

EDGS WORKING PAPER

Number 26

‘Dealing with the Prince over Lagos’: Pentecostal Arts of Citizenship

Ruth Marshall
University of Toronto

January 22, 2015

Presented at the Political Science EDGS Speaker Series on January 22, 2015. This work was made possible by a grant from the Equality Development and Globalization Studies (EDGS) program at Northwestern University, funded by the Rajawali Foundation in Indonesia.

‘Dealing with the Prince over Lagos’: Pentecostal Arts of Citizenship

In M. Diouf and R. Fredericks eds. *The Arts of Citizenship in African Cities: Infrastructures and Spaces of Belonging*, Palgrave-Macmillan, Dec. 2014
(NB. some of the photos in this version do not appear in the published versions)

Ruth Marshall
Associate Prof. of Political Science / Study of Religion
University of Toronto

LAGOS: BETWEEN DREAMWORLD AND CATASTROPHE¹

Lagos is one of the world’s largest mega-cities, projected to reach 20 million people by 2015. Routinely ranked as one of the 5 worst places to live in the world, it lends itself to all manner of apocalyptic characterizations, with its catastrophically inadequate infrastructure and public services, appalling pollution and chaotic overcrowding; an unspeakable concentration of anarchy, human misery, crime and violence. As Kaplan argues, Lagos has become “the cliché par excellence of Third World urban dysfunction” (Kaplan 2000: 15).

These lurid descriptions don’t exhaust the experience of the city, at once impossible and extraordinary, and have been countered by a more celebratory view that underscores the inadequacy of dominant paradigms of thinking the city. At the vanguard of this new vision is Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas, whose work on Lagos emphasizes the ingenuity of coping strategies and the intensity of the creative energies required for dealing with everyday life (Koolhaas 2004, see also Haynes 2007). Koolhaas has been roundly, and also rightly, criticized for his aestheticization and dehistoricization of the misery, inequality and predation which accompanies Lagos’ insertion into the global political economy, as well as his dismissal of hope for any rational political and

economic change (Packer 2006 Gandy 2006a).² But is the alternative really between “dreamworld” and “catastrophe”? (Buck-Morss 2002)

Mbembe and Nuttal et al (2004) rightly stress that the analytic frameworks and normative paradigms of urbanism and urban development (and one could extend this to all “development” studies) effectively result in purely pathological assessments of the African megalopolis, a pathology of which Lagos is arguably the archetype. They argue that in general, the African “city’s fabric has been described as a structure in need of radical transformation and only rarely as an expression of an aesthetic vision” (2004: 353). While attempting to avoid Koolhaas’ aesthetic trap, they make a case for a new way of “jamming” the dominant, purely negative, imaginings of Africa through a focus on space and discontinuity – looking at the ways in which spaces circulate and exist in function of connections with an *elsewhere*, and by so doing, bring to light new moral, political and aesthetic topographies.

Pentecostalism in Africa constitutes one of the most striking examples of reimagining both the city and modes of belonging in it through the staging of an “elsewhere”. A predominantly urban phenomenon, twenty-five years into its dramatic Nigerian expansion, Pentecostalism’s public presence in Lagos is absolutely striking. It is impossible to move through the city without being bombarded by a multitude of posters, billboards and banners advertising churches, services, prayer meetings, revivals, miracles, or hear on the ubiquitous loudspeakers a cacophony of sermons, tongues and singing. What I want to explore in this chapter are the ways in which the Nigerian Pentecostal engagement with an “elsewhere”, both spiritual and material, produces new social and ethico-political topographies, and new ways of thinking about community and citizenship

in the polis. The idiom of global spiritual warfare works, if you'll forgive the expression, as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the Pentecostal conversion and deterritorialization of urban spaces and identities through spectacularization and new forms of mediation produces new, transnational, spiritual and material infrastructures and conduits which open "spaces of hope" (Harvey 2000) that belie these negative imaginings. On the other, these same practices are heavy with political menace and danger. Despite Pentecostalism's individualism and universalizing ambitions, its central political effect can be understood in the ways in which it offers new resources for reconceptualizing local grounds of political belonging and participation in, or escape from, the polis.

In this regard, Pentecostalism might be seen as the contemporary archetype of what Abdou Maliq Simone (2001) has called the "worlding" of African cities, whose themes are taken up by Mbembe and Nuttal (2004). Simone recognizes the difficulty in African cities today of maintaining "recognizable and usable forms of collective solidarity and collaboration" (2001: 17) in the face of the circulation of a seemingly "arbitrary unknown" (ibid.), or what I have called the experience of "radical uncertainty", which is not merely material, but also epistemological and ontological (Marshall 2009). This is related to the ways in which global processes intersect with local urban practices and networks, such that urban dwellers are forced to function "now find themselves forced to operate with a more totalizing sense of exteriority" (Simone 2001:17). He refers to the erasure of boundaries between the "insides" of the city and what Mbembe and Nuttal call an "elsewhere", and argues that the "materialization" of this uncertainty takes a variety of forms, and the city becomes overpopulated by a multitude of what I have called

“untrammelled powers”, both spiritual and material. Simone argues that in this context, there is little recourse to effective mediation or clear boundaries.

I have argued that Pentecostalism engages with this unknown by a specific mode of staging it, one which claims an effective mode of mediation and reinstitution of clear boundaries by embracing a complex form of exteriority, that could be understood both materially and theologically (Marshall 2009). Materially, it entails the mobilization of new material and symbolic connections with transnational networks of capital, people and imaginaries that have as their locus and site of operation in the world, in its very Christian, indeed Pauline sense (Derrida 2005: 54). A central trope in the Nigerian Pentecostal expansion has been the image of the city as a place of ethical and spiritual danger, a space of anomie which Pentecostal evangelical practices aim to reclaim and redeem. Unlike the “bush” or the village, which also has associations with dangerous spiritual and supernatural forces, the city is projected as a potential space of order and progress, yet one which, through post-colonial practice, has become a *fallen*, chaotic and lawless place that requires redemption. Evangelical activity has been centered on the re-investment of physical and virtual public space - part of broader evangelical project of global spiritual warfare in which spatial vocabulary and tropes are crucial. An ever-increasing public presence and visibility is absolutely central to a broader project of redemptive citizenship, and is accompanied by the self-conscious creation of modern, functional spaces of worship and forms of electronic mediation and communication - tapes, CDs, television, films, internet (Marshall 2009: 138, Meyer 2006, 2010). Its expansion throughout Lagos has focused on the investment of physical sites and institutions that instill new forms of worship and self-presentation, modes of sociability

and family structures. There has also been a concerted investment of public space such as the market and the void left by an incompetent public service, through the development of new, increasingly globalized networks and the provision of effective forms of social security and services, as well as new attitudes to wealth, labor, and debt that find their expression in the creation of new entrepreneurial structures and modes of accumulation. All of these contribute to the overarching sense of delocalization and deterritorialization that has marked the revival's self-understanding, both materially and symbolically.

Techniques of mass mediation are absolutely central to the ways in which the movement has developed and spread so successfully. Rather than through instances of institutionalized authority, Pentecostalism achieves its power through a verisimilitude, or truth effect, achieved through the public staging and circulation, particularly through forms of mass-mediation such as television, of prayer, prophecy testimony and miracles. Pentecostals have been at the vanguard of the exploitation of electronic media in Nigeria, often outstripping the capacities for production and capitalization of the states themselves (Marshall 2009, Meyer 2006, Haynes 2007 Larkin 2008). The centrality to Pentecostalism of the circulation of mass-mediated religious speech and miraculous performance gives it a singular power. Capitalizing on what Derrida calls the fiduciary structure of language, the "I promise" or "I believe" that is at the basis of every social bond (Derrida 2002: 80), televangelism's "utterly singular" relationship to the media creates a relay between "the ordinary miracle of the believe me and the extraordinary miracles revealed by the Holy Scriptures" (Derrida 2001: 76-77, quoted in Naas 2012: 140). This direct connection between the individual believer and the space-time of the

inception of Christianity provides the basis for the delocalization of messages, and gives rise to media-created publics with no sense of place.

If we compare these organizations with other older, more established churches, among mainstream or orthodox denominations, the Aladura churches, and even earlier holiness Pentecostals, we find striking differences in how congregations are set up as communities, and how they identify themselves as co-religionists. As André Corten argues with reference to Pentecostalism in Latin America, "through the media, transversal relations [among churches] are formed. The community of the church still exists as a reference, but is transformed from a place of praise and cohesion to a 'show place' [*lieu de spectacle*] where deliverance and divine healing are staged. In this staging of a 'show,' there is a change of imaginary [*imaginaire*]" (Corten 1997:17). This imaginary is one in which Pentecostal religiosity cannot really be understood as an institution which furnishes a discrete identity or establishes a clearly bounded community. This leads us to question the capacity of Pentecostalism to mediate the experience of radical uncertainty and developing new forms collective solidarity. Rather than providing a means to specific individual social or political ends, Pentecostal practices of faith appear rather wholly bound up in performing a presentation of the divine, a spectacularization of the sacred which reveals Pentecostalism, like late capitalism, to be a formidable apparatus for the production and consumption of pure means (Agamben 2007, Wariboko 2011, Marshall 2009).

Theologically, conversion deploys new modes of subjectivation under the jurisdiction of the Holy Spirit, where an understanding of divine grace as *transimmanence* would mediate between the self and the world of untrammelled powers

(Marshall 2009, 2010, Wariboko 2011). Rather than a drawing of new boundaries, however, this form of mediation takes the Pauline form of the "revocation of every vocation," (Agamben 2005: 25) as in 1 Corinthians 7:17–24, in which the "new creation" does not furnish an identity, but the suspension of every juridical or factual property. This messianic suspension doesn't nullify or overcome existing divisions (gender, class, age, ethnicity, status) or give rise to new divisions or distinctions, but renders them inoperative, "in force without signification". This break with old ways is figured through the deliberate restaging of natality, reinvesting it with an ontological priority as regards action, understood as the possibility of beginning anew (Marshall 2009: 50). The idiom of rebirth, the instantiation of an existential principle of endless renewal and an ontology of becoming, the possibility of "making a complete break with the past" that conversion promises, these all inform the emancipatory effects of breaking with unbelievers as well as with the historical forms of subjection that have structured longstanding forms of domination and accumulation in the postcolony. Yet this occupation and production of redeemed spaces is conceived in terms of war, a life-and-death struggle to wrest people, places and destinies from the satanic enemy.

Mike Davis (2004, 2006) has argued that the demographics of Pentecostalism—which now counts half a billion adherents of which the vast majority live in cities in the global south—make it potentially a new revolutionary force, or if not, the best we have to work with: "Indeed, for the moment at least, Marx has yielded the historical stage to Mohammed and the Holy Ghost. If God died in the cities of the industrial revolution, he has risen again in the postindustrial cities of the developing world" (Davis 2004: 34). He credits reformist Islam and Pentecostalism with articulating the most significant response

to the process of “urban involution” (labor’s self over-exploitation) that characterize the Third world megalopolis: “with the Left still largely missing from the slum, the eschatology of Pentecostalism admirably refuses the inhuman destiny of the Third World city that *Slums* [UN-Habitat 2003] warns about. It also sanctifies those who, in every structural and existential sense, truly live in exile” (Davis 2004: 34). I’d like to question this claim from the perspective of Pentecostalism’s extraordinary expansion in Lagos and beyond over the past three decades. Does Pentecostalism really “sanctify those who live in exile”? Living in exile in Davis’ understanding refers to new global topographies of exclusion in which the teeming masses of Third World slums have effectively become a form of surplus humanity rather than the reserve labor army of previous phases of capitalist expansion. Davis’ claim would presume that Pentecostalism in Africa is predominantly a religion of the slums and that its eschatology involves sanctifying this surplus in some way that involves an active refusal of this destiny. This strikes me as provocative, but problematic on both empirical and theoretical grounds, in ways I’ll try to address below. I’ll proceed by outlining two cases that exemplify modes of Pentecostal expansion in Lagos and beyond. The first I’ll call the “showcase” model, in which the Pentecostal presence (both divine and material) involves the physical re-occupation of space through the acquisition of property and the construction of an idealized space of late capitalist urban living, centered around what may well be the world’s largest Pentecostal showplace, capable of welcoming over 1 million believers. The second, which I’ll call the “spiritual network” model, involves both a mode of identifying the territorial presence of demonic spiritual forces and conduits, reclaiming these sites and replacing them with “Holy Spirit” networks and connections, a virtual topography largely

dependent on new forms of electronic communication, or at least on the imaginaries of connectedness they generate. The argument is that while new urban spaces of hope are being produced by this engagement, on the other hand, it also generates new topographies of inequality, violence and exclusion through the obligation to identify and eliminate the “enemy” as well as the spectacularization and phantasmagorical enchantment so central to its success.

THE REDEEMED CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF GOD: GOD’S OWN SHOWCASE

Following the early interdenominational movement of the 1970s and 80, over the 1990s, effects of a new third wave in global charismatic and Pentecostal Christianity resulted in a massive explosion of church planting. Churches now are found literally on every corner, ranging from modest one-story buildings to lavish complexes in the style of villas or banks as well as huge warehouse-like structures. The most ubiquitous of these new churches are the thousands of parishes of the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG). When I first visited the RCCG national headquarters in 1989, in Ebute-Metta, one of the oldest Yoruba neighborhoods in Lagos comprising predominantly lower middle-class streets and one impressive slum, it was a run-down complex at the end of Cemetery Street, reached by a muddy path, bordering the lagoon and the slums built up around the Ebute-Metta log fields. From its poor Yoruba origins in the 1950s, the Redeemed Christian Church of God has experienced dizzying growth in the past three decades since Pastor Adeboye took over from its illiterate founder, Pa Akindayomi. Throughout the late 1980s and 1990s, under the impulse of Pastor Tunde Bakare and the energies of Pastor Tony Rapu (both of whom have left the church), RCCG developed

new, so-called "model" parishes in middle- and upper-class neighborhoods, with an educated, upper middle-class, ethnically mixed membership. These congregations fast outstripped the older, poorer "classical" parishes in influence, and coincided with the advent of the arrival of the "Word of Faith" or prosperity gospel, fundamentally changing the church's doctrinal emphasis, from a strict other-worldly ascetic holiness, to an emphasis on divine miracles and financial blessings in the here-and-now. The church began to deliberately target the middle and upper classes with fellowship breakfasts at the five-star Eko Le Meridien Hotel and the inauguration of fellowship and outreach groups like the Christ the Redeemer's Friends Universal, an organization of the RCCG that requires potential members to have a post-secondary degree or diploma, as well as women's groups, youth and student fellowships, mission outreaches.

Today, RCCG has over 14,000 parishes in Nigeria, with approximately 5 million members. Asonzeh Ukah (2008) claims that RCCG is now the single largest private landowner in Lagos. Adebayo has repeatedly announced that RCCG will plant a church within "five minutes walk" from every urban Nigerian, and five minutes drive from every North American. Totally rebuilt and expanded, the new national headquarters now reflects the meteoric expansion of the church in the past 20 years. Its address is no longer 1A Cemetery Street, but 4-5 Redemption Way (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2).



Figure 3.1. National Headquarters of the RCGC, 4-5 Redemption Way
Photo S. Bitter / H. Weber



Figure 3.2. National Headquarters of RCGC, 4-5 Redemption Way
Photo: S. Bitter / H. Weber

And yet, as these pictures tellingly reveal, the dramatic expansion of parishes and the striking reconstruction of its headquarters has not meant that RCCG has integrated itself within pre-existing neighborhoods, creating a local site from which to engage in “redeeming” its immediate surroundings and their populations, whether spiritually or materially. In fact, RCCG’s relations with the immediate communities in which it has planted itself have often been difficult, litigious, and at times violent. Indeed, the acquisition of property precedes the construction of a congregation or community, and is based on the promise of a church five minutes walk (or in North America, 5 minutes drive) from every person. In North America, the explicit strategy has been to avoid planting new churches in predominantly diaspora neighborhoods, which means that members of these communities must drive more than five minutes and traverse previously unfamiliar parts of the cities they live in, while every Sunday the pastor prays over the empty seats. Rather than being outgrowths of specific and localized social formations or neighborhoods, we should think of these parishes as nodes in an ever-expanding network, one which physically and symbolically connects people from disparate neighborhoods, regions and countries, creating conduits for people and resources which should flow into the “global community” RCCG now sees itself as building (Burgess et al. 2010). The hub of these globally dispersed nodes is found in the extraordinary new complex developed between Lagos and Ibadan: Redemption City.

According to his account, in the late 1980s, faced with the physical impossibility of gathering all his flock in one place, Adeboye had a vision to build a prayer camp outside the city. On what was originally 3.5 hectares of bush at mile 46 on the Lagos-Ibadan expressway, since the early 1990s, RCCG has built a veritable city of some 10

square kilometers, which now functions as the church's international headquarters. Monthly Holy Ghost services attract hundreds of thousands, causing monumental traffic jams that used to paralyze the Lagos-Ibadan expressway for days until a new parking system was put in place. The Holy Ghost Arena measures 1 km long by 500 m wide, and can accommodate over 1 million worshippers (see Figure 3.3). From 1998 on, the annual Holy Ghost Congress has attracted between 3 to 6 million attendees from across Nigeria and the world. This liminal space between city and bush also functions as a material and symbolic hub, connecting the ever-expanding parishes and networks of the church within the cities of Lagos and Ibadan to the open vistas of the world it claims it will conquer for Christ. RCCG currently has parishes in over 52 countries, on 4 continents, and is building a new Redemption City on land it acquired outside Dallas, Texas. With over 500 parishes in North America, the RCCG North American mission head, James Fadele, claims that the North American church now boasts a capacity of over one million. (How many empty seats are still being prayed over?)

This veritable empire has been constructed through not only the tithes and offerings of its millions of faithful, but also the mobilization of private capital and entrepreneurial networks and connections, which are increasingly global in character. Symbolically too, the connection to global networks has become increasingly central to the identity of the church and its practices. Even the preferred mode of giving to the Lord in order to receive your blessing now takes place in foreign exchange. Indeed, if the Lord is going to bless your offering "a hundredfold", it's better to give \$10 for the Lord than 10 Naira. Illogically, people now exchange their Naira for dollars or pounds before giving it at the Holy Ghost Service. Adeboye's status is now one of a cosmopolitan

global leader, as at home in the Presidential palace in Aso Rock as in London, New York and Dallas. Erstwhile advisor to President Obasanjo, he also has a street named after him in Abuja and ranked 49th in *Newsweek's* 2009 list of the world's "top 50 most powerful people." Aspiring state governors or presidential candidates of whatever religious persuasion must now publicly seek Adebayo's "blessing" at highly publicized participation in one of the monthly Holy Ghost nights.

Redemption City is showcased on the RCCG website:

You are welcome to the Redemption city, where Heaven and Earth meet. The redemption city is in all aspects God's own showcase, as every aspect of its involvement has been a testimony of the awesome revelation of the most High God to His beloved people. ... What started as 4.25 acres at Loburo with the exact dimensions of the auditorium then as 150 feet by 300 feet... has metamorphosed into a CITY with facilities such as; Banks, Halls, A University, Schools, Chalets, Resort Center, Maternity Center, Clinic, Post Office, Supermarkets, Bookshops, Western Union, an Estate, Security Posts, Churches amongst others. During the June 2008, HGS, Daddy GO announced the completion of the covering of the huge auditorium at the Holy Ghost Arena, glory be to God. The Redemption city hosts the monthly Holy Ghost Service, Special Holy Ghost Service, Annual Convention and the annual Holy Ghost Congress in December. The Story of these special events cannot be overemphasized and has as a matter of fact become one of the leading factors that many people now live permanently in the city development which offers residents a unique lifestyle different from what is generally obtain in many metropolitan city. The peace cannot be quantified. Praise God!' (<http://city.rccgnet.org/>) (See Figures 3.3 to 3.8).



Figure 3.3.
Holy Ghost Arena: 1km x 0.5km.
Photo: S. Bitter/H. Weber



Figure 3.4.
International Resort Centre.
Photo: RCCG website



Figure 3.5.
Resort Centre. Photo: RCCG website



Figure 3.6.
Redeemers University. Photo: RCCG website



Figure 3.7.
Haggai Community Bank , 1 of 5 banks
Photo: RCCG website



Figure 3.8.
Haggai Estates
Photo: RCCG website

“Haggai Community Bank developed a sprawling Estate adjacent to the Congress Arena, a look will convince you of the aesthetic and serene atmosphere.”

“Where Heaven and Earth meet”... Redemption City is indeed a space of exile, but hardly in the sense Davis intends. Developed in deliberate contrast to Lagos, it is an

artificial showcase with all the insubstantiality of the model home: a space of hope that functions at a purely spectacular, phantasmagorical level. Here we can see how space itself functions as a new form of spectacularized testimonial, as an image rather than a dwelling place. Kehinde Osinowo, leader of the organization Christians for the Regeneration of the Nation, urges Nigerians Pentecostals to undertake national redemption, quoting Isaiah 58:12: "And they that shall be with thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in" (Marshall 2009:125). This verse encapsulates the Pentecostal promise to repair the separation between truth and the good, between God's laws and the community of believers, through a process of building and restoration of modes of dwelling in the world. It's difficult to ignore the Heideggerian reference here, for whom man is "insofar as he dwells." His romantic/nostalgic lament was that modern man merely "builds," that is, turns the world into a picture and forgets the ways of dwelling (Heidegger 1971). Redemption City in this sense is the perfect picture of the normalized, pacified and ordered petty bourgeois African city.

If Redemption City is one mode of "repairing the breach", restoring "paths to dwell in", then we can say that it is entirely consistent with late capitalist society of the spectacle and may in fact be the best expression of its ethic. RCCG's expansion illustrates how Pentecostalism in Nigeria specifically, but Africa more generally (and arguably in many other places), is a religion of the beleaguered middle classes, or what they have become after their "structural adjustment". And even if it is embraced by more subaltern populations and slum dwellers, it nonetheless aspires to a resolutely petty

bourgeois ethic and form of subjectivity (See O’Neill 2010). “Surplus humanity” with its chaotic energies has no permanent place here; even the great majority of RCCG members do not have access to loans from Haggai bank that would permit them to purchase a semi-detached Redemption duplex, nor pay the fees for a degree in business administration from Redeemer’s University. The best they can do is to participate as spectators in the monthly Holy Ghost night and hope for Adeboye to channel the anointing their way. The event of Pentecostal conversion can be seen to carry with it the same kind of ontological virtue that conversion to capitalism does. All good Marxists remember Marx’s enthusiasm for capitalism’s capacity to destroy the old hierarchies, ushering in the possibility of modern politics and its principle of equality. Indeed, it might not be going too far to call Pentecostalism an ambiguous form of “desacralization” with respect to its capacity for destabilizing the old order and its difficulty in securing its own sovereign foundation. But it would be a mistake to simply translate Pentecostalism’s capacity for deterritorialization, and the “destitution” that accompanies Pentecostalism’s “new life”—“making a complete break with the past”³— as a form of resistance to the ways in which dominant political and economic forces in the world today regulate, control and circumscribe the great mass of the world’s population and their possibilities.

“DEALING WITH THE PRINCE OVER LAGOS”: SPIRITUAL WARFARE IN THE CITY

The "new creation"⁴ (2 Cor. 5:17), the new era, and the coming of the Kingdom are to be achieved in Pentecostalism through the waging of an epic battle against the forces of darkness. And as we shall see, it is precisely the inability within Pentecostalism to appropriate divine grace – whether to shore up pastoral power and legitimacy or to

capture divine blessings — that makes this struggle so very ambivalent. The apocalyptic reading of history which preaches the urgency of evangelism in the end-times and preparing oneself spiritually and ethically for the imminent rapture, is a central theme in global Pentecostalism,⁵ one that most Nigerian churches and missions also, at least formally, subscribe to. It stages both the dangers and promises of the present in an idiom that presents change not only as urgent, but also as immanent in the present moment. It makes for an experience of the present whose qualities have been altered by the presence of the Holy Spirit and divine grace in the form of miracles, in which the present becomes not only the *only time we have* to struggle, to realize the potentialities that may be released by faith. As Pentecostals say of this struggle, "be of good cheer, we are on the winning side" (Marshall 2009: 126). But this struggle for redemption is a *battle*, a *war* against the forces of darkness:

The warfare we are presently engaged in is the battle of translating the victory of Jesus over the devil into the everyday, natural realities of our personal lives and also of our political, religious, economic and social systems. It is a battle of reclamation: to reclaim from the devil what he illegally holds in his control. ... It is warfare. But we are on the winning side. This is the time to muster the army—the Lord's army. Here is a clarion call to battle. ... We are disadvantaged if we lean on carnal weapons. Prayer—militant, strategic and aggressive prayer—must be our weapon of warfare at this time. It is a spiritual warfare and it needs spiritual weapons. This is a call into the ring to wrestle, to sweat it out with an unseen opponent. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood but

against spiritual wickedness, against invisible powers in high places
(Ephesians 6:12)⁶ (Ojewale 1990: 23–24, 37).

Pastor Tony Rapu, ex-favoured son of Adeboye, and medical doctor, explains how the battle in the spiritual realm is responsible for many of the socio-economic and political afflictions that affect contemporary Nigeria in his exposé “Dealing with the Prince over Lagos”:

Everyone is familiar with the account of Daniel and his travails in Babylon... Daniel had prayed, God had responded and somehow given the answer to this unnamed angel to deliver. ... This angelic messenger carrying Daniel’s answer was held in combat by the so-called “prince of Persia” for twenty-one days. The battle was so severe that the angel needed reinforcement and Michael the chief archangel had to come to his aid. Though high in ranking, the prince of Persia was no match for Michael. Grand intrigue in the unseen realm!

What a tale! To the undiscerning ear, this account would sound like another good bible fable embellished for children in Sunday school. But locked up in that account is serious and vital information that reveal the spiritual dimension and dynamics of life not just on earth but around us here in Nigeria. Often times, our secular framework of thought prevent us from receiving truth as clearly revealed in scripture. Many naïve and uninformed Christians may dismiss the phenomena of angels and other spiritual entities as imaginary because they may not fit well into secular and scientific paradigms. The idea of spiritual beings that can neither be seen nor heard floating around the world is difficult to contextualise its truth in our modern day setting. It is presumed that these demonic princes over the nations

were angels, who were in the hierarchy of angelic authority, fell from heaven and have now taken up equivalent positions as “princes” or satanic rulers over nations. When traveling from one country to another one may become aware of a change in the “atmosphere”. A feeling that cannot be quantified or measured but discerned within you, perhaps what one senses is a different ruling spirit in operation. Even within this country one can move from one region to another, one city to another and be conscious of discernable spiritual changes. ... It is thus important to understand that the geopolitical and cultural systems of a nation consist of more than the people, the structures and institutions. There is an attempt by these princes or ruling spirits over nations to exert a negative influence over schools, churches, companies and organizations. We are presently caught in a conflict of forces. The failure to recognize this territorial dimension of the spiritual realm is making many Christians ineffective in fulfilling their purpose. Every sub structure of human society has a spiritual dimension seeking to control and influence the individuals, its economic institutions and the political order. Behind the systems of this country, behind NPA, NEPA, the Nigerian Police Force and the institutions of politics is a raging war! (Rapu 2002)

Here we are in the presence of a different sort of infrastructure... a complex network of unseen supernatural forces, bringing death and destruction and working to frustrate the Christian project, with specific territorial implantations that need to be specially addressed.⁷ It should be pointed out that this conception is not at all peculiar to Africa – the paradigm of spiritual warfare and the action of unseen demonic forces was central to the second wave of Pentecostal revival in the US and around the world, and has become a

growing part of what has been called the “third wave”, particularly with the New Apostolic Reformation and Kingdom Now movements pioneered by American evangelists in the 1990s (Holvast 2008. See Wagner 1991, 1993, 1996).

The Nigerian pastors who endorse many of the doctrinal emphases of this new movement (even if they don’t always agree with the specific forms it can take, especially those that place an emphasis on hierarchy and total submission to “apostolic leaders”, or the connection with dominion theology), are among the most powerful, educated, cosmopolitan and globally connected pastors in Lagos today. The two most notable are Tony Rapu, and Tunde Bakare, who ran in the April 2011 election as the Vice Presidential candidate with Muhammadu Buhari on the Congress for Progressive Change ticket. Bakare founded his Pentecostal ministry, The Latter Rain Assembly, after a break with Adeboye in 1989, which has expanded to include a global ministry with mission headquarters in Atlanta, GA. He also heads up an impressive global network of churches and businesses, the Global Apostolic Impact Network (GAIN) – “a network of churches, ministries and kingdom businesses committed to advancing the Kingdom of God on earth” (Bakare website) as well as setting up the International Centre for Reconstruction and Development (ICRD) that he calls a “knowledge industry/think-tank devoted to re-engineering the social, economic and political landscape of Nigeria in particular and Africa in general.” Most significantly for Nigerian politics, he was Convener of the “Save Nigeria Group”, a broad-based civil coalition of pro-democracy groups set up to encourage popular political mobilization. Using his extensive Pentecostal and political networks, Bakare’s SNG was very successful in raising civic awareness and voter registration in the run-up to the 2011 elections. The Congress for Progressive Change

campaign website declared: “After decades of speaking truth to power and standing on the side of the oppressed, Dr. Bakare has thus extended the frontiers of his political activism in a bid to Save Nigeria, to Change Nigeria and to Make Nigeria Great again in our lifetime” (Congress for Progressive Change).

Political propaganda aside, Bakare is well known for his outspoken and critical views (and daring prophecies) on Nigerian politics, particularly the execrable track record of the ruling PDP party, political corruption and economic malfeasance, as well as the plight of the poor. Bakare’s “social gospel” and political ambition make him a central player in Nigerian politics today. His most recent mobilization had him spearheading the Occupy Nigeria Movement in early January 2012, which organized successful demonstrations against the removal of the oil subsidy. Bakare took the tribune with a collection of left-wing labor leaders and leading intellectuals such as Wole Soyinka and Niyi Osundare (See Osundare 2012). During summer 2012, he preached a Sunday sermon on the theme of “President Goodluck Jonathan has to go”. This use of the pulpit earned him a visit from the State Security Services, who warned him to “tone it down” (*Vanguard* 23 July 2012). He has also been a violent critic of the current Pentecostal “Church”, its miracle mania, prosperity focus, empire-building and pastoral personality cults. He has nonetheless done extremely well for himself through the ministry and his public role, and is one of the wealthier and most influential pastors in Lagos today. Bakare, Rapu, and a growing group of like-minded pastors are developing a somewhat different model of evangelical expansion than the RCCG’s: the creation of global networks that are not focused on church planting, but rather strategically building what they call global apostolic “corporate culture”, linking together institutions and individuals

in leading positions in both the public and private sectors, locally and across the globe—a new “spiritual infrastructure” which would serve as a bulwark against the “forces of darkness” in these “end times”.

So what sort of weapons of warfare should be used to deal with the specific problem of the Prince over Lagos? One of the solutions is something called “spiritual mapping”. While I had not seen this widely practiced in Lagos, nor in the RCCG a decade ago, it now appears to be a growing practice. As stated in the Lausanne document:

Spiritual mapping ... involves ... superimposing our understanding of forces and events in the spiritual domain onto places and circumstances in the material world. . . . Spiritual mapping is a means by which we can see what is beneath the surface of the material world; but it is not magic. It is subjective in that it is a skill born out of a right relationship with God and a love for His world. It is objective in that it can be verified (or discredited) by history, sociological observation and God's Word (Lausanne 2004).

An RCCG parish in Port Elizabeth, South Africa outlines the strategy in these terms:

- Spiritual mapping is the researching of a city or area to discover any obstacles that Satan has established that prevent the spread of the gospel and the evangelisation of a city for Jesus, and to identify spiritual principalities and strongholds over different regions in the city.

- Spiritual mapping is a means to see beneath the surface of the material world. It is a subjective skill born out of a right relationship with God and a love for his kingdom.
- Although spiritual mapping is most often used to identify enemy strongholds, we must remember that not all spiritual activities are dark, and that God also operates in the spiritual domain. Spiritual mapping should also be used to highlight the work that God is doing in the community.
- Our western world view leads us to believe that the spiritual realm does not even exist and that makes spiritual mapping even more important a tool for us.
- Spiritual mapping is not an end in itself and is only a powerful weapon or spiritual resource; ... just a tool that allows us to be more specific in praying for our community. Experience says that specific sniper prayer is more powerful than the shotgun approach.
- Although the final outcome of the battle is already decided, we have to be persistent and steadfast. There will be many battles during this war and constant hostility. Satan knows his time on earth is running out and this may explain the increasing worldwide accounts of demonic activity and counterattacks on Christian warriors. Demonic entrenchments or strongholds have been in place for long periods and may have been continually serviced since their inception. They are not just going to leave without a sustained and informed prayer effort.

Many spiritual mappers in Africa, the US and Europe “walk the city”, identifying sites or physical coordinates on the grid, which then become “prayer sites” from which to purify

and “reclaim” for Jesus the surrounding areas, “unblocking” the work of the Holy Spirit. They thus develop “spiritual maps” with which they can “read the city”.

Mbembe and Nuttal note the influence of de Certeau’s “Walking in the City” (de Certeau 1984) and Walter Benjamins’ concept of *flânerie* (Benjamin 1999) for a conception of cities as a space of open and manifold temporalities, rhythms and circulation, “to read the city from its street-level intimations, as a lived complexity that requires alternative narratives and maps based on wandering” (Mbembe and Nuttal 2004: 361). They correct this for an African context by focusing on not merely the manifest appearances that this practice reveals, but also the “dirty, grubby” underneath, and the radical insecurity experienced by the migrant or informal worker (363). From the Pentecostal perspective, the practice of walking the city and the significance of the “underneath” takes on an entirely different inflection.⁸ In this articulation, Pentecostal practices of space engage in a different form of mediation than the spectacular showcasing of idealized spaces and divine miracles. Spiritual warfare in this formulation functions as a mode of potentially violent reterritorialization. Identifying sites, spaces, and communities as being under the grip of demonic forces requires the deployment of an ambivalent politics of conviction (Marshall 2009: 201-238). The Evil One who threatens the convert's salvation and prosperity, the “Prince above Lagos” responsible for the situation of despair and decay in the city and country today, the sinners and other strongholds of Satan, need to be "convicted", “punished”, and "destroyed". In this prayer guide, the convert is given prayers to "castigate the conspirators":⁹

Father I thank you because sinners will not go unpunished.

1. Let all rumour mongers be ruined. Ez. 7:26

2. It is my turn to enjoy, let all opponents keep quiet. Eccl. 3:13
3. Let all the rebels in my dwelling place and office dwell in dry places. Ps. 68:6
4. Hunger killed the forty men that conspired against Paul, let all conspirators die of hunger. Acts 23:13
5. Ahitophel hanged himself, let all conspirators hang themselves. 2 Sam. 17:23
6. Make a slave of anyone that wants to rob me of my vision. Gen. 50:18
7. All the conspirators in my extended family, be scattered in Jesus' name. I Sam.

In the city itself, slums, Muslim neighborhoods, brothels, bars, sites of old shrines or current traditional medical clinics, African Aladura churches, the businesses and domiciles of politicians or the super-rich, are among the many possible “demonic strongholds” which are in need of spiritual purification and conversion, entailing practices of identification and boundary-setting without any clear criteria or logic beyond that of division itself– the enemy may be anywhere, even within the church itself.

What is at stake in these practices and imaginaries of divine and demonic spiritual pathways, networks and inhabitations is once again the relationship between material appearances and the real, between the object and its representation. Here Pentecostalism performs its mediation as revelation. The ability to “see” the spiritual reality behind material appearances is understood in terms of the divine gift of the “spirit of discernment”, a sort of inner eye or capacity for moral and spiritual perception, or *aisthesis*, in which judgment and revelation are merged, one that relies upon an unmediated access to grace. This mode of veridiction, or truth telling (Foucault 2001:18) grounds the post-foundational and politically ambivalent nature of Pentecostal political spirituality.

“IF MY PEOPLE WHO ARE CALLED BY MY NAME...”

For Pentecostals, Christianity should be a total experience that concerns every aspect of what the believer does and says; As Rapu says, “it not a religion, it is a lifestyle.... we don’t go to Church, we are the Church!” The explicit corollary of this message is that there is no distinction to be made between the sacred and the secular. In Rapu’s terms, society has to be changed, “you can’t just camp around Pentecost!”:

The Divine blueprint for National redemption and subsequent transformation begins with a familiar clarion call “*If My people who are called by my name...*” If the people of God will act purposefully, God Himself will heal the land. In practical terms this means that we must begin to understand that the redemption of Nations is tied to the purpose of the Church (Rapu in Marshall 2009: 241).

But how will this call be answered? Is there any reason to really imagine that Pentecostalism will give rise to emancipatory forms of political action or inclusive forms of citizenship that might do more than merely sanctify the great mass of urban Africans (still) living in exile from humanity? Indeed, what does sanctification imply if not the extrication of a person(s) from the regular, profane commerce of human coexistence? Is sacralization not just another word for death? For many subalterns in the postcolony, conversion does offer a possible escape from a metaphysics of existence through which historical forms of domination have prevailed on the continent. Indeed, the evangelical message takes the form of a universal address which would in theory abolish subalternity altogether. But this emancipatory politics grafts itself on the one hand to a

phantasmagorical projection of a bourgeois space purified of all difference and division, and on the other, a spiritual warfare against the other that figures the possibility of a war without remainder. Both Bakare and Rapu are acutely aware of the dangers of the spiritual warfare paradigm for the future of citizenship in Nigeria. In the face of the recent spate of deadly bombings of Nigerian churches by the radical Islamist group Boko Haram, Bakare has made a show of aligning with leading Muslim clerics and political leaders in his call for calm, claiming religious violence is a tool in the hands of the political elite to distract popular attention from the desperate state of the political economy. Rapu warns against the spirit of retaliation, citing Martin Luther King:

Without prejudice to the right of a people to self-defence [sic], reciprocal Christian extremism is no remedy for Islamic terrorism. ‘The weapons of our warfare are not carnal’; therefore, we must reach into the treasury of our faith for the appropriate weapons with which to engage the enemy. Reverend Martin Luther King, who carried out his ministry in an atmosphere of racist hatred at a time when African-American were routinely lynched and their churches fire-bombed by terrorists, offers insights on how to respond to persecution. He urged Christians to actualize Jesus' invocation that we love our enemies. ‘Hate for hate’, King wrote, ‘only intensifies the existence of hate and evil in the universe’. The idea of loving our enemies ranks among the more understated aspects of our faith and practice today. It is not only virtually ignored in Nigerian Christianity, but there exists a pattern of prayer that advocates the death of such enemies; commanding them to ‘roast and be burned up’ in some nebulous Holy Ghost fire.

But loving our enemies is a concept that we must actualize today. It is a quality that makes our faith redemptive (Rapu 2012).

Rapu's exhortations notwithstanding, it is very difficult to see how the desire to extricate oneself from these forms of domination and address the vicissitudes of postcolonial urban life will imply a progressive engagement against its violence, or the violence of Capital and Empire that produce the ever-increasing army of surplus humanity crowding cities like Lagos. All the evidence points to a more successful conversion to this violence.

Nigerian Pentecostal theologian Nimi Wariboko rails against what he calls the new "trade-and-barter" attitude to miracles that we can say characterizes Adeboye's brand of Pentecostalism. He argues that Pentecostalism's attitude to miraculous, divine grace is that of a child at play, which allows grace to float between the serious matter of saving the soul and ordinary, ephemeral, bodily, existential matters, relieving it of the weight of the ends of eternal life. Divine grace as pure means, means without ends. You may recognize Agamben here, and indeed, as his careful reader, Wariboko points out that the "bad news" is that the spirit of Pentecostalism today might be nothing more than the spirit of the latest phase of capitalism. He cites Agamben's observation (taken from Debord) that late capitalism is "a gigantic apparatus for [creating and] capturing pure means" (Agamben 2007: 81, Wariboko 2011: 152), where nothing escapes the logic of commodification, where everything is separated from itself and is exhibited in its separation from itself; becoming a spectacle. Spectacle and consumption are thus "two sides of a single impossibility of using" (Agamben 2007: 82).

Wariboko, goes on to warn: "needless to say that in the extreme reaches of Pentecostalism with its array of prosperity gospel, faith healing preachers and flamboyant

televangelists, consumption and spectacle are in full force and like capitalism there is an ugly indifference to the caesura between the sacred and the profane” (153). In this regard then, it appears that conversion to Pentecostalism, with its form of transimmanent grace also constitutes, despite everything, a sort of desacralization, or perhaps a better way of putting it would be that in its attempt to sanctify every aspect of human practice, everything becomes profane. This puts Davis’ claim in a new light.

Wariboko, as a Pentecostal theologian and indeed a pastor in the North American RCCG, would rather not see Pentecostalism and its “new creation” as a pure cipher for capitalism, even if, as he says, he is not holding his breath about its current revolutionary potential (154). Yet it is precisely through its mode as spectacle that the deactivation of divine grace is effected, and that its emancipatory possibilities are opened up, connecting believers with an elsewhere and an “otherwise of being” that figures a new future. It is precisely the impossibility of appropriating or re-presenting the divine, of deploying grace as a means to an end that prevents Pentecostalism from enacting the worst forms of violence. Pentecostalism-as-spectacle, as phantasmagorical projection, encourages believers to inhabit their social identities according to the Pauline suspension of the “as not” where the laws that govern modes of social distinction and the predicates of worldly being – Jew, Greek, Yoruba, Hausa, Muslim, Christian, man, woman, rich, poor, slave and free – are suspended or deactivated, and to experience divine grace as a mode of liberation (Agamben 2005, Marshall 2009: 144). And yet even if these predicates no longer constitute the terms in which the believer relates to herself, even if Pentecostalism supposedly stages a space in which they would be inoperative, such distinctions are still in force in the church, the city, and in the broader global context, and continue to

constrain the life possibilities of millions. Living in hope is better than living in despair, but it doesn't mean that hope will take the form of emancipatory rather than reactionary political projects. Richard Pithouse, analyzing "resistance in the shantytown", argues that the Hindu fascist movement Shiv Senna based in Mumbai "is one of the many instances of deeply reactionary responses to the need for social innovation", reminding us that "there is no guarantee that the need to invent new social forms will result in progressive outcomes" (Pithouse 2006: 5). It is in the dream of salvation, the desire for the pure, the holy, the sanctified, that the danger lies for Pentecostalism. And yet, the desire for sanctification is also a desire for justice, of a new way of being together. Today, Pentecostalism in Nigeria oscillates dangerously between these two possibilities. On the one hand, as Wariboko argues, spiritual warfare means "cutting the chains of captivity" of given social existence, "returning the light of Being" to the poor on the edge of nonexistence, and sustaining an alternate world of freedom (2012: 159). But prayer as "the weapon of our warfare" also means the vicious imprecations of "prayer warriors" that drip with blood, tongues as swords excising evil territorial spirits, dropping prayer "smart-bombs" and "strategic prayer missiles" on "enemy strongholds". Nigerian Pentecostals' "first response" to the bombing of Christian churches by the Islamist group Boko Haram in the form of three days of national prayer against the enemy illustrates how prayer and curse, benediction and malediction function in tandem in Pentecostal political speech, and its potentially incendiary effects.

NOTES

¹ Reference to Benjamin's Passagewerk as problematized by Susan Buck-Morss (2002).

² George Packer (2006) cites Koolhaas' "Fragments of a Lecture on Lagos", and relating how Koolhaas explains that he and his team were too intimidated to leave their car on their first visit to the city: "Eventually, the group rented the Nigerian President's helicopter and was granted a more reassuring view." Koolhaas writes: "From the air, the apparently burning garbage heap turned out to be, in fact, a village, an urban phenomenon with a highly organized community living on its crust... What seemed, on ground level, an accumulation of dysfunctional movements, seemed from above an impressive performance."

³ As Badiou says, "Yet, for Marx, and for us, desacralization is not in the least nihilistic, insofar as 'nihilism' must signify that which declares that the access to being and truth is impossible. On the contrary, desacralization is a necessary condition for the disclosing of such an approach to thought. It is obviously the only thing we can and must welcome within Capital: it exposes the pure multiple as the foundation of presentation; it denounces every effect of One as a simple, precarious configuration; it dismisses the symbolic representations in which the bond found a semblance of being. That this destitution operates in the most complete barbarity must not conceal its properly ontological virtue" (Badiou 1999: 56-57).

⁴ "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creation: old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new."

⁵ See, for example, the website “Rapture Ready,” complete with prediction index, which the site calls “the prophetic speedometer of end-time activity”: www.raptureready.com

⁶ In his booklet *The Works of the Devil*, Emmanuel Eni clarifies Ephesians 6:12 in this way: “The devil is an excellent administrator. He is the champion of the division of labour. He knows how to organise things in an evil way so as to finally achieve his goal. ... in Satan's governmental hierarchy, the four mentioned in the above Scriptures are: (a) the “principalities,” (b) the “powers,” (c) “the rulers of the darkness of this world,” (d) the “spiritual wickedness in high places.” ... The “principalities” are the “Cabinet members” or the “Federal Ministers” of Satan. They are directly responsible to, and take orders from their “Prime Minister” or “President”—the devil.

⁷ “What the pioneer of the term, Peter Wagner and others call “strategic-level spiritual warfare” is praying against these territorial spirits, seeking to “map” their strategies over given locations by discerning their names and what they use to keep people in bondage and then to bind them in turn so that evangelism may go unhindered. The idea of “spiritual mapping” is one in which people research an area and try to identify the spirit(s) who are in charge over it so that “smart-bomb” praying may loosen the hold of territorial spirits over the people in a territory who may then come to Christ more freely” (Lausanne 2004).

⁸ At the same time, it puts a totally new spin on de Certeau’s “Walking in the City”. As Mbembe says, “walking the city” as a figure of “striating openness and flow” depends on “a whole series of rules, conventions, and institutions of regulation and control.” In order to walk like de Certeau or Benjamin, certain literal and metaphorical “rules of walking” must be in place. People don’t *flâne* or stroll, or even walk, in Lagos. They trek, they

rush from place to place, dash across expressways and fight for seats in taxis and buses. From the perspective of the state's rational plan, dashing is not "walking properly". The current governor of Lagos has created a police corps called "Kick Against Indiscipline" which forces people use the overhead bridges and queue for buses. But purposeless strolling isn't proper walking either. The one time I tried to take a leisurely evening stroll near the lagoon in Lagos, I got arrested at gunpoint.

⁹ Arowobusoye, *Powerful Prayers for Deliverance and Total Breakthrough*, 43–44.

REFERENCES

- Agamben, G. (2005). *The Time that Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- (2007). *Profanations*. New York: Zone Books.
- Arowobusoye, S. (1999). *Powerful Prayers for Deliverance and Total Breakthrough*. Ibadan, Nigeria. Gospel Teachers Fellowship International
- Asonzeh Ukah (2008) *A New Paradigm of Pentecostal Power: A Study of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Nigeria*. Trenton (NJ): Africa World Press.
- Badiou, A. (1999). *Manifesto for Philosophy*. New York: SUNY Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1999). *The Arcades Project* R. Tiedemann trans. Boston: MIT Press.
- Buck-Morss, S. (2002).
- Burgess, R., Knibbe, K. and Quaas, A. (2010). "Nigerian-initiated Pentecostal Churches as a Social Force in Europe: The Case of the Redeemed Christian Church of God." *PentecoStudies*, 9(3): 97-121.
- Congress for Progressive Change. 7 February 2011. <http://buhari4change.com/?p=298> (accessed 21 April 2011).

-
- Corten, A. (1997). "Pentecôtisme et politique en Amérique latine." *Problèmes d'Amérique latine* 24: 17–31.
- Davis, M. (2004). "Planet of Slums: Urban Involution and the Informal Proletariat." *New Left Review* 26: 5-34.
- (2006). *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso.
- de Certeau, M. (1984). "Walking in the City." *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Derrida, J. (2001). "Above All, No Journalists!" In de Vries, H. and Weber, S., eds., *Religion and Media*, pp. 56-93. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- (2002). "Faith and Knowledge: The Two Sources of 'Religion' at the Limits of Reason Alone." In Anidjar, G., ed, *Acts of Religion*, pp. 40-101. New York: Routledge.
- (2005). *On Touching – Jean-Luc Nancy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (2001). *Herméneutique du Sujet. Cours au Collège de France, 1981-1982*. Paris: Gallimard/Seuil.
- Gandy, M. (2006a). "Learning from Lagos." *New Left Review* 33(4): 37-52.
- (2006b). "Planning, Anti-planning and the Infrastructure Crisis Facing Metropolitan Lagos." *Urban Studies* 43(2): 371– 396.
- Haynes, J. (2007). "Nollywood in Lagos, Lagos in Nollywood Films." *Africa Today*, 54(2): 131-150.
- Hackett, R. (1998). "Charismatic/Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28: 258-77.
- Harvey, D. (2000). *Spaces of Hope*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

-
- Heidegger, M. (1971). "Building, Dwelling, Thinking." *Poetry, Language, Thought*,
transl. A. Hofstadter. New York: Harper Colophon Books.
- Holvast, R. (2008). "Spiritual Mapping: The Turbulent Career of a Contested American
Missionary Paradigm, 1989-2005." Ph.diss, University of Utrecht.
- Kaplan, R. (2000). *The Coming Anarchy: Shattering the Dreams of the Post Cold War*.
New York: Vintage Books.
- Koolhaas, R. (2004). "Fragments of a Lecture on Lagos." *Documenta 11 Platform 4*:
175-177.
- Larkin, B. (2008). *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure and Urban Culture in
Nigeria*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Lausanne Committee for World Evangelism, 2004. *Prayer in Evangelism*. Lausanne
Occasional Paper No. 42. <http://www.lausanne.org/en/documents/lops/857-lop-42.html>. Accessed 21 April 2011.
- Marshall, R. (2009). *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria*.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- (2010). "The Sovereignty of Miracles: Pentecostal Political Theology in
Nigeria." *Constellations* 17(2): 197-223.
- Mbembe, A. and Nuttal, S. (2004). "Writing the World from an African Metropolis."
Public Culture 16(3): 347-372.
- Meyer, B. (2010). "Aesthetics of Persuasion: Global Christianity and Pentecostalism's
Sensational Forms." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 109(4): 741-763.
- (2006). "Impossible Representations: Pentecostalism, Vision and Video
Technology in Ghana." In Meyer, B., and Moors, A., eds., *Religion, Media, and*

-
- the Public Sphere*, pp. 290-312. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ojewale, M. O. (1989). *A Call to Prayer for Nigeria*. Lagos: Peace and Salvation Publishers.
- O'Neill, K. (2012). "The Soul of Security: Corporatism, Christianity, and Control in Postwar Guatemala." *Social Text* 32(2): 21-42.
- Osundare, N. (2012). "Why We No Longer Blush." Guest Lecture, Save Nigeria Group Event, "Why We No Longer Blush: Corruption as the Grand Commander of the Federal Republic of Nigeria" Lagos, 9 July 2012. Accessed 11 July 2012: <http://savenigeriagroup.com/>.
- Packer, G. (2006). "The Megacity: Decoding the Chaos of Lagos." *New Yorker Magazine* 13 November 2006.
- Pithouse, R. (2006). "Thinking Resistance in the Shantytown." *Mute Magazine* 2(3), August. <http://www.metamute.org/editorial/articles/thinking-resistance-shantytown>.
- Rapu, T. (2002). "Dealing with the Prince Over Lagos." Sermon, This Present House. 12 July 2002. <http://www.thispresenthouse.org/home/firstword.cfm?ContentID=241> Accessed 9 February 2008.
- . An Eye for an Eye. House of Virtue, Blog; 11 January 2012. <http://houseofvirtue.blogspot.ca/2012/01/eye-for-eye-by-pastor-tony-rapu.html> Accessed 9 June 2012.
- Simone, A. M. (2001). "On the Worlding of African Cities." *African Studies Review* 44: 15-41.

-
- (2004). *For the City Yet to Come: Urban Life in Four African Cities*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Vanguard*, 23 July 2012. "SSS questions Pastor Bakare over sermon." *Vanguard* 23 July 2012.
- UN-Habitat. (2003). *The Challenge of the Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements 2003*. London: UN-Habitat.
- Wagner, P.C.,ed. (1991). *Engaging the Enemy: How to Fight and Defeat Territorial Spirits*. Ventura, CA: Regal Books.
- (1993). *Breaking Strongholds in Your City: How to Use Spiritual Mapping to Make Your Prayers More Strategic, Effective, and Targeted*. Ventura, Calif.: Regal Books.
- (1996). *Confronting the Powers: How the New Testament Church Experienced the Power of Strategic-level Spiritual Warfare*. Ventura, CA: Regal Books.
- Wariboko, N. (2011) *The Pentecostal Principle: Ethical Methodology in the New Spirit*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- (2012). *The Spell of the Invisible: Pentecostal Spirituality in Nigeria*. unpublished book manuscript.