksgiving service as a legitimate occasion to generate funds for the sustenance of its administrative, evangelical and social programmes.³⁵⁵

4.8 Band, Fellowship and Anniversary

4.8.1 C&S

Bands in the C&S churches are cells of individual members in the church who are identified by their respective group names that are drawn from the Christian bible. They are male and female groups/bands named after prominent figures in both Old and New Testaments. Each group has its evangelical and social programmes initiated towards the actualization of the group's objectives. Such objectives include strengthening individuals' faith in Christ, sharing experiences with one another, collectively meeting individuals' spiritual and social needs, and supporting the church in its spiritual and social programmes. To be a member, an individual has to be duly registered and recognised by the church as a member having fulfilled all prerequisites for full membership of the church.

The number of bands depends largely on the size and number of members of the church. Similarly, the number of male and female bands also depends on the number of members according to gender. Among the C&S churches visited, the CSMC, Apapa-Oshodi

³⁵³ Interview with Evangelist Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 March, 2012, Lagos.

³⁵⁴ Interview with Evangelist Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 March, 2012, Lagos.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

expressway, Lagos has well over a hundred bands and each has its officials whose positions are routinely rotated among members according to specified period. They also have their respective private worship centres located within the church compound.³⁵⁶ This is undoubtedly the one single branch of a major strand of the C&S that has the highest number of bands.

Bands in the C&S form part of the social stratification within the church population, though this is not based on any social, economic, ethnic, educational status or biological differences. It is a stratification that reflects the workings of social groups (generally called societies) in various Yoruba communities, where members set common goals for their respective groups and task themselves on how to achieve their set goals, which usually revolve around economic, social and political benefits. There are healthy competitions among the bands geared towards the group that has the best support programmes for its members and the church.

Each band maps out plans and projects which it sets to accomplish within a year and before the celebration of the church's bands anniversary. There are scheduled dates for the yearly anniversary of the bands. The anniversary celebration is an annual thanksgiving day during which each band enumerates its achievements and challenges, and also presents its offerings to God. The offerings vary among churches. They usually include money, musical instruments, motor vehicle, building projects and other gifts, which the church appropriates for its administrative, spiritual and social services, and for evangelism and meeting other needs of the church. The social implication of the vibrant anniversary celebration is its possibility to secure the attention and interest of visitors in attendance.

The *ipade l'egbel'egbe* (band meeting/fellowship) is geared towards the actualization of the band's spiritual and social goals. Every band has its weekly and monthly programmes and meeting times. Through this, members are preoccupied with both social and spiritual matters in their respective bands. This to a large extent sustains their membership, secures their commitments to the church, and attracts the attention and interest of non-members who love to busy themselves with active participation in church activities. Bands vary in their weekly and monthly group activities and programme schedules.

Hephzibah band of the CSMC Surulere for example, has its monthly meetings which come up on the first and third Sundays of every month. It is during such meetings that the social needs of individual members are probed into and the palliative measures to be taken are considered.

³⁵⁶ Interview with Rebecca Akinsulure, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

The group has four elders, namely the captain, vice-captain, matron and the secretary. The progress so far made in each of the group's programmes are reported and assessed, while prayer points are raised after which members start their spiritual warfare on each item. Each group has its private spacious room for meeting and prayers. A member claimed that during prayer sessions, the prophetesses in the group who go into trance may pass revelations to members, relatives and non-members as may be directed by God.³⁵⁷ The group normally observes seven Sundays' prayer sessions before its annual thanksgiving service (anniversary). During these Sundays, the group offers special prayers for members who have various problems. It also commits to prayers members who are living abroad and those on youth service in various parts of Nigeria. It also prays for the economic, political, social and technological progress of the country.

4.8.2 TCLA

The researcher observed that members are grouped into cluster bands just as tribal associations and social clubs are formed in the larger society, a way of bringing church administration closer to members. Each band has its executive officers. A new member, after fulfilling baptismal rites is enrolled into a band. Members claimed that those who participate actively at social engagements in the larger society find the social environment in the church interesting as obtained in their social clubs in the larger community. The membership of a band depends on the population of the church. The church does not as a matter of policy consider the economic advantage of a new member in his/her enrolment in a band, yet it is a considerable factor for enrolling a new member in a band especially if the member is politically, socially or economically vantage and various bands joyously express their request for his/her membership, as an addition to the socio-economic strength of the band.³⁵⁸

The researcher also observed that each band is named after a biblical hero/heroine. The size of a church determines its number of bands. The bands have their respective weekly, monthly and annual social and spiritual programmes in the church. Bands are at variance in their meeting days for weekly programmes. Band meetings afford members the opportunity to take collective decisions on issues that border on their spiritual growth, the progress of the band and the church. Economic and social progress of members is important: it is obligatory for the band to assist any of its members that has a critical economic, social or medical problem. The bands celebrate their respective annual thanksgiving according to a schedule list that the

³⁵⁷ Interview with Rebecca Akinsulure, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

³⁵⁸ Interview with G. Tanimowo, 29 June, 2011, Ibadan.

church designed. An informant claimed that the anniversary celebration is done with lots of funfair. During the annual thanksgiving each band presents substantial money, equipment or a project that it plans to carry out as its contribution towards the spiritual and social progress of the church, and that there is a healthy rivalry among the bands because each band tries to present something unique or something that has more monetary value than what other bands are likely to donate.³⁵⁹

The weekly band meeting provides members the opportunity to meditate on the word of God and have prayer session. In one of the sessions that the researcher witnessed, the band use the church's annually published daily bible reading during group exhortation and the band has a schedule list of members that are given the responsibility to lead in the weekly fellowship. After exhortation, members go into spiritual warfare, praying and casting wicked forces that militate against the happiness and progress of members, their respective family members, the local and the entire CCC worldwide, Nigeria, and the entire world in which religious extremism and war, economic distress, unemployment and poverty cast shadows of fear, anger, hunger and death on many humans.

4.8.3 CCC

In the CCC, worshippers are not organised into social groups or bands like in the C&S and TCLA. The prophets, the church management and the *onibode* side's men are groups socially visible in the church. The prophets, prophetesses, dreamers and visioners meet as a group/band to deliberate on how to effectively sustain and improve on their prophetic role in the church, enrich each other's knowledge of the bible, and remind one another of moral chastity, which their calling highly demands. The management group meets on matters of administrative, social and spiritual affairs of the church and also embark on spiritual warfare during their meeting. The side's men meet on how to manage the conduct of worshippers during church service. They also observe fellowship during which they suggest fasts and prayer sessions to collectively combat members' mountainous economic, social, health and spiritual problems.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ Interview with Gabriel Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

4.9 Youth Fellowship

4.9.1 C&S

The church usually gives an opportunity to the Youth Fellowship to design programmes that would positively mold their spiritual and social wellbeing. It does this through the supervisory roles of a group of chosen elders or youth fellowship patrons. The youth fellowship group comprises both male and female teenagers and members who are above thirty years of age. The group preoccupies itself with church programmes throughout the year. Across various strands of the C&S visited, the youth fellowships conduct their respective Bible Study (Sunday school). They vary in the timing of their programmes for Sundays and week days. The youth fellowship in the C&S Dilimi, Jos used the main church for its Sunday worship shortly after which the main Sunday service commenced in these me building. Due to the ethno-religious crisis in Jos, which made the church to close down for a period of time, the youth group took the bold step of renting the Conference hall of a hotel for its worship. This gave the group some autonomy to carry out fully fledged programmes. In churches where the group does not have a permanent structure for its fellowship activities, they are usually allowed to have a brief worship time on Sundays and during week days in the main church, after which they mix up with the membership of the main church for Sunday worship.

The researcher observed the youth fellowship of the CSMC Surulere, Lagos in its permanent building within the premises of the church where it conducts its Sunday and week days' worship. In one of the worship session observed, Sunday service commenced with Sunday school at 7.00am and ended at 8.30am, after which their Sunday morning service commenced at 8.45am and closed at 11.30am. The group's mode of worship is a little bit different from what obtains in the main church, because at most times, the choir sings its own composed songs, which the youth congregation learned during the week. They had "Praise Worship" during which they devoted about thirty minutes to praise singing. On the first Sunday of the month, the group has what it tags "Joyful Noise", the month's thanksgiving day; on the third Sunday of the month, it conducts its service of songs; the last Sunday of the month is for revival service tagged "Success Gate" during which the group invites ministers from Aladura and non Aladura churches to give exhortations and share their experiences in their callings with youths.³⁶¹

Every youth is encouraged to invite friends from across church denominations and religions. The group has its scheduled social and spiritual programmes for the season: Christmas/ New

³⁶¹ Interview with Rebecca Akinsulure, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

Year, Lenten season/Easter, and long vacation youth camp. Aside from the annual National Youth Camp of the CSMC in Ilorin, Kwara State, which comes up during the long vacation period from July to August, the main church initiated similar programme for its youth in Lagos. It coincides with the big annual national youth camp, which its international Headquarters at Kaduna sponsors. The group observes its annual youth camp that has assumed international status, since the youth group has had its previous annual youth camps in some West African countries. It is open to youth from age fourteen and above. Currently, there is a plan to take it to the United Arab Emirate (UAE) to be hosted in the city Dubai and then to other parts of the world. As many people as can afford the cost are allowed to join the group. The spiritual and social programmes significantly secure the attention and commitment of the youth whose minds could easily stray to other churches and even focus unimportant things if the programmes are not there for them.³⁶²

4.9.2 TCLA

The TCLA established Youth Ministry of the church of the Lord Aladura Worldwide (YMCLAW) which initiates and coordinates both social and spiritual programmes for the youths of the church. The weekly youth meetings and fellowship days and time vary among church branches. The youths in the TCLA, Oke Ado, Ibadan meet once during the week and only on Sundays. Similarly, the youths in TCLA churches in Anthony, Mushin and Ojuelegba in Lagos meet within the week and on Sundays. Their meeting is usually for two main reasons: to discuss group activities in the church and the diocese; and to encourage one another on steadfastness in their faith in Christ; and engage in fervent prayers after exhortations praying for their (youth) respective desires, the church and peace for Nigeria.³⁶³

The researcher observed that youth fellowships vary among church branches in their mode of operation. The facilities used for youth activities depend on the resources of the branch church. None of the TCLA churches visited in Ibadan provides an office for its youth ministry. Separate place for youth fellowship is not provided either. The youths have their Sunday fellowship shortly after Sunday service in the main church: they revisit the Sunday sermon, examine the moral lesson of the sermon, appoint one of them to give an exhortation, and guide discussion. This is followed by a prayer session according to prayer points. At the TCLA, Antioch, Anthony, Lagos and TCLA, Alagbado, Lagos, the youth groups have offices and fully fledged hall for their week-days and Sunday programmes.

³⁶² *Ibid.*

³⁶³ Interview with Samson Olorode, 01 September, 2011, Lagos.

The TCLA initiated a special Sunday programme that impacts the liturgy of the church in the youths. The second Sunday of every month is set aside for the youths during which youths take full charge of Sunday service from the beginning to the end. On the special Sunday for the youths, they (youths) conduct Sunday school service; they are the church workers on the special Sunday, give announcement of upcoming church activities for the new week and delegate one of their members to give the Sunday sermon.³⁶⁴

The youths have their annual national convention on the 14th to 16th of December at the Victory Camp Ground, beside the Holy Mount Tabieorar, Ogere. The international Headquarters of the TCLA through the youth ministry arranges lots of programmes that keep the youth busy and also expose them to lectures, seminars, worships, debates, music, drama, choreography, and diocesan presentations. During various programmes, youths learn about interrelationship, career choice and development, spiritual growth, health awareness, cultism, prostitution, HIV/AIDS, drug abuse, addiction, pornography and violence. Medical experts, social workers, guidance and counsellors and church ministers give talks that help both social and spiritual growth of the youths.³⁶⁵

4.9.3 CCC

The youth fellowship programmes are designed to broaden their knowledge of the bible, tenets of the church, leadership roles in the church and the larger society; to become successful and self-reliant in life, and to approach life crises with fervent prayers. The church encourages the programmes because its continuity partly rests on the youths, and to perfect this approach, a number of elders supervise youths' social and spiritual activities in the church.³⁶⁶ The researcher observed that there is flexibility in their programmes: they meet on week days which vary from parish to another. During meetings, their commitments to the growth of the church, their educational and professional careers, and moral obligations in the church, home and the larger society are important topics of discussion. The accomplishment of individual and collective objectives requires spiritual warfare. Hence on meeting days, youths encourage one another to fast and prayer. After deliberation on the affairs of the group, a youth is assigned to give some words of exhortation and this is followed by a prayer session. Benediction is shared together. Sunday fellowship is more elaborate than the week-day fellowship. Sunday activities begin with Sunday school. The commencement of Sunday school at the youth fellowship level varies from one parish to another, but the duration is

³⁶⁴ Interview with Samson Olorode, 01 September, 2011, Lagos.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁶ Interview with Adebayo Kayode, 06 May, 2012, Jos.

about an hour. Where the youth ministry secures a place for its activities within the church premises, it carries out all its Sunday programmes under the supervision of a number of elders. Where the youth group does not have a place to carry out a fully-fledged programme on Sunday, it has to dissolve into the main church for Sunday worship.

4.10 Prayer

4.10.1 C&S

Fervent prayers in the name of Christ are the core of the faith of the C&S. The church has held on to its unique mode of prayer, which is an integration of some features of Yoruba traditional and Christian prayer. Prayer in the C&S can be classified into two: materialised and non-materialised prayer. In the former, the church has held on to the fact that the weak faith of members in verbal prayers has to be supported with material object. This is a carryover from Yoruba traditional conception of potent objects. An object becomes potent when it is charged with mystical power through ritual sacrifice and potent speech/incantation (*ofo or ayajo*). Materials are sanctified for members to bathe with, drink, smear on the body and/or hung on the body or on the door post of their houses in the belief that the objects are charged with mystical power and retain the saving grace of God that is always at work. The non material prayer involves the acknowledgement of nature and the saving grace of Christ to make prayer effective: the irreversible flow of a river is mentioned in prayers, declaring with belief that a healing ritual carried out on a person is effected and will not relapse since a river does not flow backwards; wind is acknowledged in prayer in the belief that wind does not have hands and legs, yet it blows and reaches everywhere with positive and negative impacts depending on its speed, and that prayer as an intent of the mind voiced out as a message will achieve what it is desired for without obstruction just as wind cannot be obstructed from blowing everywhere: when the wind blows, it touches every tree in the forest (*ti afefe ba fe, a kan gbogbo igi oko lara*); the sun and the moon are acknowledged in prayers in the belief that sun rises and sets according to its time, while the moon appears monthly at its own time, and by this natural cause, prayer for prosperity and brake through is believed to come to effect because nobody obstructs sun from rising, nobody obstructs the moon from appearing, humans will not obstruct your glory (*enikankan k'ole fi owo bo'go orun k'oma ran, enikankan kole fowo bo'go osupa k'oma yo, omo araye koni f'owo bo'go aye re*).³⁶⁷

4.10.2 TCLA

³⁶⁷ Interview with Adewale Gbadebo, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

TCLA has not deviated from its prayer tradition, particularly its materialised prayer principles (Turner 1967:69-78). The TCLA allows members to use some approved objects in their prayers. The objects are used as metaphors in their supplications to God. During special prayers, members and their neighbours and friends are encouraged to come to the church with specified fruits, broom, white candles and other objects as may be directed by God through prophets, visioners and dreamers. According to an informant, the use of objects as supportive to prayers helps the faith of the individuals who have little faith in verbal prayers; the Lord works with believers according to their faith; people have eaten blessed fruits, received their healing and break-through and have given testimonies.³⁶⁸ He said further:

[I]f you do not tell members to come to the church revival service with some objects, you will not record a crowd in the church, but if you tell them to come with an orange fruit and a bunch of broom each, they will inform friends, co-tenants, landlord, and co-workers.³⁶⁹

The TCLA does not object to the acknowledgement of natural law in prayers. The nutritional and economic value of fruits and other natural objects are acknowledged in prayers. Members claimed that it is the African way of expressing faith and desire. This is regarded as a metaphor of request from God.

4.10.3 CCC

Fervent prayer is one of the characteristics of the CCC. An informant categorised prayer in the CCC as material and non-material prayer; a combination of the two (material and non-material) is used to attack material *oogun* (charm) which enemies may use to disrupt some positive processes in one's life; both material and non-material prayer recipes are revealed through prophecies; this makes prayer more effective because the secret source of the problem is identified and the appropriate prayer remedy is revealed to attack it from the root cause.³⁷⁰ Prayer and ritual items like white candles, palm fronds, olive oil, perfume, toilet soap, and assorted fruits counter the potency of material and non-material *oogun* (charm) and restore lost fortune and health.³⁷¹

In the CCC the use of the tangibles to achieve material prayer, such as *mariwo* palm frond, *agbon* cocoanut, *eyin* egg, *iyo* salt, *omi* water and *eso* fruits feature prominently in the course of spiritual warfare in the parishes visited. The materials are symbolic in the context of their

³⁶⁸ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ Interview with E. A. Adegoke, 06 April, 2013, Lagos.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

usage. The palm frond symbolises victory: in Yoruba religious understanding, *ninu egun ni mariwo tii hu* in the midst of thorns, the palm frond grows. Just as the frond grows in the midst of surrounding sharp edged straws, members claimed it translates to victory for its user over all forms of obstruction in life endeavours. Members claimed that cocoon symbolises blessing: just as sweet water collects inside the cocoon without the knowledge of humans so shall God's blessing be upon a person who uses it for prayer.³⁷²

The impact of salt in food is its tastefulness. This is acknowledged in prayer in the belief that the person being prayed for will be a source of good impact in the family and the larger society; raw egg symbolises peace, success and prosperity: the success of the hen is measured by its production eggs.³⁷³ Even as the church recognizes the role of orthodox medicines and spiritual and environmental causations of human ill health, it believes that the material and non-material prayer breaks the spiritual yoke, heals "illness", and makes it easier for the orthodox doctor to effectively treat lots of illnesses.³⁷⁴

In the non-material prayer, members acknowledge nature as power source to achieve unfailing effect of their prayers. This is similar to Yoruba religious thought that natural course cannot be reversed. This belief is given pre-eminence in prayer. Members believe that as river does not reverse its course, a healing prayer with the import of such natural principle assumes its unfailing healing power. The holistic approach of the church to disease causation and healing and its cost effectiveness attracts people to its spiritual warfare programmes.

4.11 Restrictions

4.11.1 C&S

There is a wide range of restrictions in the C&S which various strands currently observe, though they adhere to this differently. Unlike in the early period of its emergence when such restrictions were held to be sacrosanct, observations and interviews in the C&S churches visited indicated some disparate attitudes towards the restriction rules concerning female menstruation, head-tie or head gear, her access to the pulpit, and to the holy of holies, female limitation to saying the benediction, and restriction on sitting arrangement. The church holds on to biblical justification for the restrictions.

The non-wearing of shoes in the house of prayer is still being observed by members and visitors. This restriction is premised on God's instruction to Moses in Exodus 3 verse 16, when he commanded that Moses should remove his sandals because he was standing on a

³⁷² Interview J. Bomes, 27 October, 2011, Lagos.

³⁷³ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

sacred place, and this is extended to the sacredness of prayer house. Other biblical references that justify the restriction on shoe wearing in the prayer house include Joshua 5 verses 13 to 15 and Isaiah 7 verses 3 to 33. Females are not allowed to leave their head uncovered inside the church. The church justifies this rule with 1 Corinthians 11 verse 5 to 6 and Joshua 15 verses 13 to 15. Worshippers are compelled to wear white garment in the church because it symbolises purity and victory as enjoined in Revelation 3 verses 4 to 7; worn by angel Revelation 4 verse 4; a sacred cloth Leviticus 16 verse 4; Exodus 28 verses 4 to 6. The founder of C&S Moses Orimolade clad in white cloth throughout his earthly ministry and the church enjoins all members to observe this externally and internally.³⁷⁵

The church restricts females who are in their menstruation period from entering the church or partaking in worship or special prayer sessions because at that moment they are considered impure, pollutants, and neutralizers of sacred objects. Similarly, a woman who bears a child has to fulfil a number of days according to the gender of the child (40-80 in favour of the male child) before she can have access to the prayer house and take part in full church activities. The church draws its justification for the restriction from the Old Testament.³⁷⁶ Arguments emanating from within and outside the church against restrictions placed on menstruating females are that God is not interested in human outward holiness but that of internal holiness, having pure mind and thought.

In C&S Faith in Christ Chapel, though it is believed that the restrictions are observed, the church does not openly preach or enjoin females to keep to the rules. Once a female can take proper care of her body during her menstruation period, she is free to come into the church and partake in the blessings that abound in the worship hours, but there is much more to the restriction than it is being enforced in other churches.³⁷⁷ The C&S Evangelical does not enforce the restrictions on its female members. For it, there is no mystery behind the enforcement of restriction on the menstruants. It argues that a menstruating woman may possibly emit some strange odour which may not apply to every female. Likewise some women are carelessly dirty and may emit offensive odour even though they are not menstruating. Some men of power who outwardly proclaim Jesus Christ, but do not possess a pinch of faith in him come into the church with fetish objects hidden in their pockets, which

³⁷⁵ Interview with S. Adejumo, 10 September, 2012, Lagos.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.* Adejumo referred to Leviticus 12:12-15; 20:18; Lamentations 1:17.

³⁷⁷ Interview with Timothy Okunola, 22 July, 2011, Lagos. The informant alluded to the dimensions of the restriction which implicate the husband who sleeps on the same bed with his menstruant wife or having fun with her during her period or eating from her; or any person who sits on the spot where the menstruant sat or eats food cooked by her. Cf Leviticus 15:19-33.

as the belief goes can be neutralized by the menstruants.³⁷⁸ The church allows females to enter or sit in the holy of holies and preach on the pulpit. The females are also allowed to supervise church activities. They are part of the highest decision making body in the church. The female founder of the church says the benediction at the end of the service.

Unlike in the conventional C&S churches where restrictions on wearing of shoes, female access to the pulpit for preaching, female heading a church and saying the benediction at the end of the worship, such restrictions are waved off in the modernist C&S churches. In C&S Bible Ministry, females are not compelled to observe rules that restrict them on menstrual ground, neither are they restricted from preaching on the pulpit; worshippers are not compelled to off their shoes before entering the church; they are not compelled to sit according to their gender. Husband and wife are encouraged to sit together while the bachelors and the spinsters are allowed to choose where to sit. The church does not envisage that body contacts should cause spiritual commotion, side talk, sexual emotional journey; the ushers are awake, doing their job while church worship is on.³⁷⁹ The church is flexible about females covering their heads.

4.11.2 TCLA

The TCLA from its inception came up with certain restrictions that members must observe. The church has biblical support for their enforcement. The restriction bothers on body cleanliness of members, wearing of shoes inside the church, the use of head-tie by females, membership to an aboriginal cult, and enjoins members to sew and wear white garment. However, visitors in colourful dress are allowed to worship in the church. In the past, menstruating females were strictly barred from entering the church, having contact with objects used during worship and taking part in special prayers outside the church. Currently, some of these restrictions have been relaxed. Menstruants are allowed to enter the church and worship, but they are instructed to sit on the last two rows of chairs towards the main entrance of the church. The church emphasizes its confidence in the modern method, which menstruating females use to keep their body neat throughout their menstrual period, and the need to sustain its membership by not losing some of its freedom loving female members to other churches that do not enforce such restriction.

The TCLA restricts worshippers from entering the church while having their shoes on. Currently, the church allows members and visitors to pull off their shoes, put them in their

³⁷⁸ Interview with O. Bayewu, 17 May, 2012, Sango.

³⁷⁹ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12 October, 2011, Lagos.

personal bags and keep their bags by their side inside the church. This is done to enable worshippers devote full attention to worship; their mind is no longer divided between worship and losing their costly shoes that may be stolen if kept outside, around the entrances of the prayer house. Conjecturally, if losing one's costly shoes to a thief is a factor that hinders an individual from becoming a member, the church relaxation of its rules on foot wears in the church is most likely helping to win more members in that category.

From its inception, females are given premium opportunity to take active part in church activities and rise to higher ranks in parity with their male counterparts. The claim that God told the founder at the beginning of his ministry that He God has called both male and female into his ministry has been the driving force for the near total integration of female members in the rank and role in the church.³⁸⁰ Females rise to the highest rank of Bishop but cannot be ordained as primate. It is conjectured here that females, in the near future, may negotiate their rank and role to be ordained as primate; at that level, high ranking females would have attained their menopausal age and the barrier of ritual pollution would have been broken, with the exception of new rules that the church may formulate which may hinder the females from such opportunity. Currently female ministers like their male counterparts have no restrictions in their ministerial functions except when they have not reached their menopausal age: there is a female bishop who heads a diocese; female ministers officiate in their capacity as church leaders, and are members of the highest ruling organ of the church including higher boards and committees of the church. They are actively involved in prophetic, evangelical, vocational, social, youth, teaching, and children ministries in the church.

4.11.3 CCC

Restrictions in the CCC do not concern only women. Adogame (1999:128-129) weaves the restrictions on CCC women with their status and role in the church. Although the author rightly compares the status and role of the CCC women with the ambiguous status and role of their counterpart in cultic and leadership activities in the larger Yoruba traditional religious sphere, it is an understatement that the Yoruba women “are forbidden and excluded from handling the instruments of divination such as *Ifa*” (128). Female diviners who use different divination methods including *Ifa* abound in Yorubaland. Most importantly, the ambiguous status and role of women in the CCC is a microcosm of what obtains in the larger Yoruba traditional religious and socio-political spheres.

³⁸⁰ Interview with Amos Ajibola, 20 June, 2011, Ibadan.

The church places restrictions on any ideas, principles, and acts that contravene its faith-traditions. The church enjoins its members to observe those restrictions that have remained a marked feature of its beliefs and practices, but the much force with which it (the church) compelled members in the past to observe the taboos has diminished. The enforcement of the restrictions varies from one parish to another.

Parishes are at variance in their restriction on worshippers in coloured dress. The researcher and his assistant including visitors to the church were barred from taking part in the week days and Sunday worship in the main church in CCC, Mokola parish, Ibadan. The experience of the researcher and his assistant at the CCC, St Mary's Cathedral, Ijeshatedo parish, Lagos was different.

Members who for some reasons were in coloured dress including the researcher, his assistant and other visitors had the grace to enter the main church and worshipped till the end of the Sunday service at 2pm. When asked about the reason for variance in the enforcement of restrictions particularly that which bordered on our worship in coloured dress, an informant claimed that members on invitation to other churches may close from there and go back to their church to take part in Sunday worship without their *Sutana*; visitors are given the grace to partake in the blessing that abound in the worship; a way of encouraging those in coloured dress to feel that they are not classed lower than others in white garment believing that they may, in some time to come, decide to sew their own white garment.³⁸¹

The church places restriction on the import of strange principles in special prayers. There are indications that the incorporation of strange principles in special prayers exist; the church warns against principles that are unbiblical and has no prophetic basis; it emphasises stiffer punishment for any shepherd found wanting in that regard.³⁸² Menstrual restrictions are no longer under strict supervision like it was in the past; females hardly approach the shepherd for purification after their menstrual period and the church has been silent about the new development; it is also probable that menstruants do enter and worship without anybody knowing.³⁸³

Rules that bar females from, entering the altar, preaching on the pulpit, and taking part in the preparation and administration of the sacred communion are still enforced in the church. These are relaxed in new generation brand of the CCC. Restrictions on wearing shoes inside the church and outside the church are still enforced. Restriction on females who leave their

³⁸¹ Interview with Josiah K. Owodunni, 14, August, 2011, Lagos.

³⁸² Interview with S. I. Akindoyin, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

³⁸³ Interview with T. O. Alao, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

hair uncovered is still enforced. The church prohibits females from wearing armless top because it exposes their upper body. Parishes vary in their enforcement of rules on females that wear trousers to the church: females who wear trousers to the church are either completely barred from entering the church premises and the main church or are required to tie a wrapper to cover the segments of her lower part of the body that trousers exposes to public glare.

4.12 Summary

The construction and appropriation of sacred spaces take a centre stage in the spiritual activities of Aladura churches. They are places of liturgical performance; where members engage in spiritual warfare against life crisis situations; and where materialized faith is showcased through the use of natural or manufactured solid and liquid objects (Adogame 2009; Renne 2009). The spirituality of the Aladura is a meeting point of traditions: where biblical and African traditions and divine revelations formed the basis of ritual recipes for addressing life's short comings.

The C&S, TCLA, and CCC have held on to their respective faith-traditions over the years and have also introduced some changes to enhance their spiritual progress and sustain their relevance in the religious market. The three major strands of Aladura share considerable similarities in their observance of certain restrictions, which are enforced to protect sacred spaces from pollution. Members believe that certain actions and things can hinder the reception of divine grace and the spiritual intervention of angelic beings in both personal and collective rituals that take place there. However, TCLA differs from the C&S and CCC in the restrictions placed on females. In TCLA females are integrated into the church hierarchy and have both ministerial and administrative roles. Females who are menstruating are now given the grace to worship in the Church and have to occupy the seats on the last row, by the main entrance of the church. This is not the case in the C&S and CCC. The modernist C&S Churches do not observe the restrictions neither do they recognise menstrual blood as impurity. The C&S Evangelical and C&S Bible Ministry are examples.

Some of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC churches visited have redefined their respective mountain tops and *Ile aanu* mercy grounds. *Olorun Kole* Hill after its consecration by the lieutenants of Moses Orimolade became a place where special prayers were offered and where spiritual workers obtained their legitimacy and divine approval through ordination ceremony, and also where individuals who went into trance for a number of days were ceremoniously received back into the physical space (Peel 1968:58-59; Omoyajowo 1982:76). But these functions are

no longer limited to the sacred hill. Elaborate order on the ordination of church workers and the reception of tranced individuals have been found in prayer house in different strands of the C&S. Cement floor has replaced bare and unsmooth ground, while cement blocks have replaced sizeable stones used in demarcating a space on the mountain top or mercy ground. Furthermore, microphone and musical instruments are used on some hill tops, while canopies are provided to shield worshippers whenever it is raining and electricity is provided from mobile generators to power microphones and musical instruments and to light the place especially if activities are programmed for some days. Some members of the C&S have expressed their reservations for the use of mountain top due to its abuse by some self-acclaimed healer prophets. Such prophets take unsuspected persons to the sacred place for deliverance in return for money and other demands. This is a place used for spiritual warfare; notwithstanding however, the hill-top is a spiritual refuge for solution seekers, and a place for fast reception of positive prayer outcome. Some mercy grounds are noted for their architectural design. Although they are not roofed, the portraits of Jesus Christ, the design of the altars, the floors of the space, and the painting of the low and perforated walls convey the influence of modernization.

While there are female ministerial prophets in TCLA, ministerial prophets or *Olusho* shepherd in the CCC are exclusively males. In the three churches, the *woli* prophet, *ariran* or *alore* those who see visions, *alala* dreamers, and *elemi* those who go in trance are comparatively like the traditional diviners, except that they do not manipulate objects of divination. This singular role has made prophecy to thrive as a lucrative business among Aladura churches. Although each church has special training for its paid and non-paid spiritual workers, the C&S, TCLA and CCC share commonality in their appropriation of theological college as the basic institution where spiritual workers are being trained and retrained. The evolution of such training commenced at different time, generally in the post-civil war Nigeria.

The week-day programmes are a common phenomenon among the C&S, TCLA, and CCC, importantly as a means of enriching the spiritual development of members. They are structured to obtain the commitment of members and visitors and also to sustain their participation in activities. Although the churches provide similar spiritual products to their members and solution seekers, the time which is allotted to their spiritual activities varies to some extent. Also, they differ to some extent in packaging of the spiritual commodities for their clients. Shiloh, bible class, *abe abo* spiritual incubation, healing services for the pregnant

women and those looking for the fruit of the womb, revival service are common phenomena that keep the church premises busy with people and activities on daily basis.

In the C&S, TCLA, and CCC, top priority attention is given to the spiritual healing of pregnant women and those with gynaecological problems. *Ile agbebi* maternity home, *iya agbebi* nurse and prophets are key actors in the natal care that the churches provide their members and visitors. This is one of the ways in which the churches respond to health challenges of females. The belief that gynaecological problems require both spiritual and medical attention and that such holistic approach is absent in orthodox hospitals and clinics has made natal care to thrive among the Aladura. However, this practice has witnessed a lot of transformation. Priority is given to best medical practice. Evidence abound that the churches that operate maternity home are aware of infections. Sterilised instruments and disinfected labour room are provided. Referrals are also made to established government and private hospitals.

The hymns of the three churches have gone through compilations and editions, while choirs have continued to welcome the influence of modernization. The choirs have witnessed some significant change from the local, unsophisticated instruments to modern string, wind, and percussion instruments.

The liturgical practices of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC are similar. This is because they are liturgical traditions of the Christian church. The Christian elements to a great extent point to the churches' claim that they are Christian churches as against derogatory terms with which non-members have described them. However, differences occur in the way and manner the churches observe the Christian liturgies. The number of times that the Holy Communion is observed has formed a discourse in the churches. The churches do not practice infant baptism. However, the infancy in baptism is conceived differently. In the C&S, children below the age of eight are considered infants in terms of baptism, while TCLA puts infant age of baptism between one month and seventeen years of age.

The churches recognise court marriage as a supplement to holy matrimony and health status of the male and female in marriage, which was a thing of neglect in the past. However, the church does not openly condemn polygamy or monogamy. It does not see polygamy as an obstacle to marriage and the reception of divine grace in human endeavours. However, none of the churches has a record of any polygamist that has been wedded in the church. Except founder Moses Orimolade of the C&S who never married in his life time, founder Josiah Ositelu of TCLA and founder Samuel Oschoffa of the CCC were polygamists. While the

celibate life of Moses Orimolade poses a contradiction to the favourable disposition of the C&S to polygamy, the polygamous lives of Ositelu and Oschoffa have a considerable influence on the ambivalence of their churches on polygamy: they do not encourage it out rightly, neither do they preach against it out rightly. The churches encourage marriage between sons and daughters of members and do solemnize same whenever it occurs. Other areas of commonalities, though with little variations, include child naming, burial, workings of bands/cells/groups formation, fellowship and anniversary within the church, youth fellowship, prayer, and ritual restrictions.

The spirituality of the Aladura, to some extent, is source strength to their resilience in the religious market. They operate on a pluralistic and competitive religious landscape whose actors act in response to the political, social and economic deficits in the larger society. In their response to various societal challenges, the Aladura appropriate prophecy, health care and both material and non-material prayer as solutions which seem to meet the felt needs of members, casual and regular visitors to the churches. Their joyous worship is a source of attraction to those who have interest in joyous singing and dancing that is accompanied with integrated traditional African and modern musical instruments, and white and colourful robes of different designs . The Aladura also engage their members on week days and Sundays with band meetings and fellowships, daily worship, special services for pregnant women, women looking for the blessing of their womb, and those seeking for spiritual guidance and breakthrough on a wide range of life crisis situations. The spiritual commodities and programmes are designed and packaged to sustain the participation and commitment of members and attract more members.

Chapter Five

Evangelism

5.0 Introduction

The Aladura churches derive much of their beliefs and practices from prophecy. Claims that God's work is done according to divine instructions are dominant in the expressions of most members of the C&S, TCLA & CCC that I interviewed. These include claims that the itinerary of their respective founders was in accordance with divine revelations; that the charismatic quality and healing miracles of their respective founders attracted followers and sustained their participation and commitment; and that obedience to divine instruction in the course of preaching Christ to people cannot be ignored. The evangelistic journey of Moses Orimolade was all about zealous preaching of the Gospel of Christ, healing miracles and enjoining his converts to worship in the existing churches (Omoyajowo 1982:31-33). That of Josiah Ositelu usually began with "Hear the Gospel of Joy", even as he wrought miracles in the presence of his disciples and listeners (Turner 1967:46). The itinerary of Samuel Oshoffa indicates that he began his healing performance in the forest when he healed a paddler that he hired from Toffin in Ganvie after the paddler suffered stomach ache (CCC Constitution 1980:5). Several miracles were credited to Oshoffa in the course of his ministrations at various places (CCC Constitution 1980:6-23). He had earlier (Oshoffa) rejected his invitation to Nigeria to nurture the new branch, which some Egun fishermen formed in 1950 (Adogame 1999:27).

From the above, the evangelism strategy of the three founders was basically anchored on street-walk announcement/preaching of the gospel and spiritual deliverance. This later became the mission statements of the churches as entrenched in their respective articles of faith and church constitution (C&STF 1990:13; TCLA Constitution 2011:5, 11-12; CCC Constitution 1980:2-3). Martin (1978:1) sees evangelism as "the specific, articulate presentation of the message that Christ's death upon the cross propitiates (turns away) God's wrath, which abides upon man in his unregenerate state". Radio broadcasting began in Nigeria in 1932, while that of television broadcasting started in 1949. The introduction of electronic media has considerable impact on televangelism in Nigeria. Recent study shows the perceptions on church leaders of the importance of information and communication technology (ICT) and the impact it has on church growth, administration, and human capital development and management (Bolu 2012). Asamoah-Gyadu (2005) identifies the use of media technologies in the Pentecostal and charismatic churches and concludes that the 'mediatized' messages in an African Pentecostal context impacts on faith and visual alertness

of viewers and listeners. Drawing on her market experience, Einstein (2008) provides great insights into the compatibility of religion and marketing, and the increasing secularization and commercialization in the religious marketplace. She reveals that religion has been commercialized and marketed more than ever before. The author uses as illustration the religion of the Kabbalah, which was a faith of enlightenment that has turned “into a product for enterprise and entertainment” (Einstein 2008: x). She draws on further illustrations such as the production and sale of gospel music, branding of faith through the use of logo and other icons, church consultancy services, repackaging spiritual commodities, and mediatizing the church and its product. Einstein reveals that due to the plurality of the religious market and the consequent competition, each religious organization brands its faith and employs market strategies to sustain its relevance. The author argues that religious commercialization and marketing through cyberspace, print and electronic media, particularly for evangelism, social and administrative purposes is hinged on the fact that religion must be made more available and visible than the increasing rate of leisure activities, that religion must be materially presented to compete against today’s secular culture of mediatized images and information, and that the current young generation are less attracted to religion than their counterparts in the previous generation (193). She concludes that the decline in faith has necessitated the increasing marketing of religion. Within this background, this chapter describes the changing approach of Aladura churches to evangelism. It describes the old ways of spreading the gospel, the repackaging of some old methods of evangelism, and the strategies through which the churches mediatize themselves and their spiritual commodities. The data in this chapter were obtained through observation and oral interviews of key actors in each of the three major churches of study.

5.1 *Ikede* (Street-walk Announcement/ Preaching)

5.1.1 C&S

Ikede is a Yoruba word for announcement. Among the Aladura churches, *ikede* is a way of presenting the message about Christ and the commands of God to people. In all the C&S churches visited during field work in Nigeria, evangelism is as important as prophecy and healing rituals. As a member has noted, sharing the Gospel message with Christians and non-Christians is the responsibility of every Christian.³⁸⁴ *Ikede* Street-walk evangelism is common among various strands of the C&S. Its appropriation is associated with prophetic instruction, which may require a person to embark on evangelism for a number of days to “tell those who want to hear that Christ is the saviour of mankind: not a soothsayer; not a traditional healer;

³⁸⁴ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011, Lagos.

and that Christ is the only way to God”.³⁸⁵ Such a divine message has a redemptive purpose: to save an unidentified person from the wicked intention of Satan or any of his agents.³⁸⁶ Members believe that the participation of the evangelist could avert an impending danger on the unidentified victim who could be the announcer or one of his/her relatives or anyone else. The announcer may appear in white or colour garments as may be divinely instructed. He/she may also be divinely instructed on the particular area of a town, time and number of days when *Ikede* is to be carried out. The announcer rings a bell or beats a gong and makes warning statements intermittently.³⁸⁷

Moses Orimolade’s itinerary, which began in Irun-Akoko was synonymous with street-walk evangelism safe for his lameness, owing to which he was being carried on an amuck chair, from one town to another from street to street as God directed him (Omoyajowo 1982:31-33). Stressing on the continuity of street evangelism in this media age, an informant claimed that he walks on the streets of Lagos, preaching to people, saying “come, receive water of salvation” (*ewa gba omi iye*) whenever God directs him.³⁸⁸ The informant further claimed that it is not everybody that can afford a Radio set; neither does everyone have much time to listen to Radio. He said further that one can but walk along the streets in his white garment, with the bible held in one hand and a bell in another, saying: “come receive the water of salvation, Jesus is the water of salvation, receive him into your life” (*ewa gba omi iye, Jesu ni omi iye na, egbaa sinu aiye yin*). This no doubt provides the opportunity for people to physically and closely identify the preacher rather than seeing him/her on the TV screen and debating his/her identity.³⁸⁹ A bell *agogo* is rung to gain the attention of people in the course of proclaiming the word of God on the street. The symbolic use of an *agogo*, bell is common place in secular markets where the ringing of bells is used to call the attention of people to market goods on auction.

The use of megaphone for street evangelism is a common phenomenon among various strands of the C&S churches. It is a recent innovation that reduces much energy that is put into talking during evangelism in the early hours of the day and in the broad day light at bus stops and other places.³⁹⁰ It is a common trend among other Christian churches. When inquired about the risk involved in street preaching in the early hours of the day an informant claimed that *Ikede* in the early hours has been discouraged due to security challenges in the country

³⁸⁵ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011, Lagos.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁸ Interview with G. O. Fakeye, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

such as armed robbery, assassination attempts, religious extremism, kidnapping, and ritual killing, and that members still hold sacrosanct the divine instruction on the type of garment to wear, the number of days that the evangelism should take, and the type of fasting that the evangelist should engage in to fortify himself/herself for the divine task.³⁹¹

5.1.2 TCLA

Street preaching in TCLA is associated with ‘God’s instruments’ (*ohun elo Oluwa*)³⁹² in the church who embark on it according to God’s instructions through prophets and visioners in the church. The purpose of *ikede*, the time of the day when the preaching is to be carried out (down or broad day time), the section of the town that should be covered, and the town or village where the preaching should take place are usually indicated in the divine instruction. Further instruction could specify the type of fasting that the person concerned should undertake to support the accomplishment of the divine task. An informant narrated one of the previous divine messages given in the church to three persons at different times instructing each to travel to Iwo a suburb of Ibadan to preach repentance and salvation at different time and days on the streets of the town. God accomplished His work through the third person when a woman came out to the preacher on the street and confessed that there was a man on his sick bed whom she tied to a ‘stake’ because he called her a witch. The preacher was led to the sick man, prayed for him including the ‘witch’, blessed some water, gave some to him and the ‘witch’ to drink and they were healed.³⁹³

In *Ikede*, there is the ringing of a bell and call to repentance: “Repent because God’s judgement is very near” (*e ronnu p’iwada nitori idajo olorun ku si dede*). Similar to the C&S is the use of public address system. Not every street-walk preacher uses public address system or megaphone and there is no divine instruction that compels its use. Urban development that is characterised by noise from industrial machines, moving cars and trucks, and domestic noise emanating from small scale record shops on the streets are parts of the characteristics of urban development. This perhaps necessitated the use of megaphone for street preaching.³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ Interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

³⁹² Ordained and unordained men and women who exhibit the gifts of dream, vision, clairvoyance and trance.

³⁹³ Interview with G. Tanimowo, 29 June, 2011, Ibadan. The ‘witch’ and her ‘victim’ could not be reached to corroborate the confession and healing narrative.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

5.1.3 CCC

Ikede was not the preference of the late Pastor Founder Samuel Oshoffa. He demonstrated his non-preference of *Ikede* when he suspended one senior evangelist Johnson³⁹⁵ from the church in the late 1970s on the ground that he Johnson was going to places preaching the word of God under the name of the church.³⁹⁶ Samuel Oshoffa often emphasised that:

The church does not need to announce itself or go about preaching because God through His angels announces the church and His works in the miracles that happened in the church and the conviction, which Christians and non-Christians derived from them.³⁹⁷

The self-sacrifice, which Johnson put into his evangelism programmes and which earned him a considerable publicity, probably challenged the authority and followership which Samuel Oshoffa commanded from members of the CCC, and he (Samuel Oshoffa) had to discourage evangelism.³⁹⁸

Shortly after the demise of pastor founder Oshoffa in 1985, street-walk evangelism gradually became associated with the CCC. Members associated this development with some prophets in the church who claimed that God sent them to preach on the streets or to prescribe same to individuals in the church. There was a claim that *Ikede* was an import from the cherubim and seraphim and the church of the Lord Aladura who consistently used it as a fulfilment of God's command to individuals or group and to also impress in the minds of people on the streets the salvific essence of God through Christ.³⁹⁹ In the CCC, *Ikede* and *Iwode* are synonymous but different in terms of number: the former is when a person preaches along the streets with a bell in his/her hand, announcing Christ and laying more emphasis on the divine purpose of his/her street-walk evangelism, while the latter *Iwode* is when a number of members walk along the streets to preach Christ to people; an old method where individual or the church en-mass walk on the streets to preach Christ and proclaim divine warning to the wicked in order to complement the *esin ihinrere* evangelism services that are conducted on Wednesday and Friday of every week.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁵ He was a retired officer of the Nigerian Army and the founder of CCC Evangelical Worldwide. Johnson formed his group in 1974 as a Wolider in the CCC.

³⁹⁶ Interview with Emmanuel E. Adegoke, 06 April, 2013, Lagos.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁰ Interview with Emmanuel E. Adegoke, 06 April, 2013, Lagos.

5.2 *Isoji* (Revival)

5.2.1 C&S

In the C&S tenets of faith, the church believes that Jesus has entrusted to the church “the stewardship of the gospel and the promised power of the Holy Spirit for the work of evangelism”.⁴⁰¹ To actualize this mission, various strands of the C&S organize *Isoji* revival in their respective churches. *Isoji* among the C&S churches denotes special organized worship to regenerate the spiritual endowment of members and non-members. This revival tradition fits into Burgess’ (2008:5) understanding of revival as a call to renewed heights of spiritual vitality, corporate worship and moral probity. *Isoji* forms a fundamental aspect of the spirituality of the C&S churches: Three-day or seven-day revival service is common among the C&S. Among C&S members, there is a claim that God may instruct a member or band to conduct *Isoji* in the church for a number of days. Also there is the claim that on revival days, divine healing and deliverance take place and some members receive spiritual power, namely the gift of potent speech, tongue speaking, spirit possession, and prophecy.⁴⁰² Revival services are conducted in the church or in the open air in the premises of the church. This is not a general practice as there are lots of C&S churches that do not have large premises that can accommodate a crowd of members and non-members for an outdoor revival service.

Isoji has assumed a new trend in the C&S as there are both divinely instructed revival services and church designed revival programmes. Vibrant religious activities of other religious organizations and their regular crusades have compelled the C&S not to wait any longer for divine instruction before carrying out similar activities that can awaken and sustain members’ faith in Christ. Yet, members believe in divine instruction on revival, which according to them has special purpose of spiritual intervention.⁴⁰³ In churches visited, observations revealed that apart from prophecy driven revival service, churches observe monthly revival services which are organized by revival/evangelical committee/ministry. In one of the monthly revival sessions that the researcher attended at Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church (CSMC) Kingsland, Lagos, senior prophets and prophetesses and other members of the committee collectively organized the programme. One elder Ogunmekan delivered a sermon on faith and healing, after which there was a long session of singing, clapping, dancing and drumming on a fast tempo. Messages were passed to individuals concerned.

⁴⁰¹ This is the core mission of the C&S Churches all over the world as spelt out in their joint statement on their tenets of faith. See detail in *Tenets of Faith for Cherubim and Seraphim Council of Churches Worldwide*, Co-ord. G.O. Fakeye and E.A. Fabiyi, 1999, p.13.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*

⁴⁰³ Interview with Timothy Okunola, 22 July, 2011, Lagos.

There were some female Muslims in attendance at the revival service. Like other attendees present, the female visitors had their white candles, bottles of water and strands of palm fronds (*mariwo*). The items were blessed for people to use at home.

5.2.2 TCLA

God can call anybody to, among other roles, announce him to the world, heal the sick, wake up the sleeping faithful through revivals and strengthen their faith in Christ through words of exhortation, beautiful songs, hand clapping and joyous worship.⁴⁰⁴ This is the basis of revival (*Isoji*) in TCLA and the church has continually kept faith with this divine commission, which God timely reveals through prophets, dreamers, visioners and people with other special gifts in the church.⁴⁰⁵ Like street-walk preaching, God reveals the purpose for conducting a revival service: preach Christ, showcase him as the saviour and healer of all human short-comings, and to create a contact period when God wants to accomplish a task in the life of the church or some individuals that are not known to people including the anointed in the church.⁴⁰⁶

Most revival services are conducted inside the church. The gradual development of towns into cosmopolitan cities has had its impact on market population. This in turn has made open-air revivals difficult to organize at market squares. Security challenges have compelled TCLA churches to explore various means of preaching to people.⁴⁰⁷ At provincial headquarters and local branches, the church conducts revivals in public spaces (junctions, recreation or sports centres). Due to the fact that streets are usually busy for commerce and vehicular traffic, and that there are security challenges in the society, the government enjoins individual or group that plans to close down any street or use public places for evangelism programme to write for approval before putting the public place into use.

Just as the church recognises the role of divine revelation in revival service, it also encourages human initiatives in planning and executing evangelism programmes for the church. An informant claimed that, given the increasing pervasions in human society and the emerging competitive religious landscape in Nigeria, the church needs revival services more than ever before: to revive the perishing souls who are immersed into societal vices and to sustain church membership and attract more people to the fold.⁴⁰⁸ Each TCLA local church is at liberty to organise revival services within its church plan of programmes. The TCLA Oke Padre, Ibadan conducts its revival tagged ‘Salvation Hour’ monthly; it lasts three days for

⁴⁰⁴ Interview with Samson Olorode, 01 September, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ Interview with S. Kalesanwo, 04 September, 2011, Lagos.

which handbills are circulated and members are also enjoined to disseminate information by word of mouth to neighbours and friends. People are also encouraged to bring along objects of their choice particularly water in white containers, bunch of broom, white candle and olive oil.

In October 2012, TCLA inaugurated an annual evangelism programme, which gives all the provinces the opportunity to collectively undertake mass evangelism. The planning and organisation of the maiden crusade was the sole responsibility of the host province, Lagos Ecclesiastical Province of TCLA, comprising seven Dioceses. The annual big crusade “Divine Encounter with Jesus” of the church is interdenominational in content and outlook: various branches of the TCLA, various Christian associations, namely the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN), Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Organisation of African Independent churches (OAICs) and the Nigerian association of Aladura churches (NAAC) are invited to the three-day crusade. The annual crusade is rotated among TCLA provinces. The South West-North Ecclesiastical Province, Ibadan comprising Ibadan/Oyo, Oshun, Ondo, Ekiti, Owo/Akoko, and Kwara Dioceses organised a successful crusade on 30th and 31st January and 1st February 2013 at Lekan Salami Stadium, Adamasingba in Ibadan.

The Mount Tabieorar Retreat is the biggest annual spiritual event of TCLA in August of every year. Prophets, dreamers and other workers who possess various spiritual gifts attend to spiritual problems of members and attendees. Attendees are given the opportunity to give testimony of the impact of the spiritual event in their lives. An informant claimed there are yearly good testimonies that new members and others from other church denominations give at the Tabierorar ground.⁴⁰⁹ Similarly, in furtherance of its evangelism programme, the church in April 1996 started its monthly Victory Night revival programme where members and non-members are not compelled to observe restrictions that border on purity of the body.

5.2.3 CCC

The CCC associates *Isoji* revival with prophecy. Reviving the souls of the perishing is the responsibility of the church and at times, spiritual workers particularly the visioners, dreamers and the prophets pass revelations that may compel the church to conduct revival services for a number of days ranging from one to twenty-one.⁴¹⁰ In one of the revival sessions, some bible passages were read and a sermon was delivered in which the purpose of the revival was stressed. A member of the church claimed that at the onset, CCC was not known with

⁴⁰⁹ Interview with T. Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

⁴¹⁰ Interview with Adebayo Kayode, 20 May, 2011, Jos.

drumming and clapping of hands during corporate worship and revival, but that their introduction in the latter time was at the influence of other churches that use music instruments that were locally made.⁴¹¹ The church's use of modern musical instruments (wind, string and percussion) has been the influence of globalisation and the challenges that come from other religious organisations that use assorted percussion, wind, string and keyboard instruments.⁴¹² Aside divine instruction, parishes in their respective annual programmes designed quarterly evangelism programmes that are conducted either in the church or as open air revivals within the church premises. Churches that do not have big premises do not organise open air revivals in their respective premises; very big revivals are organized either in the wide church premises or in social centres.⁴¹³

Prior to the 1970s, revival services were mostly conducted in the church, a special time for the reception of divine messages and healing, accompanied with lots of *orin emi* spiritual songs that awaken divine spirit in an individual, and often leading to tongue speaking and trance; the pastor founder Oshoffa however gave *Isoji* a new face lift in 1972 when he organised an open revival at Rowe Park, Yaba, Lagos.⁴¹⁴ The pastor founder, in his desire to take the church to a further height organised several open air revival services at the National Stadium Surulere, Lagos.⁴¹⁵ Parishes vary in their revival programmes in terms of type, hour of revival, and number of times in a year. Regardless of the differences, *Isoji* revival time can be categorised into weekly, monthly, and quarterly. CCC Covenant Cathedral, Amuwo Odofin, Lagos organises its revival "Awake Revival" every third Thursday of the month. Similarly, the evangelism ministry designed and oversees the observation of "Freedom Hour" which is observed every Tuesday of the week. The parish also runs "Cross and Crown" radio programme.

Open air revival service has become one of the aspirations of many CCC churches that have not organised and most members interviewed expressed with much desire and claimed it is one of the fastest ways of showcasing the church in the public sphere. The CCC Alfa-Nda

⁴¹¹ Interview with Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 June, 2012, Lagos. Article 106 of the CCC Constitution, which enjoins a solemnity of worship seems ambiguous because it does not contain the specifics. However, the CCC Order of Service (nd.: 126) contains two contradictory injunctions: first, item 8 states that drumming is allowed only during offerings and thanksgiving, while organ can be played as an accompaniment of songs up to the end of worship; secondly, item 9 states that shortly after procession when lighting of the altar candles begins, there shall be no drumming or musical instrument up to benediction. Same item 9 also enjoins the use of drumming and other musical instruments only during joyous ceremonies like marriage, naming and others. This ambiguity probably developed when probably the church did not allow the use of drumming and clapping.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

⁴¹³ Interview with Tanimowo, 29 June, 2011, Ibadan.

⁴¹⁴ Interview with Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 June, 2012, Lagos.

⁴¹⁵ But the dates when the revivals were conducted could not be obtained due to poor record keeping.

parish, Ilasa, Mushin, Lagos claimed it had organised several open air revival services. It held its 2012 revival service tagged “Gennesaret 2012” at the National Stadium, Surulere, Lagos on the 16th March, 2012. The theme of the revival was “Reap in Mercy” (Hosea 10:12). The church invited a number of ministers, namely Evangelist Ekunola Davies, Bishop Abraham M. Kuye, Prophet Sam Owatunde Marshal, and Superior Evangelist Doctor V.O.A. Oluyole. Harmony Voices, Idowu Ade (Alade Ogo), and Royal Onibode Choir provided song ministrations. The CCC Ayilara parish, Surulere, Lagos started the biggest open air revival “the Ephatha Crusade” in Lagos in 1999; it conducts open air revival annually.⁴¹⁶ The CCC Genesis parish, Alagbado, Lagos came into existence through its founder, Israel Olabode Ogundipe and his use of the media for revival received much recognition.⁴¹⁷

5.3 Evangelical Unit

5.3.1 C&S

In the period between 1925 and 1929, evangelical groups in the C&S were said to have embarked on zealous preaching and organizing converts into congregations. Abiodun Akinsowon who acted as second in command to Moses Orimolade played an active role in the evangelical groups. Omoyajowo rightly captured Akinsowon’s evangelistic role in the early years of the church before she split from Orimolade: “she was the ‘show-piece’ and the most energetic evangelist” who headed and led various evangelistic groups that eventually established the society in many parts of Yorubaland (1982:40). But this was not to last as allegations and counter allegations severed Akinsowon from Orimolade in 1929. The schisms had ripple effect as various autonomous strands of C&S today design and organize their evangelical programmes in their own ways and within their limited resources.

Each of the churches visited has an evangelical ministry/committee saddled with organizing programmes designed to win souls for Christ, enrich members’ knowledge of the bible and strengthen their faith. The formation of the evangelical ministries in the C&S churches explains their idea of the need for a modern organized evangelistic campaign designed to revitalize the church and preach the gospel of Christ to wider audiences.

In pursuance of its fundamental objectives of organizing Christian crusades through open-air preaching, night vigils, Sunday and week day services, and revival services⁴¹⁸, CSMC

⁴¹⁶ This was confirmed in one of the information posted on the official website of the church. Accessed January 10, 2013. http://www.celestialchurchofchristworldwide.org/rev_oshodi_renounces_his_titles_of_reverend_and_deputy_pastor_press_statement_feb_2009_.htm.

⁴¹⁷ Interview with Pepe Emmanuel Asebiomo, 25 June, 2012, Lagos. He claimed that Ogundipe’s recent legal tussle with a London based woman on allegation of fraud has greatly affected the membership of his church.

⁴¹⁸ The Constitution of the Holy Order of CSMC, 2004, p.3.

instituted an Evangelical Council whose members include the spiritual father, the secretary general, the conference general evangelist, all districts general evangelists, one apostle from each of the districts, the secretary of the council, teachers and counselors who adequately coordinate and supervise evangelism activities across the church structures. The evangelical committee in the local church facilitates evangelism activities. Each band/cell in the local church can initiate its own evangelical group.

The Disciples of Christ Ministry (DCM) was established as an evangelical band in the CSMC, Apapa-Oshodi Express way, Lagos, in 2005. The band engages in Sunday worship, praise worship, bible study/exposition, sermons, lectures, revivals, communion and anointing services, and intercessory prayer sessions. On every second Saturday of the month, the band holds Faith Clinic sessions, during which members and visitors are taught the principles of acquiring faith and its application in real life. The band also awakens members and non-members to a life of effective praying that is applied to specific needs and challenges of attendees at the faith clinic session.⁴¹⁹

The evangelical outreach programmes of the DCM are coordinated by the teaching and evangelical unit, which ensures the spread of the gospel through revivals, outreaches and visitations. The ministry embarks on quarterly revival services in the months of March, June, September and November of every year and makes monthly branch visitations and also gives some exhortations to enrich the spiritual life of believers. It engages the neighborhood in gospel ministration on a monthly basis. It also embarks on monthly brothel evangelism, locates each brothel monthly, ministers to the commercial sex workers in there and establishes contact with them for further ministration. The ministry visits the prisons and Police Cells for monthly evangelism and extends same to hospitals, homes of the needy, motherless homes, and beggars Colony at Ebute-Meta, Lagos. In order to fortify its members for spiritual warfare and effective evangelism, the group enjoins members to have three days fasting and prayer at the end of each month.⁴²⁰

In the Sacred Cherubim and Seraphim (SCSC), Most Elder Apostle Prophet Solomon Ade Alao⁴²¹ established the evangelical ministry that designs, coordinates and supervises evangelical programmes of the general conference, sub-conferences/district councils, and local church councils. The evangelical ministry consists of field men and women who, according to an informant, are of faith and courage, charged with strengthening the faith of

⁴¹⁹ Interview with Rebecca Akinsulure, 14 August, 2011.

⁴²⁰ Interview with Rebecca Akinsulure, 14 August, 2011.

⁴²¹ The sixth and the current spiritual father of SCSC, a chartered insurance practitioner.

members and rescuing the perishing souls out there through evangelical revivals and outreaches.⁴²² To support the evangelical ministry, the spiritual father inaugurated the ‘Sowing Ministry’, which manages contacts within and outside the church. He also coordinates resources obtained from the contacts for evangelism, which he claimed requires aggressive approach “especially in the face of the prevailing permissive society”.⁴²³ The coordination of outreach programmes at the sub-conference and local church councils is the sole responsibility of the executive members of the evangelical ministry at both levels. The spiritually gifted (*Alore*) are the spiritual assets of the church: the *Woli* ordained prophets, *Ariran* visioners, *Alala* dreamers, and *Elemi* trance gifted individuals are expected to dedicate themselves for revival service so God can speak through them in the course of the revival service.

The CSMC has an elaborate evangelical project. The ‘*Hephzibah*’ project is the pet project of Samuel Abidoye⁴²⁴ which has well thought out objectives and programmes designed to take Christ to people and places packaged in different molds. Inaugurated in 2005 shortly after he (Abidoye) was ordained and sworn in as Baba Aladura of CSMC worldwide, *Hephzibah* has evangelical objective of spreading the gospel across the globe based on the biblical injunction “Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and of the Holy Spirit; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you” (Matthew 28:19-20).

Hephzibah is a project that aims at winning souls for Christ in and outside Nigeria, through developing media evangelism that ensures stable evangelical programmes on Radio, TV, and cable channels; quarterly publication of C&S magazine, and publication of Christian articles in newspapers and magazines. It also aims at hosting evangelical conferences, conventions and seminars, evangelizing through music ministration, and exploring the use of modern technology for evangelism by developing websites that carry details of the C&S history, structure, spiritual and social programmes, and electronic newsletters and weekly messages.⁴²⁵ When asked about the extent to which the laudable objectives of the project have been achieved, an informant claimed that there is steady production of *Cherubic Wheels* Journal and free distribution of used house hold materials.⁴²⁶

⁴²² Interview with Andrew Beckley, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

⁴²³ Baba Aladura Solomon Ade Alao’s statement posted on the Supreme Head Message page of the SCSC website. Accessed January 10, 2013. <http://sacredcherubimandseraphimchurch.org>.

⁴²⁴ The current spiritual leader of CSMC Worldwide.

⁴²⁵ Interview with A. A. Adebayo 15 May, 2011, Jos.

⁴²⁶ Interview with Matthew Akindele Ajayi, 09 January, 2013, 15 May, 2011, Jos.

The *Hephzibah* Project claims it has recorded some achievements, notably, increasing the electronic and print media coverage for the church and placing the spiritual father on radio, TV and in newspapers both within and outside Nigeria. The project records that it has made shipments and distribution of used domestic items to the needy as gift items, especially during visits to orphanage homes with accompanying ministration of the gospel of Christ. Hephzibah also organized and sponsored the first international joint ministration and celebration of Holy Michael's day by all strands of C&S, which held in the United Kingdom in 2008⁴²⁷. Hephzibah aims at procuring and distributing copies of the Christian bible and C&S hymnals to various parts of Nigeria and West Africa, but this is yet to commence.

5.3.2 TCLA

In responding to the competitive religious landscape in Nigeria, Primate Gabriel Olusegun Ositelu⁴²⁸ during his tenure established the Evangelical Ministry that is responsible for designing, implementing and coordinating evangelism programmes across the tiers of the structure of the TCLA: provincial, diocesan, zonal and local branches. The current bishop and head of the South West-North provincial headquarters Amos Ajibola heads the evangelical ministry. Between 1998 when he came into office and 2008, the fourth primate of the church Rufus Ositelu restructured and expanded the evangelical arm of the church. He created the evangelical department whose head intimates the primate about programmes through the provincial head of TCLA Nigeria, while the evangelical desk is headed by a coordinator who works closely with the primate on matters of evangelism. These two sections are subsumed under the Evangelical Ministry. The ministry comprises men and women who are drawn from the councils of evangelists, deacons and deaconesses, and other feeder ministries; and have received bible training and also have the knowledge of evangelism.

TCLA initiated a joint think-tank, National Evangelical Team (NET) and Diocese Evangelical Team (DET) Committee Meetings where the church appraises its evangelism programmes and also re-strategises for greater evangelism outcomes. The church employs evangelism to advance the achievement of its new tenets⁴²⁹ declaration: Pentecostal in power, biblical in pattern, ecumenical in outlook, evangelical in ministry, prophetic in ministry, and social in ministry. In its revivals and crusades, the church preaches Christ and showcases the gift of Pentecostal power which manifest in individuals through the Holy Spirit; the church in its

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ Primate, TCLA December 1, 1991 to April 26, 1998.

⁴²⁹The second primate Emmanuel Adejobi (1991-1998) authored the previous tenets (biblical in pattern, Pentecostal in power, evangelical and social in outlook), while primate Rufus Ositelu improved on the previous tenets and came up with six shortly after receiving the mantle of leadership of the church.

outreaches preaches faith, conduct, character and doctrine as contained in the Christian bible and emphasises bible as its source of inspiration; it recognises and promotes ecumenism with other church denominations through revivals and annual interdenominational crusades; in its evangelism, it demonstrates its belief in divinely inspired predictions and the workings of the prophetic messages; and in ministering Christ to people, the church also preaches the importance of providing social amenities to the less-privileged, hospitals, and orphanage homes (Ositelu 2009).

Aside the evangelical ministry at the international headquarters, the dioceses and local churches have their respective evangelical ministry which plans, organises and coordinates outreaches in their respective domains. Diocese and the local church are responsible for the finances that their evangelical programmes require namely electronic and print media. The office of the primate takes sole responsibility of the finances that the entire TCLAW evangelical ministry for the entire requires to function.

The Music ministry and Drama Ministry of TCLA were created to complement the evangelical Ministry in its 'soul winning for Christ Jesus' programmes. The two ministries (Music and Drama) are "to expose the church to a wider audience and to reach out and win souls for Christ" (Ositelu 2009:217). At local and international fora organised by TCLA, the music and drama ministries showcase their respective packages both for entertainment and ministration of the word of God and the song renditions of the choir group during worship in the local church, revival at the zonal outreach, and crusade at national level emphasized biblical messages on repentance, moral chastity, love, peace and Christ's salvation for mankind.⁴³⁰ The evangelical ministry of the TCLA recorded several outreach programmes in a year in 1996: at Lekan Salami Stadium, Adamasingba in Ibadan; Tafawa Balewa Square (TBS), Lagos in March; and Benin City.⁴³¹

5.3.3 CCC

The growth and spread of the CCC to different parts of the world have been rightly attributed, not to the intense, coordinated mission efforts of the church, but to the influence of migration and self sacrifice of individual migrant members, which Adogame (1999:49) categorises into transfer, biological, sociological, pathological, and conversion growths. At the onset, the pastor founder SBJ Oshoffa was the sole authority that determined revivals and all that were associated with evangelism. Few days before harvest thanksgiving services in parishes, SBJ

⁴³⁰ Interview with G. Tanimowo, 29 June, 2011, Ibadan.

⁴³¹ Interview with G. Tanimowo, 29 June, 2011, Ibadan.

Oshoffa had to conduct revival service for a number of days ranging from one to seven on the invitation of the local church. After his (SBJ Oshoffa) demise in 1985 and following the announcement of Alexander Abiodun Bada in December 1985 as the head of the CCC, Bada devolved his authority on evangelism to respective heads of the CCC at zonal, district and state levels to exercise same in their respective domains. Bada introduced pastoral revival programmes and in 1991 inaugurated Lagos State Evangelical Committee (LASEC).⁴³²

In order to encourage free flow of information and communication necessary for administrative and evangelical activities, Alexander Bada inaugurated the Press Council in June 1986.⁴³³ As a precursor to evangelical committee, the CCC Press Council protects and promotes the image of the church by disseminating information about the administrative and evangelical activities of CCC through the media. The CCC uses the press council to promote the faith tradition of the church and also bridge communication gap between it and other religious organisations. At the grassroots level, the evangelical ministry/arm of each parish initiates evangelism programmes that enable the key actors reach out to more people, winning more souls for Christ and more members for the church, while the evangelical unit of the youth ministry in each church ensures well planned evangelism programmes for the youth folk.

This inspired more evangelical revivals and groups in the CCC. The evangelical groups that emerged shortly after the death of the CCC founder were formed by individual members who sacrificed their time, energy and financial resources to the spread of the gospel of Christ and faith tradition of the CCC. But before the demise of SBJ Oshoffa, Senior Evangelist Johnson in 1974 formed the first evangelical group: Celestial Evangelical World Crusaders, Bammeké, Lagos. The formation of the evangelical group did not find favour with the pastor founder following which Johnson was suspended from the CCC. Shortly after the death of SBJ Oshoffa in 1985, other groups emerged, namely Celestial Evangelical Church, Idioro, Lagos; and Demola Hasstrup's Rebisi Group of parishes, Port Harcourt. These groups latter pulled out of the parent church and became fully fledged autonomous groups with CCC as prefix or suffix in their respective names.⁴³⁴

Considering the fact that the continuity of CCC and its faith tradition depends largely on the youths of the church, the pastorate through evangelism ministry encouraged the sustainability of the faith of youths in Christ by taking evangelism to school environment. The CCC Student

⁴³² Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁴ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011, Lagos.

parish, University of Lagos, Akoka was formed in April 1989. Its administrative members largely represent members from various groups of disciplines: Arts and Humanities, Social Sciences, Education, medical sciences, physical sciences, and environmental sciences. In order to facilitate effective communication among members, the parish created e-mail address and telephone facility. To sustain the spirituality of CCC youths on campus, the parish weekly programmes begin on Monday with bible dialogue (bible lesson), choir rehearsal is on Tuesday, executive meeting on Wednesday, prayer meeting on Thursday, and general worship on Friday. Night vigil is once in two weeks.⁴³⁵

In decentralising authority on evangelism, the head of the CCC Alexander Bada gave responsibility to the heads of CCC at zonal, district and state levels to organise evangelism programmes. This engendered the formation of evangelism committee in respective churches. Evangelism committee designs and organises in-door and open air revival programmes including other programmes that strengthen believers' faith in Christ. The formation of evangelism committee at CCC Alfa-Nda parish, Ilasa, Mushin, Lagos began when it started its bible class in 1992 and transformed it to a fully fledged evangelism committee in 1994, creating and conducting evangelism programmes like outreach and revival programmes, film-shows that inform about the supremacy of Christ over evil, seminars, bible competition, revealed and special vigil services, bible study and prayer and fasting.⁴³⁶

5.4 Evangelism and the Media Technologies

Current studies show that the Pentecostal churches and other religious movements have intensified their use of the media. In his review of the previous studies of Ruth Marshall-Fratani, Birgit Meyer and Rijk van Dijk, Walter Ihejirika (2009:2, 28, 29) says the authors' works reveal that the Pentecostal appropriation of the media de-localized and globalized Africans, both within and outside the continent. Ihejirika (2008:92, 93) had earlier noted that in comparison with the Catholic churches, the Pentecostals invested large sums of money in new media technologies, have richer and more elegantly built websites that carry more Christian proselytizing messages directed at the middle class and upward mobile young adults audience than the Catholic that target the rural youth and the marginal or poor urban dwellers. The author seems not to be aware of the emerging use of the print and electronic media and the cyberspace as this study has revealed.

⁴³⁵ Interview with Titus O. Alao, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

⁴³⁶ Interview with J. Bomes, 29 October, 2011, Lagos.

Even though radio broadcasting began in Nigeria from 1932 when Empire Service of the British Broadcasting Corporation (ESBBC) came into being⁴³⁷, and television broadcasting started in Western Nigeria in 1959, the appropriation of the electronic media for evangelism did not begin until 1974. It was during this year that Benson Idahosa started his television broadcasts on the Mid-West Television, thus giving birth to the first and the largest television evangelism in Africa at that time (Lyon and Lyon 1991:111). Since then, televangelism has become synonymous with many church denominations in Nigeria. The print media started much earlier, shortly after the arrival of the Christian missionaries in the 1840s and subsequent establishment of community newspapers to help propagate Christianity. This initiative later gave rise to the establishment of newspaper outfits. It was at the tail end of the second quarter of the 19th century (1859) that a British missionary established the first newspaper in Nigeria “*Iwe Iroyin*”, and by the 1880s there were Lagos-based newspapers, which some indigent Nigerians owned and which began to agitate for equal treatment and representation for Nigerians and Europeans. By the third quarter of the 19th century (1880s), prominent Nigerian Christians had the privilege to receive Christian tracts from foreign Pentecostal churches, notably the Faith Tabernacle church. By 1930s, some of the newspaper outfits had gradually begun to agitate for Nigerian independence. (UNDP Guide nd.).

5.4.1 C&S

There is no adequate data as to when the C&S first used the print and electronic media, but there were paid advertorials of the ESOC&S, C&SS, and C&SMC in the Nigerian Tribune and some local Yoruba news prints in the 1950s. The use of Radio and Television for evangelism is capital intensive, and this singular factor has made most strands and branches of the C&S churches not to run radio and television evangelism.⁴³⁸ The current General leader of the CSMC, Surulere district headquarters, Prophet Gabriel Olubunmi Fakeye, is a renowned televangelist who started his church in 1971 shortly after returning from the United Kingdom in 1969. His appropriation of the media for evangelism began in the late 1970s. He celebrated his twenty-fifth year of “evangelism pursuit in the media in Nigeria” in January 2011.⁴³⁹

The CSMC, Surulere district headquarters has grown over the years in its use of the print, radio, and Television for evangelism. The church built and adequately furnished a media studio house located in its premises. In the studio, the general leader of the church, Prophet Gabriel Fakeye gets his radio and television evangelism programmes recorded with the help

⁴³⁷ See detail in the official website of the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC). Accessed February 04, 2013. www.nbc.gov.ng.

⁴³⁸ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴³⁹ Prophet Gabriel Olubunmi Fakeye, a renowned televangelist.

of radio and television crews from some media houses within Lagos. The recorded preaching is transmitted in radio houses during the time slot that the church has paid for. Similarly, the recorded preaching is relayed to viewers on some television channels and radio frequencies in Lagos, Ogun, Oyo and Osun States. Gabriel Fakeye's *Edidi Iye* 'Seal of Life' is one of the favourite religious programmes aired to listeners of FRCN Abuja on every Sunday at 8.05am to 9.00am, and is watched on LTV Channel 8, Lagos at 6.15am to 7.00am. Fakeye's other radio programmes include 'Orin Iyin' Song of Praise which is aired on Unique (FM), Ilesha at 6.30am to 7.00am; Radio Lagos 107.5 FM, every Sunday at 6.30am to 7.00am; Oshun Radio 104.5 FM every Sunday at 5.30am to 6.00am; Gold FM Ilesha 99.5 FM every Sunday at 5.30am to 6.00am; and Radio Harmony, Kwara 103.5 FM every Sunday at 6.10 to 6.40am. His weekly 'Family Meditation' is also aired on Radio Lagos 107.5 FM every Sunday at 9.30 to 10.00pm. The church also pays for its recorded preaching that is relayed to viewers of Lagos Television LTV Channel 8, Ikeja and Ogun State Television (OGTV) Abeokuta.⁴⁴⁰

Various bands within CSMC, Surulere have similar and varied evangelical programmes that require their patronage of the electronic media. Notable among the bands is the choir band which plans and executes its annual song ministration and Founding Anniversary respectively. In doing this, it uses print, radio and TV for publicity, ministering Christ to many souls and for documentation of its programmes and activities. It has produced lots of audio and video albums that are replayed on radio and television channels including homes in and outside Lagos. Some tracks are used as radio jingles and in advertorials for radio evangelism and radio discussions on Christian virtues. The choir began its fully fledged song ministration in 1978 when it recorded its maiden album titled *Ohun Emi*, which was the first Cherubim and Seraphim gospel song album in and outside Nigeria.⁴⁴¹

By 2011, the song ministers had produced thirty-five record labels, together with a few video recordings. In 1978 the choir made her appearance on the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Channel 10 for a service of songs and a sermon titled 'For Christians'. It made frequent similar appearances in the 1970s and 1980s on OGTV Abeokuta, NTA Channel 7, Ikeja, and Radio Lagos. Recently, the song ministration group paid for some slots on Lagos Television (LTV) Channel 8 to announce the annual celebration of their existence and also to showcase their planned programme for their fortieth anniversary which held on the 6th of April, 2013.

⁴⁴⁰ Interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁴¹ Interview with Jide Ogungbade, 31 August 2011, Lagos.

Similarly, CSMC Sanctuary of Solomon, Idimu, Lagos occasionally embarks on radio evangelism. Limited financial resources have compelled it to go on and off the air in its televangelism programmes. The church pays for slots for one of its broadcasts *Irin Ajo Eda* ‘Human Life Journey’ on Radio Lagos 107.5 FM, every Thursday 9.00 to 9.30 a.m. under the programme *Iro Ipe Kalfari* ‘Voice of Calvary’. It has paid slots for yet another radio programme *Ile Alarinrin* ‘Joyful Home’ on Gateway FM on every Sunday 5.00 to 5.30 p.m.⁴⁴²

The print media is widely used in C&S churches. In most churches visited, most members claim that the use of both electronic and print media for evangelism and announcements of church programmes are capital intensive, and that the print as an option is important considering its significance to evangelism and its filling up the gap created by inadequate fund for the electronic media. Yet, the appropriation of the print media varies among various churches. The financial strength of a church determines what segment of the print media it appropriates and the number of times it goes to the press to get its church programmes printed. Pamphlets and single paper sheets for Sunday worship and special services such as church and band anniversaries are in use to a great extent. The quality of the print in terms of the paper, colour separation, quality of the images, if any, the number of pages, and the creativity injected into the production of the print vary according to purpose and available fund.

The CSMC Faith in Christ parish, Lagos uses the print media for most of its programmes to preach Christ and disseminate necessary information about the church and its programmes to larger audiences. When contacted on the choice of the church for the print media for its evangelism, an informant claimed that the church considered the electronic media quite expensive to be sustained for a quarter of a year within the limited finances of the church and having attempted it in the past; it considered the print as more affordable and sustainable throughout the year.⁴⁴³ The church nevertheless pays for advertisement slots to announce its quarterly evangelical programmes, produces handbills/fliers that carry adequate information, quality images and creativity like the secular advertorials.⁴⁴⁴ The church produced fliers for one of its quarterly evangelism programmes “Seventy-two Hours with Christ”, which is a three-day revival programme that featured preachers across church boundaries, guest speakers and song ministers, notable among them were popular evangelists and gospel artists Ebenezer

⁴⁴² Interview with Wale Gbadebo, 09 August 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁴³ Interview with Timothy Okunola, 22 July, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Obey, Dunni Olanrewaju and Dare Melody.⁴⁴⁵ Some pastors and reverends from other church denominations were featured on the programme outline, including area pastors of the Redeemed Christian Church of God that were slated to give talks during the occasion.⁴⁴⁶

Posters and billboards that are commonly in use among various strands of the C&S churches for evangelism programmes are by all standards attractive and carry catchy phrases, with good colour separation. They exhibit clear images of renowned song ministers, preachers and charismatic men of God. The posters and billboards also carry the intent of the church for the special programme. Unlike the type of posters and billboards common among the new Pentecostals, observations revealed that the posters and billboards that are common among the C&S do not carry imposing images of church founders/spiritual leaders/Baba Aladura and their respective wives.

One of the imposing posters of the ESOC&S showcase the spiritual package it planned to provide the attendees of one of its evangelical programmes. The large poster was nailed to the wall of a fence. The poster carried an imposing and high quality images of Jesus Christ, that of the founder of C&S, Moses Orimolade, other leading men of power, and song ministers. Added to it are bilingual texts (Yoruba and English), catchy phrases and the image of symbolic chained hands, itemized expected breakthroughs, biblical reference, contact address, mobile phone numbers and e-mail address. The C&S River Jordan Mountain organizes annual evangelical revival. Its 2011 edition came up in October. The ministry produced copies of a large poster which it distributed to members and friends to announce its ninety-six hours revival ministration. The poster featured a number of men of God that were to minister at the event, including popular song ministers, the imposing images of the founder of the church Baba Aladura Olayide, a renowned preacher, and a female song minister. The catch phrase on the poster: *Agbara Itusile* 'The Power of Deliverance' which depicts the theme and intent of the event was inserted in both Yoruba and English languages.

Aside from disseminating information on revivals through posters, the use of posters inside the church to pass evangelical messages is a common thing among various strands of the C&S. Many posters carry messages on repentance, faith, attitude to tithing, the saving grace of Jesus Christ, the significance of Sunday school and Sunday service. The following messages will suffice as examples: "Have you paid your tithe? It is the Gateway to abundant Blessing. Pay it regularly. Mark 3:6-10"; "Your Sunday Service is incomplete without Sunday

⁴⁴⁵ Interview with Timothy Okunola, 22 July, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

school”; “*Nitori Iwo ni yoo tan Fitila mi. Oluwa Olurun ni yoo tan imole si okunkun mi*” (For thou will light my candle. The Lord God will cast light unto my darkness); and “Look unto Jesus today and be saved... Tomorrow will be too late”.

There is a growing interest in the art of writing among C&S church leaders and ordinary members who have passion for preaching Christ through writing. Aside from the electronic media, the current spiritual leader of the CSMC, Samuel Abidoje, claimed he discovered writing as a means through which he can preach Christ to a large and distant audience during his sojourn in the United Kingdom. He is a regular newspaper columnist for the Nigerian Tribune. He writes Christian articles particularly for Sunday Tribune’s “The Vineyard”. He is the author of the following books: *The Listening Ear of God*, *My Journey so Far*, *From His Vineyard*, and also writes the editorial comment for the *Cherubic Wheels Journal*.

To further their evangelism strategies, few strands of the C&S have ventured into journals and magazines production as conduits through which the gospel is preached to members and non-members. The CSMC publishes an annual journal *Cherubic Wheels*. Its 2011 volume contains articles, notably on the canonization of the bible, medical science and spiritual healing, and the fall of the biblical Miriam the prophet. The 2011 edition of the “*Cherubic Wheels*” also published an interview with the Ghanaian philologist and bible translator, Modupe Oduyoye. The CSMC Kingsland, Lagos publishes “*Kingsland News*”, a periodical magazine that publishes scholarly writings of members and non-members. Its volume one, number one of 2005 contains well researched articles on the interplay between politics and religion, the youths in the twenty first century, the benefits of bible study, the acorn that grows to an oak, and the Cherubim and Seraphim College of Theology, Kingsland Campus (*Kingsland News* 2005). The magazine is being marketed as a sole responsibility of its management board.

In responding to emerging socio-economic and political issues in the society, leading C&S figures air their personal opinions in the print media. They also use it to give brief exhortations in the belief that such advice to Nigerians will turn them to God and impact positively on their attitude to lots of vices that impede the social, economic and political development of the country. This has made them to be socially visible in the media. Concerning their responses, they have been somewhat more evangelical than intellectual or secular in their discourses. An informant claimed that the televangelist, Gabriel Fakeye of the CSMC, Surulere, Lagos responds to several socio-political issues in the media.⁴⁴⁷ The

⁴⁴⁷ Interview with Timothy Okunola, 22 July, 2011, Lagos. See Dotun Ibiwoye, “Fakeye Counsels Jonathan”, *Vanguard* September 12, 2012. Accessed March 15, 2013. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/09/fakeye-counsels-jonathan>; O. Akoni and M. Olowoapejo, “Stakeholders Condemn Extremity in Enforcing Traffic

spiritual leader of the C&SMC, Samuel Abidoye, also reacts to socio-economic and political issues on Nigeria in the Nigerian print media.⁴⁴⁸

There is growing awareness and appropriation of the information and communication technology for church communication, administration and programmes among major strands of the C&S. Ihejirika's (2008) comparative work on the innovative application of ICTs to evangelism by the Pentecostal and Catholic churches reveal their varied perceptions of the significance of ICTs. The former (Pentecostals) see the appropriation of the ICTs as an extension of the church's pew and making the church and its messages more accessible to the global world, while the latter (Catholic) regards it as channels through which the faith of the faithful is affected negatively. This, according to Ihejirika accounts for the Catholic's slow reception and use of new communication technologies by the Catholic Church. The researcher observed the use of media technologies in churches visited without any resentment of its negative implications.

There is growing interest in the use of electronic mail (e-mail) accounts among a considerable number of C&S churches and bands; Churches and bands procurement and use of mobile phones for their spiritual and secular activities; and creation of websites, which have helped to solve logistic challenges in Church administration. The CSMC, Surulere created its official website in the 1990s and that his office alone created three different websites for office use while each of the various departments of the church administration created one. These departments include the Disciples of Christ Ministry, the Seal of Life Ministry, the College of Divinity, the Church Choir, the Youth Fellowship group, the branches of the church in and outside Nigeria, and a considerable number of the bands/cells in the church, which according to him have their respective websites.⁴⁴⁹ Major strands of the C&S, namely Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church (CSMC), The Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim (ESOCS), the Sacred Cherubim and Seraphim Church (SCSC), the Cherubim and Seraphim Society (CSS), and the Praying Band of Cherubim and Seraphim (PBCS), actively operate official websites including social websites (Facebook) used for church communication,

Laws", *Vanguard* October 21, 2012. Accessed March 15, 2013. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/10/stakeholders-condemn-extremity-in-enforcing-traffic-laws>.

⁴⁴⁸ See James Ibrahim, "Nigeria won't disintegrate but...says cleric", *National Mirror* January 16, 2013. Accessed March 15, 2013. <http://nationalmirroronline.net/new/nigeria-wont-disintegrate-but-says-cleric>; "Religious protest averted in Ilorin school", *Thepost* July 05, 2012. Accessed March 15, 2013. <http://thepost-ng.com/religious-protest-averted-in-ilorin-school>.

⁴⁴⁹ Interview with Gabriel Fakeye, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

evangelism and the uploading of video recordings of sermons, revival worships and anniversary celebrations for global view.⁴⁵⁰

5.4.2 TCLA

The Church of the Lord Aladura draws inspiration for its outreach programmes from the bible chapter and verse which enjoins every Christian and the entire church to go and make disciples in all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit and doing this to the end of the world.⁴⁵¹ The church believes that faith comes by hearing and what is heard is the word that comes from God.⁴⁵²

The financial resources of each TCLA branch have considerable influence on its appropriation of both the electronic and print media. Hence, the print media is mostly used. In a considerable number of TCLA branches, handbills are mostly used on Sundays. The handbills carry information on the liturgy of the church and other events that are meant for the Sunday worship. The financial resources of the church determine the quality of the handbills. Anniversary and harvest thanksgiving services are special occasions when handbills and fliers are mostly in use in the church. Posters are used mostly for diocesan and provincial outreach programmes that are interdenominational in outlook.

Between 1930 and 2000, TCLA seemingly neglected the importance of media publicity of the church. Dissemination of notices and other details about revivals and outreach programmes of the church were done through the volunteer services of members who informed friends, neighbours and relatives through one-on-one contacts. A paradigm shift was recorded beginning from 1998 when Rufus Ositelu became the leader of TCLA. He obtained a doctoral degree in information and telecommunication technologies (ICTs) and applied this media knowledge to create a landmark for the church. Knowing very well the power of the media as an important tool for evangelism, Ositelu promotes church evangelism programmes and the image of the church through the creation of the Media and Public Relation Department

⁴⁵⁰ ESOCs official website: <http://www.esocs.net/>; ESOCs facebook page. Accessed March 25, 2013. <https://www.facebook.com/pages/The-Eternal-Sacred-Order-of-Cherubim-and-Seraphim/136632929717548>.

⁴⁵¹ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.* The informant alluded to Romans 10:17.



Figure 34. TCLA Poster. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu. April 2012

(MPRD) in the primate office; media catalogue, appointment of special assistant on media (SAM); appointment of a press secretary (PS); mass publicity of TCLA programmes; the production of radio and television jingles for national programmes; media coverage of TCLA programmes; press conferences and interviews; and the creation of church website.⁴⁵³

Since its inception in 1930, TCLA had its first telecast programmes in 2007. Since then the church has been running its telecast programmes on Nigerian television stations for several months. At the onset, the programmes were in English language. In 2009, the church began its telecasts in both English and Yoruba languages. The TCLA had a three-month “Lenten Talk” on Gateway Television (GTV), Abeokuta; “*Ipe ndun*” (Trumpet Sounds) for one year on Lagos Television (LTV) Channel 8; and “Kingdom Talk” for six months on Lagos Television (LTV) Channel 8. The church’s evangelism programme “Voice of Victory” is broadcast on Gateway Television (GTV), Abeokuta, every Sunday at 19.30 pm to 20.00 pm; Lagos television (LTV 8), Lagos, every Sunday at 7.00 am to 7.30 am; and Nigerian television authority (NTA), Ijebu-Ode, every Sunday, at 6.30 pm to 7.00 pm.⁴⁵⁴

The internet has been a veritable tool for evangelism. The official website of the church carries information about the church’s foundation history, ecumenical link, Tabieorar, primate’s message, structure of the church, and contact page.⁴⁵⁵ Electronic mail address is widely used by the international headquarters, the provinces, Dioceses, and the local churches. Some recorded programmes of TCLA are available on the internet, notable among them are the seventieth Tabieorar anniversary including its audio music.

⁴⁵³ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁵ Websites of TCLA.

The international secretariat including those at the provincial, diocesan and a considerable number of the local churches visited are computer compliant. Computer machines are used to record information and programmes of the church including its evangelism programmes.

5.4.3 CCC

Most members interviewed claimed that the CCC use of the media for evangelism in Nigeria did not begin until the 1980s. No print advertorial was made available either. Observations revealed the use of posters and fliers during revival, anniversary and weekly church programmes. Handbills are commonly used during Sunday worship, which carry information on the order of worship and preacher of the word. They (handbills) are distributed to devotees as they enter to join in the worship. However, there were no handbills circulated in few smaller Churches visited. During its sixteenth Adult Harvest Thanksgiving Service in June 2011, CCC Rainbow parish, Challenge, Ibadan produced a programme of events which carried detailed information about the church, the harvest, and weekly, monthly, and annual events. The print remains the most widely used segment of the media. Members claimed the print media is affordable to both the big and small CCC churches compared to radio and television paid slots.

Posters are synonymous with revival programmes. These were found pasted on the outside wall of churches and public buildings. One of the most fascinating posters was pasted on a wall to announce the deliverance revival programme that the Zion Cathedral of CCC Oke-Ayo Parish, Agip, Iyaganku-GRA, Ibadan organised from 10th to 12th June, 2011. The poster carries the images of preachers at the occasion which indicates a shift in the restriction placed on women in the church regarding preaching on the pulpit. When I inquired about this new development, members expressed two different of opinions: that it was a special occasion during which lots of people from different religious backgrounds were expected to attend without barring individuals on ground of impurity, thereby creating an opportunity for the female folk to showcase their divine talents. The second block of opinions was that it would be difficult to imagine the number of people that would have missed out the special blessings of such a rare encounter with God due to restrictions. But this has remained a discourse in the church. There are opinions in the church that church tradition that places certain restrictions on females should be upheld without a slightest waiver, while others hold contrary opinions that the relaxation of such restrictions does not reduce or add to purity of the mind, which God requires of every human, but an attraction to people who could join the church if no restrictions are placed on women.

The CCC Holy Mary's Cathedral held its annual Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 2011. The church claimed it printed fliers and posters but none of the prints were available except for the previous annual feast which held on Friday July 2nd, 2010. The programme of events was a quality print and the texts were bilingual: Yoruba and English languages.⁴⁵⁶

At the national level, the CCC Press council uses the print media: periodicals, posters and tracts to disseminate official information of the church and to remind readers about their faith in Christ. Through this process, some publications of the church have become sources through which official information is accessed. Notable among these publications is the "pastoral Bulletin" produced by the pastor's information unit; it is specifically designed to inform CCC members worldwide about the activities and proclamations of the spiritual leader. Other publications include *Irohin Cele* Celestial News and the Voice of Cele. The Covenant Echoes is a magazine production of CCC Covenant Cathedral, Amuwo Odofin. It began production in 2009 to project the image of the church by publishing write-ups that explain the rituals, beliefs and practices of the church and also to proclaim Christ to readers. The pastorate enjoins each parish to use the media to preach Christ and promote the faith tradition of the church.

The CCC began its production of record albums in the 1970s. In 1975 the choir group of CCC Yemetu parish, Ibadan produced a record titled "it is a great Joy to be born in the Lord Jesus" (*Ere nla ni f'eni t'abi nipa Jesu*). The song tracks were composed in Yoruba, Igbo and Egun. This probably inspired the choir of CCC Ibadan-Ikorodu road, Igbobi, Lagos to produce its record titled *Mo ti sina*, "I am lost", in 1977. The choir group of CCC Makoko parish, Yaba, Lagos produced *Oluwa iwo ni apata mi*, "the Lord is my rock", in 1980. These three record albums emphasised both physical and spiritual salvation, which members they claimed God has endowed the CCC with. In their respective records, choir groups preach moral regeneration as panacea to corruption and developmental problems. The number of choir groups actively involved in vibrant song ministration has increased over the years and have gone into both audio and video gospel music production many of which have been uploaded on "YouTube".⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁶ Members claimed the church's use of posters and fliers dates back to the 1980s shortly after Joseph Kayode Owodunni and S. Banjo formed it in 1974. Previous prints available were dated in the late 1980s.

⁴⁵⁷ Due to poor record keeping, the actual population of choir groups actively involved in song ministration could not be obtained. Similarly, the population of independent song ministration groups within the CCC could not be obtained. The researcher was asked to login celestial church of Christ songs on *YouTube*, a music and movie website to access both old and current songs produced by various CCC choir groups. Accessed June 15, 2013. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rv4Nmx11LWo&hd=1>.

The CCC Apete parish, Ibadan uses the electronic media for evangelism. It runs telecast Christian programmes *Orisun Iye* Spring of Life on Lagos Television Channel LTV 8 and DSTV Channel 29 every Wednesday at 6.15 to 6.30 am. The church also runs a similar programme on Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State television BCOSTV every Sunday at 8.30 to 9.00 am. These programmes are being funded by the church. The CCC Oluwaseyi parish, Ijeshatedo, Lagos invites television crew to record its annual “Redemption Day” that is celebrated end of January of every year. The recorded telecast is played back for viewers at home. The church had its 2012 edition when it celebrated the annual special worship on 29th of January, 2012.

In recognition of the advantages of media technologies, CCC explores the advantages of cyberspace. It created its website in the second half of 2005 and in April 1, 2006 created a new one.⁴⁵⁸ The relationship between media technologies and religion, their role in religious evangelism, the marketization of religion, their contribution to the transnationalization of religions including African culture-loaded christianities, and how this relationship generates religious intolerance and conflict has been an extensive topic of academic discourse among scholars of religion and the media (Adogame 2009, 2013; Einstein 2008; Meyer and Moors 2006; Ihejirika 2005, 2008). A visit to the official website of the church revealed great deal of information about the history and expansion of the church, mission statement, tenets, code of conduct, advertisement, announcement of programmes and events, church constitution and days of worship.⁴⁵⁹ The church 2013 bible lessons, news and advertorials are accessible on its home page. A considerable number of parishes created and use websites for a wide range of programmes and events. To further its task of preaching Christ to a wider audience, CCC Covenant Cathedral, Amuwo Odofin, Lagos since its formation in 1980 created its website on the 9th of June, 2012. It is quite informative about administrative and spiritual activities of the church. To ensure effective communication in administrative and spiritual matters coupled with the best administrative practice in modern organisational set up, observation revealed that the international headquarters and parishes visited are computer compliant and electronic mail and telephone systems help to ease some communication problems.

5.5 Church Planting

5.5.1 C&S

Church planting involves a wide range of activities, including evangelism, discipleship of new converts, training of the men and women in the field of evangelism, and the organizing and

⁴⁵⁸ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁵⁹ CCC official website. Accessed October 05, 2013. <http://www.celestialchurchofchrist-worldwide.org/>.

nurturing of the new group of converts into a fully-fledged church in accordance with the scripture (Bolu 2012:82). The C&S at the early stage of its emergence paid much attention to prophecy and healing at the expense of an organizational structure that is essential for harnessing the roles of individual member of the organization for evangelical outreach, Church planting and growth. Church planting was at the mercy of members who, on their migration to different parts of Nigeria, were encouraged to ‘carry along with them their C&S faith tradition’ and to share same with people through worship. Although this method led to fast expansion of C&S to other parts of Africa and the rest of the world, it has encouraged breakaway and/or splinter groups due to role conflict, which also result in personality conflict.

The general leader of CSMC Surulere district, Gabriel Fakeye is a model that represents both the past and the emerging culture of church planting in the C&S. This is because, on his return from London in 1969, Fakeye started a prayer group which metamorphosed into the Surulere district headquarters of the CSMC. Fakeye affiliated his Church with the C&SMC headquartered in Kaduna, Nigeria. The church, without foreign support or intervention from its international headquarters in Kaduna, autonomously commenced a media evangelism ministry in 1986, which achieved the establishment and growth of branches numbering 52 as at 2012. This also led to the creation of two districts, namely Amazing Grace headed by Prophet S. Ayegbusi and Dakibiyu district, Abuja headed by Special Apostle A. Bodunrin. Fakeye’s overseas experience in evangelism and general church administration bear a considerable influence on his Church administration, evangelism and church planting.

The C&S Faith in Christ Church was established in 2000. By the year 2011, the evangelical wing of the ministry responsible for church planting had established eight branches at Ijoko-Ota, Eruwa, Abule Oke, Iyana Ilogbo, Atan and Ipere.⁴⁶⁰ Gideon Oyedepo pulled out of CSMC Surulere and formed the Cherubim and Seraphim Bible Ministry (CSBM) in 2001. As at 2011, the evangelical department of the CSBM established branches in Warri, Delta State and Abeokuta, Igando, and Imuren-Ijebu Remo in Ogun State. The old expansionist strategy of encouraging individual migrant members to establish a branch of the Church in their new locality or where individual Church founders are encouraged to affiliate their Churches with major Churches is gradually being replaced with a new strategy where the evangelical arm of the church is saddled with evangelism and Church planting.

⁴⁶⁰ Interview with Timothy Okunola, 22 July 2011, Lagos.

5.5.2 TCLA

The TCLA operates what can be described as integrated church planting strategy. The evangelical ministry establishes contact with individuals or group that declare their lives for Jesus during revivals and crusades. A number of members of the evangelical ministry are assigned to new converts for closer attention to their spiritual and social needs. The evangelical ministry designs a schedule of ministration; it embarks on outreach programmes with the new converts to win more souls for Christ; and also obtains a place where regular worship can be carried out. It is the sole responsibility of the Diocese through the provincial headquarters to nurture the new group of members.

The evangelical ministry also works with members who migrate to another town or village. The church from inception has recorded a great expansion from the missionary work of Adeleke Adejobi, S. Oduwole. J. Ogunnaike and other disciples of Josiah Ositelu (Turner 1967:59-88) and through migrant members who as civil servants were on transfer to another town or village or who as traders moved to another town in search of better business environment. Such migrant members are encouraged to form a group, preach Christ and also practice their faith. The evangelical ministry designs programmes and schedules to strengthen new church branches.

Where members travel a long distance to worship, the church through the evangelical ministry enjoins such members to contact other members to establish a new branch in their environment. The evangelical ministry of the Diocese in which the new church branch is established works together with the new group for its growth. The evangelical ministry schedules outreach programmes for the publicity of the new church and for membership drive.

Through self-sacrifice of migrant members and in collaboration with the evangelism ministry, the church between 1998 and 2012 established well over a hundred churches across Nigeria and beyond: in the south west of Nigeria, TCLA successfully planted churches in Ogere, Ogun State; eighteen settlement areas in Lagos State; fifteen settlement areas and towns in Ogun State; Ilorin in Kwara State; four towns in Kogi State; Ode Omu in Osun State; six towns in Ekiti State; Owo in Ondo State; three towns in Edo State; two towns in Delta State; Rigasa-Kudende in Kaduna State; Benin republic, U.S.A., Luxembourg, Spain and Australia (Ositelu 2009:148-149).

5.5.3 CCC

Investigations revealed that CCC expansion particularly church planting depends not on evangelising in the sense of commissioned missionaries moving out to convert and organise converts into Christian folds. Rather it is largely dependent on committed efforts of migrant members who change location on ground of transfer as civil servants or in search of better business environment and move to a new one with the beliefs and practices of the CCC. In the CCC, no group of individuals is commissioned to evangelise from place to place and to organise the product of such exercise into small congregation. Church planting in the CCC is carried out by individual members who possess and demonstrate exceptional spiritual quality in the church. The charismatic individuals are being approached for spiritual help by members and non-members who often compel him/her to start a small prayer group. The small gathering may grow and require bigger structure and the application of church liturgy. Such development requires the founder of the group to seek permission from the pastorate by way of registration to use the name, logo and other immunities derivable from CCC. Migrant members who form congregations in their respective new abode are required to follow the same process of registration.

In a new development, in order to ensure that the founders of new parishes who are untrained meet behavioural standards set for church leaders/shepherds and also comply with the CCC beliefs and practices, they are compelled to enrol at the CCC Seminary and Leadership Training Institute (SLTI). They are trained to read and interpret bible passages, biblical justification of the faith tradition of CCC and its liturgy. On graduation, they are anointed and officially commissioned in their new vocation.⁴⁶¹

5.6 Sharing the Pulpit

5.6.1 C&S

The C&S enjoyed the good will and support of Christians from other church denominations. Moses Orimolade on instances enjoyed cordial relationship with ministers and laities from the mainline and African churches in Lagos and was allowed to preach and pray for people during congregational worships (Omoyajowo 1982:34). The inclusive nature of the C&S was not surprising because Orimolade had close connection with a considerable number of key members of other churches including ministers who were instrumental to the growth of the church and Orimolade's welfare and evangelism success. Also the majority of the Church's foundation members were Reverends, Deacons and elites from the Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, and African churches, notably the Coker family and also Reverend D. J. Oguntolu of

⁴⁶¹ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 18 August, 2011, Lagos.

the African church on whose farm Orimolade was buried (Omoyajowo 1982:11, 12). In spite of the cordiality between Orimolade and other churches, the church suffered some misrepresentation, which seemed to sever their relationship from other churches especially the mainline churches from where members were largely drawn. The negative perception and apathetic treatment, which the C&S experienced in the past has persisted. Churches that had made a name for themselves, particularly the mainline Churches would not want to associate with anything Cherubim and Seraphim because of its unique faith tradition⁴⁶². One can conjecture here that current interaction with the body of Christ through the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and the Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN) has encouraged mutual understanding and pulpit sharing among church denominations. This and other reasons, to our understanding have made the C&S churches more visible among other church denominations.

The CSBM in its evangelism programmes invites church leaders and preachers from other Aladura and none Aladura churches to share the word of God with the church on a Sunday in every month. Its leader, Gideon Oyedepo asserts:

This is to enable us open the church up to other people that hold and cherish the standard of God. The bible tells us that “evil communication corrupts good manners, good communication sustains good manners”⁴⁶³.

Oyedepo claimed further that, on invitation, Dapo Asaju⁴⁶⁴, Reverend Adebisi⁴⁶⁵, Reverend Olatunde⁴⁶⁶ and one Reverend Isaac Oyi Ozua had mounted the pulpit in his church to share their understanding of the word of God with the congregation. This, to a great extent strengthens the Christian friendship that exists between the invited preachers and the CSBM. The CSBM also partners with Alex Ogundipe, leader of the CSMC Kubwa, Abuja. The CSBM leader together with Pastor William Kumuyi of the Deeper Life Bible Ministries, Reverend Badejo of the Foursquare church and David Oyedepo of the Living Faith Bible Church usually organize a city wide crusade which holds annually in December. This gives a picture of Church network across denominational boundaries.

⁴⁶² This is corroborated in Omoyajowo’s (1982:17-18) account of the hostilities, which C&S suffered in its formative years when the mainline churches were fond of giving false impression of the church on ground of belief and practice.

⁴⁶³ Interview with Gideon Oyedepo, 12 October, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁶⁴ Professor Dapo Asaju is an Anglican Bishop and former acting Vice Chancellor of Lagos State University, Ojo.

⁴⁶⁵ Adebisi was the State Overseer of the Deeper Life Bible Ministries, Oshun State.

⁴⁶⁶ Dr Olatunde is the National director of Christian Missionary Foundation of Nigeria.

The CSMC Surulere district organizes open air crusades that are interdenominational in content and arrangement. It is an annual event that holds at Tafawa Balewa Square (TBS), Lagos, which affords different men of God to exchange bible knowledge and new ways of evangelism. It also showcases the emerging unity that exists between the C&S and other church denominations. In a similar manner, the CSMC Surulere organizes an annual open air gathering for inter-denominational 'Carol of Nine Lessons'. It staged its twenty-second annual inter-denominational 'Carol of Nine Lessons' in December 2012 in the premises of the church.⁴⁶⁷

5.6.2 TCLA

The TCLA in one of its tenets places premium on fellowship with individuals and groups who believe in and confess Christ. It claimed fellowships with other Christian churches across denomination and cultural boundaries and draws inspirations from the biblical statement: "do not forsake the assembly of the saints" (Ositelu 2009:140)⁴⁶⁸. TCLA is a registered member of Nigerian, African and worldwide Christian bodies⁴⁶⁹ and stretches hands of fellowship to churches in outreach programmes. On special occasions, TCLA invites preachers across church boundaries to mount its pew and share the word of God with the congregation. During its annual crusade which held in Lagos in October 2012, the church invited leaders from other churches in its programme. Though not gazetted by the church, the international headquarters of the TCLA enjoins provinces, dioceses, and local churches to associate with other Christian churches and invite their leaders and preachers to share the word of God and their preaching experiences in the vineyard with TCLA congregations.⁴⁷⁰

5.6.3 CCC

Sharing of pulpit during special church service and revival programmes began in the 1970s when pastor founder initiated open revival programmes. S.B.J. Oshoffa in around 1977 organised open air revival and invited heads and members of other churches, notably the Deeper Life Bible Ministry.⁴⁷¹ The uncooperative attitudes of the mainline and the new Pentecostal churches towards Aladura churches particularly the CCC due to its beliefs and practices probably informed Oshoffa's new initiative meant at that time to create a network of

⁴⁶⁷ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf Hebrew 10 verse 25.

⁴⁶⁹ TCLA is a member of World Council of Churches (WCC), Christian Council of Nigeria (CCN), Organisation of African Independent Churches (OAICs), Nigerian Association of Aladura Churches (NAACs), and Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN). Cf Rufus Ositelu's *The Journey so far. 1998-2008*, Shagamu: TCLAW Publishers, 2009, p.173-179.

⁴⁷⁰ Interview with Samson Olorode, 01 September, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁷¹ Interview with Gabriel Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

unity between his church and others. There are claims that CCC membership of various Christian association groups has further encouraged interaction with other Aladura and non Aladura churches, particularly in their exchange of pulpit. An informant claimed that the parish where he worships often receives invitation from other churches to share the word of God with them and also receives letters from individuals from other churches requesting for permission to preach of which; such letters and the individuals concerned are screened spiritually after which they are allowed or denied; the church out rightly denies non-white garment preacher to mount its pulpit unless he decides to one.⁴⁷²

5.7 Tracking the Visitors

Tracking first time visitors to the church is a strategy that the churches explore to advance their core objective of gospel preaching, faith tradition and membership drive. Each Church visited has a committee or ministry responsible for identifying visitors who seem to be partaking in the church worship for the first time. A representative of the group is also expected to notify the Church secretary who announces the presence of the visitor(s). The congregation welcomes the visitors, prays for them and gives them bio-data forms to fill and submit shortly after the church service. Members saddled with this task claimed that the bio-data has been initiated in order to provide necessary assistance to new visitors who might need it and also to contact them for further fellowship. In each bio-data form, a visitor is required to supply some basic information about his/her name, current address, purpose of worship, occupation, religion/denomination, and telephone number. There are indications that information on the bio-data form is often not put into use due to lack of follow-up.⁴⁷³

5.8 Summary

The chapter presents the development of evangelism strategy in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. The itinerary of the founders of the three churches shows a striking similarity of approach to evangelism: street preaching and healing. The religious market condition, which is characterized by competition and the use of media technologies, has compelled the churches to redefine their old evangelism strategy and to incorporate new ideas of reaching larger audience for competitive advantages.

The appropriation of megaphone in street evangelism is a shift from what it was in the days of the founders of the churches, while the shift in street preaching time from dawn to the broad day light is a fall back from the security challenges in the country. *Isoji* revival services are

⁴⁷² Interview with Gabriel Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

⁴⁷³ The researcher was made to fill a bio-data in almost all the churches visited, but none of the members who made him fill the forms called his telephone line throughout the research period.

not only organized according to divine messages from prophets and other ‘instruments of God’, but also initiated and structured as one of the items in the church annual programmes. Apart from the church premises, *isoji* is taken to the wide public places, namely school play grounds and sports centres.

The establishment of elaborate evangelical unit in each church, to a great extent gives evangelism in the churches a wider focus such as radio and television evangelism, song ministration, church planting, sharing of pulpit, tracking new comers to the church, reaching out to the needy, and visit to the brothels and hospitals. Revival service is an epicentre of spiritual healing, which the Aladura churches use to increase their resilience and meet the spiritual needs of their members and visitors. Also, the churches use cyberspace, mobile phone, and the print media for information generation and dissemination for competitive advantages.

Chapter Six

Material Culture

6.0 Introduction

Materializing beliefs is a common phenomenon among the Aladura churches. It is a fact that beliefs are not only what people express; they include why, how, where and when they express such beliefs. Materializing beliefs involves people's patterns of feelings which they express in performances, objects, and spaces (Morgan 2010: xiv). Material substances and actions such as images, objects, performances, spaces, ranks and robes are concrete ways through which Aladura churches have made their beliefs visible and touchable. Adogame (2009) examines how the 'celestians' materialize their beliefs and how they demonstrate this in worship and other ritual activities through the use of iconography of robes, ranks, colour, metal and wooden staff, ritual objects, symbols and performance. The founder and pastor of the CCC Samuel Oschoffa condemned and prohibited some aspects of the material faith of the church. These include sea-side victory rituals and other prayers, mountain or hill top retreat, palm fronds for victory and for beating the sick, three, seven or twenty-one nights vigil, the use of loins for healing the sick, the use of assorted water such as well, stream, waterfall, dew, cocoa-nut, and spring water; and burying of banana trunks for victory (CCCR&RW 1974). But some of these practices, which the founder described as a negative change in the CCC, have remained in the church unofficially. On his part, Renne (2009) brings to the fore the materiality of C&S beliefs, with particular focus on consecrated garments and spaces in the Church and the reality of this expression in the diasporic C&S. This chapter presents the traces of transformation in the material culture of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. In it, the data on the images, objects and other manifestations of the materiality of Aladura beliefs, including their aesthetic, the spiritual and moral meanings that members associate with these materials and the impact of change on them (materials) over time were obtained through observations and interviews.

6.1 The Church Architecture

House of prayer (*Ile adura*) is a building where people congregate to worship. Every church has its history of its beginning. Churches visited share common beginnings such as congregating in a residential apartment of a member, constructing a make-shift space with tree stems on a space donated to the new group or bought by the new group, renting and converting a residential house or an abandoned warehouse to a worship center, and finally constructing a prayer house within the limited resources at their disposal.

For illustration, the C&S Church, Ray Field, Jos having had a humble beginning at the living Room of its pioneer leader Olabode in Angwan Doki, Bukuru, pulled its resources together and built its magnificent church to completion in 2005.⁴⁷⁴ The CSMC, Surulere, Lagos started in 1971 rotationally in rented apartments of members after which it moved to its present site where it constructed its present prayer house in 1979.⁴⁷⁵ The C&S Renewal Chapel constructed its present house of worship in 1988.⁴⁷⁶ In 1996, C&S St Mary Chapel, Kingsland built a modern-style designed church.⁴⁷⁷



Figure 35. Front view, CSMC, Ray Field, Jos. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. May 2013

None of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC visited has an adopted architectural design after which all its church buildings are modeled. Similarly, there is no fixed position where the church should face: east, west, north or south. However, interviews conducted among members of the three major strands of Aladura churches revealed that bigger churches have their respective histories of what the structural transformation of their respective prayer houses went through over time, including the stages of construction, expansion and reconstruction.

⁴⁷⁴ Interview with Modupe Ogunbanwo, 01 April, 2013, Jos.

⁴⁷⁵ Interview with Jide Ogungbade, 31 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with Adewale Gbadebo, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁷⁷ Interview with J. B. Balogun, 18 May, 2012, Lagos.



Figure 36. Angular view of TCLA, Oke Ado, Ibadan⁴⁷⁸. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. June 2011

Increase in membership has compelled churches to reconstruct the old or construct a new, bigger one to accommodate more worshippers. Later constructions usually differ from the previous ones in terms of size, architectural design and furnishing. Modernity dictates the new designs and materials that are put into the reconstruction of the old and the construction of the new, bigger church buildings.⁴⁷⁹ According to Swingewood (1998:138), a culture of innovation is borne out of rational, critical thinking or “empirical knowledge” that challenges traditions. In explaining modernity, Swingewood proposes three overlapping meanings: as a literary aesthetic concept which refers to the new, fluid, ever-changing and dynamic nature of human society; as a sociological and historical concept associated with ‘enlightenment’ brought about by science and growing autonomy of knowledge and culture that influence change in human society; and as a structural concept, which is associated with the transformation of the entire human society, ideologies, social structure and culture. The rejection of the old ideas of how things should be or be done, for a realistic and current ways of how things should be conceived to meet the current reality have great influence on how the Aladura churches approach the construction of sacred place and the materialization of their beliefs.

Torgerson’s (2007:120) reasons for the emergence of modern-style church architecture among many European and American churches are relevant to our analysis of transformation in

⁴⁷⁸ At the time of visit in June 2011, the church building was under renovation. Workers were in the process of replacing the old asbestos ceiling sheets with the long span plastic type, which members claimed is fire-proof.

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with J. B. Balogun, 18 May, 2012, Lagos.

Aladura church buildings today. He states that several factors including modern architecture and free exchange of ideas about church liturgy and architecture have influenced the unique approach to church design. The old church buildings have been completely destroyed and new church edifices have been constructed on the old sites. Others have been reconstructed, giving it a new architectural design.

Attaching aesthetic value to a place dedicated to God's worship is an important reason that members claimed motivated them to pull resources together to give God a befitting and pleasing dwelling place like the biblical Solomon did when he built and dedicated a magnificent temple to God⁴⁸⁰. The C&S, TCLA, and CCC do not specify what colour of paint should be used on the exterior and interior walls of the church. Observation however reveals that white quality paint is generally favoured for the interior walls and pillars. This probably stemmed from the general belief of the churches in white colour as a symbol of purity, holiness.

In the CCC, prayer house *Ile Esin* is regarded as "heavenly home on earth" (Adogame 1999:154). This idea most likely shapes the Celestians' understanding of the aesthetics of a prayer house: its purity, illuminating white interior, and beautification.



Figure 37. Front view, C C C, Oluwaseyi Parish, Ijeshatedo. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu.2011.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸⁰ Interview with Modupe Ogunbanwo, 09 May, 2011, Jos. The informant alluded to the narrative of Solomon's magnificent temple that he built and dedicated to God in 1 Kings 6:1-17.

⁴⁸¹ A magnificent *Ile Adura* in which one of the factional Pastors of the CCC worships. He (Josiah Owodunni) established the Parish and contributed significantly to the construction of the 'marble church'.

The CCC Oluwaseyi Parish is an epitome of modern architecture. The exterior wall is marble, including the interior and exterior floor.



Figure 38. Side view of C C C Oluwaseyi Parish, Ijeshatedo. Photograph: T. Baiyewu. 2011

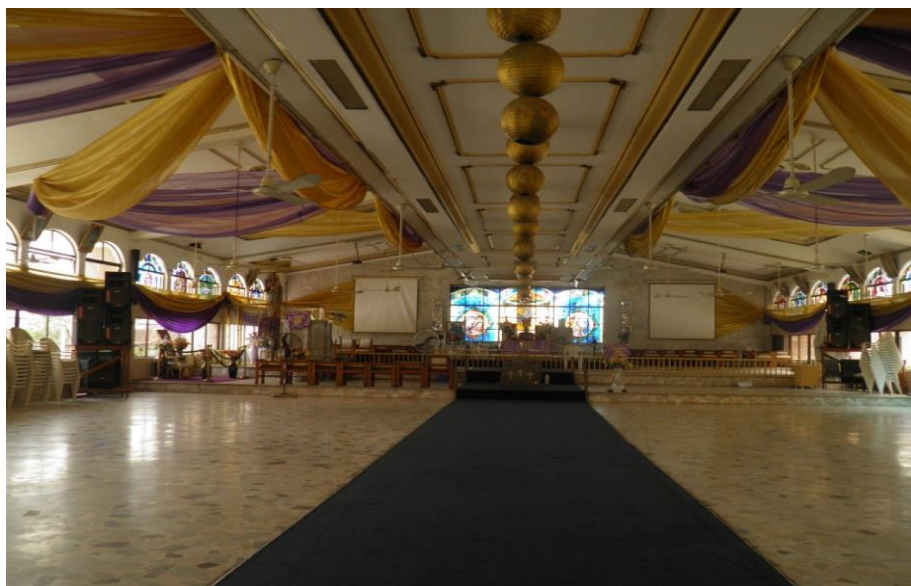


Figure 39. The interior of CCC Oluwaseyi Parish, Ijeshatedo. Photograph: T. Baiyewu. 2012

The interior of the CCC Oluwaseyi Parish is furnished with modern high technology materials. The upper surface of the church is beautifully designed with high-tech metals, woods and textile materials that have added value to the befitting house of God.

The construction of mercy ground (*Ile aanu*) required demarcating a place with sizeable stones. Currently, in most of the bigger churches, mercy grounds are constructed with cement blocks. In church premises that are floored with concrete cement, the cross is used to indicate

a place that has been set aside as mercy ground. There are sacred spaces constructed with much simplicity, having no tall demarcation that is built around them and having no concrete floor. Instead, the floor is made of fine sand obtained from the river bed.



Figure 40. Mercy ground of C&S Jordan River, Ijoko. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012

The mercy ground at C&S River Jordan was reconstructed in 2011. Plans were on to erect three layers of cement blocks round the sacred place to make it a benefiting and protected place for its users.⁴⁸² Further claim was that the altar would be raised a bit higher and beautified as a shelter for human and prayer items such as detergent, glass or plastic bottle water and other ritual objects that are kept there for consecration, and to protect them from being blown off by wind storm.⁴⁸³



Figure 41. CSMC Mercy Ground, Challenge, Ibadan. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2011

⁴⁸² Interview with Adewale Gbadebo, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*



Figure 42. TCLA Mercy Ground, Ogere. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012



Figure 43. Mercy Ground, CCC Mokola, Ibadan. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2013

Mercy grounds are reconstructed to provide security and considerable privacy for users, and to make it more comfortable for users. To achieve this, the altar is beautifully designed and decorated with Christ’s portraits; the demarcating wall is raised high to provide security and privacy during spiritual warfare; it shields people in “spiritual incubation” (*abe abo*) from public view; the floor is sand-filled to make the ground less hard to walk and rest on; and a burglary proof gate is provided to keep out unauthorized users.



Figure 44. Mercy Ground, CCC Dogon Karfe, Jos. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012

Although mercy grounds are not solely for aesthetic appreciation like resorts for tourist adventure and visitation, members claimed that sacred grounds need to be kept clean and given some face lift. However, the beautification of *Ile aanu* is not standardized among various churches. The innovations that churches make on their respective sacred grounds depend on what new things they consider as essential for making the place look better. As an informant has noted, mercy grounds are holy places that deserve protection and innovation because God does not dwell in a dirty and wretched place (*Olorun kii gbe ninu eeri ati ise meaning*).⁴⁸⁴

6.2 The Church Interior

The interior decorations of the C&S, TCAL, and CCC are visual traces of their materialized beliefs. Interviews as well as observations revealed that the beautification of church interior developed over time and that modernity to a large extent has a significant influence on the attitudes of church leadership to the decoration of altar and the entire interior of the church. An informant said: “God deserves every good thing that we can make to add beauty to his sanctuary”.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁴ Interview with Adewale Gbadebo, 09 August, 2011, Lagos.

⁴⁸⁵ Interview with Titus O. Alao, 12 June, 2011, Ibadan.



Figure 45. The altar of SCSC, Idapo Mimo, Ifelaju Parish, Iju (church website).



Figure 46. The interior of CSMC, Surulere, Lagos. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2011

Most of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC churches visited were decorated. Church altars and other interior parts of their prayer houses were decorated using the expertise of modern interior decorators. They use high-tech materials, fine and colourful textile materials that are hand-crafted and posters with images and messages. The beautification is to sustain the attention and commitment of members and visitors who may find attraction in beautiful interior environment of the church.



Figure 47. The altar and its outer section, TCLA, Diocesan Headquarters, Oke Ado, Ibadan. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2011.

According to Morgan (2007:2), images attract the attention of people; make them to move closer to observe what they seek to offer. For him, images offer hope, happiness, strength, God’s providence and reassuring future, and that “such promises make images all but irresistible, empowering them to shape human experience in ways that are often almost invisible”. Observations carried out in a number of C&S, TCLA, and CCC churches visited showed that there is a growing trend of mediatized interior of prayer houses. Large and small posters are posted or hung on the interior wall of church or fixed to the upper surface of the church and suspended on metal chains.



Figure 48. TCLA Mediatized church interior, TCLA Oke Ado, Ibadan. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu. 2011

Imposing portraits of Christ and biblical imageries are visibly displayed on altar tables, drawn or sketched creatively on the interior walls of the church, and framed and hung on strings fixed to the ceiling of the church. The images and the written messages they carry play a role in conveying the belief and moral messages of the church to members and visitors.



Figure 49. Imposing posters of Christ and his disciples mounted on the interior wall of the CSMC Surulere. Photograph by T. O. Baiyewu. 2011

The decorative imageries contribute to character formation of the children of members, and possess the capacity of regenerating the low moral virtues of adult members and visitors to the church.⁴⁸⁶



Figure 50. Altar and outer section, CCC, Oluwaseyi Parish. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with Titus O. Alao, 12 June, 2011, Ibadan.

The lectern, candle stand, collection pouch, crucifix and chalice are made of high-tech material. Although white aluminium tray or bowl was in use in some of the churches visited, beautifully constructed wooden boxes purposely for church collection are widely used. Yet, collection pouches made of a small piece of cloth, with tiny opening are in use. The ushers take them across the rows of church attendees during offertory and other contributions during worship. Their use saves time and also enables the church to keep to duration scheduled for worship. Wooden candle stand has been replaced with beautifully constructed metal candle stand, while wooden crucifix has been replaced with bronze metal crucifix with embossed symbol of the crucified Christ. This further suggests the increasing influence of modernization on the materialization of belief in Aladura churches.

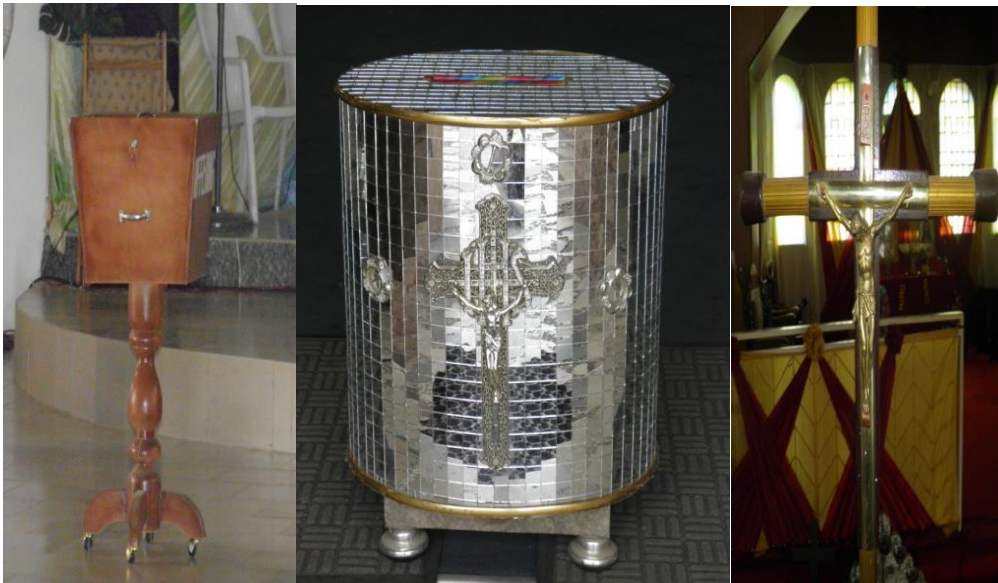


Figure 51. Common CCC offertory pouches and crucifix. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012

Offertory pouch/pajaspa varies among the churches. A flat metal or aluminium tray, a metal bowl, a wooden top with protruding cloth end, an elevated wooden box, and a round and averagely high wooden drum-like shape objects are used as collection pouches in churches visited. The pouches are better furnished than the ones used in the early years when the church newly came into existence.⁴⁸⁷ But the relic of pouches could not be obtained due to low attitude toward the preservation of artifact. The reason for the shift in the quality and beauty of offertory pouches lies in the fact that God is not a beggar that deserves a pouch that symbolizes abject poverty (*Olorun kii se alagbe tii gbe'gba ise*).⁴⁸⁸ Yet there were claims that offertory pouches are replaced with new and more beautiful ones whenever the ones in use are

⁴⁸⁷ Interview with Deborah David, 12 June, 2011, Ibadan.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

old. However, observations revealed that most of the pouches that are made of high-tech materials and spectacular designs were found in bigger churches. The CCC in its constitution gives a clear guide on the construction of offertory pouches: a metal ringed pouch with a handle and a socket in which a white candle is erected and lit during the collection of offerings (CCC Constitution 1980:7), but most of the CCC churches visited use beautifully designed pouches in defiance of church tradition in this regard.



Figure 52. TCLA Marble Pulpit and light stand. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012

In most cases, wooden crucifixes that the cross bearers carry during church procession and recession have been replaced with metal types. Furthermore, the metal crucifixes vary among churches and the leadership of each of the churches visited could not point at any constitutional provision that guides the production and use of crucifix. Thus, each church determines and produces its own unique crucifix that it feels is befitting.

There is dynamism in the construction and appropriation of church lectern. The wooden, glass and marble lecterns are in use in various churches visited. Like the crucifix, there is no constitutional guide on the production and use of pulpits in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. The bigger churches had used wooden lecterns in the past which were either left outside to be damaged by rain or given out to local branches. The construction and use of candle stands vary among churches. There were candle stands that were locally constructed with metals and those that were made of high-tech materials. They are crafted and curve-shaped with provision for a number of electric bulbs. The latter is modeled after decorative light fittings in

palatial buildings. There are biblical justifications for the burning of altar light, which the candle stand is used for.⁴⁸⁹

6.3 Ranks and Robes

The C&S, TCLA, and CCC wear *aso adura* prayer gowns which are apparently white garments. The white garment is one of the features that distinguish the three churches under study from other Aladura churches. Aside from being called Aladura Churches, they are referred to as white garment churches (*shoshi alaso funfun*). Renne (1995), Schneider (2006), and Hermkens (2010) in their separate studies on cloth and clothing, establish that there is the universality of belief in the spiritual and social properties of cloth and clothing. In Yoruba religion, the spiritual and social significance of white cloth is demonstrated in divination and healing as used in the worship of Obatala and Yemoja and they made up the insignia and paraphernalia of the Ogboni/Osugbo cult (Lucas 1948:89-97, Adepegba 2008:113-118).

In C&S, the founder Moses Orimolade was the first to be identified with white flowing garment that he regularly wore during church services. Later, Orimolade's followers began to imitate him by making white garments for themselves as church uniform. Omoyajowo (1982:163-64) records that the Praying Band within the church were the first members to wear white garment as uniform after Baba Aladura Orimolade and that as many as could afford to make white garment for themselves appeared in white uniform at the 1927 anniversary of the church. Bands/cells notably the 'Praying', 'Cherubim', 'Show the glory of God', 'Followers of the Lamb', 'Twelve Fathers', and 'Twelve Mothers Bands' within the church were later marked by their designed robes and sash/girdle colours.

According to an informant, in the past, robes and girdle were designed and colours were introduced according to divine instruction, and that Moses Orimolade introduced the wearing of cap in accordance with biblical command.⁴⁹⁰ Members also claimed that the veil was introduced to mark out the Rabbis, pastors, evangelists, prophets and apostles from the members who wore caps and that since the schism in the C&S in 1929, each strand of the C&S over the years has designed and redesigned patterns of robes according to rank and role in the Church.⁴⁹¹ The CSMC for instance, has introduced lots of changes into the patterns of Church garments according to rank. Though rank and robe are not entrenched in the church constitution, official instructions on rank and robe emanate from the office of the Baba

⁴⁸⁹ Revelation 3:1-3; Number 8:24; and Leviticus 24:4.

⁴⁹⁰ Interview with S. Adejumo, 11 September, 2012, Lagos. He referred to Ezekiel 44:15-18 which enjoins the priests and the Levites on what to wear on their body and with what to turban their head.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

Aladura from time to time. Today, robes are designed according to rank with few or no reference to divine instruction, while various bands, the choir, the volunteer group, the prophets, the visioners and dreamers have their specially designed robes.⁴⁹²



Figure 53. Most Senior Apostle Prophet I. Akinduti CSMC, Challenge, Ibadan. A simple caped garment that is commonly worn by members across ranks. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2011



Figure 54. The design of the top that is worn on the normal garment indicates higher rank above the ranks of prayer warrior (Aladura), elder brother (alagba), and teacher (olukoni), which are the three lowest ranks in the CSMC. The pattern of the top garment varies according to various ranks. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2011

⁴⁹² Interview with S. Adejumo, 11 September, 2012, Lagos.



Figure 55. A recession of members of CSMC, Jos. From left: the leader of the service wearing a special robe (specially designed top and normal garment in the background) designed for service leader. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012



Figure 56. A cross section of high ranking members of ESOCS. Here, colour, texture and design of garment are insignia of high rank. (ESOCS website).

The various strands of C&S show a great deal of similarity in their ranks and robes. Some differences also abound, which make each strand stand out with its peculiarities. For instance, the CSMC ranks and robes have gone through some change over the years. Between 1941 and 1970, male members had a hierarchy of nine ranks, while the females had four. Between 1971 up to December 2013, two new ranks have been introduced into the male hierarchy, while the

female hierarchy has four new ranks. The special garment of the Most Senior Apostle, Special Apostle, and Baba Aladura (Spiritual Leader) are typical of the Catholic Pope and Bishops.



Figure 57. Spiritual leader of the CSMC, Samuel Abidoye. Here, he is dressed in a robe specially designed for the highest rank in the church. (CSMC website)

The ESOCS has introduced much colour and different fabric materials into its robes than other strands of C&S. Robing in various churches visited is fluid as ranked members in each of the strands were seen freely wearing uniform meant for the unranked persons. Yet, some ranked members were seen in their special uniform. There is no strict sanction placed on an individual found in a uniform below his or her rank but that it is mandatory for every ranked person to be in his/her special uniform on Sundays and special worship days.

Rank	Male		Female		
	Robe	Period	Rank	Robe	period
Baba Aladura	Typical of the Catholic Pope/Bishop	1940s			
Most Special Apostle	Same	1970s	Special Most Mother in Israel	White background and top	2000s
Special Apostle	Same	1960s	Most Mother in Israel	Same	1990s
Most Senior Apostle	Same	1960s	Senior Mother in Israel	Same	1980s
Senior Apostle	Inner white garment and ¾ white top	1950s	Mother in Israel	Same	1970s
Apostle	Same	1950s	Senior Lady Leader	Same	1960s
Evangelist	Same	1950s	Lady Leader	Same	1950s
Teacher	White garment with enclosed wrists	1940s			
Elder Brother	Same	1940s	Elder Sister	White gown with enclosed wrists	1940s
Prayer Warrior (Aladura)	Same	1940s	Prayer Warrior (Aladura)	Same	1940s

Table 1. Ranks and Robes in the CSMC

The founder of the Church of the Lord Aladura, Josiah Ositelu did not begin his ministry with white garment. Shortly after he was dismissed from the Anglican Church as a catechist and as classroom teacher in an Anglican primary school, and due to less income from farming, the founder (Ositelu) had to wear an ordinary cloth for daily activities to preach on the streets. However, following divine instructions, he got a white garment for himself and also compelled his ministers, shortly after training them for evangelism, to wear white garment in the course of their ministration. But then, members were not forced to wear white cloth.⁴⁹³ An informant claimed that founder Ositelu instructed his trained ministers to appear in their white garment and come over to meet him on mount Tabieorar in 1937.⁴⁹⁴

The Primate wears a robe of any colour as may be revealed to him by God, including the design of the robe. There is no adequate record as to the source of design and colour of TCLA robes and when exactly they were introduced, but there are claims that it all began in the days of the founder and that they are products of the ideas and experience of Josiah Ositelu who was a member and catechist in the Anglican Church.⁴⁹⁵ He (Ositelu) introduced ranking simultaneously with robing beginning with his ministers.⁴⁹⁶ The apostles and reverend mothers superior may choose to dress in robes of any colour or design of their choice, but these must not be those that the primate may disapprove of. However, they are expected to wear robes of purple colour during special occasions. Similarly, the bishops and reverend mothers on the next lower rank have the privilege of wearing robes of any colour or designs as may be approved by the primate, and the colour of their robes on special occasions must be red.

⁴⁹³ Interview with Solomon A. Ositelu, 06 April, 2013, Ogere.

⁴⁹⁴ Interview with Tunde Gbogboade, 24 May, 2012, Ogere. He claimed that record shows that the founder of TCLA's instruction to his ministers during the Mount Tabieorar activities in 1937 was indicative of Josiah Ositelu's introduction of white garment in a year earlier; probably 1935 or 1936.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁶ Interview with Solomon A. Ositelu, 06 April, 2013, Ogere.



Figure 58. Primate Rufus Okikiolu Ositelu. Here, he is dressed in a caped white garment.
 Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012

The Primate	Could wear a robe of any colour or design as may be revealed unto him by the Holy Spirit.
The Apostles/Reverend Mothers Superior	Could wear robes of any colour or design, except those that the Primate may disapprove or forbid. However, their robes on special occasions are of purple colour.
Bishops/Reverend Mothers	Could wear robes of any colour or design, except purple and those that the Primate may disapprove. Robe on special occasions is red colour.
Archdeacons/Archdeaconesses	Black robes with white surplices (Top or Agbele) or vice versa
Senior Prophets/Senior Prophetesses	White Cassocks and white supplies

Prophets/Prophetesses down to probational Ministers	White robes
Reverends	Robes on special occasions shall be of grey colour
Pastors	Robes on special occasions shall be of orange colour
Evangelists	Robes on special occasions shall be of sky blue (light blue) colour and not Navy blue.
Council of Deacons/Deaconesses	Robes on special occasions shall be of white cassocks and blue supplices and head covers for the females
Council of Armies of Jesus (AJS)	White cassocks with red Capes and Girdles
Council of Ladies Praying Union (LPU)	White cassocks with Navy blue Capes and Girdles

Table 2. Ranks and Robes in TCLA

The archdeacons and arch deaconesses are expected to dress in black robes with white supplice (top) or vice versa. This means that the cassock could be white while the supplices should be black. The senior prophets and prophetesses' cassocks are white including their supplice (top), while the robes of the prophets, prophetesses down to probational ministers are white. The robes of reverends, pastors, and evangelists on special occasions are grey, orange, and sky blue colours, respectively. The council of deacons/deaconesses wears white cassocks with blue supplice and head covers for females, while the council of army of Jesus (AJS) wears white cassocks with red capes and girdles. The council of ladies praying union (LPU) wears white cassocks with navy blue capes and girdles.



Figure 59. TCLA ordinary robes. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu 2012

Robing in TCLA, like what was observed in some C&S churches, is fluid. It was observed that a considerable number of members who belonged to their respective ranks did not wear their special robes. An enquiry into such low attitude to proper robbing revealed that the church leadership does not sanction defaulters. Observations revealed a variety of designs on the edges and around the necks and wrists of cassocks including the top (surplice) and the head covers among the females. This is not surprising because the church constitution and the order of robes do not prohibit such variety of designs.



Figure 60. TCLA Evangelist Robe on a special occasion. Source: TCLA website

The CCC has the longest list of ranks and robe descriptions in comparison with the C&S and TCLA. Adogame (1999:94) in a previous study records thirty-one different ranks of both male and female. Currently, the Church headquarters at Ketu, Lagos approved forty seven different ranks with their respective robes; twenty-nine ranks are exclusive preserve of males, while the remaining eighteen are for females. Although the colours of the robes, the design of each garment, which include the shape of the neck of the garment or cape, the lace, the colour of the cross-bar and strand on the cape, and the loin and the number of crosses on it distinguish one rank from another. Adogame (2009:26-29) provides in a tabular form, the various ranks and robes in the CCC. Apart from an identity, which the church has earned for itself through the robes, members claim it reminds them, at all times, of the call to purity of thoughts and deeds.



Figure 61. Evangelist Robe. Source: VCD by E. A. Adegoke 2012



Figure 62. CCC Wolijah/Prophetess. Source: VCD by E. A. Adegoke 2012

The leadership of CCC has observed an importation of a variety of strange designs of *sutana* and improper robbing among the rank and file of its member. In this regard, it organized a retreat in March 2012 at Celestial City, Imeko, Ogun State for shepherds and other church workers to re-orientate them on what the church considers to be proper robbing and approved ranks and their respective insignia.⁴⁹⁷ The robe is the unique identity that marks the CCC members and the church out of various Aladura churches, and it is a spiritual garment that meets both social and spiritual needs of the wearer.⁴⁹⁸

In the materiality of beliefs in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC ranks and robes, white cloth is an identity marker. It distinguishes the three churches from other Aladura and non Aladura churches. The robes including their designs and colours, and ranks are both identity and class signifiers within the church structure. The emergence and operation of band/cell structure and rank formations in the church is unlike the identity and class structure obtainable in the larger society. In the church, competition is high among the cells as every cell wants to be the highest donor to the Church during yearly anniversaries, with the exception of the CCC where bands/cells do not exist. Ranking and its insignia have developed over the years not without some latent conflicts that arise when members are to be placed according to their ranks during procession and recession. The aesthetics of robes, associated with ranks, bands/cells,

⁴⁹⁷ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 06 April, 2013, Lagos.

⁴⁹⁸ Interview with Gabriel O. Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan. The informant claimed that each new garment is sanctified before use and that the blessing of God with which the garment is fortified is expected to radiate the user in all aspects of life.

including the robe of the choir groups was that of simple designs that have developed into more fashionable patterns with consideration for good colour combination.

The belief and recognition of the spiritual mystery of robes is expressed in their use during healing rituals. An informant claimed that they are instructed through divine revelations that an individual must clad in white garment, use a number of white candles, a number of chapters in the book of psalms, and burn incense to pray against enemy attack in the dream. Furthermore, the person concerned should sleep having the white garment on him/her because the garment has been fortified with prayer and has become evil attack repellant.⁴⁹⁹ Aside its utility as repellant of evil attacks, the white robe is symbolic because it is a reminder of the fact that they are a model of virtue, love and cleanliness or purity both in heart (character) and in physical appearance.

The spiritual mystery of robes is not separated from their colours, because white is for purity and victory, red symbolizes warfare and victory, and yellow stands for reception of spiritual power and the glories of heaven.⁵⁰⁰ Renne (2009:72-73) in a study on C&S captures the spiritual content of garment when he draws on the association of white garment in the C&S with angelic beings, that is, the cherubim and seraphim in the bible, which move around the throne of God in heaven as stated in Revelation 19: 1-6.

6.4 Icons

Materializing belief through the icons of saints has been found in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. It is a universal practice of belief, a culture of devotion where rare few individuals who stood taller than other devotees, by virtue of their extraordinary life of piety and charismatic power are deified and iconized. The production and display of the images of the founders of the three churches, including commoditizing and acknowledging them in prayers developed after their demise. Through this, members establish some spiritual interaction with them. An informant noted that the icons of the Saints provide some emotional relief in stressed situations. The icons provide a link between the believers on the terrestrial world and the Saints who members believe are alive in the celestial realm.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁹ Interview with G.Tanimowo, 05 April, 2013, Ibadan.

⁵⁰⁰ Interview with Niyi Olatunji, 20 July, 2011, Lagos.

⁵⁰¹ Interview with Niyi Olatunji, 20 July, 2011, Lagos.

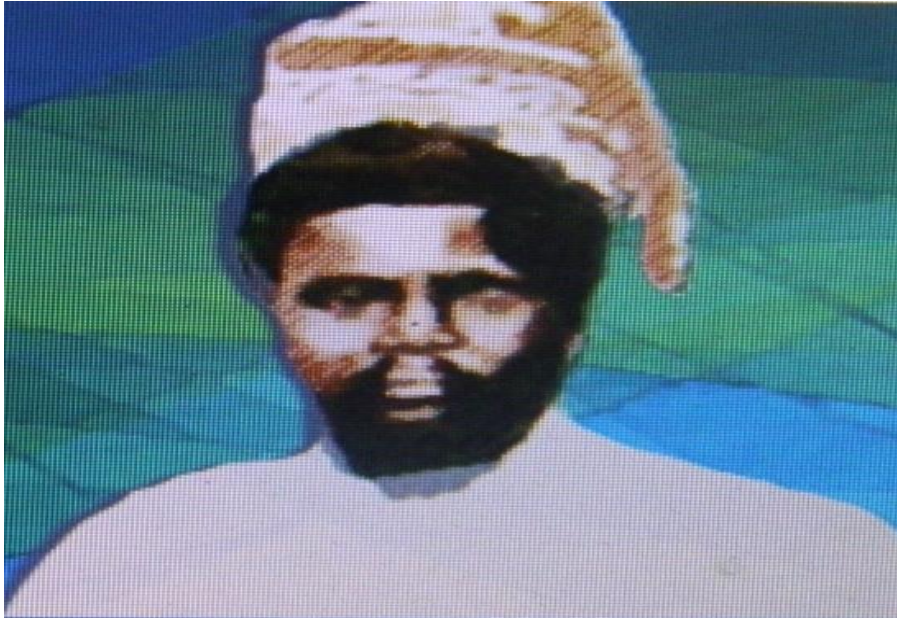


Figure 63. Founder Moses Orimolade of C&S (CSMC website)

The belief in the charisma of the founder of the church exists among the C&S, TCLA and CCC. This is expressed in the production of the images of the founders in oil paints and art works. They are produced in different sizes, hung in churches, and painted on walls. They are iconized in stickers and acknowledged in prayers. It is not surprising to hear a member acknowledging the founder in a private or congregational prayer thus: “...Orimolade, you and the host of Saints in heaven, descend into our midst with your healing power...”⁵⁰²



Figure 64. Founder Josiah Olunowo Ositelu of TCLA (source: church pamphlet)

⁵⁰² Observation at 9 am Shiloh worship at ESOCS Oke Padre, Ibadan, 15 July, 2011



Figure 65. Samuel Bilehou Oshoffa of CCC (CCC website)

In the course of narrating the leadership tussle in the CCC and why it has continued to linger, an informant remarked: Oshoffa is not asleep and has not departed from his church (*Oshoffa ko sun beni ko fi ijo re sile*).⁵⁰³ Such an expression occupies a significant position in Yoruba ancestral belief, which holds that the dead is continually interested and involved in the activities of the living, and are revered and acknowledged in prayer (*iwure*) (Awolalu and Dopamu 1979:274-278; Idowu 1995:201-207). This belief has found continuity in the materiality of charismatic powers of the founding fathers even after their demise.

The iconization of the founders of C&S, TCLA, and CCC and their recognition is expressed in their address as Saints and the culture of devotion, which their followers have developed in that regard over the years. They are acknowledged in prayers and during crisis moments. Anniversaries are commemorated in their names in their respective churches. For instance, Saint Orimolade anniversary is commemorated on 18th and 19th of October of every year. The founder's (Saint Josiah Ositelu) day comes up in the second or third week of July and that of 2013 founder's anniversary came up on the 13th and 14th of July. The annual special service in memory of the pastor founder, Samuel Bilehou Oshoffa of the CCC comes up on 9th of September.

The icon of holy Mary, though not found in the C&S and TCLA, is given a prominent position in the constitution, liturgy and annual calendar of the CCC. It was after three decades of its existence that the church iconized Saint Mary as a symbol of faith, peace, and guidance. What the symbol of holy Mary means to the church is expressed in CCC church hymnal 762,

⁵⁰³ Interview with Titus O. Alao, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

which reads in part, “Brethren in Christ, voice up a song, and hearken to what Jehovah is saying..., that Mary our mother may lead us along, that this holy person may guide us along”.



Figure 66. The icon of Saint Mary and baby Jesus constructed on a high platform beside the pulpit inside the church at CCC, Oluwaseyi Parish, Ijeshatedo. Photograph: T. Baiyewu. 2011

Of all the CCC parishes visited, it was in CCC, Oluwaseyi Parish, Ijeshatedo, Lagos that holy Mary is being iconized and commemorated annually. It marks the appearance of mother of Jesus to the pastor founder Oshoffa on the 15th of July, 1977 when he was in trance. The idea and recognition of holy Mary had been entrenched the CCC hymnal from the beginning of the church in 1947 when a prophetess in the church, Wolisata composed the first spiritual hymn (CCC Constitution 1980:33-34). In other churches, members claimed that it is obligatory for them to celebrate the anniversary of Saint Mary as entrenched in the CCC constitution, but her icon is absent in some of the CCC parishes visited. Most members did not give economic reasons for its absence, but differ in their opinions. One version of opinions portrayed the Church’s construction of Saint Mary’s icon as been extreme about it as against its constitutional recognition. The CCC Constitution (1980:33, 34) provides insights into pastor founder Oschoffa’s divine encounter which culminated in the recognition given to Holy Mary. However, the constitution is silent about the erection of a statue depicting Mary and Jesus her son.



Figure 67. The Saint Mary and baby Jesus erected outside, but within the premises of the Church. Members have access to both symbols for veneration on anniversary and all other days. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2011

6.5 Church Logo

Various strands of the C&S have their logo. Their common features are the winged creatures: the angelic twin cherub and seraph. The church was first named Seraph according to divine revelation which two members gave separately as *se* and *ra* while the last two letters *ph* were suggested by Reverend J. C. Barber of the United Native African church. *Cherub* was later added according to divine instruction, which stated that cherub and seraph are heavenly twins, while a small child through divine revelation named angel Michael the captain of the church and Jah Jehovah as its founder (Omoyajowo 1982:10-12). The rhetoric of associating the church with the heavenly cherubim and seraphim was emphasized by an informant with much reference to the Christian bible on the nature and role of the winged creatures.⁵⁰⁴ The belief that the church is an earthly representative of the heavenly host is symbolized in the logo and the white garment uniform, which members claimed reminds them of their obligation to be as clean as the angels both in mind and deeds.

⁵⁰⁴ Interview with Modupe Ogunbanwo, 01 April, 2013, Jos. Ogunbanwo emphasized the purity of the winged creatures worshipping and singing praises around the throne of God as stated in Genesis 3:24; Revelation 4:6-9; Isaiah 6:1-7.



Figure 68. The logo of ESOCS, TCLA and CCC. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012

The TCLA modified and expanded its logo. The late Adeleke Adejobi formulated the tenets of the church as “Pentecostal in power, biblical in pattern, evangelical in ministry, and ecumenical in outlook”. These are captured in the church logo, but in 2006, the fourth primate, Rufus Ositelu increased the tenets to six to include “prophetic” and “social” in ministry, respectively. The church’s beliefs and practices are anchored on its tenets. Church letter headed papers and objects which the church administration and cells/bands of the church produced have imprints of church logo. Members interviewed proudly drew my attention to the logo, which they claimed symbolizes the entirety of what the church believes and works towards. The rainbow logo of the CCC symbolizes a summation of the celestial mission of the church on the terrestrial world, which an informant claimed was revealed to the founder in the course of his call and drawn from the Christian bible.⁵⁰⁵ Like the C&S, the CCC associates itself and mission on earth with the terrestrial world.

6.6 Ritual Objects

There is the ritual use of natural and human made objects in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC churches visited. The pregnant women, those looking for the ‘fruit of the womb’, quest for prosperity in all aspects of life, and general deliverance are moments of life that largely

⁵⁰⁵ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 06 April, 2013, Lagos. He claimed further that the all seeing God commissioned a celestial group as a bow in the cloud and as a covenant with the terrestrial world to rescue humanity from the bondage of sin and tribulations, with all faithfulness to Him even unto death as stated in Genesis 9:13,16:9; Revelation 2:10, 4:8; and Matthew 16:28.

require prophecy, ritual recipes, spiritual warfare, and ritual performance according to the divine messages given to individuals. The prophets, visioners and dreamers are regarded as errands of God that convey divine messages to worshippers. In the revealed ritual recipes, there are products of the immediate environment and those that are manufactured by industries but which are significant to the spiritual solutions that the individuals seek. These include water from the tap, well, stream, rain, dew and cocoanut. Others are raps of locally made sponge, eggs laid by local hens, strands of palm-frond, cylophen raps of table salt, honey, bunch of broom, assorted fruits and grains. The C&S, TCLA, and CCC sacralise natural objects and phenomena. Their sacralisation is however fluid. Outside religious and healing matters, the ritual items are ordinary objects. The ritual use of natural and man made objects has persisted in the churches.



Figure 69. Ritual items for spiritual healing, C&S Jordan River. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2011

Ritual items include olive oil, assorted perfumes specially made for spiritual purposes, crucifixes, yard lengths of white clothe, image candles and ordinary candle sticks, and other objects which members claim are divinely revealed. All the ritual materials, the prophesier, and the performance of the rituals explain the belief of members and visitors who take part in ritual activities in the church. The materiality of the belief of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC as was seen in their worship and moments of ritual performance outside worship demonstrated a blend of biblical belief and some elements of the traditional religion of the Yoruba.

In the CCC, water, color, and number symbolism and different ritual objects are significant aspects of ritual efficacy and materiality of faith (Adogame 1999:192-207).

Yet, the church through the secretary warns prophets to desist or not to incorporate mystical practices which the church leadership constantly warn against.⁵⁰⁶



Figure 70. Spiritual incubation on a mercy ground. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012

A man places himself before God for fortification of his body. The belief is that the mercy ground is a sacred place of spiritual energy that can be tapped through special prayer and lying there for a number of hours or days. It is also believed that the coconut, having been sanctified and placed on the mercy ground for a number of hours or days, is charged with spiritual energy that is expected to fortify a person after eating it.⁵⁰⁷

In his speech on 6th of August, 1974 which was produced in an eight-page pamphlet, pastor founder Oshoffa of the CCC warned his ministers and members against unbiblical practices which he claimed have crept into the belief and practice of the church (CCC Oluwaseyi 1974). Benjamin Ray (1993) in one of his study examines the substantial elements of Yoruba traditional religion in the beliefs and practices of Aladura Churches and concludes that the brand of Christianity of which the C&S, TCLA, and CCC constitute major strands, is Yoruba religion.

⁵⁰⁶ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 06 April, 2013, Lagos.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*



Figure 71. Healing session in CCC, Mokola, Ibadan. Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2011

The prophet fumigates the church with burning incense in the belief that contrary spirits are sent out and the bodies of attendees are purified of unclean elements that they may have contacted before coming into the church. The belief that angels detest offensive odour and can be discouraged from intervening in healing rituals as a result of body defilement due to sexual intercourse or general low attitude to personal hygiene is widely held among Aladura churches.



Figure 72. Spiritual incubation in the worship temple, CCC Seminary, Lagos.

Photograph: T. O. Baiyewu. 2012

The above ritual example shows a man lying on a mat, presenting himself before God for spiritual fortification against enemy attack and for attracting progress in his endeavours. A

sash is placed on a bible. There are three ties of white candles; each tie contains seven white candles tied with white thread and placed round the bible and the sash. In front of the altar, the man fasts and prays, believing that at the end of the ritual in the evening, he is already fortified with divine power of victory and blessings. The sash is used to dust his body and the candles are lit as symbol of victory.⁵⁰⁸

The unbiblical elements in the belief of the churches are what Harold Turner (1979:165-171) referred to as “the pagan features”. Although the mixing has earned Aladura churches some derogatory names such as “neo-pagan church”, “trado-christian church”, the churches still hold on to their beliefs, claiming that such beliefs and practices are biblical and divinely revealed. The assorted perfumes, oil and water are sanctified for victory, healing, and prosperity. The ritual items are produced by the churches. Sanctified items are also obtainable in private shops where assorted solid and liquid spiritual materials are sold. The sanctified toilet soaps are used for spiritual cleansing and attraction of blessing.⁵⁰⁹



Figure 73. Ritual items placed before sacred Icons, and ritual item shop. Photograph: T.Baiyewu 2011

6.7 Summary

The chapter describes the materiality of faith in Aladura churches and its races of transformation, particularly in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC. Members emphasize the aesthetic, spiritual and moral meanings, which they derive from images, objects and symbols that characterize their worship and ritual activities.

⁵⁰⁸ Interview with Emmanuel A. Adegoke, 06 April, 2013, Lagos.

⁵⁰⁹ Interview with Gabriel Olumide Lawal, 13 June, 2011, Ibadan.

The modern architectural design of Aladura churches can be traced to their beginnings. Every church has a history of how it began, but a common characteristic that can be found in them is the humble beginning: congregating in a residential apartment of a member or renting a property as a temporary place of worship, and finally securing a land on which a permanent prayer house is built. Increase in membership necessitates the reconstruction of a church to a bigger one and that modernity influences its architectural design and interior furnishing. The rejection of the old ideas about how things are done and the need for a realistic approach to doing things to meet the current reality has a great influence on the aesthetics of the materiality of belief among the Aladura churches. These have been noticed in churches, mercy grounds and hill tops visited. Yet, there are sacred places constructed with little stones to demarcate their boundary, whose floor is sandy.

The interior of the churches show the influence of modernity. The mediatised interior environment of the churches and lots of high-tech materials used for furnishing them all show a remarkable influence of modernity. Deifying, iconizing, and acknowledging the founders of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in prayers developed after their demise. The founders are acknowledged in prayers, but are not recognized as substitutes to Jesus Christ. Rather they are revered as saints due to their charismatic qualities and are also thought to be among the saints in the celestial world watching and intervening in the affairs of their churches, which they left behind in the terrestrial world. They are commoditised in portraits and objects.

Members emphasise that the creation of ranks and robes is attributed to the belief that 'there is orderliness of things in heaven'. This in turn has necessitated the introduction of robes and colour. Both ranks and robes are an identity marker in the churches. They are signifiers of church status of individual member in terms of rank, cell/band membership, and role. The robe, particularly the white garment symbolises purity in the external and internal of every member. In this regard, every member in white garment is expected to rise to the call to purity of the mind and body: members are expected to be good examples of morally upright Christians. Although the modernist C&S churches do not enforce members to wear white garment, the first generation C&S churches enjoin their members to wear white robe, this to an extent is a source of attraction to some members and visitors who are delighted in being part of a community that wears white robe during worship.

The ritual use of water found its place in the beliefs and practices of the churches when a prophecy came from a member of the first Aladura group (Precious Stone Society) that rain water should be collected and sanctified for use in order to stop the influenza epidemic in

1918. Today, a lot of the natural and refined solid and liquid objects in the worship and ritual activities in the churches are used unofficially. The churches emphasize the discontinuation of what they regard as strange elements that have found their place in their ritual practices, but these have survived.

Chapter Seven

Biographic and Membership Trend

7.0 Introduction

The description of membership of Aladura churches, particularly Cherubim and Seraphim and Church of the Lord Aladura in the southwest of Nigeria by previous studies indicates that their founders were at one time members of the mission churches. Most of their early converts were members of the mainline churches who pulled out of their former churches in search of spiritual healing and other solutions to their social and economic problems that Aladura churches claimed to provide (Turner 1967: 9-10; Peel 1968:204; Mitchell 1970: 404). In this chapter, data collected through questionnaires have been analyzed to help explain the current social status of members and membership recruitments in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC.

Questionnaires were distributed to members of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in Lagos, Ibadan, and Jos. The justification for the choice of the three locations of study are stated in the scope of this study in chapter one. In Jos, the CCC branches visited are located in Dogon Karfe, Rock Haven (by Zaria road Cemetery), and along Bauchi Ring road at 'Cele' bridge areas of the city. The Jos CCC headquarters at Rock Haven was established in the early 1980s, while the other two branches were established in the late 1980s and early 1990s, respectively. The location of the churches in Christian dominated areas of Jos as other CCC branches have relocated from the Muslim dominated areas of the city, and the disparate size, population and their respective year of establishment were considered. The only TCLA branch in Jos was opened on 16th April, 1956. Originally located opposite Kwararafa Cinema viewing center, but due to violent religious crises, it relocated to the present apartment, which it purchased and is situated along Rukuba road. The C&S district headquarters, Dilimi, Jos started in 1933. It is located in a Muslim dominated area of the city. How it has survived a number of ethno-religious crises and still sustains its membership and activities influenced the researcher to draw on the church's strategic location to examine its resilience. The branch at Ray Field opened in 2005. It is located in a religiously competitive environment, in close proximity to ECWA, COCIN, Baptist and Pentecostal churches in the Ray Field area of the city. In Ibadan, questionnaires were distributed to some members of the three major churches being studied. These included the CSMC, Liberty, Ibadan which started in 1972, the Sacred Cherubim and Seraphim, Oke Seni, Ibadan, which started in 1931, while CSMC, Challenge area, Ibadan was

established in the late 1990s. The Church of the Lord Aladura, West North Ecclesiastical provincial headquarters, Oke Ado, Ibadan was established in 1955. The CCC, North West Provincial headquarters, Mokola, Ibadan opened in 1972, CCC Carpenter Bus Stop, Agbowo, Ibadan started in the late 1970s, while the CCC, Challenge area, Ibadan started in the early 1980s. These churches are far in distance from each other and each is located in an environment that is crowded with different churches that engaged in vibrant week-day and Sunday activities throughout the period of research.

In Lagos, questionnaires were given out to volunteer respondents in CSMC Lagos district headquarters, Yaba, which was established in 1960, CSMC, Surulere which was established in 1971 and CSMC Renewal, which was established in 1988. Other Churches include CSMC Kingsland, which was established in 1996, and C&S Evangelical, Sango which was established in 2005. The Church of the Lord Aladura West South Ecclesiastical provincial headquarters, Mushin and the branch at Ojuelegba were also sampled. Questionnaires were distributed to some members of CCC, Oluwaseyi parish, Ijeshatedo, which was established in 1973 and that of Ijako parish Two. Some factors were considered for choosing the churches in Lagos: their disparate year of establishment, size, population, presence of different Christian churches and other religious groups, and their location in the geographical spread of the city.

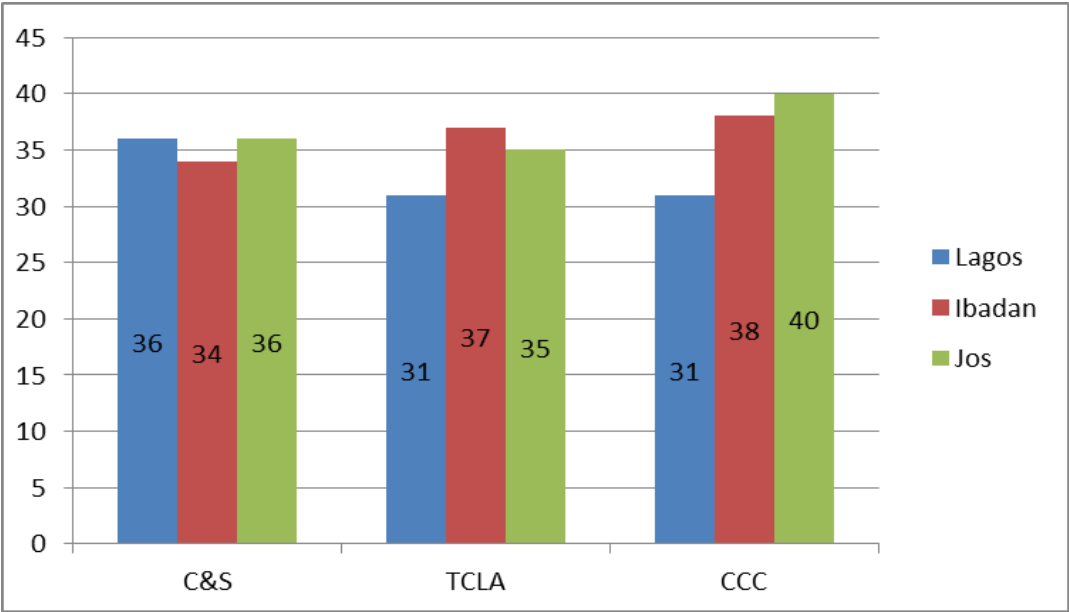
The disparate year of establishment, size, population and location of the churches gave a wide range of opportunities to obtain a variety of data on social status and membership recruitment in both the big and small churches in the three cities. Although the number of churches from which data were obtained through questionnaires was few in comparison with the large number of major and minor strands of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC Churches spread all over the target cities, data gathered from them gave a considerable idea of how the Aladura do things, how they recruitment members and the status of their members. Observation of the number and brands of cars in some of the churches visited and their assumed monetary values in car markets impressed that a considerable number of members are car owners. Also the car owners can be located within the rich, average and low income earners in the society. But then, this is inadequate to describe the scale of educational attainment, occupational choices and other indices necessary for adequate description of the churches and members.

Observations also revealed a great deal of difference between the number of cars packed around Aladura worship centers that were visited especially on Sundays and those of the new

Pentecostal churches in the three cities of study. Car owners are seemingly less in number in comparison with those in some of the new Pentecostal Churches. Of all the Aladura churches visited, CSMC Surulere district headquarters stood out in terms of the number of cars parked on the premises of the church by worshippers. Except for the white garment, which marked them out in the public space, the premises was filled with assorted cars and the church edifice could be taken for one of the vibrant and prosperous new Pentecostal churches in Lagos. The church (CSMC Surulere) stands tall in many respects among other strands of Cherubim and Seraphim and other strands of Aladura Churches visited. The attendance at Sunday services in the three main worship halls are unrivalled by other Aladura churches. In the main worship hall, which comprised the main hierarchy of the church, main Choir group and a considerable number of adult worshippers, the average attendance of worshippers on seats was seven hundred. This was quite higher than the average attendance in CCC Ijeshatedo, CSMC Renewal Chapel and CSMC Kingsland Chapel. The Youth Fellowship hall recorded above two hundred in attendance. Similarly, the Disciples of Christ Ministry hall also recorded well over two hundred worshippers. This number was higher than the total attendance at Sunday worship in some of the churches visited in Lagos, Ibadan and Jos areas.

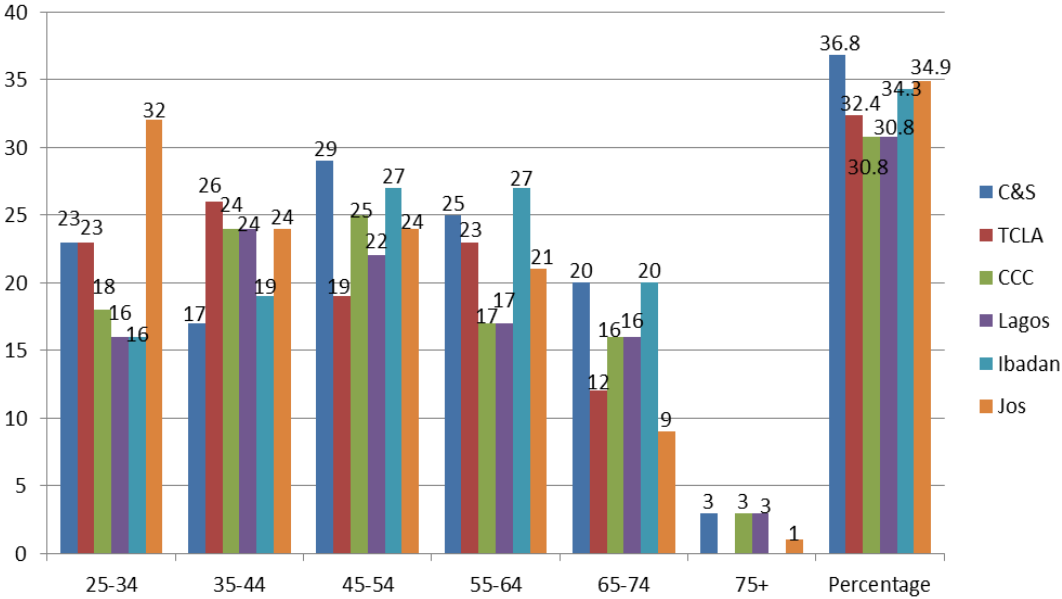
7.1 Number of Questionnaire according to Age, Church and Location of Respondents

Table 3. Number, Church and Location of Respondents



One hundred and fifty questionnaires were given out at random to various members of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in each of the three areas of study, which gives us a total of four hundred and fifty questionnaires. In the Jos area, one hundred and eleven questionnaires were returned filled. This was higher than one hundred and nine that was returned for Ibadan and ninety eight for Lagos. It was easier to meet with Jos respondents in their respective churches due to not too long distance in between them (churches) in comparison with bigger cosmopolitan cities of Ibadan and Lagos where the distance between churches is quite long. TCLA Jos did not pose much problem because it is the only branch in the city and it was easier to collect back the filled questionnaires and to fix time of collection in the case of those who failed to return their filled questionnaires or who made several promises of filling and returning their copies to research assistants.

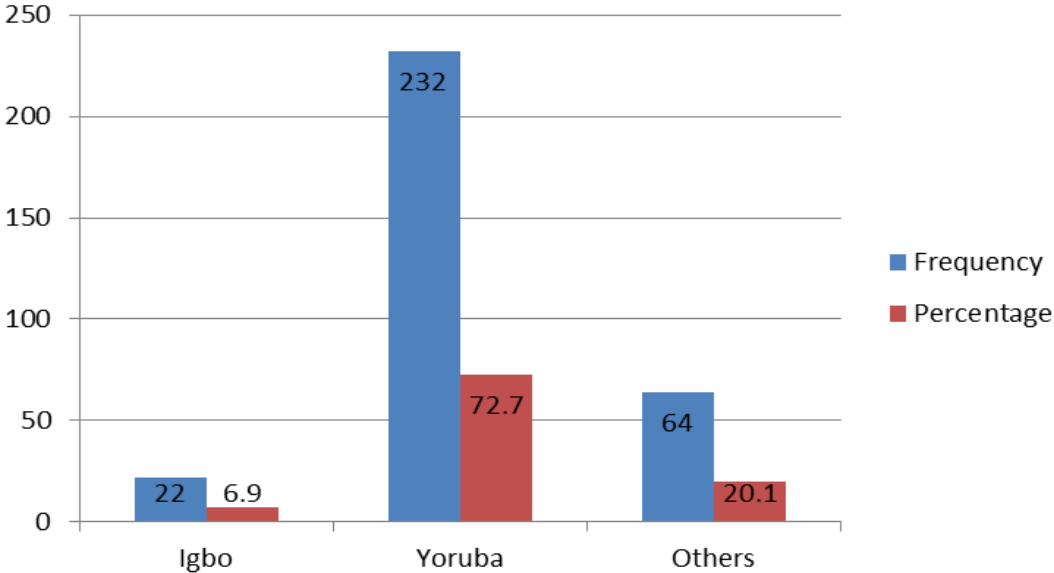
Table 4. Age Distribution of Respondents



Members who belonged to the age category of 45years to 54years had the highest chance of representation. This might be by chance. It might also be that they were more readily available in the church environment for activities than other members in other age categories. Basically the researcher did not consider age in the distribution of questionnaire. Members who belonged to the oldest age category of 75years and above had the least representation. One can also conjecture here that members within this age range were not frequently available in the church premises in the week days during which the researcher scouted for members to be given questionnaire. Furthermore, it is assumed that most members of this age category lacked the physical strength needed for daily church activities; they would rather prefer Sunday worship during which attendance is usually at its highest percentage. One major factor for the highest representation of members who belonged to the 45years to 54years age category might be that converts to the Aladura churches were mostly about fifty years old and above; they have come in search of solutions to life crisis situations, found the church appealing and have become members and were actively available in the church premises within the week days when the researcher scouted for members to distribute questionnaires to.

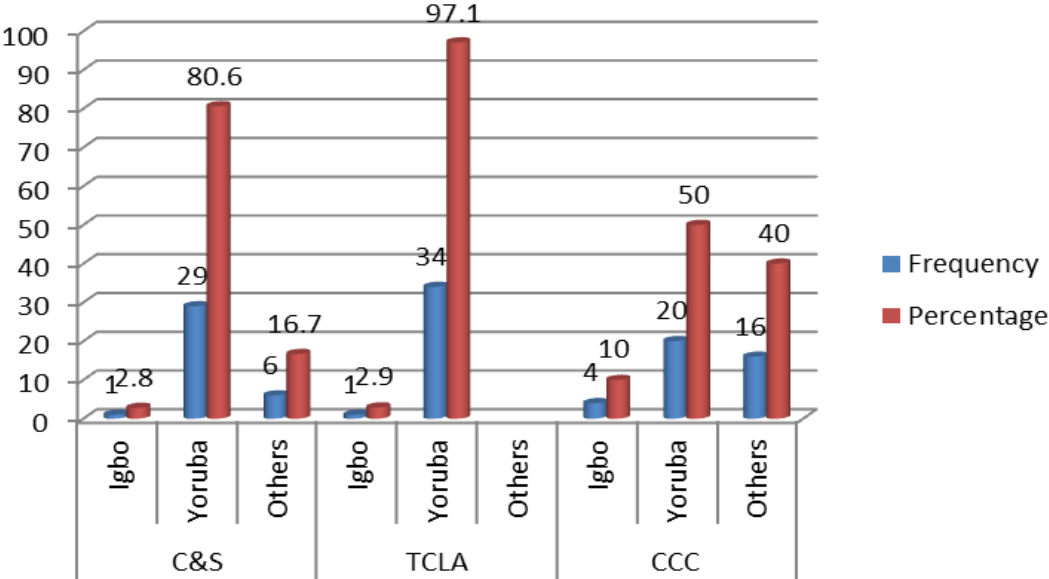
7.2 Ethnic Affiliation of Members

Table 5. Description of Ethnic Composition of Church Membership



The Yoruba ethnic group had the largest representation with 232 (72.7%) among the population of members that filled the questionnaires. The result confirmed the findings of previous studies that the membership of Aladura is predominantly Yoruba with few non-Yoruba speakers (Turner 1967: 15-17; Peel 1969:194; Mitchell 1970:386-387; Ray 1993). Drawing on the fact that the churches emerged from the south west of Nigeria that is predominantly Yoruba by ethnic composition, and the fact that the theology of the Aladura reflects the traditional religious beliefs of the Yoruba, the Yoruba are more favoured by this background than their fellow members who come from different ethno-cultural backgrounds. Among the ethnic sub-groups that make up the Yoruba, the Ijebu had the highest representation of 35 (11%) followed by the Egba 29 (9.1%), Ekiti 24 (7.5%), Oyo 19 (6.0%), Ijesha 18 (5.6%), Okun 17 (5.3%), and Ibadan 13 (4.1%). Each of the other Yoruba sub-groups of Ilaje, Ogbomoso, Ife, Ondo, Owo, Igbomina, Akoko, and Iseyin made up less than 3% of the Yoruba population. The Igbos are few 22 (6.9%) in comparison with others 64 (20.1%) who are from minority ethnic groups spread over other States of Nigeria. The results also show that the Edo, Urhobo, Ishan, Isoko, Efik, Akpabuyo, Ijaw, Itsekiri, Ogoni and Ibibio of the South-South ethnic groups are members of Aladura groups studied, but are of insignificant number in comparison with the dominant Yoruba group. Other members from other regions of Nigeria include the Ebira, Ogori, Igala, Idoma, Igede, Tiv, Jarawa, Irigwe, Birom, Taroh, Kaje, and Kataf from Central Nigeria. Membership of Aladura Churches also comprises the Bachama from the north east of Nigeria, the Awori and Egun from the south west of Nigeria (who are not Yoruba), the Beninoire and a Togolese from Nigeria's neighboring countries and the Krobo and Twi from Ghana. The result impresses that for close to a century, since Aladura Christianity came into existence, its membership has largely remained Yoruba. In the Jos area which is in central Nigeria, membership of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC is overwhelmingly Yoruba, with few natives of the immediate environment and non-Yoruba migrant ethnic groups.

Table 6. Jos Membership Characteristic



The CCC was not included in the previous study, which Geoffrey Parrinder did in the 1950s; neither did Harold Turner, John Peel, and Robert Mitchell discuss it in passing in their respective study in the 1960s. Although Deidre Crumbley and Afe Adogame in the 1980s and 1990s respectively did their major research on the CCC, demographic data about the church was not part of their focus. The current study confirms the findings of the previous study that the Yoruba formed the largest number of Aladura membership in Lagos and Ibadan. The above bar chart also indicates that the Yoruba make up half of the CCC membership in Jos branches. The remaining half include the Igbo who made up 10%, while the remaining 40% is made up of a large number of Idoma, Igede, Igala, Edo, Urhobo and a few number of indigent Birom, Irigwe, Jarawa, and Taroh.

Considering the overwhelming number of the Yoruba in the population sampled in Yoruba speaking cities and non-Yoruba speaking city of Jos, it can be inferred that the considerable elements of Yoruba traditional religion in the beliefs and practices of Aladura churches have been a strong factor that has endeared the Yoruba members to the church. The churches have successfully integrated the two religious traditions into a new faith tradition, and molded some elements of Yoruba traditional religion within the frame of Christian tradition. This has provided Yoruba members a comfortable shift from core Yoruba religious traditions, which Christianity out rightly condemns. The belief in principalities and agents particularly the witches (*aje*), born to die (*abiku*), contrary spirited child or adult (*emere*), persons with negative potent speeches derived from cultic objects (*alafose*) or persons whose first two upper teeth came out before the ones in the lower jaw (*eleyin oke*), invocation shooting

(*apeta*), negative influence of spirit forces (*ajogun*), and the appropriation of rituals as solution to all manner of problems are some of the characteristics of Yoruba beliefs and these have found their place in Aladura beliefs and worship. Therefore, it is not surprising that, in spite of the fact that Aladura has transformed to a transnational religion, majority of its members are Yoruba. The Christianised Yoruba cultural materials and their use in rituals for solving economic, social, and security challenges have remained a chief source of attraction to the Yoruba and non-Yoruba speakers in Aladura churches.

7.3 Description of Social Status of Members

Table 7. Marriage

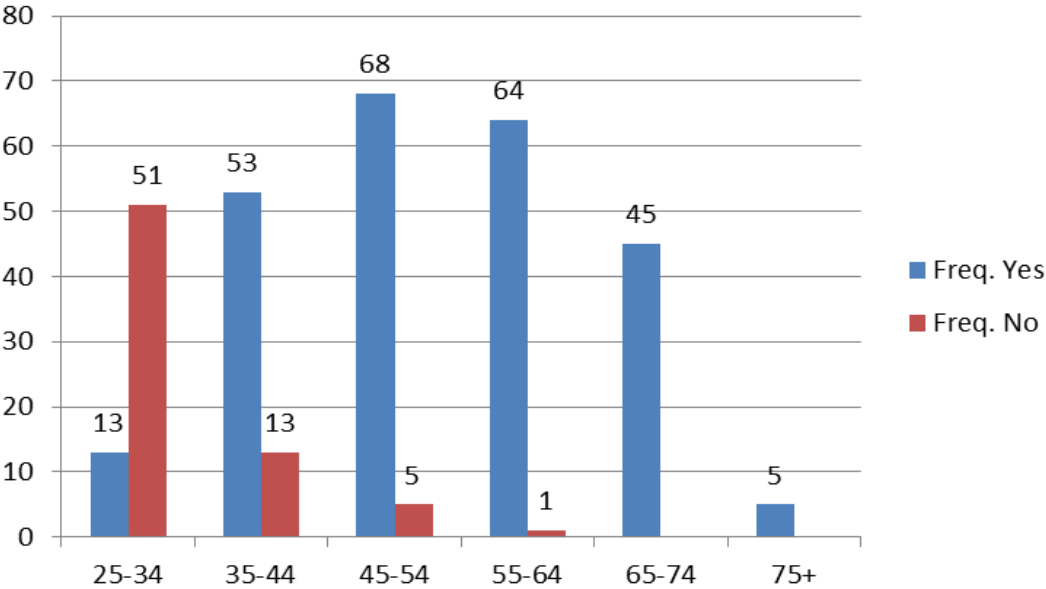
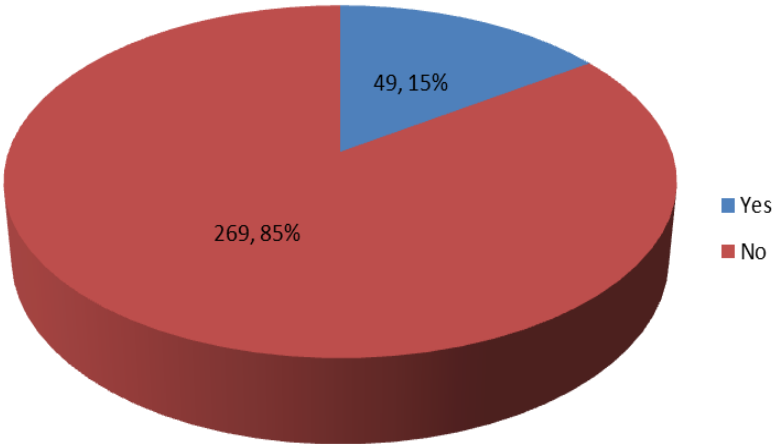


Table 8. Children from multiple relationships



The two tables above indicate that marriage and child bearing can be found in the congregations. The congregations partly gain their membership from the marriage institution. In table 7 above, much increase in membership is not expected from members in 25-34 age range as very few of them are found to be married, while respondents who formed the five age groups of 35years to 75 years and above are married. It is assumed that respondents who formed the married segment contribute to increase in church membership through child bearing as also indicated in tables 12(a) and (b) below.

In table 8, the result indicates that a few of the members who filled the questionnaires have children from multiple relationships. This gives an idea that some of the respondents are into some form of polygamy, and by extension, some members of the churches are polygamists. Again, although the percentage is very low, approximately 15%, it establishes the fact that some members have had or do have more than one opposite sex partners. This might be that they had the children out of their previous relationships before they got married or that they indulged in extra marital affairs that resulted in child bearing outside wedlock. Furthermore, the siblings from multiple relationships might be the result of marriage break-ups.

Table 9. Educational attainment of members according to research area and church

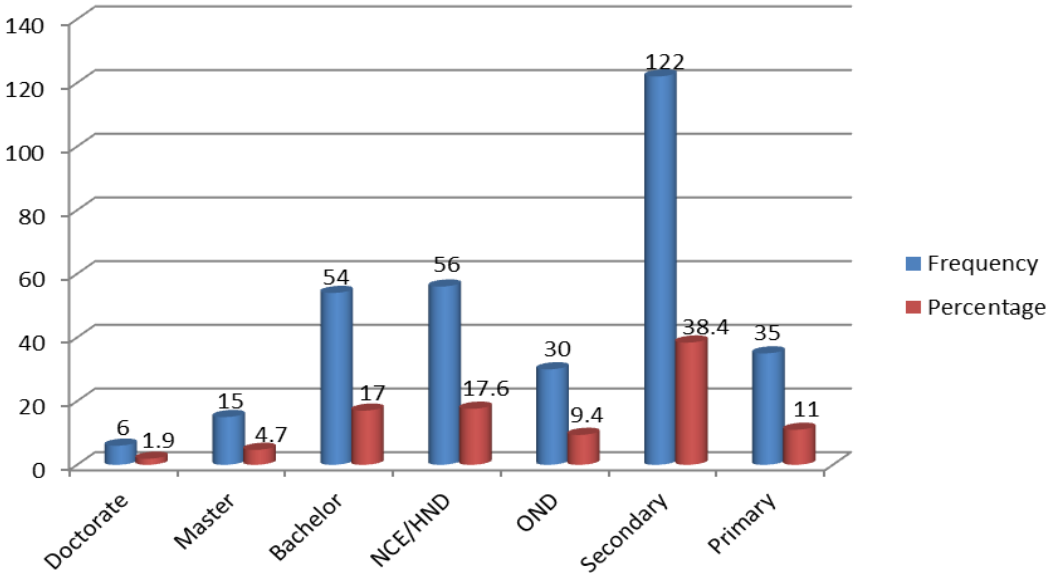


Table 9 above shows that all levels of education are represented in the membership of the congregations. Respondents whose highest level of education is secondary school (38.4%) are more represented than other levels of education. This suggests that members who had secondary school education had the chance of being represented more than other educational levels, or that secondary school educated members are more in number in the church and that

is the more reason why they are more available than others who belong to other educational levels. The second largest number of respondents (17.6%) obtained national certificate in education (NCE) and higher national diploma (HND). Respondents who hold University first degree as their highest level of education have the third largest number of representation (17%). 11% of the respondents have primary education. 9.4% had ordinary diploma, followed by 4.7% who were holders of master degrees. About 2% (1.9%) of the respondents possess the highest degree (PhD). This is at variance with the previous study that was located in Ibadan in which the highest percentage 58% of members of the C&S had primary education, 22% had secondary education, 20% had no formal education, and none of the members could go beyond secondary education (Peel 1968:196). Mitchell (1970:409) in his work particularly on the C&S and TCLA in the two major areas of his study, namely Aremo and Oke Ado both in Ibadan records that the highest level of education of members of the Aladura was primary one or more representing an average of 19.2%. By this level of education, Mitchell probably meant 'Modern School One' and above, which were above primary school education at that time and can be equated with the present junior secondary school One. 27% received education up to primary six, while 53.5% had their education up to primary five. Turner (1967:19) records that the highest level of education attained by members of TCLA was secondary school and that the larger population of members had some primary education, while none had higher education. Turner (1967:71) asserts that this low level of education of members denied the church more contact and "recognition by other churches that it clearly covets". Comparatively, the results suggest that members have had more access to educational opportunity over the years and this has had great impact on the educational transformation that the churches are experiencing over time. It might be that the number of schools, which some of the Aladura churches have established as discussed in chapter three of this study, in addition to educational opportunities at various levels, which the government and private individuals provide to the public have impacted positively on the increasing level of literacy in the congregations. More so, the increase in the number of members with cultural capital has, to a great extent, increased the transnational contacts and experiences that have helped to transform the church as can be seen in the well-travelled, educated and experienced current leaders of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC, and other members of the churches with similar cultural capital. It is also assumed that members' more access to educational facilities have increased the number of professionals and skilled individuals found among church members as indicated in table 8a below.

Table 10(a). Occupational characteristic of members according to area of study

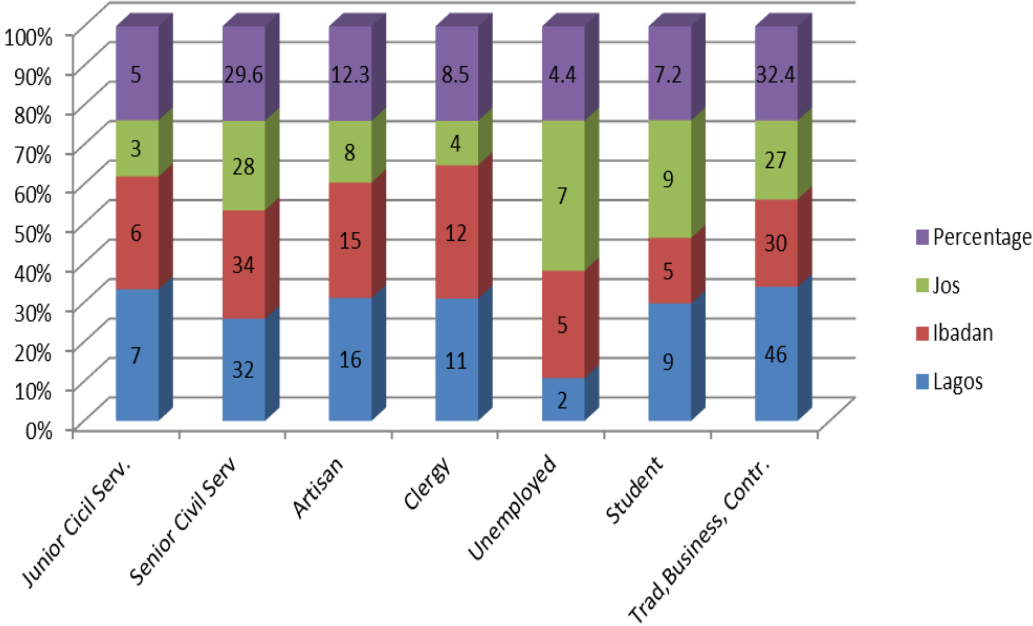
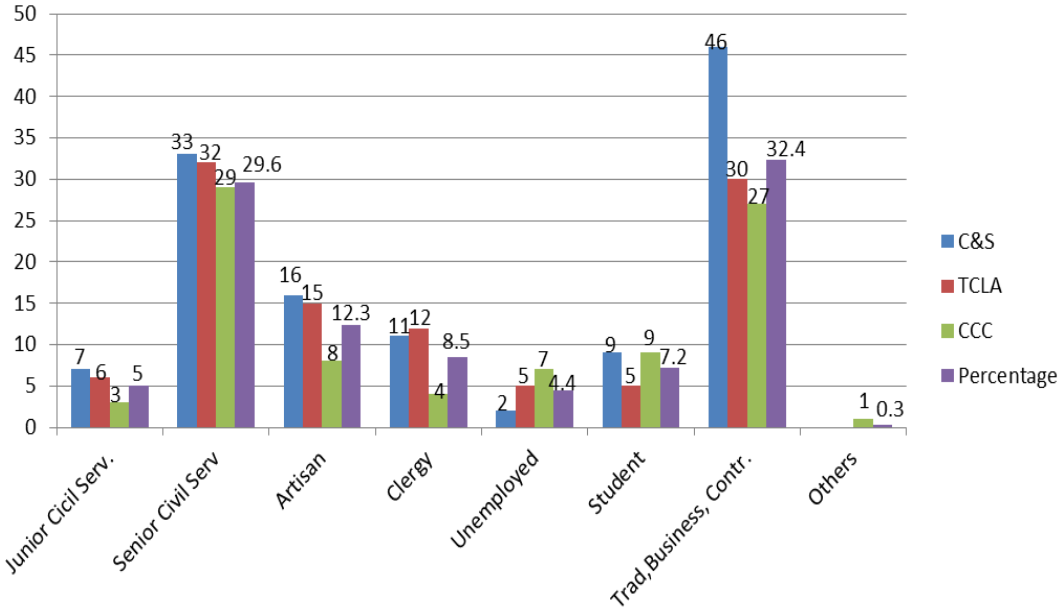


Table 10(b). Occupational characteristic of members according to church



Tables 10 (a) and (b) show that small scale traders, owners of big and small organizations that provide goods and services, and contractors who obtain jobs from some organizations for the construction of facilities and purchase of goods have the highest representation above other vocations in all the three major strands of Aladura. Close to this class of occupation are the junior and senior civil servants of which about 5% formed the category of junior employees, while 29.6% are senior civil servants. 12.3% who are self-employed are skilled individuals

who produce items for sale. The clergy, unemployed and students of various categories also formed part of the characteristics of the membership of Aladura churches. This however, differs from a previous study, which shows that membership of the Aladura in the early days was largely drawn from the clerk class (Mitchell 1970:289). Although Peel’s (1967:196) sample of the C&S Ibadan does not adequately represent the C&S as a whole, his findings indicate that the highest number 38% of members sampled were artisans, followed by 29% who belonged to the clerk/teacher class, while 22% belonged to the trader/contractor class. Of the characteristics of those who filled out questionnaires for this study, more civil servants are found among the churches in Ibadan than churches in Lagos and Jos study areas. The trader/business/contractor category is found to be higher in number 46 representing 14.5% among the C&S than the civil servants and other categories of workers in all other churches. Today, members of the churches are found to be engaged in different human vocations much more than previous literature has described. It can be inferred that the professional pieces of advice of members of different vocations in various segments of church administration and non-secular activities have bearing on administrative, social and spiritual programmes of the churches.

7.4 Description of Educational Status of Prophets

Table 11. Prophets with training according to church and area

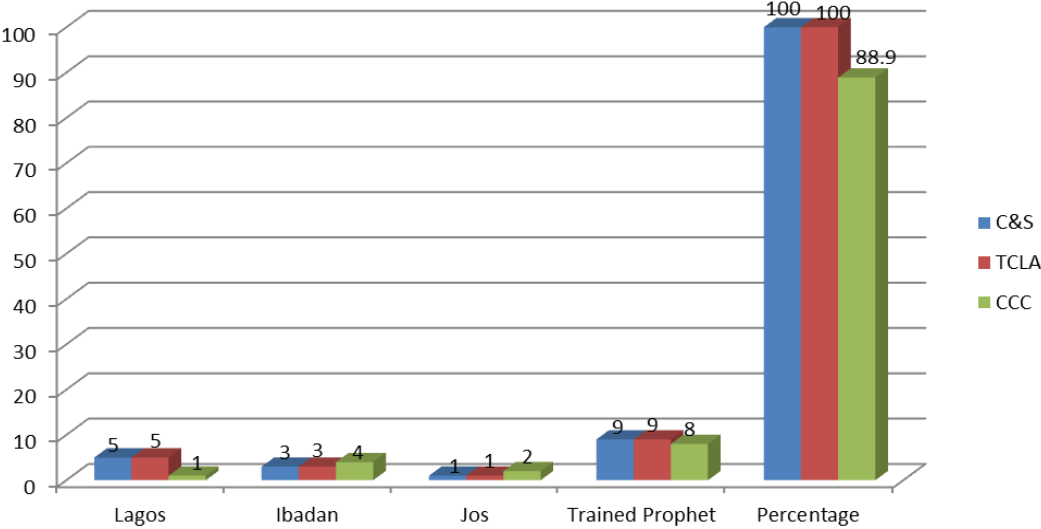


Table 11 indicates that majority of the prophets that responded to the questionnaires were trained for the prophetic job, while one prophet representing 12.5% had no formal theological training. There is an indication that the untrained prophet was awaiting his admission into the theological seminary of the church. The result in the table indicates a new development that is

contrary to how previous studies described Aladura prophets. Previous findings indicate that Aladura prophets had little or no formal education and also lacked adequate knowledge of the bible and training for prophetic vocation (Peel 1968:280-281; Mitchell 1970:310-3312). However, Turner (1967:30-31) records an organic prophetic training in TCLA, beginning with the identification of the spiritual talent in a member to a periodic stay with an experienced minister, where the prophet in training was being properly groomed for the prophetic vocation. In response to the challenge, which previous literature provides, this study reveals in chapter three that various strands of Aladura churches have established theological schools that offer prophetic and leadership training to ordained prophets, church ministers and individuals who want to acquire theological education to enhance their knowledge of the bible. The explosion of theological school as revealed in chapter three of this study, no doubt, helps various Aladura churches to turn out trained prophets. It can be conjectured here that the increase in literacy in the prophetic ministry of the churches means there are more prophets who have adequate knowledge of the bible and have adequate knowledge of the ethics and best practice of their calling.

7.5 Description of Membership Recruitment

Table 12(a). Membership by birth according to church and age range

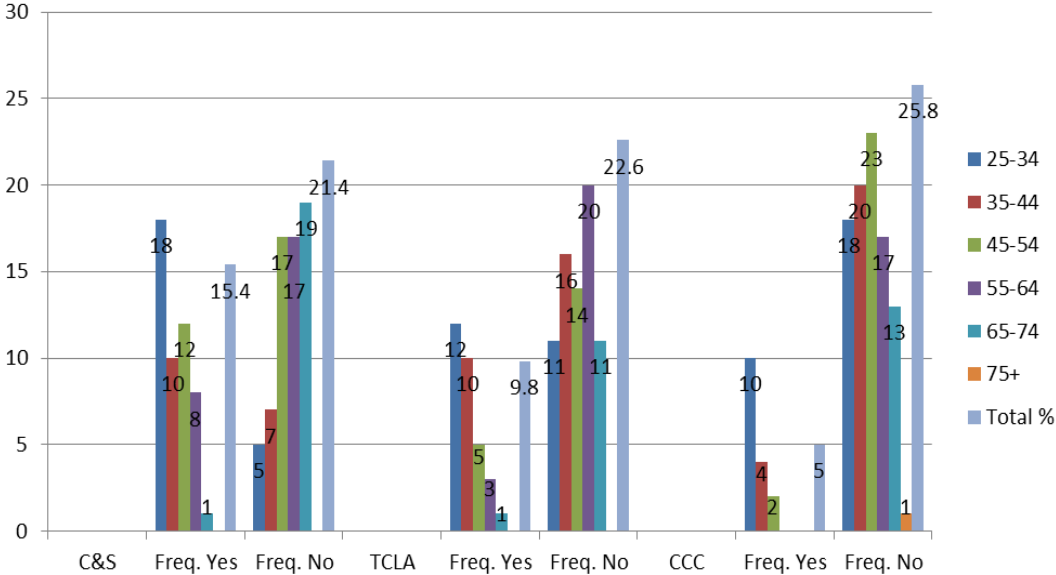
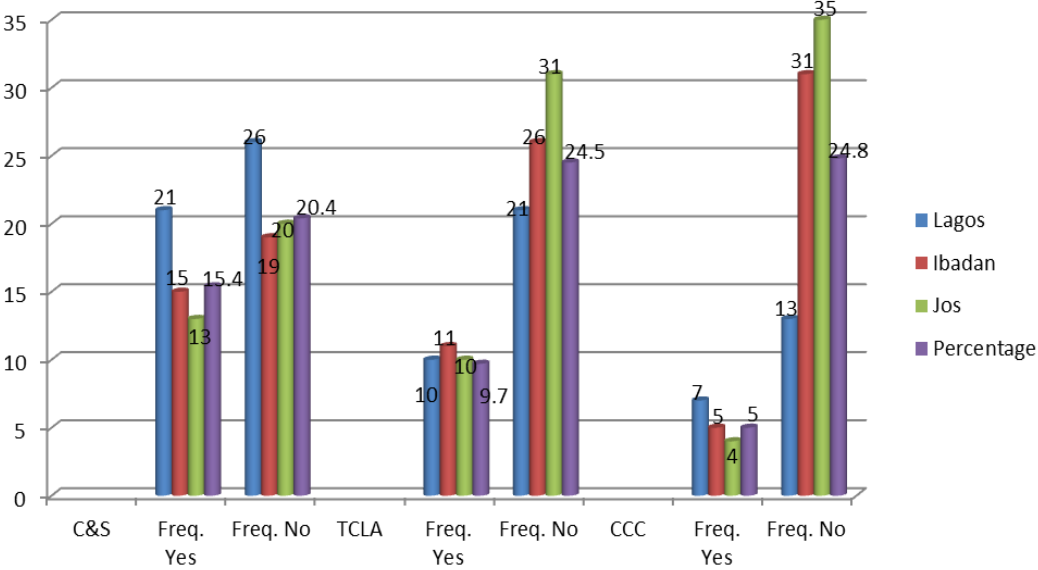


Table 12(b). Membership by birth according to church and area



The two tables above indicate that the membership of Aladura churches have increased partly through birth. Members who gave birth to their children and whose children worship with them in the same church sustain the annual increase in church membership. This is on the assumption that the churches record child birth at least annually. The results indicate that members by birth are found in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC, but the percentage of such category of members is higher in the C&S than in TCLA and CCC. It is not far-fetched that the disparate percentages are due to length of existence. It may be that the number of those born in the C&S had higher chance of being sampled through the questionnaire than their counterparts in the other two churches. Basically, the churches significantly sustain their membership record through child bearing. The category of members born in the church is found in overwhelming proportion among the 25 years-54years age categories. The early members of the churches were drawn largely from existing churches and few were from other faiths, particularly traditional religion and Islam. In the three areas of study, the trend of membership recruitment by birth presents an interesting picture as the number of members born in the churches seems to be gradually closing up with the number of those born before joining the Church. However, a striking difference is found in the CCC as indicated in table 12(a) in comparison with table 12(b), where members drawn from other faiths or church denominations are the majority. It may also be that those born in the churches were by chance less sampled through the questionnaire. Furthermore, the fact that CCC started quite later than the other two churches and attributing it to the reason why it has less number of those born in the church may not be far-fetched.

Table 12(c). Years of Membership

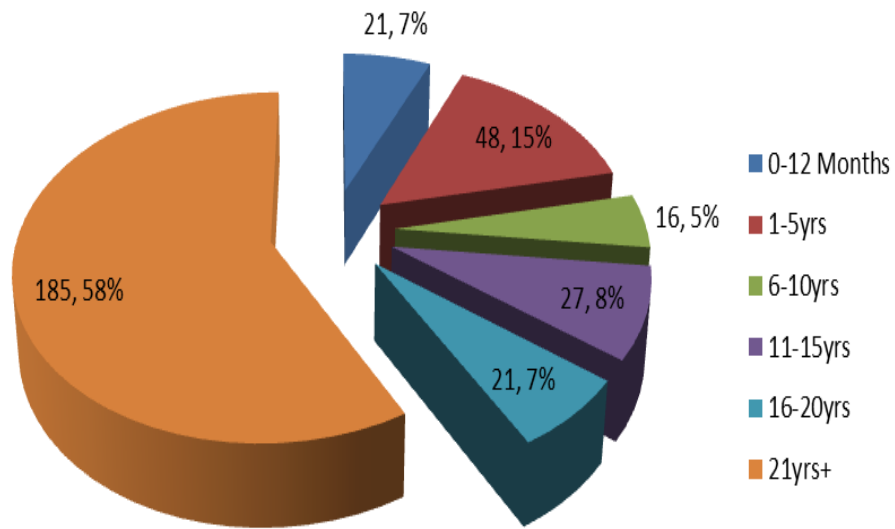
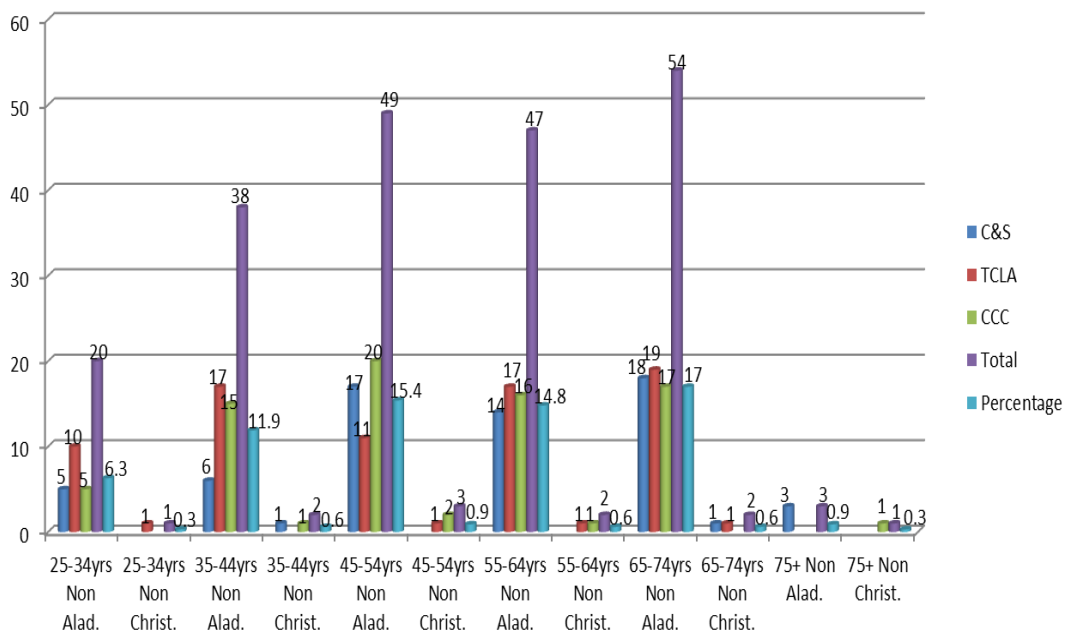
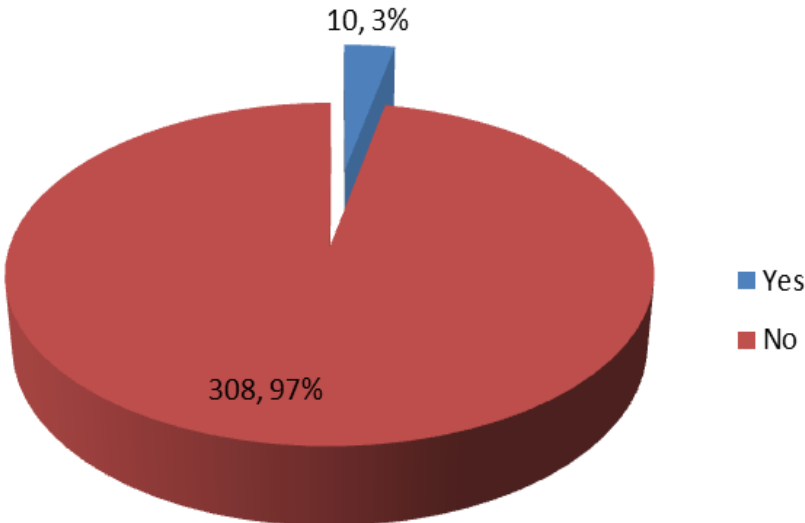


Table 12(d). Members not Born in the Church



Tables 12(c) and (d) above suggest that there are members from other churches and non-Christian religions. Table 12c suggests that there are members who were not born in the church but left their former Christian churches or non-Christian religions to join their respective congregations in the last one year. Table 12c also indicates that the congregations recruit members from outside the church annually and have sustained it over the years. The trend of membership recruitment seems to tilt inward as most of the members are either born in the church or left their former churches to join their present congregations. However, an insignificant number of members are found to have left Islam or traditional religions for their present Aladura congregations. No reasons have been found for this trend, but it may be that the volatile nature of religious boundaries in the country especially between Christianity and Islam has made conversion across boundaries sensitive and has shaped membership recruitment. This suggests that the congregations draw a lot of their members from birth and other Christian denominations than from Islam and traditional religion.

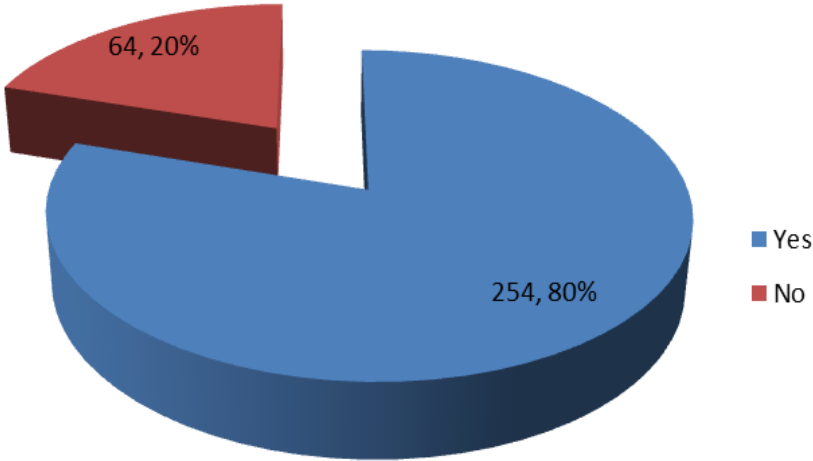
Table 12(e). Temporary Withdrawal of Membership



The table above indicates that there are cases of temporary withdrawal of membership by few individuals in the churches. Some of the reasons that contributed to the membership withdrawal include injustice surrounding leadership position, unresolved goal blockages that made them to join the church, and low attitude of church or group leadership to solving crisis situations of members. The mode of worship, and belief and practice were not a strong factor for a temporary break in membership.

7.6 Membership of Band/Cell

Table 13. Membership of Band/Committee



The table above shows that 254 (80%) respondents belong to various cells or bands and committees in their churches. Drawing on members' claim that new members are baptized and registered as bonafide members of the church before they are registered as members of the various bands and committees in the church, going through such a process authenticates individual's membership of the church. This suggests further that, in spite of the tendency for fluidity of membership, a number of members can be said to be duly registered in their congregations. The table in other words suggests that membership of cells or committees within the church might be used to get an idea of the registered members of the congregations in comparison with 64 respondents (20%) who do not belong to any band or committee. The small number of respondents who not belong to any group or committee might indicate that their membership registration is in progress. It might also be that they are casual visitors by invitation or are solution seekers who have not decided to be permanent members of the church.

7.7 Fluid Membership

Table 14(a). Worship in other Churches

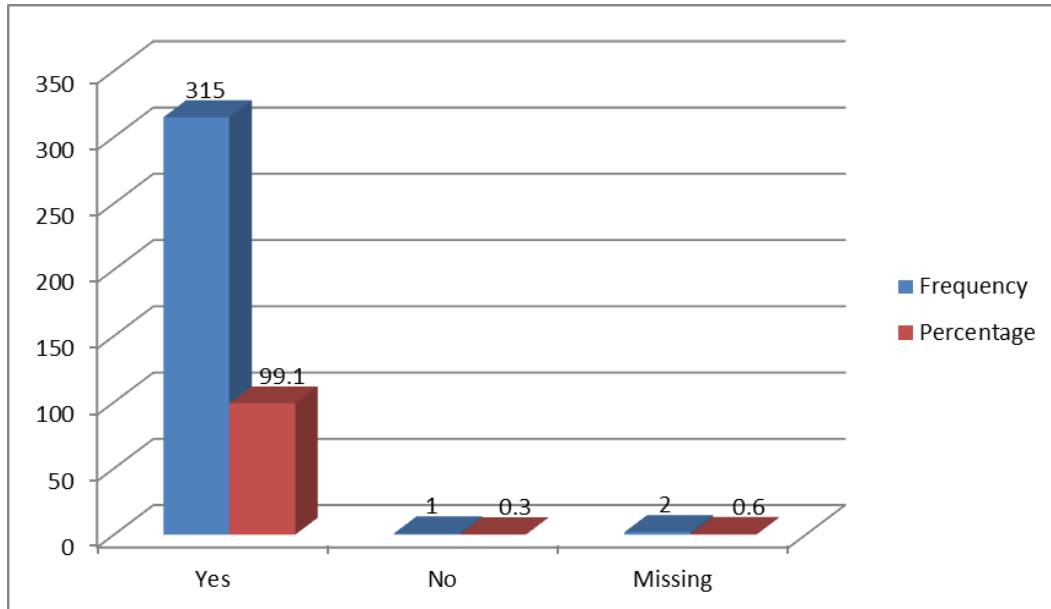
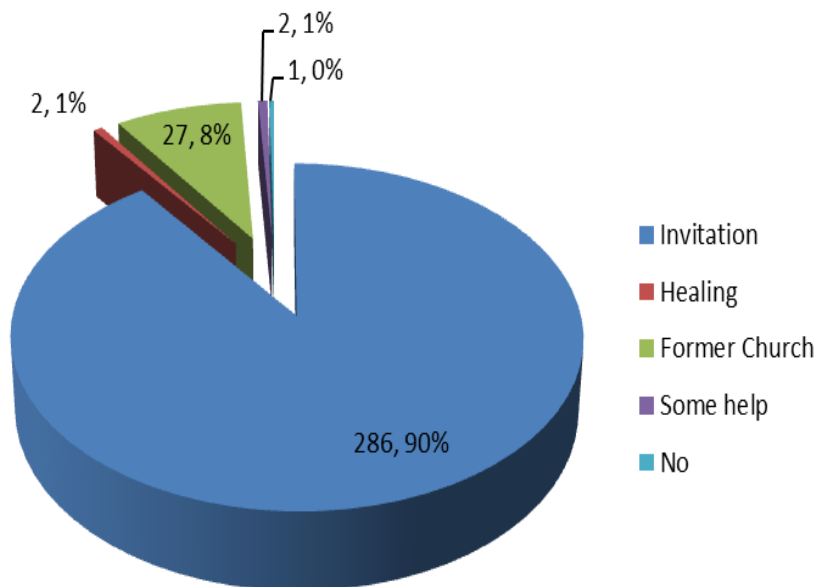


Table
Reasons for
in other



14(b).
worshipping
Churches

Table 14(a) above indicates that the majority respondents 315 (99%) worship in other Christian churches for obvious reasons. Table 14(b) shows that two hundred and eighty six respondents (90%) worship in other churches largely on invitation sent to them. Such invitations may be made possible due to the ecumenical relationship that exists among church

denominations under the umbrella of various Christian associations, namely Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria (PFN), Organization of African Independent Churches (OAICs), and Nigerian Association of Aladura churches (NAAC) among others. Personal reasons have been found to necessitate members worshipping in other churches. Although thirty two respondents (10%) had their personal reasons for worshipping in other churches, out of this group, members who attend healing sessions in other churches and those who solicit for various kinds of help from other churches are four (1%). This implies that the spiritual products, which the congregations provide their members in addition to the social services provided, have much relevance to their spiritual and social needs.

There are indications that members of the Aladura churches who previously worshipped in other churches before joining their present congregations have not completely severed their membership of their former churches. Members of the Aladura in this category are twenty seven (8%). In other words, there exists some form of divided commitment to membership or multiple membership identity in the congregations.

Table 14(c). How often members worship in other churches

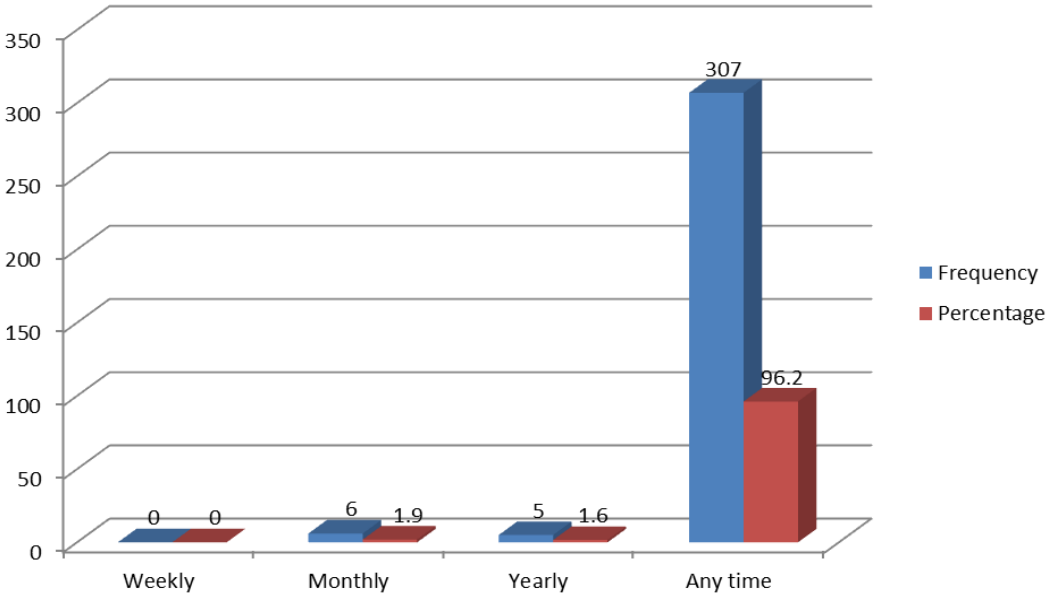


Table 14(d). Membership of groups in other churches

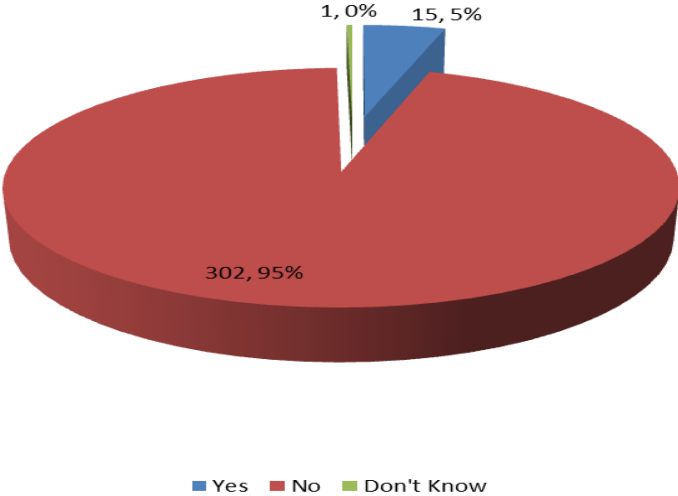


Table 14(c) above indicates that majority of members (96.2%) who worship in other churches do it at any time they receive personal invitations from friends, when they are delegated by their respective churches and for their personal reasons. For some obvious reasons, 3.5% of members worship in other churches on monthly and yearly basis. The tendency of substantive multiple memberships of different congregations at a time have been found among the churches. Table 14(d) above indicates that insignificant 5% respondents are substantive members of bands and committees in other churches. Their membership of bands/cells and committees in other churches impresses that they were dully registered in their previous churches and also belonged to bands or committees there. Their inability to sever their membership of bands or committees in their previous churches might be informed by some benefits that they are still enjoying. Furthermore, it might also be that such benefits are absent in the congregations to which they currently belong.

7.8 Summary

The chapter presents the demographic data about the members of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in Lagos, Ibadan, and Jos that were sampled. For fair representation, churches with disparate year of establishment, size, population and location were selected, and the data obtained gave good information about their operations, social and economic status of members, and ways through which they gain more members. Observations show that a considerable number of car owners attend services in the churches and the varieties of cars impressed that their owners can be located among the rich, average, and low income earners in the society.

Four hundred and fifty (450) questionnaires were sent out to respondents and three hundred and eighteen (318) were returned, filled. Out of the number of questionnaires returned, the age distribution of members who filled the questionnaires indicates that members who are located within 45 years to 54 years age categories were seventy three (73), while those who belong to the oldest age category (75 years and above) have the lowest chance of representation.

On the ethnic composition of respondents, members who are of Yoruba extraction have the highest representation. This impresses that the Yoruba members are more physically present in the church premises for week days and Sunday worship than other members of different ethnic affiliations. It also upheld the findings of the previous studies that the membership of the Aladura was predominantly Yoruba. The result of the current study suggests that the Yoruba members are more favoured by the substantial presence of their religio-cultural elements in the beliefs and practices of the churches. By this, it can be inferred that the Christianized Yoruba materialized beliefs and the appropriation of rituals for solving economic, social, and security challenges have remained one the major sources of attraction to the Yoruba, and to other people whose religio-cultural background share some similarities with that of the Yoruba.

The social status of members that were sampled shows that there is marriage between male and female members and that child production exists in the churches. This implies that, apart from converts, church membership is increased and sustained through marriage. There were no indications that the churches, as a matter of strict policy, compel their marriageable members to marry one another. This, to a great extent suggests that the churches are not conservative in their recruitment of members through male-female marriage.

There are indications that all levels of formal education and different professions are represented in the membership of the churches. This development is against the findings of previous studies on the educational and occupational composition of Aladura churches, particularly in Ibadan where John Peel and Robert Mitchell did their study. In 1950, the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) estimated Nigeria's illiteracy rate to be 84.4%, which means that about 16% of Nigerians are literate (Murtala Akanbi Yusuf *et al* 2013:34). This must have accounted for the low literacy level among the Aladura as reported in the studies of the 1960s on the Aladura. The increase in the literacy of Aladura members as the current study has indicated, we can infer here, is related to the upward level of literacy in Nigeria, which was 57% in 1991 (Murtala Akanbi Yusuf *et al* 2013:36) and 56.9% in 2010 literacy survey (UNESCO 2012:1). The increase in the number

of members with cultural capital suggests that there is an increase in transnational contact and experience, which can be attributed to the transformation that the churches are experiencing. The explosion in the establishment of theological institutions and the increase in the literacy rate of prophets suggest an increase in the number of prophets who have adequate knowledge of the bible and are trained in the ethics and best practice of their calling.

On membership recruitment, there are indications that membership of the churches increases through child bearing much more than those who join the church, largely from other Christian churches and less from Islamic and traditional religions. Majority of members that were sampled belong to various cells/bands in the churches. Membership of cells/bands in the church implies that members who belong to them (cells/bands) are duly registered and are full members. However, there are few cases of fluid membership among members that were sampled.

The above demographics show that the clientele of the Aladura, which were predominantly those of very low social and economic status, and whose education was very low have included those on the higher level of the economic, social and educational strata of the larger society. The change is due to the fact that the economic, political, social and security challenges in the larger society affect every one across the strata and the Aladura churches claim to provide spiritual solution to them. It is also inferred here that some of the highly skilled, professionals, and highly educated were either born into the churches or became members with low status and have attained greater heights even as they continue to worship in the churches. This, to a considerable extent, has influence on the change that can be seen in the segment of the religious market, which the churches have created and sustained over time.

Chapter Eight

Migration and Globalisation

International migration of people is a significant aspect of the process of globalization. The migration of people across geographical boundaries have increased over the years due to advancement in transport and communication technologies such as air, sea, rail, road travels, and the production and access to improved information channels such as the satellites television, internet, radio and mobile phones. These new technologies, no doubt, have intensified the awareness of people across international boundaries and have also increased migration aspirations in them. The geographical mapping of international migration of people, according to Li (2008:3), has been “from less to more developed regions of the world”. The author, drawing from his background as a sociologist emphasizes that the catalysts of globalization, which include migration are most evident in the integrated world economies, which are anchored on digitalized technologies, communication, liberalized trade and considerable free flow of capital and goods. Adogame and Weisskoppel’s (2005:5) emphasis on migration and religion in the globalization discourse provides the perspective which we have found absent in Li’s (2008) focus. Adogame and Weisskoppel (2005:5) have noted that “the implosion of new African immigrants in diasporic contexts is significant in that it also forms the bedrocks for an extensive reordering of European and American religious life”. To Kahanec and Zimmermann (2008:2), migration may involve “many twists and turns”, which may be temporary or permanent, national or international, individual or collective, across countries or back to home country.

Apart from the fact that globalization through the process of trade, immigration, transportation, and communication has increasingly integrated world cultures and economies, considerably breaking trade barriers across regional and international boundaries, and influencing immigration policies of countries for increasing and better exchange of human resources and ideas, it has implications on the religion of the migrant communities and that of their host communities. This, the migrant religious communities extend to their religious organizations in their home countries.

Previous studies have brought to the fore the importance of migration and other factors that combine to fast track world integration and baggage of exchanges that result from the interconnection. Adogame (2014, 2005, 2004, 1998) has written extensively on African independent churches in diaspora, of which Aladura churches are a part; highlighting varied factors for their emergence, proliferation, transnationalization, public perception about them,

and how they have continued to influence the religio-cultural and socio-economic aspects of their host communities in diaspora and vice versa through active spiritual and social response to emerging challenges facing members and exchange of ideas with their church branches in Africa. Specifically, Adogame and Weisskoppel (2005) provide insights into the redefinition of religious life in Europe and Americas within the context of African migration. The authors posit that “African migration to Europe and North America has become characterized by increasing diversification in both sending and receiving contexts” (4). The authors agree that economic liberalization, cultural exchange, religious vitality, and the dynamics of religious networking are consequences of migration and that such implications have multiple directions: they exist between African migrant communities and their host countries, and also between the migrant communities and their home countries. In particular is the outcome of migration between the migrant religious communities and their host countries, and that which exists between the migrant religious communities and their members in home countries. The authors emphasize further that such interconnection of religious communities engenders the spread of religious ideas, increase in the demography of adherents and also influences the material culture of religious organizations such as building, cloth, money politics, and the appropriation of new media technologies such as video production, electronic advertisement and the cyberspace. Berner (2005) uses three groups of historical examples, namely the Greek Polis religion, Christianity and Judaism, and oriental cults of Sarapis and Isis in the Roman Empire, to explain the significance of migration and the consequent exchange of religious ideas, syncretism, and expansion or diffusion. Hermione Harris’ (2006) research provides a rich data on the exportation of an African Christianity (Aladura) to London and how the Yoruba culture-loaded Aladura church negotiates its spiritual and social relevance amidst the influence of mainline churches, modern Pentecostal megachurches and modernity. The author enriches us with the power of migration that facilitates the transnationalization of the C&S, its Yoruba cultural baggage and its hierarchical and patriarchal tendencies. On its Yoruba religio-cultural identity, the author explains the central position of *Ase* (potent speech or seal) and *Agbara* (spiritual power) in the prayer and ritual of the C&S, which are fashioned after Yoruba traditional religious thought (58) and the appropriation of spiritual power in prophecy and healing. She contrasts the C&S prophets and Yoruba traditional diviners in their approach to solving existential problems of members and visitor, which range from health to socio-economic challenges in London.

Migration to a great extent influences the redefinition of Aladura churches in Nigeria. Firstly, the migration of members from Nigeria to diaspora offers a considerable opportunity to the

brand of Christianity to be known and practiced in different parts of the world. Such cross-border ties that have transnationalized Aladura Christianity have been further deepened through the redefinition of the religious landscape of host communities in diaspora, the influence of the host communities on Aladura churches and the exchange of ideas between them (Aladura churches in the diaspora) and their home churches in Nigeria. The agents of this exchange are the Aladura members in the diaspora who either relocate back to Nigeria and also integrate into Aladura churches in their home country, members who are still sojourning in the diaspora and who represent their churches at the annual general conference (C&S), international general assembly (TCLA), general committee (CCC) meetings, and charismatic individuals or groups who leave their former Aladura churches in diaspora to form their own and also establish branches in Nigeria and other parts of the world. A number of Aladura churches that emerged in diaspora have been discussed in diasporic category in chapter two, sub-section 2.3 in this study. Their globalized ideas about church administration and modern ways of designing, organizing and marketing the gospel and the image of the church to a considerable extent influence decisions at conference meetings and on church policy formulation.

The migration of Aladura members from Nigeria to Europe, particularly the United Kingdom (UK) began in the 1960s. A number of members who migrated to Europe and who, after their sojourn there for a number of years, relocated back to Nigeria and introduced some innovative ideas into their respective churches. The spiritual leader of the CSMC, Baba Aladura Samuel Adefila Abidoye is one of the examples of Aladura members who migrated to England in 1961 for one of the reasons, which Kahanec and Zimmermann (2008:2) list as economic prospect, more secured living environment, family reunion, and avoidance of persecution in home country. Abidoye in one of his responses to interview questions in the course of this study claimed that he was instrumental to the formation of the first Cherubim and Seraphim congregation in 1965 in the United Kingdom (UK) and his apartment in London served as their worship place but conceded the leadership of the group to one of the pioneer members, Rose Osazuwa⁵¹⁰. However, the mantle of leadership of the group fell on Abidoye at the recall of Osazuwa back to Nigeria. Reminiscing on his sojourn in the UK and his active participation in the formation, administration and management of Cherubim and Seraphim and the ecumenical activities of his group in the comity of Churches in the UK, Abidoye asserted:

⁵¹⁰ A military officer, recalled to Nigeria by the Nigerian Army in 1968. He was prophet and senior Apostle in Rank. He was of Edo extraction, Benin, Nigeria.

my sojourn in the United Kingdom and my active role in the establishment of the C&S, nurturing it to growth and expansion through the collective efforts of members who belonged to different strands of C&S in Nigeria broadened my horizons on church structures, administration and programmes that are image and membership driven. In fact, my ecumenical encounter with ministers of other church denominations and interaction with some of the UK government functionaries on interreligious affairs gave me a lot of experience on the role of the church in societal peace and development, and how a church can positively negotiate its relevance among numerous religious organizations.⁵¹¹

Abidoeye's wealth of experience began to play out when, back in Nigeria in 2005, he became the spiritual leader of a major strand of the C&S, Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church (CSMC) headquartered in Kaduna, Nigeria. He consolidated on the achievements of his predecessors in making the organizational structure of the CSMC more elaborate by creating ministries and departments. Drawing on his experience in the UK, Abidoeye in 2005 inaugurated Hephzibah foundation with the purpose driven principles of making the C&S warmer through fellowship, deeper through discipleship, stronger through worship, broader through ministry, and larger through evangelism⁵¹². With the Hephzibah's work plan of increasing membership, ministries and branches, developing and appropriating media evangelism, hosting conferences, conventions and seminars, developing music ministration in the C&S, developing charitable activities and support advocacy, and exploring media technologies for evangelism and church development through website based resource⁵¹³, Abidoeye claimed the project has been a tremendous image booster to the church and relief to the less privileged through its charity intervention activities⁵¹⁴. Abidoeye's attempt to redefine some aspects of the church tradition, particularly on restrictions was met with resistance at a general conference of the church. He constituted a committee to look into the possibility of scrapping some aspects of the church tradition, which he (Abidoeye) felt keep the church behind modernity. The committee presented its proposal at the conference for possible adoption. The committee report was rejected on the ground that the church faith tradition was revealed and the church has to be properly guided by divine revelation on what to deemphasize and what not to.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹¹ Personal interview with Samuel A. Abidoeye, 15 May, 2011, Jos.

⁵¹² Hephzibah web page. Accessed August 15, 2012. <http://www.candsukhqradiotv.org/hephzibah.pdf>.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁴ Personal interview with Samuel A. Abidoeye, 15 May, 2011, Jos.

⁵¹⁵ Personal interview with I. A. Akinduti, 09 June, 2011, Ibadan.

Not discouraged by the rejection of his plan to redefine some aspects of the church's restrictions, Baba Aladura Pastor⁵¹⁶ Samuel Abidoye, during an interview with the researcher claimed:

The decision of the general conference is supreme above the power vested in me as the spiritual leader, but I have taken another dimension to promote the image of the church by marketing myself through participating in public discourses on issues bordering on religious, economic and political affairs of the nation in the print and electronic media.

In corroborating the claim of Abidoye, some of his positions on national issues have been found in some of the Nigerian daily newspapers on the internet.⁵¹⁷ The general leader of CSMC, Surulere, Lagos, Gabriel Fakeye is another example of Aladura members who migrated to London in the 1960s and came back in 1971. On his return, he pioneered a prayer group, which metamorphosed into a big church with many branches in and outside Nigeria including the UK and the United States of America (USA), yet subsumed under the leadership of Samuel Abidoye. His church administration and evangelism strategies have led to a slogan: "the Cherubim and Seraphim Model". According to an informant, "Fakeye was the first returnee from the diaspora who introduced modern evangelism strategies and much dynamism into Aladura churches in Nigeria, particularly the CSMC".⁵¹⁸ The trajectory of migrant members of the Church of the Lord Aladura (TCLA) including those who have returned and those who have remained permanent as ambassadors of the church in the diaspora dates back to the 1960s when the second late Primate of the church Adeleke Adejobi sojourned in Glasgow as a theological student. Drawing from his diasporic experience, Adejobi worked the church's partnership with the Mennonites to establish Aladura Theological Institute (ATI) in 1971 in Anthony Village, Lagos. Other notable members who have had diasporic experience include the third primate, late Olusegun Ositelu and the current primate Rufus Ositelu. He sojourned in Europe for a number of years as a student, worker, and leader of TCLA in Germany. His doctorate degrees in computer science and religious studies, coupled with his diasporic influence are an asset to the church and he has made these qualities to bear on his church administration, elaborate organizational structure of the

⁵¹⁶ S. A. Abidoye claimed a pastoral title because he did a pastoral course and obtained a certificate on it, but the CSMC does not have pastoral rank in its ranks and robes.

⁵¹⁷ See details in "2015: Cleric Warns Politicians against Overheating the Polity". ThisdayLive, 30 September, 2013. Accessed October 12, 2012. <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/2015-cleric-warns-politicians-against-overheating-polity/160294/>. "Lern from Malawi Leader, Cleric Tells Jonathan". Royal Times, 29 June, 2013. Accessed October 12, 2013. <http://royaltimes.net/news/learn-from-malawi-leader-cleric-tells-jonathan/>.

⁵¹⁸ Personal interview with O. O. Sowande, 03 August, 2011, Lagos.

church, televangelism, and elaborate financial blueprint for the church (Ositelu 2009). The current leader of the CCC in Ketu Lagos, Pastor Emmanuel Mobiyina Oschoffa is one of the Aladura returnees, particularly of the CCC, from Europe. He lived in France as a student for a number of years and as head of the CCC in France before ascending the pastoral position in the CCC international headquarters, Ketu Lagos.

Summary

The chapter describes how migration and globalization influence the transformation of Aladura churches. Migration of Aladura members from Nigeria to the great economies in Europe and Americas for better pay jobs and better living condition has its turnaround influence on Aladura churches in Nigeria. Aladura migrants in Europe, Americas and other continents are ambassadors of their respective home churches in the diaspora. Their various experiences about church as an organization and how general church programmes are being designed and coordinated in the developed world have influence on their contributions at international general conferences/assemblies of their respective churches and other discussion fora in Nigeria. Those who have returned home, have in different ways helped to redefine their churches. The spiritual leaders of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC Samuel Abidoeye, Rufus Ositelu, and Emmanuel Mobiyina are examples of Aladura returnees from diaspora. Televangelist Gabriel Fakeye is another example of returnees whose contribution to the transformation of the C&S in Nigeria is immense. The returnees and those who remain in the developed world and serve as representatives of their churches at general conferences/assemblies and other Aladura fora in Nigeria are examples of human capital whose initiatives and suggestions in various ways redefine their churches for competitive advantages on Nigeria's religious landscape.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion

In the first chapter of this study, five main questions were stated, which served as search light into how the Aladura churches have been redefining themselves. The findings from the empirical data that were obtained from field research and the review of relevant literature that are laid out in chapters two to eight, formed the basis of the conclusion of this study.

The first question probed into whether there is transformation in Aladura Christianity over the years in Nigeria. Using the social science technique of qualitative research methodology, which required observations of direct and indirect categories, interview of key actors, the review of existing literature and the prints that various churches and individual members have produced, evidences abound in the study that Aladura Christianity has witnessed and continues to experience considerable redefinition in belief and practice. Population increase and church expansion, leadership crisis, reaction to internal pressure for change and identified performance gap formed the internal dynamics that engender the transformation in Aladura churches. Besides, migration, globalization and competitive religious environment influence the innovations in Aladura churches. The churches, human society, and the global environment cannot be regarded as independent entities. The three interact into their reciprocal relevance and effects. The interconnectivity considerably dictates the change in Aladura churches.

The transformation in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC takes an evolutionary process, which is either planned or accidental. From the available data, it shows that the churches from their formative years up to the present demonstrate a considerable level of change that has evolved for about nine decades in the C&S, fairly above eight decades in TCLA, and for nearly seven decades in the CCC. The evolutionary transformation of the organizational structure of the churches from the formless stage at the formative stage of their existence to the elaborately departmentalized form is presented in chapter four. The integrated faith tradition of the churches evolved from the religio-cultural background of pioneer members who joined the groups along with their baggage of belief and cultural orientation. The exposure of prophets and members to mystical books, which contain materialized prayer principles, has contributed to the evolutionary stage that Aladura prayer has attained. The three major Aladura groups are products of the changing globalized human society. The churches' responsiveness to modernity and globalization resulted in a gradual shift from their past. The deliberate and well thought out innovative programmes that were borne out of the diasporic experiences of the

likes of general leader Gabriel Olubunmi Fakeye and Baba Aladura Samuel Adefila Abidoye both of the CSMC, Primate Rufus Ositelu of the TCLA, and Pastor Emmanuel Mobiyina Oschoffa of the CCC have contributed to the gradual transformation OF the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in the areas of policy formulation, evangelism and social welfare projects. Their stay in the Europe and America for a number of years provided them some experiences, which on their return were introduced into the church.

The development of elaborate organizational structure in the churches is driven by the need for efficient management of human and material resources, which membership increase and national, African, and diasporic expansion have necessitated, and for administrative advantages in the pluralistic and competitive religious environment. Faced by the challenge, which growth, expansion and pluralism pose, each church structures and restructures its organizational set-up through the creation of departments, ministries, committees, and cells for harnessing the potentials of individuals and groups for the progress of the church. Such operational goal and administrative strategy are typical of secular firms, which goal is to maximize advantages through the production and supply of commodities and harnessing the available human and material resources in order to meet the changing demands of the market.

This operational strategy requires devolution of authority, allocation of functions, and orderly appropriation of individual resources. Such division of labour points to the democratization process in the churches. According to Hackett (1988:340), democratization is the involvement and control of the church affairs by the laity. At formation, the founders were everything to clients and the entire groups. This must have partly accounted for the 1920s and 1930s schisms in the C&S and the 1930s schisms in TCLA. The C&S in particular placed its priority on prophecy and healing at the detriment of organizational set-up and effective harmonization of human resources for better church administration. The absence of elaborate organizational structure partly accounted for role conflicts and personality crisis between founder Orimolade and Christiana Emmanuel, which resulted in the first schism in the C&S and also became a characteristic of the C&S today. Similarly, the absence of elaborate organization in TCLA at the formative years contributed to multiple schisms, because for a number of years, it was “a one-man church...the personal drive of its founder, who has remained the visible center of the church through more than three decades, and has survived considerable criticism of his policy and administration” (Turner 1967:88). It was exactly during the decades of policy and administration that schisms plagued the church, precisely from 1935 to 1961. Like the C&S and TCLA, the CCC paid little attention to elaborate organization at the early part of its

existence. Data obtained on the three churches indicate that visible elaborate organizational structure began in the 1980s when more departments or units of church administration became necessary due to church expansion and growing competition among religious organizations. Furthermore, the social visibility of other religious organizations, particularly the new Pentecostal churches and their coordinated mediatized evangelism and the way they organize themselves have been quite visible to the Aladura churches to emulate.

The development of elaborate organizational structure indicates the proactiveness of the Aladura churches. The evangelism ministry or unit of the churches supports the idea that the prophetic churches do not only wait for divine revelation to instruct on *ikede* street evangelism, but also design mediatized evangelism programmes aimed at winning souls for Christ and also marketing themselves to the larger audiences. The data also indicate a growing culture of the use of print and electronic media for evangelism. The display of gospel messages, biblical references and catchy revival phrases on billboards, posters and handbills shows some level of intensification of evangelism. The churches' appropriation of the cyberspace for information generation and dissemination, particularly for promoting their image and spiritual commodities is a step further in their proactiveness and self-transformation. Yet, the data offer some evidence of continuity in the persistent use of street evangelism, which has largely been restricted to day time use. Revival inside the prayer house is still widely organized inside the churches. This is in addition to the use of recreation centers for mass revivals.

The campus Christian experience of the youths influenced the creation of youth ministry that designs and coordinates the activities of the youths who are regarded as the future custodians of the churches' faith traditions. This, including the generational gap between the elders and the youth necessitated the birth of English/Model parishes or Youth Fellowship. The development of mass media, particularly the print, radio and television in Nigeria in the 1970s, the highly mediatized Pentecostals, and the information and communication technologies revolution in the first decade of the twenty first century Nigeria offered evidence that the use of the media and other high technologies in Aladura churches are a result of their responsiveness to these external stimuli. The creation of other ministries shows a redefinition strategy geared towards sustaining the commitments of members for the growth and expansion of the churches. In order to remain firm in the faith traditions of Aladura churches, C&S and CCC encourage their youths to form prayer groups on their respective campuses. They operate in their respective prayer groups on the campuses of the University of Ibadan,

Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, University of Lagos, Akoka, Lagos State University, and University of Jos.

The establishment of theological and secular schools offered considerable evidence that the churches are responsive to the shortfall in theological education of their prophets and other church workers, as earlier described in previous studies. The data obtained in this regard also indicate that response to theological education began in the 1970s. The CSMC among other C&S strands seems to be more responsive in terms of number of theological institutions, which a number of its local branches established. Data also show that policies evolved, which are geared towards best practice in the prophetic ministry in the C&S and CCC. This took off in 1986 in the C&S and 1991 in the CCC. Since its establishment of a theological seminary in Anthony, Lagos 1971, TCLA has articulated ideas and standard, which formed the basis of its ministerial training and retraining.

In their drive for relevance and contribution to literacy growth in Nigeria, the churches ventured into the establishment of secular schools. Like the mainline churches that combined the knowledge of the bible with formal education, the Aladura churches own a number of pre-primary, primary and secondary schools. However, unlike the missionary purpose of establishing schools for civilizing mission, particularly to win converts, train catechists, produce clerical officers and for possible utility in the civil service of the colonial government, the Aladura secular schools were established in line with the Nigerian government educational policy. Although the study does not offer evidence of the number of people converted through provision of secular education, the conclusion drawn here is that the churches ventured into it as an additional service to the society, which to a great extent helps to sustain the commitment of their members and possibly attract non-members to their folds. Like the theological education, the establishment of secular schools began in the post-civil war era.

The formation of central choir, which has been found in the TCLA and CCC is an administrative strategy geared towards harnessing the music potentials of individual choristers and choir groups from different branches to create a single choir group that represents the church in appearance and content at national and international fora. The data on the respective central choirs offered evidence of the use of website for information dissemination about their operations and also generating information or questions from the enquiry page. The C&S does not have a central choir that unifies the choir groups of all the strands. The data does not offer any evidence that a national choir exists in any of the strands. However, available evidence

shows that some C&S, TCLA, and CCC choir groups produce a number of record labels and musical videos. By this development, a considerable number of the churches' choir groups are actors in the gospel music segment of the music industry in Nigeria.

The C&S, TCLA, and CCC introduced innovations into their beliefs and practices as a strategy negotiating their relevance amidst abundance of options that other religious organizations provide. The data on the spirituality of the churches, modes of evangelism, and material culture provide evidence of innovations amidst continuity. While prophecy continues to be a visible feature of belief and practice, its appropriation has attained a new dimension. Like a medical consultancy service, spiritual consultation service exists in a number of churches in the C&S and CCC. A number of prophets attend to consultees who are seated on queue consulting the prophet consultants one after the other after which a follow-up is done on the recipes for the clients' problems. This, to an extent, has taken prophecy to a different level in the churches, thereby establishing some level of sanity in the practice. The use of sacred words, natural objects and assorted refined petroleum has persisted in the ritual practice of the churches. Although some of the objects are prohibited by the churches, the conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the items have remained significant in the materiality of belief of members and visitors. Materializing faith is a major aspect of the traditional religion of the Yoruba and this is considerably present in Aladura beliefs and practices. The nexus of biblical and non-biblical traditions in the churches offered an evidence of transformation in Aladura Christianity that started with fervent prayer and sanctification of water.

The data on the sacred space and time show some striking similarities and continuity across the churches. There is persistence in the construction and appropriation of 'hill tops' and mercy grounds as sacred places. This implies that members and visitors have held onto them as physical places of spiritual refuge. This supports Mitchell's (1970) claim that the Aladura churches in their contribution to the society provide spiritual solution to some stress situations that result from social change. Furthermore, the data in chapter eight provide evidence of growing beautification of sacred spaces in terms of structural design and painting as showcased, which to our mind is driven by the churches' recognition of the fact that beautification of space and objects is not limited to residential and public social centers. The data on sacred time, particularly of worship offered evidence that the increasing social and economic demands compel the churches to manage the length of worship in order to accommodate the interest and time schedules of members in private and government

establishments. But this does not completely erode the belief in divine time of intervention and accomplishment of task as the churches demonstrate in their healing worship.

The data on the liturgy and other liturgical practices of the churches show a considerable innovations and continuity. Some basic features of the liturgies of the churches are modeled after the mainline churches. These aspects include procession and recession, candle stand, introit, recitation chosen from the psalter, adoration and other prayer points, bible reading, sermon, thanksgiving, closing prayer and benediction or the grace. In addition to these are the churches' independent elements, which include ringing of bell three or seven times, sacred words, dreams, visions/revelations and interpretation, and joyous worship. The data also provide evidence of modernization of liturgical materials such as the electric bulb stand instead of candle stand, brass crucifix replacing wooden crucifix, marble or glass pulpit replacing the wooden type, and the use of high technology materials for the production of offertory pouches. The data on marriage solemnization provide evidence of transformation where the churches suggest court marriage as a supplement to church wedding in order to arm the couple against any law suits that may arise in the course of their legal union. Would-be partners are also enjoined to seek medical examination to ascertain health status and compatibility as a supplement to spiritual investigation of their union. This is a reflection of the emerging faces of health challenge associated with short-lived marriages and the position of the church that medical counseling and examination, aside spiritual examination and counseling are critical to a joyous married life. These evidences support that modernity is taking its turn on the church.

The gender restriction has remained very visible in the beliefs and practices of Aladura churches. It is far more persistent in the C&S and CCC than in TCLA, which from its start has considerable recognition for female contributions to both church ritual and administration. This recognition necessitated their integration into the church hierarchy and ministerial function, but with some restrictions. However, the new trend offered evidence of redefinition, which the church and some individuals have initiated. This is evident in the emergence of the modernist group among the strands of the C&S where female ritual and leadership restrictions are discarded, and TCLA official policy of allowing the female menstruants a space at the last back row of the middle column seats, within the church during worship. The relative role of the females in religious and cultural matters among the Yoruba and the pressures within the church to break away from their past reflect the new trend. The females are not completely restricted from religious rituals and community affairs: there are chief priestesses and high

chiefs in the administration of a traditional *Oba* King. Further implication of this trend is that rationality seems to override belief, especially where the discourse focuses on the unhygienic attitude of some female menstruants as good reason for their restriction in the church.

The C&S, TCLA, and CCC, like secular firms, are religious organizations that harness the potentials of both members and visitors, and material resources for the production and supply of spiritual goods and social services in order to meet the demands of their consumers (members and visitors) and the larger society for the overall goal of sustaining the commitments of members and attracting more members. Nigeria's religious landscape is diversified and the diversity has encouraged competition among religious organizations. Various religious organizations compete for members and relevance. The competition has been both latent and violent. Such religious market conditions have compelled the C&S, TCLA, and CCC to expand their respective organizational structure, repackage their religious commodities, and redefined their prophetic ministry through the provision of sound knowledge of the bible in theological schools for best prophetic practices. The churches have maximized these strategies for competitive advantages in the religious market.

The churches' integration of street and mediatized evangelism is to take message of salvation to both near and far audiences; to gain social visibility; to repel to a considerable level, the influence of mediatized secular images and information on youths that are future custodians of Aladura faith tradition; and for gaining some competitive advantage. In achieving this goal, they embark on radio and television programmes; use billboards, posters and handbills to disseminate information about their spiritual packages; do song ministration in public sphere and through audio and video cassettes and discs; and also upload information about their programmes, social services, history and expansion on their web pages. They, like medical firms, provide spiritual consultation services for members and solution seekers, provide recipes, and supervise the performance of the healing rituals.

The faith tradition of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC is an integrated Christianity. Their beliefs and practices show that a lot of elements have been borrowed from African traditional religion and integrated into biblical tradition to form a distinct Christianity. The integration is variously called syncretism, synthesis, borrowing, mixing, and hybridity, and explained either in normative or descriptive category. The mixture that produced the new, demonstrates some power relation between African traditional religion and Christianity; it indicates a dimension of religious transformation; and the survival of traditional religious elements amidst Christian influence. The African indigenous symbols in worship and healing rituals of the C&S, TCLA,

and CCC is a seeming contest and resistance between Christianity as an imported religion and traditional religion that is native to the Africans. Furthermore, it shows the resilience of African cultural identity in such a way that the mutually different religious traditions are not lost, but are used for the salvation of members. The integration of different religious traditions and the borrowing of different ideas have helped to redefine Aladura churches to their current form, and have made the churches more resilient in the religious market.

The entire worship of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC, their healing rituals, and response to the competitive religious environment in Nigeria are performative acts. The performative acts of the churches are their expressed lived realities. Their verbal and none verbal and written and none written performance can be viewed from five different perspectives: assessment, entertainment, repository of faith-tradition, persuasion, and survival. The self-assessment of the C&S (1925), TCLA (1930), and CCC (1947 in Porto Novo; 1950 in Nigeria), and their operations among other religious organizations has necessitated their self-transformation for surviving the increasing competition in the religious market. The churches through the celebration of anniversaries by bands/cells and the performance of liturgical practices have introduced lots of innovations into the church. Band annual celebration is a source of transformation in that various bands donate modern objects that help the church meet some challenging realities of modernization and competition, while monies donated are used to transform their administrative operations and evangelism strategies. Their performance of song ministration and production of record albums are a source through which the churches sustain and increase their social visibility and also demonstrate their tendency for accommodating new innovations from outside the church. The joyous worship of the Aladura, which includes their rendition of songs and choruses in different languages with the accompaniment of integrated traditional and modern musical instruments are a source of enjoyment to members, visitors and on-lookers and a demonstration of innovation. Their jumping, clapping and dancing, and the half-conscious state of “those filled with the spirit” provide a source of enjoyment to members and visitors who are delighted in dancing activities and in what God wants to say through those gifted with the power of revelation. There, ranks and colourful robes, prophetic and non-prophetic staff indicate the innovative tendency of the churches and also provide enjoyment to performers and spectators who make meaning out of the whole performance. The performance of rituals among the Aladura is a source through which the faith traditions of the churches are kept alive for the current and future generations of members. Such performance is a source of persuasion to members and non-members who make meaning out of the spiritual solutions which the churches provide to their problems.

These innovative performances, to a great extent, help the churches to survive the competition in the religious market. According to Stark (2006:5), “the more effective and innovative organizations will grow, and the less effective organizations will decline and eventually disappear”. The C&S has survived nine decades of market competition and internal pressures; TCLA has survived similar challenges for eight and a half decades; and the CCC has done the same for about seven decades. While it is glaring that the churches are experiencing transformation in appearance, content and structure, it may not be far-fetched to draw on the total transformation of the Redeemed Christian Church of God from its former white garment Aladura form and content to its present prophetic, healing and pietistic form, as the possible future of the C&S, TCLA, and CCC.

The churches are both innovative and conservative, but to a large extent, are accommodating ideas and new things from the larger society and the global world. The churches use ideas and modern high technology materials from the larger society to transform themselves to their present form and appearance. Some aspects of the churches show some striking resemblance with elements from the traditional religion of the Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria where the Cherubim and Seraphim (C&S) and the Church of the Lord Aladura (TCLA) originated and where the CCC was nurtured to growth and expansion in Nigeria. There are claims of unofficial use of mystical books among the prophets and individuals, which the churches officially condemned and prohibited. The C&S and TCLA church hymnals accommodate substantial songs from the Anglican hymnals and considerable choruses generally acclaimed to be from the new Pentecostal churches. Although the CCC claimed to have compiled purely inspirational songs originating from the inspired members of the church, generally acclaimed Pentecostal choruses are sung and danced to during church service. The liturgies of the churches and other liturgical practices are modeled after the mainline churches. The Anglican background of Moses Orimolade and Josiah Ositelu, the Methodist background of Samuel Oshoffa and the various Christian backgrounds of pioneer members of the churches, to some extent, had significant influence on much borrowing in the C&S, TCLA, and CCC in this regard. However, some elements of the liturgies and other liturgical practices suggest the churches have their original elements. These are the use of a bell, recitation of some “sacred words or names”, symbolic garments, which the leader of the worship wears, number symbolism, and natural objects such as salt, honey, and egg. Although the churches encourage Christian marriage between marriageable male and female members, they do not reject the marriage of members to non-members. Marriage within the church has been encouraged partly because some background information and growth of the individual members are

available to the church and are useful for decision making. Secondly, we want to assume that it is the second plan of every church to increase membership through internal marriage and procreation among members. This is clearly seen in chapter two.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Abidoeye, Samuel A. *The Listening Ear of God*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Movement Press, 2010.

Abidoeye, Samuel A. *My Journey So Far*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Movement Press, nd.

Abidoeye, Samuel A. *From His Vineyard*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Movement Press, nd.

Asebiomo, Pepe E. "Opening Address of the CCC Re-Unification/Reconciliation Efforts". Paper presented at the Most Senior Elders, the 'Michairs' and 'Nehemiahs' Forum. Held at National Headquarters, Makoko, Lagos, June 17, 2010.

Asebiomo, Pepe E., A. Arikawe, and S. O. Oshodi. Press Release on "The State of CCC in Nigerian Diocese and the Diaspora", September 27, 2011.

Celestial Church of Christ. nd. *Order of Service*. Ketu, Lagos: Celestial Church of Christ.

Celestial Church of Christ. 1974. *Rules and Regulations on Worship*. Ketu, Lagos: Celestial Church of Christ.

Celestial Church of Christ. 1980. *CCC Constitution*. Lagos: Board of Trustees, 1980.

Celestial Church of Christ. 2012. *Bible Lessons and Parishes*. Lagos: Office of the Pastor.

Celestial Church of Christ. 2011. *Celestial Visions and Dreams Ministers*. Ketu, Lagos: CCC International Headquarters.

Celestial Church of Christ. *CCC Seminary and Leadership Training Institute School Brochure*. This is a six-page print-out document, nd.

Celestial Church of Christ. 2012. *CCC Workers' Retreat Handbook: Fight the Good Fight of Faith*, Summit Two, March 26-30, 2012. Ketu, Lagos: CCC International Headquarters.

Cherubim and Seraphim Council of Churches. 1990. *Tenets of Faith*. Lagos: Cherubim and Seraphim Council of Churches.

Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church. 2010. *4th National Convention/Retreat: Higher Level in Delight of the Law of God*, September 8–10, 2010. Kaduna: CSMC National Pastors' Council.

Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church. 2011. *5th National Convention/Retreat: Fresh Oil for Ultimate Fulfillment*, Sept 7-9, 2011. Kaduna: CSMC National Pastors' Council.

Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church. 2011. *40th Anniversary Celebration and 25 Years of Evangelism in Nigeria*. Lagos: CSMC, Sixth Lagos District.

Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church. 2002. *Renewal Chapel Bible College Students Hand Book 2002-2004*. Lagos: Renewal Chapel Bible College.

Cherubim and Seraphim Movement Church. 2005. *Kingsland News Magazine*. Lagos: CSMC Kingsland District Headquarters.

Cherubim and Seraphim Unification Church of Nigeria. 1999. *CSUCN Constitution*. Lagos: Cherubim and Seraphim Unification Church of Nigeria.

Fakeye, G.O. the Doctrine of Cherubim and Seraphim Church. Lagos: DiiPrints, 2000.

Owodunni, Josiah K. *Facts about the Genesis of 'the Crisis' in the Church*. Lagos: CCC Ijeshatedo, 2002.

The Church of the Lord Aladura. *A New Theological and Spiritual Institution for a New Era: Aladura Theological Seminary Prospectus*. Ogere, Nigeria: The Church of the Lord Aladura, nd.

The Church of the Lord Aladura. *Theological Institute Handover Note Submitted by Venerable Bankole Fabusoro*, nd.

The Church of the Lord Aladura. 2002. *Financial Regulations*. Ogere, Nigeria: TCLA.

The Church of the Lord Aladura. 2009. *Financial Regulations*. Ogere, Nigeria: TCLA.

The Church of the Lord Aladura. 2011. *Constitution*. Revised Edition. Ogere, Nigeria: TCLA.

The Church of the Lord Aladura. *The Servant of the Living God: The Biography of Primate E.A. Adejobi (1917 – 1991)*. Lagos: AAF, 2006.

Internet Sources

Abdullah, Hussaina J. and Ibrahim Hamza. "Women Need Independent Ownership Rights: Women and Land in Northern Nigeria". Paper Presented at an International Workshop on Women and Land in Africa. Kampala, Uganda, 1998. Accessed April 23, 2012. <http://www.law.emory.edu/wandl/WAl-studies/nigeria.htm>.

Abel, Michael K. "Retention Strategies and Religious Success: A Regional Comparison of American Jews". *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* 1,12(2005) Accessed November 17, 2011. http://www.religjournal.com/articles/article_view.php?id=12.

Ajayi, Ola. "Sat Guru Maharaj Ji Wants Lamido, Okonjo-Iweala Sacked". *Vanguard* Sunday, November 13, 2011. Accessed January 13, 2012. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201111141277.html>.

Alao, A. "Islamic Radicalisation and Violent Extremism in Nigeria". *Conflict, Security and Development* 13,2(2013):127-147. Accessed December 1, 2013. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/14678802.2013.796205>.

Alechenu, J., F. Soriwei, K. Idowu, O. Fabiyi, O. Adetayo, and A. Adepegba. "I'll sell abducted girls, says B'Haram leader, Shekau". *Punch* May 06, 2014. Accessed May 30, 2014. <http://www.punchng.com/news/ill-sell-abducted-girls-says-bharam-leader-shekau/>.

Appiah, George. "How T. B. Joshua took my Wife". Accessed January 22, 2012. <http://www.theghanaijournal.com/2009/09/27/>.

Ayinde, Oladipo. "Of Sat Guru Maharaj Ji's Mission as a Saviour". *Nigerian Tribune* Wednesday, January 11, 2012. Accessed September 14, 2012 <http://tribune.com.ng/index.php/opinion/34086-of-satguru-maharaj-jis-mission-as-a-saviour>

Balogun, Sheriff. '2015: Cleric Warns Against Politicians Overheating the Polity'. *Thisday Live* 30th March, 2013. Accessed October 12, 2013. <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/2015-cleric-warns-politicians-against-overheating-polity/160294/>.

Basrur, Sheela V. "*Health Effects on Noise*". 2000. Accessed January 23, 2012. <http://www.toronto.ca/health/hphe/noise/noise.htm>.

Bilesanmi, Olalekan. "Unending Succession Crisis in Celestial Church". *Vanguard* Sunday, February 16, 2003.

Binniyat, Luka, H. Umoru, and E. Ovuakporie. "48 Killed in Kaduna, Zaria Attacks". *Vanguard* Monday, June 18, 2012.

Blench, Roger and Mallam Dendo "Position Paper: The Dimension of Ethnicity, Language and Culture in Nigeria". Report prepared for DFID, Nigeria, Cambridge, November 2003. Accessed January 2, 2012. <http://www.rogerblench.info/RBOP.htm>.

Danjibo, N. D. "Islamic Fundamentalism and Sectarian Violence: The "Maitatsine" and "Boko Haram" Crises in Northern Nigeria". Peace and Conflict Studies Programme, Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. Accessed January 21, 2012. www.ifra-nigeria.org/.../N-D-DANJIBO-IsI.

Fabowale, Y. "Islamic Republic Uncovered in Ibadan". *TNV: The Nigerian Voice* Thursday, March 11, 2010. Accessed April 06, 2011. <http://www.thenigerianvoice.com/nvnewsthread2/13327/3/>.

Fatokun, Samson A. "'I Will Pour Out My Spirit Upon All Flesh': The Origin, Growth and Development of the Precious Stone Church—the Pioneering African Indigenous Pentecostal Denomination in Southwest Nigeria". *Cyberjournal for Pentecostal-Charismatic Research* 19 (January, 2010). Accessed January 30, 2012. <http://www.pctii.org/cyberj/cyber19.html>.

Federal Radio Corporation of Nigeria Ibadan National Station. "Sat Guru Maharaji Urges FG to Approve New Media Salary". Accessed January 13, 2012. <http://www.radionigeriaibadan.com/news/mediapress/1382-sat-guru-marahaji-urges-fg-to-approve-new-media-salary>.

Hill, Jonathan N.C. "Sufism in Northern Nigeria: Force for Counter-Radicalization?" May, 2010. Accessed January 21, 2012. <http://www.StrategicStudiesInstitute.army.mil/>.

Ibiwoye, Dotun. "Fakeye Counsels Jonathan". *Vanguard*, Wednesday, September 12, 2012. Accessed June 16, 2013. <http://www.vanguardngr.com/2012/09/fakeye-counsels-jonathan/>.

Ibrahim, James. "Nigeria won't disintegrate but...says cleric". *National Mirror* Wednesday, January 16, 2013. Accessed June 12, 2013. <http://issuu.com/73092/docs/mirror36>.

Ifijeh, Godwin “AMORC Offers Free Membership to Anglican Priests”. *Thisday* Monday, March 4, 2002. Accessed January 14, 2012. <http://wwrn.org/articles/10744/?&place=nigeria>.

International Crisis Group. “Northern Nigeria: Background to Conflict”. Africa Report No. 168, 20 December, 2010. Accessed April 6, 2013. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/west-africa/nigeria/168-northern-nigeria-background-to-conflict.aspx>.

Lemuel, Tunde. “Lern from Malawi Leader, Cleric Tells Jonathan”. *Royal Times* Saturday June 29, 2013. Accessed October 12, 2013. <http://royaltimes.net/news/learn-from-malawi-leader-cleric-tells-jonathan/>.

Martin, Harold S. “The Biblical Basis for Evangelism”. *Brethren Revival Fellowship* 34,4(1978) Accessed June 7, 2013. <http://www.brfwitness.org/?p=349>.

National Population Commission. “2006 Population Housing Census Figure Priority Table Volume III: Population Distribution by Sex, State, LGA and Senatorial District”. Abuja, Nigeria: NPC, 2010. Accessed November 03, 2014. <http://www.population.gov.ng/images/Vol%2003%20Table%20DSx%20LGAPop%20by%20SDistrict-PDF.pdf>.

Nelson, Nkem. “Nigeria: Sat Guru Maharajji Tasks Nigerians”. *Daily Champion* Monday, May 7, 2007. Accessed January 14, 2012. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200705070338.html>.

Nyoni, Peter. “Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria Secret Exposed on T B Joshua”. Accessed January 22, 2012. <http://www.zimdiaspora.com/index.php?option>.

Onaiyekan, John O. “Dividends of Religion in Nigeria”. Public Lecture, University of Ilorin, 12 May, 2010. Accessed November 25, 2011. <http://www.new.unilorin.edu.ng/unilorin/index.php/news-and-events/37-latest-news/787-public-lectures>.

Ritson, Neil. “Strategic Management”. Neil Ritson and Ventus Publishing ApS, 2011. Accessed January 10, 2012. <https://slp.somerset.gov.uk/SLC/Leadership%20Library/strategic%20Management%20-%20N.%20Ritson.pdf>.

Sanni, Tunde. “13 Injured as Islamic Sects Clash in Ibadan”. *ThisDay Live*, Monday, August 23, 2010. Accessed January 13, 2012. <http://www.thisdaylive.com/articles/13-injured-as-islamic-sects-clash-in-ibadan/80457>.

The United Nations Development Programme Guide, “Guide to the Nigerian Media”. Communications Unit, UNDP, Nigeria. Accessed April 6, 2014. <http://web.undp.org/comtoolkit/reaching-the-outside-world/docs/Best%20Practices/AGuidetotheNigerianMedia.pdf>.

UNESCO. *Action Plan:Nigeria*. Paris: UNESCO, 2012. Accessed, 09 June, 2014. <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/pdf/Nigeria.pdf>.

Books

Adejumo, Arinpe G. “The Practice and Worship of Sango in Contemporary Yorubaland”. In: Joel E. Tishken, Toyin Falola and Akintunde E. Akinyemi. eds. *Sango in Africa and the African Diaspora*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2009.

- Adepegba, Cornelious O. "Associated Place-Names and Sacred Icons of Seven Yoruba Deities". In: John K. Olupona and Terry Rey. eds. *Orisa Devotion as World Religion: The Globalization of Yoruba Religious Culture*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin, 2008.
- Adesoye, A. *Sojourn: Emeritus Professor V. A. Oyenuga's Biography*. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: RoseDug Books, 2010.
- Adogame, Afeosemime U. *Celestial Church of Christ. The Politics of Cultural Identity in a West African Prophetic-Charismatic Movement*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999.
- Adogame, Afe. "African Instituted Churches in Europe. Continuity and Transformation". In: Klaus Koschorke. ed. *African Identities and World Christianity in the Twentieth Century*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005.
- Adogame, A. and Cordula Weisskoppel. "Introduction". In: A. Adogame and Cordula Weisskoppel. eds. *Religion in the Context of African Migration*. Bayreuth: BASS, 2005.
- Adogame, Afeosemime U. *The African Christian Diaspora. New Currents and Emerging Trends in World Christianity*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Adogame, Afe. "Introduction: The Public Face of African New Religious Movements in Diaspora". In: Afe Adogame. ed. *The Public Face of African New Religious Movements in Diaspora. Imagining the Religious 'Other'*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014.
- Ajayi, Adegboyega I. *The Military and the Nigerian State 1966-1993: A Study of the Strategies of Political Control*. Trenton, New Jersey and Asmara, Eritrea: African World Press, Inc., 2007.
- Anderson, Allan H. *African Reformation: African Initiated Christianity in the 20th Century*. Trenton, New Jersey and Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2001.
- Atiso-Doe, Simon. *A Brief History of the Church of the Lord (Ghana)*. Accra: Author, 1990.
- Awolalu, Joseph Omosade. *Yoruba Beliefs and Sacrificial Rites*. London: Longman Group Limited, 1979.
- Awolalu, J. Omosade and P. Adelumo Dopamu. *West African Traditional Religion*. Ibadan: Onibonoje Printing and Book Industries, 1979.
- Ayegboyin, Deji I. and S. Ademola Ishola. *African Indigenous Churches: An Historical Perspective*. Lagos: Greater Heights Publications, 1997.
- Bankole, L. A. *Iwe Itan dida Egbe Mimo Kerubu ati Serafu Agbo Jesu, Oke-Ogun Agelu*, New Jerusalem. Ibadan: Tollycrown, 1995.
- Bell, Catherine. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

- Berner, Ulrich. "Mission and Migration in the Roman Empire". In: Afe Adogame and Cordula Weisskoppel. eds. *Religion in the Context of African Migration*. Bayreuth: BASS, 2005.
- Boer, Jan H. *Christianity and Islam Under Colonialism in Nigeria*. Jos, Nigeria: Institute of Church and Society, 1988.
- Brandon, George. "From Oral to Digital: Rethinking the Transmission of Tradition in Yoruba Religion". In: Jacob K. Olupona and Terry Rey. eds. *Orisa Devotion as World Religion: The Globalisation of Yoruba Religious Culture*. London: University of Winsconson Press, 2008.
- Burgess, Richard. *Nigeria's Christian Revolution: The Civil War Revival and Its Pentecostal Progeny 1967-2006*. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2008.
- Clark, Peter. *Organizational Design: Theory and Practice*. London: Tavistock, 1972.
- Coleman, James S. *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958.
- Crampton, E. P. T. *Christianity in Northern Nigeria*. Zaria, Nigeria: Gaskiya Corporation, 1975.
- Crumbley, Deidre H. "Indigenous Institution Building in an Afro-Christian Movement. The Aladura as a Case Study". PhD Diss., Anthropology, Northwestern University, Illinois, United States of America, 1989.
- Crumbley, Deidre H. "From Holy Ground to Virtual Reality: Aladura Gender Practices in Cyberspace: An African Diaspora Perspective". In: A. Adogame, R. Gerloff, and Klaus Hock. eds. *Christianity in Africa and the African Diaspora: The Appropriation of a Scattered Heritage*. London: Continuum, 2008.
- Crumbley, Deidre H. *Spirit, Structure, and Flesh: Gendered Experiences in African Instituted Churches among the Yoruba of Nigeria*. London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008.
- Domnwachukwu, Chinaka S. "Spiritual Power in Africa. Insights from Culture and the African Independent Churches of Lagos". PhD Diss., Intercultural Studies, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California, 1999.
- Einstein, Mara. *Brands of Faith: Marketing Religion in a Commercial Age*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2008.
- Ejiogu, E. C. *The Roots of Political Instability in Nigeria. Political Evolution and Development in the Niger Basin*. Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011.
- El-Masri, F. H. "Introduction of Islam to Yoruba Country". In: P. C. Llyod, Akin L. Mabogunje, and B. Awe. eds. *The City of Ibadan. A Symposium on its Structure and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

- Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. Orlando: A Harvest Book. Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1987.
- Federal Government of Nigeria. *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999*. Lagos: Federal Government Press, 1999.
- Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark. "The Dynamics of Religious Economies". In: Michele Dillon. ed. *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Finke, R. and Christopher P. Scheitle. "Understanding Schisms: Theoretical Explanations for their Origins". In: James R. Lewis and Sarah M. Lewis. eds. *Sacred Schisms: How Religions Divide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Gaiya, Musa A. B. *The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria*. Occasional Paper. Copenhagen, Denmark: Centre of African Studies, University of Copenhagen, 2002.
- Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. New York: Doubleday, 1959.
- Graber, Linder H. *Wilderness as Sacred Space*. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers, 1976
- Grimley, John and Gordon Robinson. *Church Growth in Central and Southern Nigeria*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1966.
- Hackett, Rosalind I. J. *Religion in Calabar: The Religious Life and History of a Nigerian Town*. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988.
- Hackett, Rosalind I. J. "Revisiting Proselytization in the Twenty-first Century". In: Rosalind I. J. Hackett. ed. *Proselytization Revisited: Rights Talk, Free Markets and Culture Wars*. London and Oakville, Connecticut, USA: Equinox Publishing Limited, 2008.
- Hamberg, Eva and Thorleif Petterson. "Religious Market: Supply, Demand, and Rational Theories". In: Ted G. Jelen. ed. *Sacred Markets, Sacred Canopies: Essays on Religious Markets and Religious Pluralism*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002.
- Hannerz, Ulf. *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York, NY: University of Columbia Press, 1992
- Harris, Hermione. *Yoruba in Diaspora: An African Church in London*. New York: Palmgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Hennink, Monique M., Inge Hutter, and Ajay Bailey. *Qualitative Research Methods*. London: SAGE Publications, 2011.
- Hermkens, Hanna-Karina. "Clothing as Embodied Experience of Belief". In: David Morgan. ed. *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*. London: Routledge, 2010.

- Higgins, Thomas. "Prophet, Priest, and King in Colonial Africa: Anglican and Colonial Responses to African Independent Churches in Nigeria and Kenya, 1918-1960". PhD Diss., University of Edingburgh, 2010.
- Koenig, Harold G. *The Healing Power of Faith: Science Explores Medicine's Last Great Frontier*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1999.
- Koschorke, Klaus. *African Identities and world Christianity in the 21st century*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005.
- Kukah, Matthew H. and Toyin Falola. *Religious Militancy and Self-Assertion: Islam and Politics in Nigeria*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996.
- Lewis, James R. and Sarah M. Lewis. "Introduction". In: James R. Lewis and Sarah M. Lewis. eds. *Sacred Schisms: How Religions Divide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Lipton, Edward P. *Religious Freedom in Africa*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2002.
- Lucas, Jonathan O. *The religion of the Yorubas*. Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshop, 1948.
- Lune, Howard. *Weathering the Storm: Nonprofit Organization Survival Strategies in a Hostile Climate*. In: Lune, Howard, Enrique S. Pumar, and Ross Koppel. eds. *Perspectives in Social Research Methods and Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications, 2010.
- Lyons, Andrew P. and Harriet D. Lyons. "Religion and the Mass Media". In: Jacob K. Olupona and Toyin Falola. eds. *Religion and Society in Nigeria. Historical and Sociological Perspectives*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1991.
- Marshall, Ruth. *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Masquelier, Adeline. *Prayer Has Spoiled Everything: Possession, Power, and Identity in an Islamic Town of Niger*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Meyer, Birgit and Annelies Moors. "Introduction". In: Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors. eds. *Religion, Media, and the Public Sphere*. Bloomington, Indiana, USA: Indiana University Press, 2006.
- Mitchell, Robert C. "Religious Change and Modernization: The Aladura Churches among the Yoruba in Southwestern Nigeria". PhD Diss., Sociology, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1970.
- Morgan, David. *Religion and Material Culture: The Matter of Belief*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Nabofa, Michael Y. "Igbe Ibiesha: An Indigenous Charismatic Movement of the Urhobo People". In: Peter P. Ekeh. ed. *Studies in Urhobo Culture*. Ibadan: Urhobo Historical Society, October 2005.

- Odunlami, Idowu S. *Media in Nigeria's Security and Developmental Vision*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited, 1999.
- Ohadike, Don. "Muslim-Christian Conflict and Political Instability in Nigeria". In: John O. Hunwick. ed. *Religion and National Integration in Africa: Islam, Christianity, and Politics in the Sudan and Nigeria*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1992.
- Olofinjana, Israel O. *20 Pentecostal Pioneers in Nigeria: Their Lives, their Legacies*. Volume 1. Bloomington, USA: Xlibris Publishers, 2011.
- Olorunnisola, Anthony A. "Neo-liberal Reforms, Media, and Communications in a Nation-in-Transit". In: Anthony A. Olorunnisola. ed. *Media and Communications Industries in Nigeria: Impacts of Neoliberal Reforms Between 1999 and 2007*. Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2009.
- Omoyajowo, Joseph A. *Cherubim and Seraphim: The History of an African Independent Church*. Lagos: NOK Publishers, 1982.
- Osaghae, Eghosa E. *Structural Adjustment and Ethnicity in Nigeria*. Nordiska Afrikaninstitutet: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies Research Report no.98, Sweden, 1995.
- Osaghae, Eghosa E. and Rotimi T. Suberu. *A History of Identity, Violence, and Stability in Nigeria*. CRISE Working Paper No.6. Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity, Oxford University, 2005.
- Ositelu, Rufus O. O. *African Instituted Churches: Diversities, Growth, Gifts, Spirituality and Ecumenical Understanding of African Initiated Churches*. Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 2002.
- Ositelu, Rufus O. O. *The Journey So Far 1998-2008*. Ogere: TCLAW Publishers, 2009.
- Oyeniya, Bukola A. "Nigeria and the Organisation of Islamic Conference". In: Julius O. Adekunle. ed. *Religion in Politics: Secularism and National Integration in Modern Nigeria*. Trenton, NJ and Asmara, Eritrea: AWP, 2009.
- Parrinder, Geoferey, E. *Religion in an African City*. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Peel, John D. Y. *Aladura: A Religious Movement among the Yoruba*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Phelan, Peggy. "Introduction: The Ends of Performance". In: Peggy Phelan and Jill Lane. eds. *The Ends of Performance*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.
- Pye, Michael. "Syncretism and Ambiguity". In: Anita Leopold and Jeppe Jensen. eds. *Syncretism in Religion*. London: Equinox, 2004.
- Renne, Elisha P. *Cloth That Does Not Die: The Meaning of Cloth in Bunu Social Life*. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1995.

- Scalabrino, Micheangela. *International Code on Religious Freedom*. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2003.
- Schechner, Richard. *Performance Theory*. New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Schieffelin, Edward L. "Problematizing Performance". In: Felicia Hughes-Freeland. ed. *Ritual, Performance, Media*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Schneider, Jane. "Cloth and Clothing". In: Chris Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Kuchler, Mike Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer. eds. *Handbook of Material Culture*. London: Sage Publications, 2006.
- Shaw, Rosalind and Charles Stewart. "Introduction: Problematising Syncretism". In: Charles Stewart and Rosalind Shaw. eds. *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism. The Politics of Religious Synthesis*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1994.
- Shorter, Aylward. *African Christian Spirituality*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1978.
- Simpson, George E. *Yoruba Religion and Medicine in Ibadan*. Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1980.
- Sizemore, Richard D. *Advertising God: Shamelessly Promote and Share Your Faith with Anyone, Anytime, Anyplace*. Lincoln, Nebraska, USA: iUniverse, Inc., 2006.
- Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations*. Simon and Brown Edition. Florida, USA: Simon and Brown, 2012.
- Stark, Rodney and Roger Finke. *Acts of Faith: The Human Side of Religion*. California, USA: University of California Press, 2000.
- Stearns, Peter N. *Cultures in Motion: Mapping Key Contacts and Their Imprints in World History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Swingewood, Alan. *Cultural Theory and the Problem of Modernity*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1998.
- Torgerson, Mark A. *An Architect of Immanence: Architecture for Worship and Ministry Today*. Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007.
- Turner, Harold W. *History of an African Independent Church*. Volumes 1 and 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Turner, Harold W. *Religious Innovation in Africa: Collected Essays on New Religious Movements*. Boston, Massachusetts: G. K. Hall, 1979.
- Usuanlele, Uyilawa. 'Osanughegbe Religious Movement and Social Ferments in Benin Province, 1926-1936'. In: Peter P. Ekeh. ed. *Studies in Urhobo Culture*. Ibadan: Urhobo Historical Society, October 2005.

Van der Leeuw, Gerard. *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*. Translated by J. E. Turner. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Wariboko, Nimi. *Ethics and Time: Ethos of Tempora Orientation in Politics and Religion of the Niger Delta*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books, 2010.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Stephen Kalberg. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Company, 2002.

Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1947.

Yin, Robert K. *Case study Research. Design and Methods*. Third edition. California, USA: SAGE Publications, 2003.

Journals

Adesina, S. "Christian Missions versus State Governments in Nigeria: The Battle for the Nation's Schools". *Religious Education* 68,4(1973):483-496.

Adogame, Afe. "A Home Away from Home: The Proliferation of Celestial Church of Christ in Diaspora Europe". *EXCHANGE: Journal of Missiological and Ecumenical Research* 27,2(1998):141-160.

Adogame, Afeosemimo U. "Aye Ijo Orun Nile: The Appropriation of Sacred Space". *Journal of Religion in Africa* 30,1(2000):3-29.

Adogame, Afe. "Engaging the Rhetoric of Spiritual Warfare: The Public Face of Aladura in Diaspora". *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34,4(2004):493-522.

Adogame, Afeosemimo U. "Ranks and Robes: Art Symbolism and Identity in the Celestial Church of Christ in the European Diaspora". *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art, and Belief* 5,1(2009):10-32.

Adogame, A. "To God Be the Glory! Home Videos, the Internet, and Religio-cultural Identity in Contemporary African Christianity", *Critical Interventions: Journal of African Art History and Visual Cultures*, 3/4, (2009): 147-159.

Alokan, O. A. P., A. D. Oladunjoye, and S. F. Babalola. "Critical Analyses of Church Politics and Crisis within the Indigenous Christianity in Nigeria". *AJSMS: American Journal of Social and Management Sciences* 2,4(2011):360-370.

Alokan, Olusegun A. P. and Christopher B. Ogunyemi. "An Examination of Politics of Schism and Seccession amongst Indigenous Pentecostal Groups in Nigeria: Trends and Prognosis in Church Literature". *Journal of Education and Practice* 2,6(2011):21-32.

Alubo, Ogoh. "Citizenship and Nation Making in Nigeria: New Challenges and Contestations". *Identity, Culture and Politics* 5 1&2 (2004):137.

Akinade, Akintunde E. "New Religious Movements in Contemporary Nigeria: Aladura Churches as a Case Study". *AJT: American Journal of Theology* 10,2(1996):316-332.

- Asamoah-Gyadu, J. K. "Of Faith and Visual Alertness: The Message of "Mediatized" Religion in an African Pentecostal Context". *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art, and Belief* 1,3(2009):336-356.
- Ayantayo, Jacob K. "Religious Interpretations and Re-Interpretations of Space and Environment in Nigeria: Implications for Interreligious Conflicts". *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 3,3(2009):116-130.
- Berner, Ulrich. "The Notion of Syncretism in Historical and/or Empirical Research". *Historical Reflections/ Reflexions Historiques* 27,3(2001):499-509.
- Bolu, Christian A. The Church in the Contemporary World. Information and Communication Technology in Church Communication for Growth: A Case Study. *Journal of Media and Communication Studies* 4,4(2012):80-94.
- Crumbley, Deidre H. "Impurity and Power: Women in Aladura Churches". *Africa* 62,1(1992):505-522.
- Danfulani, Umar H. D. "Factors Contributing to the Survival of the Bori Cult in Northern Nigeria". *NUMEN* 46,4(1999):412-446.
- Danfulani, Umar H. D. "Religious Cocflict on the Jos Plateau: The Interplay between Christianity and Traditional Religion during the Early Missionary Period". *Swedish Missiological Themes* 89,1(2001):7-40.
- Drewal, Margret T. "The State of Research on Performance in Africa". *African Studies Review* 34,3(1991):1-64.
- Fatokun, Samson A. "Water and its Cultic Use in African Initiated Churches in Yorubaland of Southwestern Nigeria: An Issue in African Development Discourse". *Sweedish Missiological Themes* 96,4(2008):349-376.
- Fawole, O. I., D. O. Akinboye, C. O. Falade, O. S. Arulogun, and J. D. Adeniyi. "Case Management of Childhood Fever by Traditional Healers in Southwest Nigeria: Identification of Training and Collaborative Needs". *International Quarterly Community Health Education* 28,4(2007-2008):319-35.
- Federal Government of Nigeria. "Report of Nigeria's National Population Commission on the 2006 Census". *Population and Development Review* 33, 1(2007):206-210.
- Foucault, Michel. "Of Other Spaces". *Diacritics* 16, 1 (1986):22-27.
- Gbadamosi, T.G.O. "The Imamate Question among Yoruba Muslims". *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria* 6,2(1972):229-237.
- Hackett, Rosalind I. J. "Thirty Years of Growth and Change in a West African Independent Church-A Sociological Perspective". *Journal of Religion in Africa* xi,3(1980):212-224.
- Hanciles, Jehu J. "Mission and Migration: Some Implications for the Twenty-first century church". *International Bulletin of Missionary research* 27,4(2003):146-190.

- Iannaccone, Laurence. "The Consequences of Religious Market Structure: Adam Smith and the Economics of Religion". *Rationality and Society* 3,2(1991):156-177.
- Ihejirika, Walter C. "Media and Fundamentalism in Nigeria". *Media Development*, 52 (2005): 38-44.
- Ihejirika, Walter C. "In-Line Religion': Innovative Pastoral Applications in the New Information and Communication Technologies (NICTs) by the Catholic Church in Nigeria". *Politics and Religion Journal* 2(2008):79-98.
- Ihejirika, Walter C. "Research on Media, Religion and Culture in Africa: Current Trends and Debates". *African Communication Research* 2,1(2009):1-60.
- Ilesanmi, Thomas M. "The Traditional Theologians and the Practice of Orisa Religion in Yorubaland". *Journal of Religion in Africa* xxi,3(1999):216-226.
- Jegede, Gabriel G. "The Church of the Lord (Aladura CLA): An Examination of a Charismatic Movement in Ekitiland (Southwestern Nigeria) 1937-2005". *The Social Sciences* 5,2(2010):89-95.
- Jegede, Gabriel G. "The Impact of Cultural Values on Aladura Churches in Ekitiland (South-Western Nigeria)". *Journal of Arts and Contemporary Society* 2(2010):46-59.
- Jegede, Gabriel G. "Women and Church Leadership in Yorubaland: The Aladura Experience". *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 2,1(2012):262-269.
- Johnson, Kofi. "Aladura: The Search for the Authenticity: An Impetus for African Christianity". *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 14,1(2011):149-165.
- Kenny, Joseph. "Shari'ah and Christianity in Nigeria: Islam and a 'Secular' State". *Journal of Religion in Africa* 26(1996):338-364.
- Kirkpatrick, Lee A. "Towards an Evolutionary Psychology of Religion and Personality". *Journal of Personality* 67, 6(1999): 921-952.
- Koenig, Harold G. "Religion and Medicine 11: Religion, Mental Health and Related Behaviors". *International Journal in Psychiatry and Medicine* 31,1(2001):97-109.
- Li, Peter S. "World Migration in the Age of Globalization: Policy Implications and Challenges". *New Zealand Population Review* 33&34(2008):1-22.
- Miller, Kent D. "Competitive Strategies of Religious Organizations". *Strategic Management Journal* 23,5(2002):435-456.
- Nwagwu, N. A. "The State Take-over of Schools in Nigeria: A Controversy". *Journal of Educational Administration* 17,1(1979):75-86.
- Ogungbile, David O. "Meeting Point of Culture and Health: The Case of the Aladura Churches in Nigeria". *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 6,1(1997):98-112.

Ogungbile, David O. "The Dynamics of Language in Cultural Revolution and African Spirituality: The Case of Ijo Orile-Ede Adulawo Ti Kristi (National Church of Christ) in Nigeria". *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 10, 1(2001):66-79.

Ogungbile, David O. "Ijesha Cultural Factors and the Growth of Christianity in Nigeria since the 20th Century". *Asia Journal of Theology* 20,2(2006):305-337.

Ogunjuyigbe, Peter O. "Under-Five Mortality in Nigeria: Perception and Attitudes of the Yoruba towards the Existence of "Abiku"", *Demographic Research* 11, 2, (2004):43-56.

Probst, Peter. The Letter and the Spirit: Literacy and Religious Authority in the History of Aladura Movement in Western Nigeria. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 59,4(1989):478-495.

Ray, Benjamin C. Aladura Christianity: A Yoruba Religion. *Journal of Religion in Africa* xx111, 3(1993):266-291.

Renne, Elisha P. "Consecrated Garments and Spaces in the Cherubim and Seraphim Church Diaspora". *Material Religion* 5,1(2009):70-87.

Scheitle, Christopher. "Organisational Niches and Religious Markets: Uniting Two Literatures". *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* 3,2(2007):1-29.

Stark, Rodney. "Religious Competition and Roman Piety". *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion* 2,6(2006):1-30.

Ovienloba, Andrew A. "Conflict and Conflict Transformation of Religious Fanaticism in Northern Nigeria: A Cultural Theoretical Approach". *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 3,1(2011):72-89.

Thompson, Grahame F. "Approaches to "Performance": An Analysis of Terms". *Screen* 26,5(1985):78-90.

Uwakonye, Matthew N., Osho, Gbolahan S., and Hyacinth Anucha. "The Impact of Oil and Gas Production on the Nigerian Economy: A Rural Sector Econometric Model". *International Business and Economics Research Journal* 5,2(2006):61-76.

Yusuf, Murtala A., Babangida Ladan, Usman Abba Idris, and Hauwalu Halilu. "Comparative Study of the State of Literacy in Nigeria and Cuba". *European Scientific Journal* 9,19(2013):34-44.

Unpublished Sources

Amara, Ramzi B. "The Izala Movement in Nigeria: Its Split, Relationship to Sufis and Perception of Sharia Re-Implementation". PhD Diss., History of Religions, University of Bayreuth, Germany, 2011.

Kilanko, Olukemi O. "The Life and Times of Captain Abiodun Emmanuel". B.A. Essay, Department of Religions, Lagos State University, Ojo, Lagos, Nigeria, 1996.

Meadows, Olabisi Adebola. "Elitism and Modernity in the Cherubim and Seraphim Church Movement: A Case Study of the Sixth Lagos District Branch, Surulere, "Ayo Ni O"". B.A. Essay, Religions and History, Lagos State University, Oto, 1990.

Ogungbile, David O. "Glossolalia and Spirit Seizure in Cherubim and Seraphim Church, Ilesa: A Theological Evaluation". B.A. Essay, Department of Religious Studies, University of Ife, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, 1987.

Ogungbile, David O. "A Comparative Study of Revelation in Aladura Christianity and Divination in Yoruba Religious Traditions in Ile-Ife, Nigeria". M.A. Diss., Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, 1992.

INTERVIEWS

S/No	Name	Status	Place	Date
1.	Abidoeye, Samuel A.	Spiritual leader, CSMC International Headquarters, Kaduna	Jos	15/05/2011
2.	Adebayo, A. A.	International supervising prophet, CSMC.	Jos	15/05/2011
3.	Adebayo, Emmanuel	Apostle, C&S Zion, Bukuru.	Jos	20/05/2011
4.	Adegoke, Emmanuel A.	Rector, CCC Seminary and Leadership Institute; General Secretary, CCC International Headquarters, Ketu, Lagos	Lagos	18/08/2011; 06/04/2013
5.	Adejumo, S.	Most Senior Apostle, CSMC Renewal Chape, Ojokoro, Lagos.	Lagos	11/09/2012
6.	Adetiran, Wole	Senior Evangelist, Rector CCCMAT	Lagos	06/04/2013
7.	Adeyemi, I. A.	Secretary, CSMC, International HQ, Kaduna	Kaduna	19/10/2011
8.	Ajayi, Matthew B.	Most Senior Apostle, CSMC, Katsina Street, Kaduna.	Jos	15/05/2011
9.	Ajibola, Amos	Bishop, TCLA West-North Provincial and Diocesan Headquarters, Oke Ado, Ibadan.	Ibadan	20/06/2011
10.	Akindoyin, S. I.	Superior Evangelist, Head, CCC Oyo-West Provincial Headquarters, Mokola, Ibadan.	Ibadan	13/06/2011
11.	Akinduti, I. A.	Most Senior Apostle, Leader, CSMC, Challenge, Ibadan.	Ibadan	09/06/2011
12.	Akinfulure, Rebecca	Youth Fellowship member, CSMC, Km 4, Apapa-Oshodi Express, Lagos.	Lagos	14/08/2011; 07/01/2014
13.	Alagbe, Yemi	Baptist Science College, Jos.	Jos	08/05/2012
14.	Alao, Titus Olawale	Shepherd, CCC Orisun Iye, Challenge District Headquarters, Ibadan.	Ibadan	09/06/2011
15.	Alarape, Maimunatu	Muslim resident of Dugbe, Ibadan.	Ibadan	13/06/2011
16.	Asebiomo, Emmanuel Pepe	Secretary, CCC Unification and Renaissance Mission, Lagos.	Lagos	25/03/2012
17.	Ayeni, Olufemi	Choirmaster, TCLA, West-North Provincial and Diocesan Headquarters, Oke Ado, Ibadan.	Ibadan	26/06/2011; 01/01/2014
18.	Balogun, J. B.	Registrar, College of Theology and Chaplaincy, CSMC Kingsland District Headquarters, Oko Oba.	Lagos	18/05/2012
19.	Bayewu, O.	Prophetess and Leader, C&S Evangelical, Sango.	Lagos	17/05/2012
20.	Bolume, A.	Apostle, ESOCS, Ebute-Meta	Lagos	05/08/2011

21.	Bomes, J.	Shepherd, CCC Elmorijah Parish, Ijako 11.	Lagos	27/10/2011
22.	Beckley, Andrew	Elder, SOCS Ibadan.	Ibadan	13/06/2011
23.	David, Deborah	Annointed prophetess, CCC Orisun Iye, Challenge, Ibadan.	Ibadan	12/06/2011
24.	Fakeye, Gabriel O.	General leader, CSMC Apapa-Oshodi Express Way, Lagos	Lagos	09/08/2011
25.	Gbadebo, Adewale	Prophet, CSMC Renewal Chapel, Ojokoro.	Lagos	29/08/2011; 03/01/2014
26.	Gbogboade, Tunde	Bishop, Registrar, Aladura Theological Institute, Ogere.	Ogere	24/05/2012
27.	Ibitayo, John	Elder, ESOCS, Ojokondo, Agbowo, Ibadan.	Ibadan	16/08/2011
28.	Kalesanwo, S.	Senior prophet, TCLA, Ojuelegba, Lagos.	Lagos	04/09/2011
29.	Kayode, Adebayo	Prophet, CCC, Dogon Karfe, Jos.	Jos	06/05/2012; 23/12/2013
30.	Lawal, Gabriel Olumide	Shepherd, CCC Mokola, Ibadan	Ibadan	13/06/2011; 01/01/2014
31.	Lawal, Habibat	Muslem, casual member, CCC Mokola, Ibadan.	Ibadan	03/07/2011
32.	Mepolone, Segun	Registrar, CCC Seminary and Leadership Institute, Lagos.	Lagos	28/05/2012
33.	Music Ambassador	CCC Music Ambassador Worldwide, CCC Mokola, Ibadan.	Ibadan	25/12/2013
34.	Ogunbanwo, Modupe	Member, CSMC, Ray Field, Jos	Jos	01/04/2013
35.	Ogunbunmi, Solomon	Member, CSMC, Dilimi Street, Jos.	Jos	23/05/2011
36.	Ogundele, P.	Registrar, CSMC Renewal Chapel Bible College, Alagbado, Lagos.	Lagos	28/05/2012
37.	Ogungbade, Jide	Assistant Choirmaster, CSMC, Surulere, Lagos.	Lagos	31/08/2011
38.	Okunola, Timothy	Apostle, CSMC; Faith in Christ Chapel, Lagos.	Lagos	22/07/2011
39.	Okuribido, Ade.	Member, ESOCS, Oke Padre, Ibadan.	Ibadan	22/05/2012
40.	Olatunji, Adeniyi	Prophet, CSMC, St Mary's Chapel, Oshodi, Lagos.	Lagos	20/07/2011
41.	Ologodidan, Ayoola	Prophetess, CS Ogo Oluwa Tedo, Anishere, Sango.	Lagos	25/05/2012
42.	Olorode, Samson O.	Bishop, TCLA Mushin, Lagos.	Lagos	01/09/2011
43.	Omiyefa, J.	Most Senior Apostle, CSMC Renewal Chapel, Alagbado, Lagos.	Lagos	28/05/2012
44.	Ositelu, Solomon A.	Reverend, TCLA, Ogere, Ogun State.	Lagos	06/04/2013
45.	Osunti, Gboye	Apostle, ESOCS, Ebute-Meta, Lagos.	Lagos	13/08/2011

46.	Otakoya, Daniel O.	Shepherd, CCC, Carpenter, Agbowo, Ibadan.	Ibadan	26/06/2011
47.	Owodunni, Josiah K.	Shepherd, CCC Ijeshatedo, Lagos.	Lagos	14/08/2011
48.	Oyedepo, Gideon A.	Leader, C&S Bible Ministry, Okota, Lagos.	Lagos	12/10/2011
49.	Oyegbile, A.	Prophetess, CCC, Challenge, Ibadan.	Ibadan	16/07/2011
50.	Oyeneye, Micheal	Apostle, ESOCS, Lagos	Lagos	02/06/2012
51.	Tanimowo, G.	Prophet, TCLA, Oke Ado, Ibadan.	Ibadan	29/06/2011; 05/04/2013
52.	Tewogbade, S.	Prophet, CSMC, College Crescent, Ibadan.	Ibadan	15/06/2011
53.	Sowande, O. O.	Apostle, CSMC, Surulere, Lagos.	Lagos	03/08/2011