

## Conversion and Defection (continued from page 11)

<sup>6</sup> Rodney Stark, "How New Religions Succeed: A Theoretical Model" in *The Future of New Religious Movements*, ed. by Rodney Stark (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987).

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## Social Ministry and Missions in Ukrainian Mega Churches: Two Case Studies

Catherine Wanner

### Religious Pluralism

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, a commitment to religious pluralism was incorporated into the very idea of the Ukrainian nation, at a minimum to accommodate the various Orthodox churches and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, all of which claim to be indigenous national institutions. The various splits and divisions among the three competing Orthodox churches in Ukraine—the Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Kyiv Patriarchate, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Moscow Patriarchate, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church—mean that no single "national" church can lay claim to a state-protected, privileged status. As a result, a comparatively tolerant legal and political climate has emerged in Ukraine toward minority religious communities and foreign religious organizations, allowing them to establish a formidable presence.<sup>1</sup>

### Government Support for Religious Values

Many mission organizations have even made Ukraine their base of operations in the former USSR. From small bureaucratic concessions, such as eliminating the need for foreigners to obtain visas, to allowing religious organizations to receive and distribute humanitarian aid directly, the Ukrainian government has consistently demonstrated an atmosphere conducive to developing and strengthening religious institutions. Legislation in 2006 paved the way for religious-based instruction in all levels of education from preschool to higher education, claiming instruction in religious values will produce "highly moral and spiritual citizens, which will further the spiritual revival of the Ukrainian nation."<sup>2</sup> This 2006 law is one of many initiatives that have been adopted after 74 years of state-sponsored promotion of atheism.

### A Missionary Sending Nation

Since the collapse of Communism, Ukraine, unlike other former Soviet republics, has become a center of publishing, seminary training, and missionary recruiting for a multitude of faith groups.<sup>3</sup> Currently, hundreds of Ukrainian missionaries travel to Russia and throughout the former Soviet Union annually to evangelize.<sup>4</sup> Ukrainian believers possess the cultural capital to elude state policies designed to stem the flow of foreign missionaries of "non-traditional" faiths proselytizing former Soviet citizens.

Analyzing the social ministries and mission activities of two transnational mega-churches that have firmly established themselves in Ukraine will illustrate how churches are revitalizing religious life in a highly secular society. A profile of these churches and their activities also begins to suggest what it means for believers and governments in Eurasia to have Ukraine develop as a base for missionary and clerical training.<sup>5</sup>

Both of these churches are committed to the twin goals of reversing the rampant secularism they perceive in Eurasia and alleviating social suffering, inequality, and violations of biblical understandings of justice as they understand them.

### Global Networking

The international ties and activities of these two churches illustrate the interrelated dynamics of saving souls from Communist atheism in the east as well as from European secularism in the west. Most religious communities in Eurasia are barely able to sustain themselves financially, let alone finance missionaries and social ministry. Thus, Western funds underwrite most charitable activities in Eurasia. In this way, Ukraine has become a global hub for these two churches, and for a multitude of others, linking Ukraine to international networks of religious organizations, and through its churches' mission outreach, to Eurasia and beyond.

### Cultural Orthodoxy

Religious identity in Orthodox countries largely hinges on who one is, more so than on what one does. That is to say, in Eastern Christianity cultural, linguistic, national, and territorial identities frequently coalesce with confessional identities, synthesizing into a single national-confessional identity. This approach creates a nominal allegiance to Orthodoxy that is more a matter of cultural identity than spiritual conviction.

Nominal allegiance is most vividly manifest in a multitude of survey and ethnographic research that illustrates the often paradoxical categories that individuals commonly have used to describe their religiosity: Orthodox non-believer, Christian pagan, and, as Belarusian President Aleksandr Lukashenko infamously has declared himself an Orthodox Communist.<sup>6</sup> These categories demonstrate an allegiance to the Orthodox Church based on a recognition of and respect for its contribution to national, historic, artistic, and intellectual achievements. An embrace of Orthodoxy often does not include religion. Although allegiance to the Church is often real and heartfelt, it often has little to do with religious practice. One does not have to do anything, not even believe, to consider oneself Orthodox. In other words, the relevance of Orthodoxy over time has become gutted of its religious content without diminishing the popular reverence for the achievements of those associated with the church. Hence, much to the frustration of social scientists, survey data are routinely peppered by responses of individuals who self-identify as "Orthodox" and "non-believer" in the same breath.<sup>7</sup> Such respondents understand Orthodoxy to encompass culture, community, a particular sensibility, and worldview.

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It was in the midst of this context of nominalism and 70 years of state hostility to faith that the two churches profiled below were founded. Following the collapse of Communism, these two churches have thus far met with remarkable success in revitalizing religious and social life.

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### The Embassy of God

The Blessed Kingdom of God for People of all Nations, or the Embassy of God as it is known to its followers, has 25,000 members, making it the largest evangelical mega church in all of Europe. Founded in 1994 by Sunday Adelaja, a Nigerian self-taught Pentecostal pastor, the Embassy of God now has 38 churches in Ukraine and 18 abroad, including five in the U.S., four in Russia, two each in Belarus, Germany, and Holland, as well as others in the United Arab Emirates and India. Although the church faces serious political challenges, it still is very much of a force driving social change.

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### Hillsong

The second church is a daughter congregation of Hillsong, the largest church in Australia with 20,000 members. After creating a base in London, Hillsong opened a church in the center of downtown Kyiv in 1992 with the hope of using it as a gateway to Eurasia and particularly to Russia. Since opening the Kyiv church, Hillsong has planted a church in Paris and on 1 March 2007, its newest European church opened in Moscow.

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### Shared Characteristics

The Embassy of God and Hillsong share several features. Both are charismatic Pentecostal churches that feature expressive, even ecstatic, forms of worship. Doctrinally, they advocate belief in an inerrant Bible as the literal word of God, and they adhere to basic tenets of Pentecostal theology including prophecy, faith healing, and the empowerment of the Holy Spirit as evidenced by speaking in tongues. Both are led by husband and wife “preaching teams.” Both, as well, now have a plethora of Ukrainians, both men and women, serving in a multitude of leadership positions. In contrast to almost all Soviet-era churches, including Pentecostal and Orthodox, they support a relaxation of the general suspicion of worldliness. In particular, they do not follow the strict codes of personal morality and ascetic lifestyle that characterized believers and their religious communities in Ukraine and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union. Yet, these two churches retain an overall conservative slant on a variety of social issues, especially homosexuality.

Both churches also promote a belief that financial and professional success is a sign of God’s favor.<sup>8</sup> Indirectly, such a principle endorses the virtues of neoliberal economic values by encouraging commitments to individual responsibility, initiative, and charitable giving. Both churches masterfully exploit the media to advance and spread their visions for personal and social transformation. In sum, both churches offer much more than a set of religious beliefs. They foster self-conceptions that celebrate empowerment and fulfillment.

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### Race and Class Differences

Among the differences that separate these communities, however, are the important ones of race and class. Both churches display their foreign influences, associations, and connections in their names. However, when the Nigerian founder of the Embassy of God speaks of “peoples of all nations,” he signifies

that this church is particularly receptive to minorities, immigrants, and people of color.<sup>9</sup> Caribbean and African-American visiting preachers are interspersed in a steady stream of visiting white evangelical Americans. Miles Monroe from Jamaica as well as Benny Hinn and Creflo Dollar from the United States, all strong proponents of prosperity theology, have been guests at anniversary celebrations. At nearly every service foreign delegations visiting the Embassy of God are presented to the congregation.

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### Use of Media

One of the reasons the Embassy of God is so widely known is that Sunday Adelaja is so adept in the use of media. He originally came to Soviet Belorussia in 1986 to study journalism, which convinced him of the power of modern means of communication. His church has its own publishing house where Adelaja’s more than 40 books have been published (some in English), and its own television studio, which allows the church to use televangelism as a source for attracting religious seekers. He also can be seen preaching every week on TBN, the largest Christian broadcasting network in the U.S. ♦

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### Notes:

<sup>1</sup> U.S. Department of State, “International Religious Freedom Report 2002,” [www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006/71415.htm](http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006/71415.htm) for Ukraine and [www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006/71403.htm](http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006/71403.htm) for Russia; accessed 26 March 2007. Myroslaw Tataryn, “Russia and Ukraine: Two Models of Religious Liberty and Two Models for Orthodoxy,” *Religion, State and Society* 29 (September 2001), 155-72.

<sup>2</sup> See [www.risu.org.ua](http://www.risu.org.ua), 16 February 2007; accessed 26 March 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Evangelical groups have become particularly prominent. For example, Kyiv alone currently has four Baptist and three Pentecostal seminaries, all of which have internet-based distance learning programs. See Catherine Wanner, *Communities of the Converted: Ukrainians and Global Evangelism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> Patrick Johnson and Jason Mandryk, *Operation World: 21st Century Edition* (Waynesboro, GA: Paternoster Publishing, 2001), 644-45.

<sup>5</sup> Currently, one-third of the world’s Christians are either Pentecostal or Charismatics. See Martyn Percy, “The City on a Beach: Future Prospects for Charismatic Movements at the End of the Twentieth Century” in Stephen Hunt, Malcolm Hamilton, and Tony Walter, eds., *Charismatic Christianity: Sociological Perspectives* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 207.

<sup>6</sup> Larissa Titarenko, “On the Shifting Nature of Religion during the Ongoing Post-Communist Transformation in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine,” *Social Compass* 55 (No. 2, 2008), 237-54. The charged and judgmental nature of the category “nominally Orthodox” prompts me to suggest instead use of the term “culturally Orthodox” to

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## Ukrainian Mega Churches (continued from page 13)

refer to those who have a hybrid form of allegiance to the Orthodox Church.

<sup>7</sup> Irena Borowik, "Between Orthodoxy and Eclecticism: On the Religious Transformation of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine," *Social Compass* 49 (No.4, 2002), 504.

<sup>8</sup> Some of the risks in contemporary Ukrainian economic life and how they are understood and experienced are illustrated in Catherine Wanner, "Money, Morality and New Forms of Exchange in Ukraine," *Ethnos* 71 (Winter 2005), 515-37.

<sup>9</sup> Although many Ukrainians continue to outmigrate

in search of economic opportunities, other immigrants are settling in Kyiv, creating unprecedented levels of diversity as Ukraine emerges in the post-socialist aftermath as an immigrant sending and receiving country. See Blair A. Ruble, *Creating Diversity Capital: Transnational Migrants in Montreal, Washington, and Kyiv* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

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## Korean Baptist Missions (continued from page 16)

form (*Isus Christos*). In addition, missionaries in Kazakhstan have adopted many of the Arabic names for the prophets which are common to the Bible and the Qur'an, such as *Isa* (Jesus), *Ibrahim* (Abraham), and *Musa* (Moses). To avoid ecclesiastical terminology which Muslims do not use, missionaries have translated *church* as "a congregation of believers," and *baptism* as "ritual of immersion into water."<sup>5</sup> To avoid offensive Russian Orthodox terminology, missionaries in Kazakhstan most often use the Persian word for God (*Kudai*), instead of the Arabic word (*Allah*) or the Russian word (*Bog*).

Kazakh Christians have also chosen not to use the cross on church buildings because non-Russians regard Christianity as a Russian religion and the cross as its symbol. For most Central Asians the Russian Orthodox cross has historically been a symbol of oppression. Through the nineteenth century the Russian Orthodox cross was often displayed on cathedrals fashioned on top of the Muslim crescent as a symbol of Orthodoxy's triumph over Islam.<sup>6</sup> The cover of the Kazakh Bible also uses an Islamic ornamental design in dark green, the Islamic holy color. Unfortunately,

Not all aspects of ministry among the Kazaks [are] contextual, such as the loud, expressive manner of prayer with all participants praying out loud at the same time. Korean-led Kazak churches have adopted this form of prayer, although this does not appear to be a trait of other Kazak churches, nor of Muslim Kazaks while praying.<sup>7</sup>

In Kazakhstan, most churches planted by Korean missionaries have giant offices and sanctuaries, with several cell-group churches affiliated with big mother churches. In contrast, Korean missionaries currently are carefully considering adopting the Ga-Jung Church Model espoused by Young-Gi Chai, senior pastor of Seoul Baptist Church, Houston, Texas.<sup>8</sup> Ga-Jung churches differ from the typical cell church because they are autonomous and not dependent upon a mother church. The main purpose of a cell group is fellowship or Bible study, whereas the principal objective of a Ga-Jung church is to fulfill all the ministries of a local church.<sup>9</sup>

Most church planting movement (CPM) advocates argue against the building-based church, which frequently hinders rapid multiplication and can become a magnet for persecution.<sup>10</sup> However, most Korean Baptist missionaries do not agree. They are skeptical regarding CPM advocates' warnings about persecution, which they currently are not experiencing. Rather, Korean missionaries contend that Central Asian believers need the experience of

being part of a large congregation in a large sanctuary, not just house churches. Furthermore, they point out that their church planting method is working and that persecution presently is not a problem. What can be said for certain is that divergent views on church planting are a matter of considerable controversy.

### Strengths: In Summary

Korean missionaries have many strengths including endurance in difficult situations, a strong pioneering spirit which facilitates church planting, strong devotion to faith and missions, skill in discipleship training, and a strong vision for evangelism and church planting.<sup>11</sup> In addition, Koreans are spared the very heavy and negative historical baggage associated with Europe and America, which are burdened by the legacy of missionary expansion in tandem with colonization. Although they have not been free of their own cultural biases, Korean missionaries have been more effective than Western missionaries in penetrating Kazakh culture.

### Weaknesses: In Summary

Korean missionaries suffer from a failure to compile written records, from a lack of cooperation, from a lack of cross-cultural understanding reinforced by their mono-cultural background, from a tendency to clone culturally Korean churches on the mission field, and from competition and conflicts among themselves, among their denominations, and among their mission agencies.<sup>12</sup> Traditionally, Korean Baptist missionaries work by means of a self-supporting system. Hence, they must raise funds for their ministry because they must satisfy the expectations of their sending churches and show visible results in a short period of time.

### Rethinking Priorities

One of the most critical mistakes made by Korean Baptist missionaries has been their failure to entrust leadership to Kazakh Christians. Regardless of the assertions of Korean missionaries that they gradually relinquish their leadership role, the pace of transition is not quick enough. Andrew Byung-yoon Kim contends, "If Western missions were blamed for their paternalism, Koreans may be accused of authoritarianism in their mission deployment policies. As a result they may not treat local people as co-workers, but rather impose their own ways of doing missions."<sup>13</sup>

Korean Baptist missionaries must also realize that their stress upon physical buildings may have the negative consequence of making Kazakh converts dependent upon continued Korean financial support.<sup>14</sup>

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## Religious Monopolies versus Pluralism in the Post-Soviet Era (continued from page 7)

### Notes:

<sup>1</sup>"Gospel and Culture" in *Proselytism and Orthodoxy in Russia*, ed. by John Witte and Michael Bourdeaux (New York: Orbis Books, 1999), 70.

<sup>2</sup>Rodney Stark and Laurence R. Iannaccone, "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the 'Secularization' of Europe," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 33 (No. 3, 1994), 230-52.

<sup>3</sup>Rodney Stark and Roger Finke, *Acts of Faith* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 114.

<sup>4</sup>Stark and Iannaccone, "Supply-Side"; Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987); Stephen R. Warner, "Work in the Progress toward a New Paradigm for the Sociological Study of Religion in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (No. 5, 1993), 1044-93.

<sup>5</sup>Andrew Greeley, *Religion at the End of the Second Millennium* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2003).

<sup>6</sup>Paul Froese and Christopher Bader, "God in America:

Why Theology is Not Just the Concern of Philosophers," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (2007).

<sup>7</sup>Christopher Marsh and Paul Froese, "The State of Freedom in Russia: A Regional Analysis of Freedom of Religion, Media, and Markets," *Religion, State and Society* 32 (No. 2, 2004), 137-49.

<sup>8</sup>Salman Rushdie interview with Bill Moyers, 23 June 2006. See transcript at [www.pbs.org/moyers/faithandreason/portraits\\_rushdie.html](http://www.pbs.org/moyers/faithandreason/portraits_rushdie.html).

<sup>9</sup>Puppa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

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## Social Ministry and Missions in Ukrainian Mega Churches: Two Case Studies

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### Love Rehab

The Embassy of God's outreach strategy centers on its drug and alcohol rehabilitation program, which champions faith healing and the efficacy of prayer as a means of overcoming addiction. Its healing programs and the accomplishments of its rehab centers are showcased in an annual march in downtown Kyiv. The church began with recovered drug addicts and former alcoholics, and today nearly half of the church's pastors are graduates of the church's Love Rehabilitation Program. An additional component of the church's membership is grateful family members of former addicts. Although the leaders of the church's Love Rehabilitation Center are not adverse to medical intervention, few of their clients can afford it.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, prayer and fellowship are offered free of charge to all. The Embassy of God's faith-healing programs mirror in many ways the twelve-step healing programs embraced by such U.S. groups as Alcoholics Anonymous that include surrender to a higher force.<sup>2</sup>

To date, branches of the Kyiv-based Love Rehabilitation Program have been established in Minsk, Belarus, and Vladimir, Russia. In 2001 the Embassy of God sponsored the March for Life, renamed in 2005 the March for Jesus, as a proselytizing forum to showcase the liberating effects of belief. From its inception, these marches were presented as broad ecumenical actions involving Orthodox priests and other clergy. These marches, involving a broad cross-section of clerical leadership in Ukraine, proved to be important precursors to the united front of religious communities mounted in opposition to the falsified election results that led to the Orange Revolution in 2004. With the notable exception of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church-Moscow Patriarchate, all religious groups supported the Orange Camp and about 4,000 members of the Embassy of God were among the protestors on the *Maidan* every day in late 2004.

### A Wary Russia

Unsurprisingly, Russia proved hostile to Adelaja

and his vision for transforming the post-socialist order. On 31 May 2006, when Adelaja flew to Moscow for a television appearance, the Russian FSB, successor to the KGB, refused to grant him entrance. The claim was that he was a security threat. He lost a court appeal to have his entrance visa honored, but it was too late to close the door. In fact, the Embassy of God has been active in Russia since 2000. Alexander Dzhuba, senior pastor of the Moscow Embassy of God Church, has been quite vocal in his assertions that he would like to see an Orange Revolution in Russia. As in Ukraine, the Embassy of God's strategy in Russia is twofold: 1) to affect change by offering spiritual solutions to social ills; and 2) to convert entrepreneurs with the hopes of putting godly people in public office. So, although it is possible to shut out the foreign face of the Embassy of God in Russia, in so many places it already has a native face beckoning people of all nations to join.

### Rock 'n' Roll Religion

Hillsong's experiences in Australia have tremendously affected the way it functions in Ukraine and Eurasia. Institutional religious participation in Australia has been waning steadily for decades, suggesting that it is on a path to European-like secularization.<sup>3</sup> Countering this longstanding trend, Hillsong members, even if they are entirely non-practicing religious believers, participate in charitable initiatives. In other words, Hillsong uses participation in social service initiatives as an opening to middle class young people who perhaps have little interest in institutional religion, but who nevertheless are willing to engage in social services because of their concern for justice, fairness, and morality.

In Australia, two-thirds of Hillsong's 20,000 members are under 30 years of age. In Kyiv, three of the seven services offered every weekend are specially designed to appeal to the 2,000 young people who attend. Music has been the signature vehicle that Hillsong has used to deliver its message of salvation to young people. The house band of Hillsong's Sydney

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Church, the Bayca Boys (Believe And You Can Achieve), has released CDs that have topped the music charts in Australia and given the church enormous visibility—and profits.

Hillsong Kyiv meets in a rented theater in the historic center of the city, wedged between a Chinese restaurant and a kickboxing studio. The head pastors of the church, Zhenia and Vera Kasevich, both 30 years old, assert that sermon-based services are ineffective in reaching youth. Instead, they use the appeal of rock music as a first step to introducing young people to the church. As its main means of outreach Hillsong Kyiv features a series of Saturday night Christian rock concerts, called *Vybuch* [explosion], celebrating personal empowerment and fulfillment. These concerts are recorded live and sold in CDs and cassettes at weekly services.

### Hillsong Social Ministries

Sixty percent of the budget of Hillsong Kyiv is spent on social ministry, with the Teen Challenge drug rehabilitation program as its most successful initiative. Hillsong outreach is oriented to the most vulnerable members of society who, not surprisingly, because of feelings of powerlessness and isolation, are often the most open to supernatural experiences and to conversion. Hillsong Kyiv offers such initiatives as the “Tribe X” youth movement to evangelize the over 100,000 orphans in state institutions. A 2006 Tribe X CD entitled “Salvation” featured such hits as “Awesome God” and “Shout Unto God,” all performed in an exuberant style of worship appealing to youth. In this way, via music, Hillsong draws in young people and celebrates the glories of becoming a person of faith and of participating in charitable endeavors to help other young people.

### A Global Versus a European Focus

The Embassy of God is just as active as Hillsong in terms of its public witness. But whereas the Embassy of God aims to plant churches in the U.S. as well as Europe and other locales, Hillsong is focusing its efforts on Europe as one of the most unreached parts of the world. One of Hillsong’s goals is to establish sister churches in London, Kyiv, Paris, and Moscow using a variety of media, especially “praise and worship music,” to reach all of Europe for Christ.<sup>4</sup>

### From Ukraine to Uganda

Just as the Embassy of God undertakes charitable outreach programs in Adelaja’s native Nigeria, so Hillsong Sydney’s long-standing commitment to missions in Africa has prompted Hillsong Kyiv to launch efforts to support and save Uganda’s “child soldiers.” The Australian church currently sponsors over 3,000 Ugandan children, while the Kyiv church is now undertaking a parallel outreach to sponsor orphans in a neighboring village to complement the efforts of Hillsong Sydney. Thus, both of these churches tie Ukrainians to other parts of the world where historically they have had limited economic and political engagement.

### Conclusion

The global reach of transnational mega churches such as the Embassy of God and Hillsong call into question such common notions of missions as West to East, North to South, and core to periphery. Even longstanding notions of the expected relationship between missionaries and their converts and between colonizers and colonized must be abandoned. For, as I have suggested, through their impulse to spread the gospel, Ukrainians have embarked on their own “civilizing mission” to their former colonizer, to Europe, and to the United States. Local Ukrainian congregations

furnish missionaries who travel the world, but they also tie these local congregations into global organizations, thereby bringing the world to Ukraine. The far-reaching global connections of the Embassy of God and Hillsong Kyiv enhance the appeal of these mega churches, especially for those who perceive themselves to have been on the forgotten margins of the world “behind the Iron Curtain.”<sup>5</sup> The charitable impulses and missionary activities of these communities connect their members to fellow believers on multiple continents. In doing so, these local religious communities become the sites of social relations that span great distances and increasingly interlock the local and the global in powerful ways that shape the consciousness, everyday practices, and identities of individual believers.

In closing, I would like to suggest that the spectacular and rapid success of global churches that promote renewal, such as the Embassy of God and Hillsong, are catalysts for change in other churches. The commitment of charismatics to charitable services for the needy, for example, pressures traditional churches in Europe and Eurasia to do likewise.

Charismatic churches, such as the two profiled here, shift the burden of caring for the needy away from the state and recast it as a moral obligation of believers, as a means of witnessing to their faith and demonstrating conviction. These charismatic mega churches challenge the historic patterns of church-state interdependence and the concept of particular churches serving particular nations. Furthermore, transnational charismatic mega churches have become a formidable force transforming the lives of individual believers. Their missionaries are committed to equally formidable social transformation. In the process they also combat secularizing tendencies wherever they find them, be it Eurasia, Europe, or the United States. ♦

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### Notes:

<sup>1</sup>Although the core membership shares a history of overcoming addiction, it would be wrong to conclude that the church appeals uniquely to the down and out. Some members of the church are so wealthy that they single-handedly finance entire charitable endeavors, such as homeless shelters or business counseling centers.

<sup>2</sup>For an extended discussion of the Embassy of God’s faith healing programs, see chapter six of Catherine Wanner, *Communities of the Converted: Ukrainians and Global Evangelism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

<sup>3</sup>Philip Hughes of the Christian Research Association claims that nine percent of the Australian population attended church in 2001. Because the number of attendees over 60 years of age is so high, within 20 years the percentage of the population attending church is expected to drop to six. See Barney Zwart, “We’ve Got to Have Faith,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 April 2006.

<sup>4</sup><http://www.hillsong.com.ua/transforminglives/index.php?pageLang=en>.

<sup>5</sup>Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 87.

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