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6 From Redemption City to Christian Disneyland: The Unfolding of Transnational Religious Spaces

Journeying through Transnational Religious Spaces

On 1 December 2018, with three colleagues I began a one-week tour of Nigeria, Ghana, and Liberia. We began by paying a courtesy call on the General Overseer (GO) of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), visiting the Redeemed Christian Bible College (RCBC), and attending the 2018 RCCG Holy Ghost Congress event (lasting from 3–8 December) at the Redemption Camp, Mowe.¹ This was to reciprocate an earlier visit by a high-powered RCBC delegation to Princeton, in their quest for institutional collaboration. Through strategic timing we had a rare opportunity to secure a meeting with the GO,² who is reported to travel outside the country all-year round except in December during the annual Holy Ghost Congress. On the same flight were a few other passengers in the First and Business Class, apparently delegates (mostly white Americans) to the Congress. I only recognized them on arrival, when the GO's protocol officials, at the MMA International Airport in Lagos, met our team and others. They whisked us away in a motorcade accompanied by tight security to the luxurious Redemption Resort operated by the Hospitality Department of the Redemption Camp (Redemption City).

One incident during our arrival at Lagos airport deserves mention because of what it says about territoriality. Our team included a religious luminary of

1 For a YouTube recorded version of the RCCG Holy Ghost Service – Glory Ahead, December 2018, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_MJFqrF5l2A (accessed 28 December 2018).

2 As I have demonstrated elsewhere, the complex peregrination of the church's leader makes him a global traveler, but also suggest an instance of religious transnationalism from below. See A. Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora: New Currents and Emerging Trends in World Christianity*, London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013, p. 160. In fact, during my over two decades of research on the RCCG in Nigeria and the diaspora, I was only successful in having an audience with him for the very first time at an RCCG UK event to mark the General Overseer's 70th birthday in London. See A. Adogame, "60 Years of the Redeemed Christian Church of God and its Global Missionary Agenda: An Evaluation", Public Lecture in Honour of Pastor E.A. Adeboye (RCCG General Overseer) on the occasion of the 15th Graduation Ceremony of the Christ the Redeemer College, London and the 2012 RCCG/CRBC Annual Academic Lecture at Jesus House for All Nations, 112 Brent Terrace, Brent Cross, London NW2 1LT, 13 October 2012.

local and international reputation, who heads a large church congregation on the east coast of the United States. Immigration officials, claiming that his name did not appear on the immigration clearance list, denied him entry into Nigeria. He had visited the Nigeria Consulate Office in New York several days earlier to secure a visitor entry visa. Presumably, the Consulate officials had been negligent in logging the visa approval information into the Nigerian Immigration Service online repository. All attempts to get high-placed people, including the office of the Comptroller-General of the Nigeria Immigration Service, distinguished church officials, the Nigeria Consulate in New York, and even top Nigerian politicians³ to intervene proved abortive, and immigration officials escorted him to a flight back to New York. This unsettling experience shed light on the dynamics of power and the politics around national borders and territoriality. National borders remain much contested at points of entry and exit, notwithstanding shallow ruminations of a borderless world in talks about globalization and transnationalism. Contrary to the oft-assumed free flow of humans, goods, services, technology, information, and capital, the politicization of border surveillance and enforcement has reached unprecedented proportions. Power dynamics, national border and boundary politics have a proclivity in shaping the ebb and flow of transnational mobility, albeit a religious one.

Our three-day visit to Nigeria helped to illuminate the discourse on religious transnationalism and transnational religious spaces. Let us examine the territorially defined sacred geography, social compass, and moral landscape of the Redemption Camp. I locate the Redemption City – the international headquarters of the RCCG, as a transnational religious and social space, a network hub that hosts major religious events, transmits spirituality and religious ideologies, represents “a home away from home” to global visitors, and a pilgrimage haven for members and non-members alike. A guided tour of the Redemption Camp, which lasted several hours, revealed its fluid, contested physical borders and imagined boundaries, spiritual ecologies, socioeconomic loci, and its complex geo-cultural topography.⁴ Then, our team attended a pre-Congress evening

³ The GO's Protocol Office later informed us that they had immediately contacted the office of the Vice President of Nigeria, Prof. Yemi Osinbajo, who had been a parish pastor of the RCCG prior to his political appointment. One informant suggested that some African countries are, through such stringent measures, retaliating against the US President's racial bigotry and incivility towards what he called “shit-hole” countries: “What shall it profit Trump's America if she gains a strong economy, builds walls to fence herself in, and in turn loses her soul and moral compass?”

⁴ See my phenomenological description of the Redemption Camp as a transnational religious space in a separate subsection below.

worship service at the RCBC Chapel, where we were warmly welcomed and introduced. Half an hour into the service, an announcement was made of the highlight of the evening; a live-telecast of a pre-Congress thanksgiving service at the Congress Arena led by the RCCG National Overseer,⁵ beamed through a projector for the duration of the service. With eyes glued to the live screening of the event, the congregants at the Chapel participated in singing, dancing and praying, albeit remotely. The National Overseer welcomed both those who were physically present at the Congress Arena and those who were participating in the worship service via National Television channels, Cable TV channels, the RCCG Dove Television, and live-streaming through RCCG YouTube Channel, Facebook, Twitter, and other social media⁶ all over the world.

The Congress proper commenced on 3 December with a service at the Congress Arena, lasting from 6:00 p.m. to 12:30 a.m. The GO's Protocol Office had informed the special delegates that we would have to drive in a special convoy to the Congress Arena an hour earlier to facilitate VIP seating arrangement. Over 150 guests lodged at the Redemption Resort were chauffeur-driven in luxurious buses with security escorts and blaring sirens. The international guests, dressed in glowing colours and smart suits, were a scene to behold. At a prior cocktail reception held for the special guests at the Resort, I met visitors from the US, the UK, Singapore, Malaysia, Israel, South Africa, United Arab Emirates, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Germany: religious leaders, captains of industry, seasoned politicians, diplomats, legal luminaries from diverse contexts. One attendee from a well-known Christian ministry in the US indicated that he had regularly attended the Holy Ghost Congress for fourteen years. A Malaysian businessperson and lay minister, who claims to be involved in global missions and church planting in Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Myanmar, Vietnam, and Pakistan, told me that he and his wife had been part of the Congress for eight years. Thus, the Congress becomes an annual hub within a transnational religious space of the Redemption City that brings together people networking along the contours of religion, business, and politics. Transnational religious spaces are not simply geo-spaces with huge infrastructures, landmarks, and activities but also places made alive by people who meet at the crossroads of religious, social, economic, and political networking. Within and through transnational religious spaces such as the Redemption City, new networks come to the fore while existing networks are sustained, re-enacted, and renegotiated.

5 The National Overseer is in charge of the RCCG Nigeria, while the General Overseer is the international head of the church. The restructuring of the hierarchical and organizational structure was recent, in response to a national discourse around church leadership and succession.

6 See below, subsection on "Mediating Transnational Religious Spaces".

The motorcade arrived at the northern apex of the Congress Arena and we were ushered into a humongous space adjoining the GO's administrative offices, a section within the Congress Arena, though separated from the main auditorium. A church official explained to me later that this encased area was "a sacred space within a sacred space", a prayer ground where the GO, the church hierarchy and special dignitaries undertake preliminary prayer rituals to usher in the main event. Here, more than one thousand guests gathered and joined the GO in a one-hour long pre-Congress prayer and worship service. Following this intensive session, the church hierarchy, invitees, and delegates were ushered, in an orderly procession, to their seats on the colourful, imposing podium overlooking the rest of the gigantic auditorium and an already exhilarated audience. Pastoral ministrations, announcements, the introduction of special guests,⁷ and goodwill messages were interspersed with choir ministration, musical renditions from gospel musicians, and various choir groups drawn from Nigeria and abroad. A *mélange* of hymns, songs, praise, and worship, thanksgiving ritual offerings, rendition of testimonies, prolonged prayer and intercession sessions set a spiritually charged atmosphere and a serene, grand, and ceremonious occasion contemporaneously. The pomp and splendour, the array of joy, excitement, and anxiety that accompanied the event seem to have compressed the six-hour evening programme into a brief moment.⁸ At midnight, when the GO was delivering the last segment of his sermon, dignitaries and special guests were beginning to be ushered towards a mouth-watering buffet in his dining room, a palatial space. Our team was on the schedule to meet with the GO in his office, and we found a queue of more than 50 church leaders and special guests waiting to do the same. Our turn came at 1:30 a.m., and we were ushered into the office accompanied by several members of the church's top hierarchy.

The programme of events on other days of the Congress involved both spiritual and pragmatic dimensions, being organized in morning, afternoon, and evening sessions. There were talks, seminars, and training sessions dealing, for instance, with skills for starting a business; earning multiple incomes; self-employment

7 The entire Congress event was a live broadcast and screening by several national and cable TV channel networks. My team from Princeton was one of the few international attendees introduced to the huge audience of worshippers. It is common practice within Pentecostal church gatherings to give formal recognition to guest participants. The live screening of the Congress was consequential. I felt inundated few hours later by emails and text messages received from friends and colleagues all over the world indicated that they saw me been introduced during the Congress event, while others asked of my whereabouts. What is pertinent here is the fact that such local events attract both a global participation but also a transnational viewing audience.

8 It is difficult to capture the vivid experiences of this prolonged event in a few sentences.

strategies, and training in agricultural production and farming. Other topics included a basic security checklist for oneself, one's family, and one's business environments; foundation for lasting marriages; health management; digital marketing; corporate sector management; opportunities for home ownership.⁹ The diversity of what was covered in the six-day event exemplified how the Congress is seeking to attend to people's spiritual needs and the mundane dimensions of life. People throng the premises for healing and spiritual succour, but also in order to acquire knowledge, skill-sets for economic sustainability, investment opportunities and help in tackling the contingencies of everyday life.

Let me now provide a brief history and account of the geo-demographic spread and mobility of the RCCG and demonstrate to what extent the embodied space of the Redemption Camp and its reproduction in the Nigerian diaspora exemplify transnational religious and social spaces of contestation, innovation, and change. Religions, societies, and cultures are dynamic and constantly in flux. Religion is not a museum piece or monument, but a vibrant force in the shared experiences of African peoples. African religions are usually not thought out in the agora of desk theology but lived out in the spiritual marketplace. Africans generally celebrate life, their spirituality, their religion; they dance it, sing it, and act it. As Jacob Olupona puts it, "African spirituality simply acknowledges that beliefs and practices touch on and inform every facet of human life, and therefore African religion cannot be separated from the everyday or mundane."¹⁰ He goes on:

For starters, the word "religion" is problematic for many Africans, because it suggests that religion is separate from the other aspects of one's culture, society and environment. But for many Africans, religion can never be separated from all these. It is a way of life, and it can never be separated from the public sphere. Religion informs everything in traditional African society, including political art, marriage, health, diet, dress, economics, and death.¹¹

Olupona cautions that "this is not to say that indigenous African spirituality represents a form of theocracy or religious totalitarianism, but simply that African spirituality is truly holistic." This definition of spirituality is instructive in understanding transnational religious spaces, because such places are not inherently religious but spaces where religious, cultural, social, economic, and political considerations intersect.

⁹ See the 50-page programme booklet, *The Redeemed Christian Church of God 2018 Holy Ghost Congress – Glory Ahead, December 3rd–8th, 2018*, Redemption Camp: The Holy Ghost Congress of the RCCG, 2018, pp. 22–35.

¹⁰ J. Olupona, "The Spirituality of Africa", *Harvard Gazette*, 6 October 2015. Online version available at <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2015/10/the-spirituality-of-africa/>.

¹¹ Olupona, "Spirituality", p. 4.

The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG): A Brief History

The RCCG is a typical indigenous Pentecostal church, which has spread from Nigeria to about 195 countries with over five million members in Africa, North America, Europe, Asia, Australia, and the Middle East. Its vertical and horizontal growth is not simply the result of demographic spread: it has carved out a niche for itself in terms of its public role, social relevance, and local/global impact in Africa and beyond.¹² Pa Josiah Akindayomi, following what he claimed was a divine call to a special mission, founded the RCCG in Lagos in 1952. Enoch Adejare Adeboye, a former University of Lagos Professor of Applied Mathematics and Hydrodynamics, succeeded as the General Overseer in 1980, and with his charisma, transformed the stature of the RCCG into a global religious and social institution.¹³ The church has experienced considerable growth within Nigeria and beyond its borders with a conservative estimate in 2003 of 5,000 parishes (branches) worldwide.¹⁴ The RCCG is perhaps the fastest growing and one of the most popular Pentecostal churches in Africa, if not the world.¹⁵ Its official website states:

Since 1981, an open explosion began with the number of parishes growing in leaps and bounds. At the last count, there are at least about 2000 parishes of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria. On the International scene, the church is present in other African nations including Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Zambia, Malawi, Zaire [= today's Democratic Republic of Congo], Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Gambia, Cameroon, and South Africa. In Europe, the church is fully established in the following countries: United Kingdom, Netherlands, Spain, Italy, Germany, Greece, France, Switzerland, Austria, Denmark, Sweden and Norway. In North America there are over 600 parishes spread in

¹² A. Adogame, "Contesting the Ambivalences of Modernity in a Global Context: The Redeemed Christian Church of God, North America", *Studies in World Christianity* 10 (2004) 1, pp. 25–48.

¹³ A. Adogame, "The Redeemed Christian Church of God: African Pentecostalism", in: S.M. Cherry and H.R. Ebaugh (eds.), *Global Religious Movements Across Borders: Sacred Service*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2014, pp. 35–60.

¹⁴ See "A Brief History of the Redeemed Christian Church of God", in: *Sunday School Manual, The Redeemed Christian Church of God*, 2002/03, p. 127. A conservative list of parishes worldwide is available at the RCCG Internet Outreach: http://main.rccg.org/parish_directory/parish_directory_main.htm. This list is far from complete. New parishes are added frequently at http://www.rccgnet.org/dir/RCCG_World_Wide/ (accessed 10 April 2012). A parish may comprise between several scores and a few thousand members.

¹⁵ See Adogame, "Contesting the Ambivalences", pp. 25–48; Idem, *African Christian Diaspora*, 2013.

various cities and states of USA and Canada. The first RCCG parish in the USA was founded in 1992 in Detroit, Michigan. From 1994 onwards, new parishes sprang up in Florida, Texas, Massachusetts and other US states. There are also parishes in the Caribbean states of Haiti and Jamaica. There are parishes in South America, the Middle East, Australia, etc.¹⁶

The desire to establish parishes throughout the world is reflected in the RCCG's mission statement:

It is our goal to make heaven. It is our goal to take as many people as possible with us. In order to accomplish our goals, holiness will be our lifestyle. In order to take as many people with us as possible, we will plant churches within five minutes' walking distance in every city and town of developing countries; and within five minutes' driving distance in every city and town of developed countries. We will pursue these objectives until every nation in the world is reached for Jesus Christ our Lord.¹⁷

In the case of North America, the goal of proximity between churches had to be qualified in view of the demographic peculiarities of the region, necessitating a qualifying addendum: "We believe in positioning our worship centres close to the people; hence in North America we are challenged to establish parishes in every State, County, City and in fact within 30 minutes' driving distance."¹⁸ Shorimade declares, "The United States was often described in some circles as God's own country, but this country has become very slack morally and spiritually. So, God is making us (RCCG) bring worship and praise to them (the US) as well as in rediscovering God."¹⁹

16 The RCCG North America area comprises the US, Canada, and the Caribbean Islands. For more details on RCCGNA administrative structure, see RCCGNA network, available at <http://www.rccgna.org/zones.asp> and <http://www.rccgna.org/TheChurch/Origin.aspx> (accessed 10 January 2019).

17 RCCG official website: <http://www.rccg.org> created and maintained by the RCCG Internet Project (accessed 25 January 2019).

18 See "Addendum – Our Poise", *The Redeemed Christian Church of God, North America and Caribbean Statement of Fundamental Truths*, a publication of RCCGNA, n.d., pp. 39–40.

19 Interview with Pastor Dr. Samuel Shorimade at the RCCG Cornerstone Worship Centre for All Nations parish, Cambridge, MA on 23 November 2003.

Redemption City: An Anatomy of a Transnational Religious Space

In recent decades, the Nigerian religious ecology has assumed a more complex posture with the pentecostalization of the Christian religious landscape. Religious innovation, exemplified in the proliferation of religious campgrounds or prayer cities, is a growing feature. The (re)production and negotiation of ritual spaces is evident in the (re)sacralizing of much of the 127.6 kilometres (79.3 miles) land mass on the Lagos-Ibadan motorway. The RCCG represents one of the largest mega-churches within this religious landscape, with its Redemption Camp or Redemption City (Figure 6.1 and 6.2), which doubles as the international headquarters and the most important sacred space. Adedibu argues, “the Redemption Camp is fast becoming the holy land for Christians in Nigeria, Africa and diaspora [. . .] and one of Nigeria’s most visited religious sites in the history of contemporary Christianity.”²⁰

Physical facilities in the 2,500 hectares of land include a new auditorium measuring 3 km by 3 km²¹ with a seating capacity of over three million people to host major events, including the Holy Ghost Service, Congress monthly, and the week-long Annual Convention (Figure 6.3).²² The new facility replaces the old Congress Arena, with a capacity of half a million worshippers. The Holy Ghost Service is now held in different parts of the world, including the United Kingdom, India, USA, Canada, South Africa, Australia, Dubai, Ghana, and the Philippines.²³ The RCCG recently inaugurated the Holy Ghost Service Specially for Children.²⁴

Redemption City has more than 30,000 residents and an infrastructure, residential estates and business facilities characteristic of a modern African city. The first 4.25 acres acquired for the camp in 1982 on the Lagos-Ibadan expressway have grown to an estimated 25 hectares. The religious geography of the camp encompasses other physical structures²⁵ including a conference centre,

²⁰ B. Adedibu, “The Story of the Redemption Camp”, in: M. Omolewa et al. (eds.), *Pastor E.A. Adebayo: His Life and Calling*, Ibadan: Bookcraft, 2017, p. 122.

²¹ For an aerial view of the old and new auditoriums, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dM9sOeYUlsk>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=51NMXXGLvn0>, and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GN-iKLghQDQ>.

²² See O. Olubiyi and J. Bolarinwa, “The Holy Ghost Service: Origin and Impact”, in: Omolewa et al. (eds.), *Pastor E.A. Adebayo*, pp. 135–142; and O. Olubiyi, “The Holy Ghost Congress: The Coming of the Global Summit”, in: *ibid.*, pp. 143–151.

²³ For details, see <http://rccg.org/who-we-are/history/>.

²⁴ For details, see <https://eaadeboye.com/>.

²⁵ For an aerial view of the infrastructure at the Redemption Camp, see Figures 1 and 3.

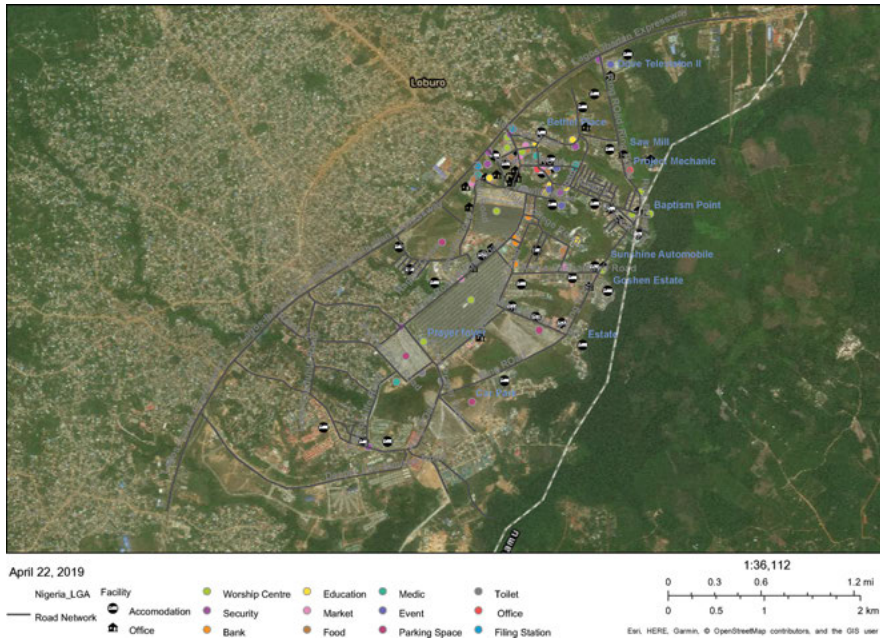


Figure 6.1: An Aerial Image of RCCG Redemption Camp, Lagos, Nigeria.

guesthouses and chalets, and a presidential villa reserved for political dignitaries. The Christ Redeemer's Ministry (CRM), an organ of the RCCG, operates hospitality at the Redemption Camp: the Resort Centre, the White House, and the International Guest House²⁶ with executive chalets, open to tourists, visitors, and members alike. Also situated within this transnational socio-religious space are the Redeemer's Clinic, a maternity centre, an orphanage, a post office, security posts, gas stations, bookstores, supermarkets, public markets, bakeries, restaurants and canteens. Other facilities include nine banks,²⁷ the Redeemed Christian Bible College, Redeemer's Junior and High Schools, and a campus of the Redeemer's University.²⁸ Several housing estates with private residential buildings have come to characterize the topography. The Haggai Community

²⁶ See CRM available at <http://city.rccgnet.org/crm.html> (accessed 20 March 2019).

²⁷ There are seven commercial banks – Ecobank, United Bank for Africa, Zenith, Unity, GTB, FCMB, Access Bank – and two mortgage banks, Haggai Homes or Haggai Community Bank, and Jubilee Bank.

²⁸ For details, see <http://city.rccgnet.org/facilities.html>. RCCG established its own university, Redeemer's University. It was first situated at the camp but now has its permanent site in Ede,

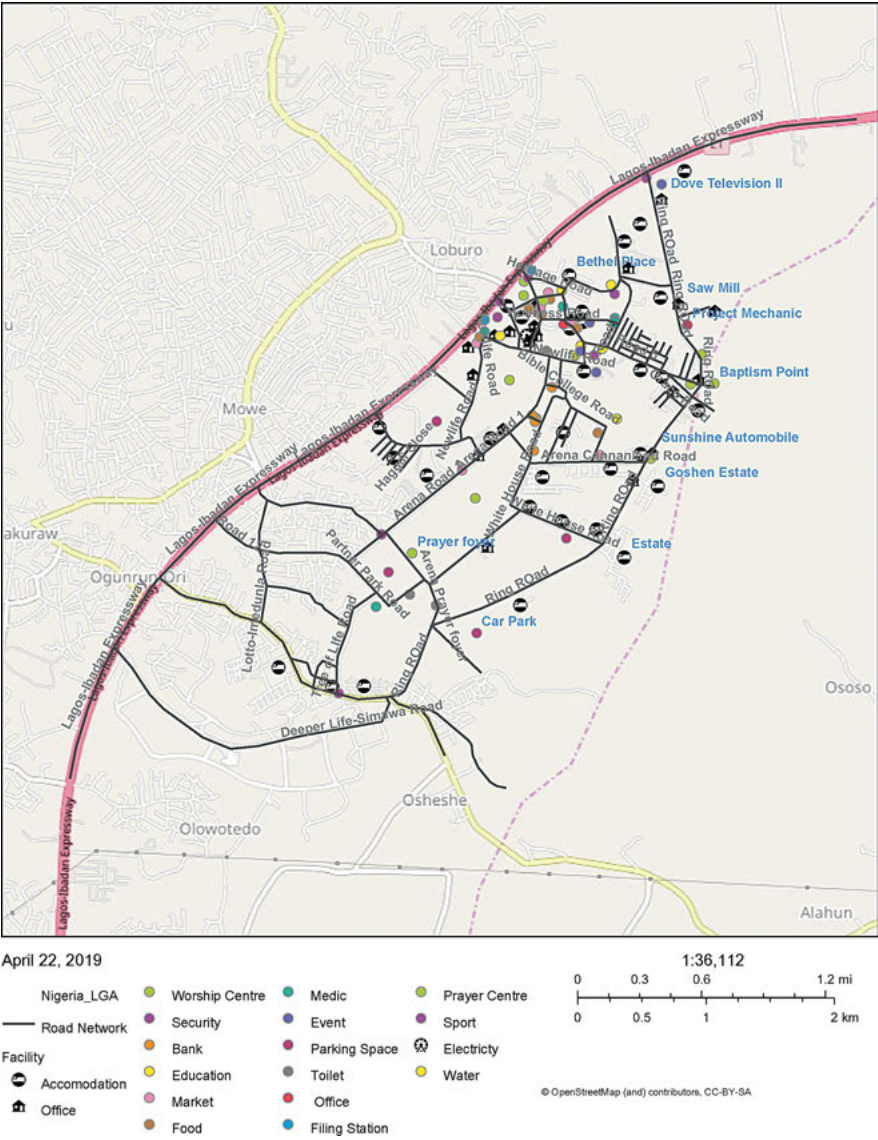


Figure 6.2: Street map of RCCG Redemption Camp, Lagos, Nigeria.

Osun State. A new Institute of Technology opened recently in the Camp. See RCCG official church website: <http://rccg.org/>.

OBJECTID	F-Name	F-Type	F-location X	F-location Y
1.	Youth Centre	Event	551489	754590.990473
2.	Congress Arena	Worship Centre	550034	752156.441509
3.	Children Auditorium	Worship Centre	550304	753072.10047
4.	Toilet	Toilet	549529	751409.443931
5.	Hospital (Perm site)	Medic	549267	751314.504278
6.	Tree of Life Estate	Accommodation	549173	750698.887994
7.	Lotto Estate	Accommodation	548507	750843.580942
8.	Estate	Accommodation	549403	752468.70679
9.	Car Park C	Parking Space	549738	752751.660406
10.	Haggai Estate	Accommodation	550158	752619.477586
11.	Redemption Water	Office	550063	752485.234004
12.	Police Quarters	Accommodation	549292	752701.794164
13.	Power Turbine	Electricity	550439	753418.660839
14.	Goshen Estate	Accommodation	551461	752249.810497
15.	GO House 2	Accommodation	551769	752837.283805
16.	Baptism Point	Worship Centre	551901	753046.061939
17.	MPS Youth Church	Worship Centre	551806	753273.243211
18.	Project Mechanic	Office	551690	753499.374954
19.	Senior Pastors Lodge	Accommodation	551480	753711.746452
20.	Transport Dept	Office	551230	753941.372107
21.	Estate III	Accommodation	551198	754146.868956
22.	CRNPS	Education	551096	753810.618814
23.	Games Arena	Sport	551124	753741.178411
24.	Youth Place	Accommodation	551665	754692.618355
25.	SecurityPost	Security	551369	754640.054361
26.	Estate	Accommodation	551320	754283.659898
27.	House of Favour	Worship Centre	550414	753726.975451
28.	Amazing grace	Worship Centre	550417	753837.306922
29.	Security Post	Security	550447	753866.675731
30.	Cheirth Restaurant	Food	550455	753625.50754
31.	CRM Main Supermarket	Market	550607	753750.523415
32.	Kitchen	Food	550619	753699.723314
33.	Haleluyah House	Prayer Centre	550569	753687.81704
34.	Chalet	Accommodation	550399	753559.141326
35.	Children Lodge	Accommodation	550285	753645.924833
36.	Coca-Cola Depo	Office	550305	753448.390931
37.	School of Disciple	Education	550232	753414.524197
38.	Sunday School	Office	550188	753417.699203
39.	CRM Press	Office	549982	753325.624019
40.	New life Market	Market	550050	753358.432418
41.	Coca-Cola Depo	Food	550073	753404.999178
42.	Health Centre	Medic	550110	753447.332596
43.	Prayer foyer	Prayer Centre	549547	751730.821144
44.	Project Office	Office	550255	752691.630983
45.	Haggai Estate II	Accommodation	549661	752332.046203

Figure 6.3: Facility Attribute Table.

This attribute table was extracted and adapted by Amidu Elabo from the Esri ArcGIS online map and layers Archive, <https://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=f9edbf7b09a43aeadd21ecc9e34fd90> of Duncan Oluwaseun at <https://www.slideshare.net/DuncanOluwaseun1/location-based-service-for-profitable-decision-in-rccg>.

46.	Shopping Complex	Market	549936	752374.379621
47.	Partners Car Park	Parking Space	549364	751582.744705
48.	Lotto Estate I	Accommodation	548926	750693.742927
49.	Arena Gate	Security	549308	751875.903624
50.	Lotto Gate	Security	548975	750643.906721
51.	Toilet	Toilet	549734	751325.521281
52.	Mega Office	Office	550135	751777.430518
53.	White House	Accommodation	550463	752089.639476
54.	Chalets	Accommodation	550384	751327.637952
55.	Car Park	Parking Space	550045	751110.679184
56.	Car Park	Parking Space	550749	751846.222322
57.	Overflow Apartments	Accommodation	550712	751978.514253
58.	RUN Moses Hall	Accommodation	550982	751915.014126
59.	Estate	Accommodation	551199	751698.055359
60.	Joy to the Wise	Accommodation	550563	752319.827436
61.	Canaan land	Accommodation	551093	752385.973402
62.	Canaan Land Market	Market	551008	752490.725296
63.	Hostels	Accommodation	550722	752666.408981
64.	Kitchen I	Food	550993	752664.29231
65.	Bible College (RCBC)	Education	551142	752772.242526
66.	Fire Department	Office	551266	752293.874903
67.	Estate	Accommodation	551326	752499.19198
68.	Church II	Worship Centre	551406	752465.325246
69.	Feast of Esther Sec.	Office	551777	753074.926465
70.	KIC	Worship Centre	551715	753041.05973
71.	Dove Television	Office	551578	752983.909616
72.	Comfort Palace	Accommodation	551491	753098.209845
73.	Resort Centre	Accommodation	551324	753149.009946
74.	RHS Sport	Sport	550964	753263.310175
75.	RHS Hall	Event	550981	753132.076579
76.	Executive Chalet	Accommodation	550883	753140.543263
77.	RUN Love garden	Event	550854	753297.176909
78.	Electronic Dept	Office	550515	753415.015947
79.	Electrical dept	Office	550499	753490.422348
80.	Sanitation Dept	Office	550459	753370.03669
81.	Toilet	Toilet	550591	753298.599048
82.	Tantalizers	Food	550831	753474.547316
83.	RUN Creche	Office	550726	753505.139825
84.	RUN Queen Esther	Accommodation	550777	753471.802259
85.	RUN Library	Education	550861	753339.609546
86.	Shopping Complex	Market	550792	753511.589057
87.	G. O's House I	Accommodation	550868	753602.870489
88.	Open Heavens	Office	550791	753544.66204
89.	Maternity	Medic	550721	753642.558069
90.	Water Pump	Water	550712	753766.912484

Figure 6.3 (continued)

91.	Access Bank PLC	Bank	550553	753573.766265
92.	CRM Book store	Market	550548	753637.266392
93.	Code of Conduct	Security	550526	753594.932974
94.	RCM Booking Office	Office	550521	753629.328876
95.	Camp Manager	Office	550513	753651.818504
96.	International House	Accommodation	550874	753522.172411
97.	Banquet Hall	Event	550929	753518.203653
98.	RUN Pharmacy	Medic	551120	753511.589057
99.	RUN Clinic	Medic	551126	753552.599556
100.	Water Plant	Office	551904	753608.823626
101.	Dove Television II	Office	551487	754474.012857
102.	Bethel Place	Accommodation	550769	753883.990843
103.	Conoil	Filing Station	550475	753922.355503
104.	Security	Security	550225	753682.907108
105.	Police Station	Security	550210	753559.875612
106.	Gas	Filing Station	550110	753538.973487
107.	Automobile Repairs	Office	550021	753112.4643
108.	Sunshine Automobile	Office	551419	752504.186
109.	RHS Main Gate	Education	551027	753316.617209
110.	RUN complex	Education	550816	753261.583765
111.	UBA Bank PLC	Bank	550636	753017.108276
112.	Zenith Bank PLC	Bank	550514	752774.749458
113.	Oceanic Bank PLC	Bank	550483	752799.620341
114.	Haggai Bank	Bank	550505	752749.613991
115.	Saw Mill	Office	551620	753664.386238
116.	GT Bank PLC	Bank	0	0

Figure 6.3 (continued)

Bank, owned by RCCG, developed a sprawling estate (now called Haggai Estates) adjacent to the Congress Arena, comprising semi-detached duplexes, three- to four-bedroom apartments and bungalows.²⁹ The significance of the Redemption City (also described by members as RCCG's "New Jerusalem – Peaceful and beautiful place on earth") lies in the religious/spiritual and social functions it performs for members and non-members alike. It also has come to represent an avenue where social, economic, cultural, ecological, and political functions interact and intersect.³⁰ In fact, the nexus between this singular sacred space and its complex functionality make the Redemption City a microcosm of a global social movement and a transnational religious space.

²⁹ For details, see http://city.rccgnet.org/Haggai_estates.html.

³⁰ Adogame, "Contesting the Ambivalences", pp. 25–48.

RCCG's "Christian Disneyland": Reconfiguring a Transnational Religious Space in Dallas

One way in which the RCCG is gradually emblazoning itself on transnational, geo-cultural and religious landscapes is through the replication of the "Redemption Camp" in Dallas, Texas, USA.³¹ By 2003, the RCCG North America (RCCGNA) had acquired a multimillion-dollar property of over 400 hectares of land in Floyd (Hunt County), near Dallas. The development of this property is to recreate the Redemption Camp of the international headquarters in Nigeria.³² This miniature Redemption Camp serves as RCCGNA headquarters and includes the Holy Ghost Ground, chapels, a Bible College, a baptismal pool, a recreational centre, an administrative building, a library, banquet and seminar halls, a shopping mall, restaurants, a community centre, guesthouses, residential accommodation, and an impressive driveway (Figure 6.4). The duplication of the original camp is important for a number of reasons. It represents the decentralization across transnational spaces of church programmes such as the Holy Ghost Festival, annual conventions, and ministers' conference that were previously concentrated at the international headquarters. The re-enactment of such events at the Dallas Redemption Camp reduces logistical and financial problems, as US-based RCCG members formerly had to travel long distances to the international headquarters in Nigeria. As one member remarked, the harsh immigration policies of Donald Trump prevent members with undocumented status from attending the Holy Ghost Congress outside the US.

The RCCG invests huge financial and material resources in establishing, maintaining and sustaining the facilities, infrastructures and work force that these projects and institutions engender. Beyond a consideration of the religious impact on the educational and health sectors, the RCCG is increasingly becoming a visible stakeholder in the banking, insurance and other sectors of the Nigerian and global economy. The religious-owned business outfits provide employment and are profit-oriented. In vital ways, they contribute to local-global economies as economic players and stakeholders. The (re)production and negotiation of ritual spaces evident in the sacralizing of the Lagos-Ibadan motorway and Floyd (Hunt County) in Dallas are emplacements that evince an ecological, spatial, demographic, aesthetic, social, cultural and economic impact on transnational religious landscapes. The value of property, infrastructure, and other

³¹ Ibid., pp. 25–48.

³² Interview with Pastor (Dr.) Ajibike Akinyoye at the RCCGNA Headquarters, Dallas, TX, 9 March 2004. Cf. Laolu Akande, "Multi-million Dollar Redemption Camp underway in US", *The Guardian*, 8 April 2003. Also accessible at <http://odili.net/news/source/2003/apr/3/100.html>.



Figure 6.4: RCG Redemption Camp, Dallas, Floyd, Hunt County, Texas (initial map of the Redemption Camp, dated 3 March 2003).

Source: Redeemed Christian Church of God North America Library, Dallas, Texas, USA.

endowments in these spaces is enormous. Such wide-ranging facilities are important for leisure and tourism on the one hand, but they also have a religious, spiritual, ecological, and social import. Beneath the façade of aesthetics lie crucial negotiations via layers of economics, culture, religion, identity, and belonging. This concentration of facilities within a religiously encased local-global space led Scott Farwell of the *Dallas Morning News* to use the news headline “African Church Plans Christian Disneyland”³³ and write that “the Redeemed Christian Church of God – Africa’s largest and most ambitious evangelical church – plan to build a 10,000-seat sanctuary, two elementary school-size lecture centres, a dormitory, several cottages, a lake, and a Christian-themed water park in Floyd, Texas.” The ambivalence of the term “Christian Disneyland” is noteworthy.³⁴

Thus, RCCG is steadily inserting itself within transnational religious spaces through the construction and reproduction of religious geographies. Beyond consideration of the aesthetics of space lie issues concerning power dynamics, identity, and public receptivity, government and legal regulations on properties and real estate and their uses, the economics of immigrant-led churches, and the transnational links, networks and ideas they generate to assert and insert themselves in and through the newly constructed spaces of worship.

Reimagining Transnational Religious Spaces

Faist delineates three generations of transnational scholarship, with the earliest trajectory flourishing in the late 1960s and 1970s, and focusing on the emergence, role and impact of large-scale, cross-border organizations.³⁵ This body of literature “took the container as a point of departure, and was concerned with perforations at borders and interdependencies of non-state actors across the containers”. The second generation in the 1980s and 1990s imagined new concepts of the container. They evolved originally from the specific field of international or cross-border migration, with a focus on the agency of migrants.

33 S. Farwell, “African Church Plans Christian Disneyland”, *The Dallas Morning News*, 17 July 2005.

34 See “Christian Disneyland”, <http://www.christianebooks.com/christiandisneyland.htm> (accessed 6 December 2007). The idea of a Christian Disneyland may have been coined by Billy Sunday, who started the trend with allusion to the theme park in Anaheim, California, built and marketed as “the happiest place on Earth”, <http://www.disneyland.com/>.

35 T. Faist, “Making and Remaking the Transnational: Of Boundaries, Social Spaces and Social Mechanisms”, *Spectrum: Journal of Global Studies* 1 (2009) 2, pp. 66–88.

They dealt with dense and continuous ties across the borders of nation states, which concatenate into social formations called transnational social spaces or transnational social fields.³⁶ Thus, terms such as transnational social spaces, transnational social fields, or transnational social formations usually refer to sustained ties of geographically mobile persons, networks, and organizations across borders and across multiple nation states. Transnational webs include relatively immobile persons and collectives.³⁷ Portes et al. turned the concept of transnationalism into a clearly defined and measurable object of research.³⁸ They acknowledge that transnationalism involves individuals, their networks of social relations, their communities, and broader institutionalised structures such as local and national governments. Adogame and Spickard identified seven patterns of religious transnationalism – the Ellis Island model, religious bilocalism, religious cacophony, reverse missions, south-south religious trade, transnational organization theory, and deterritorialized religious identity – as patterns which describe a complex transnational religious scene.³⁹

Networks, activities, and life-patterns that entangle both their “old home” and “new home” host societies characterize contemporary migrant populations. This “simultaneous embeddedness” and multiplicity of involvements in more than one society or context produces a heterogeneous set of sustained transnational activities.⁴⁰ Smith and Guarnizo suggest a distinction between “transnationalism from above”, that is, cross-border activities initiated and conducted by powerful institutional actors, such as states and multinational corporations; and “transnationalism from below”, the result of grass-roots initiatives by migrants and their home country counterparts.⁴¹

36 L. Basch, N. Glick-Schiller, and C. Blanc-Szanton (eds.), *Nations Unbound. Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, New York: Gordon and Breach, 1994.

37 T. Faist, “The Transnational Social Spaces of Migration”, Universität Bielefeld, COMCAD Working Papers 10 (2006), p. 3.

38 A. Portes et al., “The Study of Transnationalism: Pitfalls and Promise of an Emergent Research Field”, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1999) 2, pp. 463–477.

39 A. Adogame and J.V. Spickard (eds.), *Religion Crossing Boundaries: Transnational Religious and Social Dynamics in Africa and the New African Diaspora*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 1–25.

40 N. Glick-Schiller, L. Basch, and C. Blanc-Szanton, “Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration”, in: N. Glick-Schiller et al. (eds.), *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered*, New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Science, vol. 645, 1992, pp. 1–24.

41 P. Smith and L. Guarnizo (eds.), *Transnationalism from Below*, New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1998.

The third generation of scholarship is concerned less with accounting for cross-border ties and flows of fixed categories of persons or groups, instead focusing more on changing boundaries. This is so because social spaces denote dynamic processes, not static notions of ties and positions.⁴² The main point, as Faist notes, is that “the new approach is not only concerned with sustained and continuous across-border phenomena but with boundaries demarcating social spaces in a wider sense – in particular, on how the boundaries themselves come into existence and change”. This third generation of scholarship now questions fundamental methodological assumptions and thus emphasizes the transnational (and translocal, transregional) character of social boundaries and social spaces.⁴³

In my view transnational religious spaces are not empty vessels but embodied “lived spaces” rooted within a range of human experiences, practices and processes. The Redemption Camps in Nigeria and the US double as both transnational religious and social spaces against the backdrop of a fluid intermix of secular and mundane domains. Levitt proposes transnational religious spaces as alternative landscapes.⁴⁴ She points to how research on migrants’ transnational religious practices is not only about organizational manifestations of faith but about the alternative places of belonging that religious ideas and symbols make possible and the ways in which these sacred landscapes interact with the boundaries of political and civic life. As she notes, pilgrims and transnational migrants alike employ religion “to create imaginary religious topographies” and “delineate an alternative cartography of belonging”. Thus, “the imagined moral and physical geographies that result may fall within national boundaries, transcend but coexist with them, or create new, alternative spaces that, for some individuals’ have greater salience and inspire stronger loyalties than politically-defined terrain.”⁴⁵ Cherry explores the contours of transnational religious spaces and networks at the intersection of religion and migration.⁴⁶ Religion, he states, has shaped globalization and transnationalism as much as these forces have shaped religion. This is particularly true of international migration and the flow of

⁴² Faist, “Making and Remaking the Transnational”, p. 71.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 72. He notes that boundaries may refer to distinctions along categories such as groups, organizations and cultural differences.

⁴⁴ P. Levitt, “‘You Know, Abraham Was Really the First Immigrant’: Religion and Transnational Migration”, *The International Migration Review* 37 (2003) 3, pp. 847–873.

⁴⁵ Levitt, “You Know, Abraham”, p. 861.

⁴⁶ S.M. Cherry, “Exploring the Contours of Transnational Religious Spaces and Networks”, in: J. Saunders, E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, and S. Snyder (eds.), *Intersections of Religion and Migration: Religion and Global Migrations*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, pp. 195–224.

religious ideas, practices, organizations, and movements that people in a diaspora have established through their faith traditions.

Socio-spatial theories suggest that space construction is through social interactions and interrelations. They probe how, why, and where space constructs everyday activities, representations, and social life as a whole. A place is formed out of a particular set of social relations that are “stretched out”, that is dynamic, and imbued with power, meaning, and symbolism. Space and place form individual identities in terms of class, gender, ethnicity, nationality, and age, and such identities are bound together by multiple social relations, constructed both locally and globally.⁴⁷ These interactions are hardly neutral, but suffused with contested power relations negotiated in relational space. Massey suggests that “space is always in a process of being made”. It is always “under construction”. It is never a fully connected and finalized thing. There are always “relations which are still to be made, or unmade, or remade.”⁴⁸ Therefore, these contestations are provisional in such a way that by moving through space, space is moved and somewhat altered.

There is growing interest in space and spatial theories within the fields of migration and transnational studies, as constructed within national borders and transnational spaces. In fact, the appropriation of spatial theories in conceptualizing space and place has taken a transdisciplinary turn. As Knott notes, the focus is now on “spaces themselves, irrespective of whether or not they appear to be religious or sacred, and to examine the location of religion within them”.⁴⁹ Jackson et al. underscore the significance of a spatial perspective on transnationalism, suggesting that as well as encompassing transnational connections, transnational spaces “incorporate the symbolic and imaginary geographies through which we attempt to make sense of our world”.⁵⁰ What Sheringham calls transnational religious spaces involve the overlapping agencies of multiple individuals and institutions, characterized by shifting yet unequal power relations.⁵¹ She demonstrates how the notion of transnational religious spaces is helpful to conceptualize the ways in which, within the spaces of transnationalism, religion affects the lives not only of those

47 D. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, Oxford: Polity Press, 1994; D. Massey, *For Space*, London: Sage, 2005.

48 D. Massey, *Concepts of Space and Power in Theory and in Political Practice*, Milton Keynes: The Open University, 2009.

49 K. Knott, *The Location of Religion. A Spatial Analysis*, London: Routledge, 2005.

50 P. Jackson et al. (eds.), *Transnational Spaces*, London: Routledge, 2004.

51 O. Sheringham, *Transnational Religious Spaces: Faith and the Brazilian Migration Experience*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

who migrate but also of those who go “back home”, and of the families who experience the absence of their loved ones. Her book focuses on “what religious leaders, migrants, and migrants’ families do with religion” – the creativity and hybridizations that occur through the practice and embodiment of religion in transnational spaces. But equally, she seeks to place the lives of these migrants in a wider context, as deeply embedded in dynamic social fields that involve the interplay of multiple actors with asymmetrical relations of power.⁵²

Faist, on the other hand, draws our attention to a more nuanced discussion of borders and boundaries within social spaces going beyond and intersecting nation states. As he argues, “it is important to unpack the notion of power and identify the social mechanisms, which are at work in the making and unmaking of boundaries in social spaces.”⁵³ I recall the treatment my co-traveller experienced in the hands of the Nigerian immigration officials, refusing him entry into the country. Faist remarks that “we do not live in a borderless world but in a world in which borders are constantly being redrawn.”⁵⁴ He introduces a physical but also metaphorical meaning to boundaries when he suggests that “boundaries concatenate into social spaces”.⁵⁵ Thus, the ways in which “borders” and “boundaries” function as central elements of space-making, in this case within the transnational religious spaces of the Redemption Camp can be illuminating. A transnational approach with a spatial turn captures the interconnectedness of elements (persons, networks, groups, organizations), and the emergent properties of new assemblages. Thus, it is a dynamic approach, which looks at transnational spaces, in which social boundaries shift, blur, become permeable, are reinforced or new ones are created.⁵⁶ The Redemption City is an example of a transnational religious space where geographic and social boundaries are drawn and redrawn.

The physical space of the Redemption Camp has expanded from its initial 4.25 hectares in 1982 to over 2500 hectares. The GIS attribute table of the aerial map shows 116 facilities within the Redemption Camp.⁵⁷ The land use analysis indicates that 229.7 hectares (13 per cent) are residential; 10.8 hectares commercial (0.6 per cent), 143.9 hectares institutional (8.5 per cent); 3.3 hectares industrial

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵³ Faist, “Making and Remaking the Transnational”, p. 76.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵⁷ See Figures 1 and 3.

(0.2 per cent). There remain the conservation strip of 434.2 hectares (25.8 per cent), open space 712.4 hectares (42.2 per cent); recreation 11 hectares (0.7 per cent), circulation and car parks 141.4 hectares (8.4 per cent).⁵⁸ From the aerial map,⁵⁹ it is evident that the Camp could only expand on the arable lands eastwards. A huge expanse of land owned by the Deeper Christian Life Church, another Pentecostal church, borders on the south fringes. In the North and West are located the Lagos-Ibadan motorway and a fast sprawling suburb, an emerging city which has emerged and expanded in direct response to the existence of the Redeemed City. This new, autonomous settlement in Mowe and Loburo villages is an eclectic mix of residential homes, housing estates, retail markets, churches, and mosques. Further expansion of the physical boundaries would depend on material resources, power dynamics, renegotiation with neighbours, and land reacquisition. Besides the soaring population of Camp's residents and workers, several millions visit it annually for a multiplicity of reasons including pilgrimage, church events, building construction, or commercial activities. Most of these visitors transcend religious, denominational, cultural, ethnic, class, and gender boundaries. They include Christians, Muslims, and adherents of the indigenous religion. Therefore, the motivations for visiting a transnational religious and social space vary.

The increasing itinerancy of religious leaders and members has implications for place-making. The complex peregrination of the GO is an indication of the transnational tendencies of this brand of African Christianity.⁶⁰ His travel schedules portray him as a "world class traveller" with frequent trips to virtually all continents of the world. The GO undertakes frequent visits to RCCG parishes in Europe, the US, and other parts of Africa and the world, as well as attending programmes of churches and organizations with which the RCCG has ecumenical links. The significance of these travels does not lie simply in the number of cities or countries visited but more in the motive. Transnational networks involving African-led churches such as the RCCG in both home and host contexts are assuming increasing significance for African migrants and those they left at home. The range and nature of ties include new ecumenical affiliations, pastoral exchanges, special events and conferences, prayer networks, internet sites, international ministries, publications, audio/video, and tele-evangelism. The link "low" is multidirectional, both sending and receiving links, glocal and transnational.

⁵⁸ Redemption Camp Master Plan, 2017, p. 33. See also B. Adedibu, "Sacralisation and Spatial Transformation of the Redeemed Christian Church of God, Redemption Camp across Borders: A Qualitative Approach", *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 75 (2019) 2, a5428. <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v75i2.5428>.

⁵⁹ See aerial image and map of the Redemption Camp as in Figures 1 and 2.

⁶⁰ Adogame, *African Christian Diaspora*, pp. 160–167.

The proliferation of social ties and relationships among new African migrants, and between immigrant-led churches, host churches and their home base has implications that we can understand contextually. Some of these groups frequently organize programmes which are local in nature but which have a transnational focus that links the local church with other churches globally.

Such events as the Holy Ghost Congress parade a mix of leaders and members from both local and transnational settings.⁶¹ Presidents, Senators, legislators, religious leaders, traditional rulers, and entrepreneurs are among the frequent guests.⁶²

Well ingrained in the dynamic transnational religious space of the Redemption Camp are residents, tenants, guests and visitors differentiated by social, class, ecclesial, religious and gender hierarchies. The visibility and invisibility of their presence thus involve the interchange of multiple actors with oblique power relations.

While the hotels, resorts, and guesthouses jostle to providing hospitality, lodging services for thousands of guests who attend the Holy Ghost Congresses, they generate enormous revenue for the proprietors. The Holy Ghost Congress and other events that take place within the Redemption City present an avenue for commodifying books, texts of pastoral ministrations, gospel music, songs, video films, anointing oil, documentaries and programmes of participating leaders and churches made into books, diaries, almanacs, souvenirs, and audio-visual products, clothing, food and beverages. This annual event also demonstrates intra/inter religious networking,⁶³ bringing together religious leaders and participants from various countries with significant global and transnational ramifications.

Mediating Transnational Religious Spaces

The transnational nature of the RCCG in Nigeria and its diaspora challenges the assumption that migrants usually cut off ties and links with their homeland after integration into the new host contexts. Most new African-led churches

⁶¹ The Congress programme booklet often highlights distinguished guests from a past event. See, for instance, "HGC: A History of Great Expectations and Manifestations", *The Redeemed Christian Church of God 2018 Holy Ghost Congress – Glory Ahead, December 3rd–8th, 2018*, Redemption Camp: The Holy Ghost Congress of the RCCG, 2018, pp. 21–23; see pictorial illustrations in O. Olubiyi, "The Holy Ghost Congress: The Coming of the Global Summit", p. 149.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ A. Adogame, "Betwixt Identity and Security: African New Religious Movements and the Politics of Religious Networking in Europe", *Nova Religio: The Journal of Emergent and Alternative Religions* 7 (2003) 2, pp. 24–41; Adogame, *African Christian Diaspora*, pp. 191–211.

such as the RCCG are rooted locally in the land of origin, in their new host contexts, but also in the intra-communal web which links them with different places across the globe.⁶⁴ These communities are connected through ties in the realm of religion, economy, friendship, kinship, politics – increasingly so through the virtual space of telephones and the Internet, which has become a central feature of the maintenance of diasporic identity. New African-led religious organizations have appropriated the use of websites, TV and interactive technologies in the transmission of their religious ideologies, as a recruitment strategy for new clientele, but also as a way of maintaining links with members and branches transnationally.⁶⁵

The physical (non-)visibility, demographic stature, and social mobility of the RCCG are linked to the media technological revolution. Such churches acquire, utilize and appropriate the print and electronic media for the transmission of their religious messages as well as the commodification of religious paraphernalia. The RCCG has its own television channels, Dove Vision, accessible on Sky Cable Television Channels. Liveway Radio and Liveway TV are RCCG Gospel media outreach ministries.⁶⁶ Through these mediated sources, church programmes such as the Holy Ghost Congress and other events have a local, global, and transnational reach. The procurement of media space and time involves huge financial investment. Their relative success and attraction of a huge clientele resonate with ways they have tuned and (re)packaged their religious messages. Thus, the RCCG's self-positioning, public role and social relevance carves it out as a figment of African modernity.

Conclusion

This essay has discussed the RCCG's Redemption Camp in Nigeria and its replication in the USA as embodied, lived religious and social spaces rooted within transnational experiences, practices, and processes. Such spaces are in flux; they are continually contested and negotiated in ways that result in creativity

⁶⁴ A. Adogame, "Raising Champions, Taking Territories: African Churches and the Mapping of New Religious Landscapes in Diaspora", in: T. L. Trost (ed.), *The African Diaspora and the Study of Religion*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, pp. 21–46.

⁶⁵ A. Adogame, "The Quest for Space in the Global Religious Marketplace: African Religions in Europe", *International Review of Mission* 89 (2000) 354, pp. 400–409.

⁶⁶ See RCCG Dove Television and Liveway radio at <https://dovevision.org/>; <http://rccg.camp7.org/>; <https://tunein.com/radio/Liveway-Radio-s105680/>.

and innovation. By focusing on the routinization of an annual religious event, the Holy Ghost Congress we have been able to show the extent to which African Pentecostal churches such as the RCCG can be located within the global trend of religious transnationalism. We have also explored the significance of the increasing mobility and itinerancy of religious leaders and members between transnational religious spaces, as well as the appropriation of new media technologies, an evolving dimension of the transnational process.