

The Quest for Kikuyu Anglican Churches in the United States of America (USA) 2016–2022: Their Establishments, Achievements and Challenges

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Abstract

The number of people migrating from one region to another today has become rampant. This is attested by the movement of immigrants from developing countries to the most advanced and developed countries, mostly in Europe and North America. This unprecedented trend has seen a new phenomenon because the immigrants from the global South are perceived as economic migrants in the global North in the quest for greener pastures. Interestingly, they have opened a new horizon on the religious front. Against this backdrop, this article explores the endeavours of the Anglican Church of Kenya (ACK) clergy in the United States of America (USA) to open or establish ACK churches in the diaspora. The article is informed by empirical data from in-depth, informative interviews conducted in 2021 with Anglicans in the diaspora. Non-empirical data from grey literature were also consulted, as the author's observations as an immigrant Anglican clergy. This article establishes a close affinity between religion and migration because ACK churches became where these immigrants formed their identities out of their lived experiences in the diaspora.

Keywords: Anglican; Anglican Church in Kenya; Diaspora; Migrants

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Introduction

The ACK¹ is one of the mission-based churches in Kenya that was established by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) sent Johann Ludwig Krapf to the East Coast of Africa in 1844 to plant an African church (see Gathogo 2012; Kiarie 2016). Today, the ACK has registered tremendous numerical growth, with the number of adherents growing to the tune of over 5.86 million (Anglican Church of Kenya, 2019: ii) and the Kikuyu² ethnic community enjoying vast number of ACK dioceses, namely, Mount Kenya South, Thika, Maragua, Mount Kenya Central, Mount Kenya East, Kirinyaga, Embu, Mbeere, Meru, and Nyahururu. Despite these dioceses being dominated by the Kikuyu ethnic group, there are other dioceses in the province with a substantial number of Kikuyus, like those of Nairobi, Nakuru, Kajiado, Taita Taveta, Mombasa, Maralal, and Eldoret.

Over time, the Kikuyus ethnic groups migrated to different parts of Kenya, particularly the Rift Valley, while others went overseas. Many factors led to this migration: the search for a better economy, an improved education and political freedom. One of the overseas destinations was the United States of America (USA). Studies by the *Migration Policy Institute* noted that the number of Kenyans "... has grown quickly over the past two decades."³ In the Refugee Appeal Division (RAD) analysis of the above studies, it was contended that the documented Kenyan population in the USA had grown to more than 100,000 by 2013. Most of these people settled in Texas and California. The leading cities, with a majority of Kenyans, are Dallas, Minneapolis – St Paul, New York, Seattle, Atlanta, and Boston.⁴ With this migration to the USA, a new landscape emerged regarding religion. This migration to the USA resulted in a new religious trend. As these USA immigrants came with their faith and religion, they fulfilled the words of Buhle Mpofo (2016), who said, "when people move, religion also move." The Kenyan population that settled in the USA first joined the existing American Churches, with most of the ACK adherents joining the Episcopal Church of the United States of America (ECUSA)⁵. Whether they were welcomed or felt at home was not a subject for discussion because their quest was to find a place of spiritual nourishment. This saw most ACK adherents and the few clergy who came to study

1 The ACK is one of the 42 provinces in the Anglican Communion, which is the fellowship of all the Anglican churches in the world that have been in full union with the Church of England since 1867.

2 Kikuyus is one of the forty-two tribes in Kenya. In 2013, Kikuyus were estimated to be around 9.6 million (See Kiarie 2016:42).

3 www.aspeninstitute.org/wp Accessed on 28 /04/2021.

4 www.aspeninstitute.org/wp Accessed on 28/04/2021

5 This is the only Anglican Province in the USA recognized by the Anglican Communion. Other splitter groups within ECUSA emerged because of doctrinal and human sexuality differences. Some of these Anglicans are the American Anglican Church, Anglican Province of America, Anglican Church in America, Anglican Catholic Church, Anglican Church of North America (ACNA), All Nations Anglican Church International (ANCCI). All these divided Anglicans in the USA are autonomous, and their episcopal jurisdiction overlaps with one another. This was a great confusion to most Anglican immigrants of Kenyan descent.

overseas forming evening fellowship groups at the ECUSA churches to complement what they enjoyed in the white-dominated services. Although the ECUSA churches became a source of solace for the Kikuyu Anglicans, most felt a need to have their services in their language over time. This phenomenon initiated the quest to establish the Kikuyu Anglican churches in the USA, as this article will continue to explain in the next section, the emergence of these churches in the diaspora. This article will limit its scope to the north-western part of the USA and, more specifically, to Washington state.

Emergence of ACK Churches in the USA

The oral narratives of how the first ACK church in the diaspora began are so opaque that the empirical data obtained from the field have conflicting dates. Some research participants believed the ACK church emerged in 2016, while others said it was in 2017. It is important to note that all the Kikuyu Anglican adherents in the USA first worshipped in the ECUSA churches in their neighbourhoods before gathering for fellowship to open their own Kikuyu ACK church in Washington state. The St James Episcopal Church in Kent, Washington state, became the midwife to the Kikuyu Anglican church in Washington state. However, they were briefly welcomed into this Episcopal church and given their service. This was short-lived due to a misunderstanding between the Episcopal church leadership and the emerging leadership of the ACK in the diaspora. In this quagmire, the confusion was a blessing in disguise because the American Anglican Church⁶, under the leadership of Archbishop John Herzog, happened to file a religious visa for the Revered Paul Mbugua from the diocese of Mount Kenya South in 2016. Rev. Mbugua was specifically sent to Washington state to establish an Anglican church among the Kikuyus Anglican immigrants.

As the oral narrative goes, Rev. Mbugua concealed his ecclesiastical identity at this early stage. Most Anglicans thought he was sent by his diocesan bishop, the Right Rev. Timothy Ranji. He flourished under this disguise, and most of the Kikuyu Anglicans who learnt of ACK fellowships within the state were excited and joined it. The research participants all agreed that they used to meet for fellowship at the home of Cirpus Njama. The news spread like a bushfire until the home church could no longer hold the swelling number of Anglicans who reached out to each other within Washington state. Under the leadership of Rev. Mbugua, this fellowship went a step further. It was transformed by assuming an ecclesiastical identity, and now the Kikuyu Anglicans fellowship in Washington state was given the name of St Mark Anglican church. Then, Rev. Mbugua's ecclesiastical identity and affiliation⁷ were spotlighted. Now, every

6 Another splitter group from the ECUSA in the late 1990s under the Diocese of Holy Innocent in New York.

7 Rev Mbugua was able to conceal his affiliation because of the confusion that Anglican priests find themselves in when they come to the USA, where so many Anglican groups seceded from ECUSA, as I highlighted above. Therefore, when Kenyan priests come to the USA, they identify with the one Anglican group that meets their American dreams and interests. Unfortunately, the ACK bishops have no control of these Churches and their priests. The worst thing is that most of the ACK bishops

Anglican knew that St. Mark was under the episcopate of bishop Herzog in New York and that Rev. Mbugua was the vicar. Besides Rev. Mbugua, other ACK clergy had migrated to Washington state, such as Rev. Elijah Karanja⁸, Rev. David Mariga, and Rev. Samuel Kamau. They combined forces and began serving St. Mark Anglican church together with Rev. Mbugua. In 2017, the pastoral team of clergy was privileged to receive Rev. Elias Mburu, who had previously served in the St. James Episcopal church and Rev. James Njagi from the Diocese of Kirinyaga.

Other ACK clergy were dissatisfied with Rev. Mbugua's leadership in the church. In 2018, the criticism of his leadership resulted in a tug-of-war among the council members and since the centre could no longer hold Rev. Karanja, Rev. Mariga, Rev. Kamau, and pastor Edith left St. Mark Anglican church around October 2017 to start the St Peter's Anglican church. Rev. Karanja assumed the leadership role as the vicar. He was supported by Rev. Mariga, Rev. Kamau and pastor Edith. They looked for episcopal oversight and settled on the Most Rev. Dr John Githiga, the bishop of the ANCCI⁹ in Amarillo, Texas. Over time, Rev. Karanja mismanaged the church to the extent that it brought St. Peters to its knees and put it on the verge of disintegrating.

Nevertheless, Rev. Mariga brought the broken pieces of the church together with pastor Edith. However, Rev. Kamau left them to join the All-Saints Anglican church Federal Way under Rev. Elias Mburu. With good leadership, Rev. David Mariga and his team revived the Church. It grew numerically to the extent that Rev. Moses Kae joined the pastoral team of St. Peter's in 2019. By and large, St. Peter's council resolved to plant another Anglican church in Tacoma city. This saw St. Mathew's Anglican church start on 1st September 2019, and Rev. Kae was appointed as the vicar in charge.

Even before the dust settled, St. Mark's Anglican church got another blow in 2018 when some of the clergy and Christians were disgruntled by its ecclesiastical affiliation with the American Anglican Church and not the ACK-friendly evangelical province in the USA, the ACNA¹⁰. This splitter group, led by Rev. Mburu, Rev. James and some Church elders, mostly from the Diocese of Mount Kenya South, delinked with the St. Mark Anglican church. Specifically, on 13th May 2018, the All Saints Anglican Church (ASAC) Federal Way was born. Its major challenge was the quest for an authoritative ecclesiastical identity that was incongruent with the ACK province. It sought the help of bishop Ranji in Kenya, who connected them with the link person of the ACK province in the USA, bishop William Murdoch in Boston, Massachusetts, who later connected

who visit these churches come to reap as many dollars as they can, and they are not necessarily concerned with the plights and challenges of these churches.

8 Rev Karanja ceased to be an Anglican in 2022 when he was consecrated as a bishop of All Saints Upendo Church in Portland, Oregon State. To make matters worse, his consecration was conducted by non-Anglican bishops.

9 ANCCI is another splitter group from ECUSA due to human sexuality. It was started on 27th July 2007, with its headquarters in Amarillo, Texas.

10 It was formed on June 22nd, 2009, due to the human sexuality debate in the ECUSA.

them with bishop Kevin Allen Bond, the ACNA diocesan bishop of Cascadia. Rev. Mburu led the All Saint Anglican church as the vicar until May 2019, when he left the church due to differences with the church council and allegations of moral integrity and financial mismanagement. No disciplinary measures were taken against him. This saw Rev. James take over the mantle of leadership on the 7th of July 2019 when he was inducted as the new vicar by bishop Kevin and the ACK archbishop Jackson Ole Sapit, who graced the function at the invitation of his host, bishop Kevin.

When Rev. Mburu left the All Saints Anglican church in May 2019, he planted another Anglican church in June 2019, giving it the name of Christ the King Anglican church. The church was at an episcopal stalemate because Rev. Mburu had dissociated himself from the ACNA diocese of Cascadia. In the same year, 2019, he therefore sought episcopal oversight from ANCCI under bishop John Githiga. Ven Joseph Gatungu ratified this affiliation, which bishop Githiga sent to attend Washington State and receive this congregation into the ANCCI family. However, this was short-lived because Rev. Mburu contacted bishop Kevin of the ACNA. They ironed out their differences, which saw him leave the All Saints Anglican Church in April 2020, and Rev. Mburu reverted the newly planted church to the diocese of Cascadia. His move dissatisfied the ANCCI leadership, and this led to a splitter group in 2020 that saw the Emmanuel All Nations Anglican church being born out of the Christ the King Anglican church. Bishop Githiga appointed the Rev Dr George Kiarie as the Rector of Emmanuel All Nations Anglican church. Still, in 2020, another Anglican church was born in Renton, Washington state, called the Good Samaritan Anglican church under the leadership of Rev. Agnes Murichu. In 2021, the ACK adherents formed another Anglican church, the All-Saints Goshen Anglican church Tacoma, which Rev. Paul Karume planted. Despite all the challenges the ACK churches in the diaspora had experienced, Washington state hosts ten Kikuyu Anglican churches with different episcopal oversights. These congregations have been serving the Kikuyu Anglicans in Washington state since 2016. Now, what lingers in the mind of the reader is: Why were all ten Kikuyu Anglican churches planted in the diaspora, while the Kikuyu Anglican worshippers could have joined the already-existing ECUSA and ACNA churches in Washington state?

Rationale for ACK Churches in the USA

In this section, the article wrestles with the question of the existence of the ACK churches in the USA. One of the key quests for starting the Kenyan Anglican Churches overseas was to search for religious identity in the multiracial context of the USA. This was despite the presence of the ECUSA and ACNA, which welcomed all Christians from diverse contexts to the Anglican Communion. Unfortunately, most of the ACK adherents did not feel at home in these white-dominated Churches. While analysing the research participants about what motivated them to start Kikuyu Anglican Churches in the diaspora, all their arguments are well captured by this sentiment that it was “because we are not fitting in the white Churches” (#01). While trying to unpack the feelings of

this research participant, it was shown that the search of the immigrants for spiritual nourishment in the white-dominated Churches was not satisfactory. Helen Ebaugh (2003), in her study of Religion and new immigrants in the USA, concurs with this sentiment. She cited that the major challenge that the immigrants faced when they settled in the USA was when the existing American religious institutions failed to “provide social and physical space and social networks that help the immigrant reproduce their values, traditions, and customs in the midst of an often alienating and strange American society.” (Ebaugh 2003: 230). Thus, when the new immigrants battled with a new culture, they found everything unwelcoming. However, when an opportunity arises for them to have a religious institution they can identify with, they feel they are at home. They desire to belong to it because it gives them a sense of belonging. Hence, the Kikuyu Anglicans in Washington state were prompted by this desire when they were contemplating starting an ACK church.

Nostalgia is the second factor that prompted the Kikuyu Anglicans in the diaspora to dream of having their own Church. While migration statistics elaborate how the majority of Kenyan immigrants in the USA are young people with “the median age is only 33 and 98 per cent are below age 65.”(www.aspeninstitute.org/wp), the older people also form a significant part of the Kenyan immigrants. This older generation, whose memories of their home country are still fresh, longs to worship in their native language and style of worship. This quest is captured well in the thought of one research participant who observed that they started Kikuyu Churches because of a “longing for an Anglican Church state in Kenya” (Respondent #02), or “thirst for Kenyan Anglicanism in Kikuyu language.” (Respondent #01). Therefore, just like the Jews who remembered the “Lord’s song” in a foreign land (see Psalms 137), so did the Kikuyu Anglicans. These Kikuyu Anglicans felt pushed to start their Church, where they could worship God in the way they were used to back home in Kenya, in a language they understood the best. Ebaugh shares the same line of thought by saying, “When visual images are combined with the sound of native vernaculars, home country musical instruments and songs ... most immigrant congregations flood the senses with physical reminders of native lands from which their members came” (2003: 231). When the language of worship is congruent with the language of the people, Christians can now listen and discern God’s ways in their thought systems and processes.

The third motivation for starting the Kikuyu Churches in the USA was the Kikuyu Anglican priests’ desire to serve their people in the best language they understand. This was Thomas Cranmer’s desire as the outstanding English reformer of the Church of England and its extension overseas. These clergy felt alienated while serving in the ECUSA, where the Western worldview, with individualism, prevails vis-à-vis the African worldview, which is generally community-oriented. These two conflicting worldviews made the Kikuyu clergy feel “unwelcomed in the ECUSA” (Respondent #02). As another research participant rightly said, “the Kenyan clergy and lay readers felt unwelcomed in ECUSA, despite their desire to serve God” (Respondent #01). Therefore, the Kenyan clergy and lay readers’ longing to keep the fire of their calling in

the ministry burning compelled most of them to start Kikuyu Churches. In these Churches, they expressed their calling to the ordained ministry with fullness and with autonomy. Thus, like the Kikuyu Christians who felt they could now sing the Lord's song in a foreign land, the clergy felt free to express their ministerial capabilities.

Having explored the rationale for establishing the Kikuyu Churches in the diaspora, the next section will grapple with the question: What is the significant role that the Kikuyu Anglican Churches play for the Kikuyu immigrants in the diaspora?

Are ACK Churches in the USA Important to the Kikuyu Anglicans in the Diaspora?

As illustrated above, the emergence of ACK Churches in the USA opened a new chapter in the religious landscape of Kikuyu immigrants in the USA. However, the question remains for any reader of this article: was there any significance in planting Kikuyu Anglican Churches in the diaspora? Against this backdrop, this section explains the importance of the Kikuyu Anglican Churches in the USA.

Although bringing together all the Kikuyu Anglicans in the USA was an uphill task, planting these churches became the first step in searching for the scattered Kikuyu Anglicans in the USA and bringing them together as part of the Anglican family. One research participant noted that before planting the ACK churches in the USA, "the Anglican community felt isolated in other Kenyan churches in USA" (Respondent #02). Therefore, with the planting of ACK churches, the Kikuyu Anglicans had the privilege of congregating together. This became one way of bringing unity among the Anglicans from different dioceses in Kenya through their common language of worship.

Historically, migrating to another country is not one of the easiest things to do. The migrant is detached from his or her home country, friends, and immediate family members. This means that the immigrants are faced with a cultural shock as they break their ties with family and friends and adapt to different religious expressions, the language barrier, economic constraints, and the quest for immigration status. These are but a few challenges that immigrants encounter when trying to settle down in a foreign land. These challenges culminate in psychological and emotional stress for the new immigrants as they try to adapt to their new environment. This plight makes the place of the immigrant churches of paramount importance in the life of the immigrants because they offer pastoral care. No wonder the Southern African scholar Federico Settler (2016) could not resist saying that immigrants use and access church ... and other religious sites to build social networks and harness resources for resilience.

This means the ACK churches in the USA play an integral role in pastoral care for immigrants acclimatising to the American culture. The ACK clergy give pastoral care to their fellow Christians about pressing issues, such as family conflicts, broken marriages, drug addiction and abuse, immorality, loneliness, teenage crisis, and

immigration challenges for those who lost their legal status, among others. Thus, these ACK churches in the USA are tasked with healing broken and wounded families and giving hope to those who are desperate while they are abroad due to the cultural shock and other social evils in their new land. Ebaugh sees the integral role of pastoral care in the immigrant Churches when she sums it all up by arguing that “ethnic places of worship served the dual purpose of reproducing the groups cultural and religious heritage while assisting immigrants in the process of adapting to a new society.” (Ebaugh 2003:229).

As every human being seeks happiness and fulfilment in life, so do all those serving in the Church of Christ. Some of the Kikuyus Anglicans were very active in the life of their local churches, where they served as clergy and lay readers in the Kenya Anglican Men’s Association (KAMA), Mother’s Union (MU) and Kenya Anglican Youth Organization (KAYO). However, when they migrated to the USA, they found themselves in unfamiliar and unwelcoming territory: Mpofu (2018) refers to it as the church being hostile towards immigrants. This led to some of them being disappointed while they were in the ECUSA churches. They felt their spiritual gifts for edifying the body of Christ were made redundant. However, with the emergence of the ACK churches, one respondent said, “Those who are called to serve feel that their calling was fulfilled when the ACK churches were opened” (Respondent #02). This insinuates that the Kikuyu Anglicans with different talents and spiritual gifts were at liberty to express themselves fully in the already-established ACK churches in the USA. Serving in these churches gave them a sense of belonging, and they found life fulfilling because they could express their calling without any prohibitions or inhibitions. Moreover, their expression in these churches is recognised, valued, cherished, and encouraged to grow for the edification of the Church of Christ, unlike in the ECUSA churches, which are mostly Anglo-Catholic and unwelcoming.

Setbacks and Limitations Facing the ACK Churches in the USA

The integral role of the ACK churches among the Kikuyu immigrants in the USA is immense and profound. However, there are some setbacks facing these churches in the diaspora, as this article will explain below.

The first challenge these diaspora churches encounter is disunity among themselves. As illustrated in the beginning, most came into existence after breaking away from their parent ACK churches in the diaspora. This prompted most research participants to wonder “if ACK do split” (Respondent #03) because this phenomenon is new in the USA and unfamiliar in the Kenyan context. With so many splitter groups within the ACK Churches in the diaspora, it elicits the debate on the unity of the Church of Christ. One wonders whether they understand the importance of the unity in the body of Christ as outlined in the gospel of John 17. Hans Kung (1968) perceives the quest for unity in the Church as spiritual unity. Such a divisive situation in the ACK churches in the USA jeopardises their unity, for they do not speak in one voice despite cherishing one

common heritage. According to one research participant, this problem is worsened because the ten ACK churches in Washington state are “under different episcopal oversight” (Respondent #02). Each ACK church receives its episcopal oversight from a different bishop. Some are from Kenya, others from different provinces in the USA, and others are autonomous congregations without allegiance to any bishop within the Anglican Communion.

The second challenge these churches face is a conflict of interests in how they are established by individual priests who differ from the existing ACK church in the diaspora. As an insider–observer in this article, the author argues that, while some splitting can be justified, others are ill-motivated. This is because some ACK clergy desire to plant a new congregation for personal gain rather than for the furtherance of the Kingdom of God. When this prevails, conflict of interest is inevitable. Consequently, this has been detrimental to the church in the diaspora. It has culminated in misappropriating church funds, which has become scandalous in many churches. This vice has been contagious because it is found not only among ACK churches in Washington state but also in other states, such as Texas, North Carolina, and Massachusetts.

The third challenge is the dualistic nature of the Kikuyu Christians in the USA. These Christians have divided loyalties because most subscribe to more than one ACK church in the diaspora. This divided loyalty makes it very difficult for the priests to establish the actual number of Christians or *bona fide* members of their churches. One of the priests lamented that “fishing Christians from each other” (Respondent # 04) has become the common trend among priests in Washington state. However, Peter Wagner maintains that this phenomenon of “fishing Christians” is not new and that it happens whenever a new church emerges., which is a common fear among many pastors (Wagner 1990: 41). However, Donald McGavran (1990) alleviates this fear among pastors because he is convinced that when new churches are established within a locality, well-fed sheep “cannot be stolen ... (*for*) sheep-stealing is usually a cry of agony from a non-growing Church.

The fourth challenge is about the commitment of Christians in these churches. In my discussions with most of the priests about the challenges they encounter in their ministry, they cited the level of commitment of their flocks. For example, one maintained that it was the “lack of committed Christians, only committed to their work of pursuing dollar and not God” (Respondent #05). While interacting with the clergy, one notices that the level of commitment of Christians in the diaspora is wanting. One cannot ignore the economic, competitive nature of the American life that calls for immigrants to work extra hard in their preference to search for wealth, despite Christ’s call for them to “seek first His Kingdom and His righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well” (Matthew 6:33) is high. There is no health balance between the two. Their love for the dollar (mammon) comes first, and other things come later. This is clear in the narratives of some Christians who responded that some Christians might

forfeit attending a Sunday Service in exchange for working when the two choices are presented on a Sunday. This insinuates that the temptation to serve mammon is so high that it has diluted the commitment of most Christians to the gospel of Christ. Hence, this compromised commitment of Christians in the diaspora verifies the thoughts of Joseph Galgalo (2012), who stated that most churchgoers are Christians by association and not conviction. They want to identify with the churches not necessarily for their spiritual growth but for the church to rescue them in case they face any misfortune while in the diaspora.

The fifth challenge that ACK churches face in the diaspora is the lack of space for worship. One research participant clearly stated that the “lack of space for Christian worship or rented houses” (Respondent #05) is a glaring problem. While most ACK churches are housed in rented premises by different churches, not necessarily ECUSA or ACNA, in Washington state, this has been a great setback because these rented spaces for worship are very expensive for the immigrant churches struggling to find their space in American society. Moreover, the time they are given to slot in their services is often at odd hours or only for a limited time. Thus, most ACK priests in the diaspora struggle with this setback, as they cannot state where their churches are permanently located. This adversely affects how they do their mission work among their immigrants. However, it is important to note that All Saint Anglican Church in Federal Way has made significant progress, as it has secured a mortgage and now owns its own permanent space in Milton as of 4th September 2022. They are modifying the building to assume a new face of a Church structure.

Conclusion

This article concludes by contending that the ACK church is mission-oriented. It has hit the ground running in the USA, with the primary intention of reaching out to its people. The article continued to argue that the ACK churches in the USA have registered phenomenal growth numerically. They all started as one congregation in 2016; now, Washington has ten ACK congregations. Notably, most of these churches have emerged from accidental models of church planting/ growth. As religion plays a fundamental role in the formation of the immigrants’ identities, this article observed that these ACK churches in the diaspora have become a beacon of hope for most Kenyan immigrants in the USA; it is a place where they are spiritually nourished, have a place they feel at home and where they can express their religiosity or spirituality to the fullest. Furthermore, their spiritual gifts are exploited to their maximum, and they do receive pastoral care, which they never received in the white-dominated churches.

On a sad note, the article singled out that the splitting of the ACK churches is a great threat to its existence and mission in the USA, for this is inconsistent with the ACK ethos back in Kenya. Moreover, the lukewarm commitment of Christians leads many of them to be Christian by association (nominal) and not conviction, which causes them to become a great threat to the future mission of the ACK churches in the diaspora. This

has been prompted by the harsh economic situation in America that makes the Christians serve mammon rather than God just for survival.

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Oral Interviews

Interviewee	Interviewer	Date
01#	George Kiarie	3 May 2021
02#	George Kiarie	5 May 2021
03#	George Kiarie	8 May 2021
04#	George Kiarie	5 May 2021
05#	George Kiarie	3 May 2021