

EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY  
AND DEMOCRACY IN  
*Africa*

EDITED BY

Terence O. Ranger



EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY AND DEMOCRACY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

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*For  
Vinay Kumar Samuel,  
on the fortieth anniversary of his ordination to ministry  
in the Church of South India  
(1967–2007)*

*And for all the churches of Asia, Africa, and Latin America  
it remains his joy to serve*

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## Preface

The research project that generated this volume began as an effort in evangelical self-understanding. The globally minded and globally active International Fellowship of Evangelical Mission Theologians (INFEMIT), together with its research and study arm, the Oxford Centre for Mission Studies (OCMS), based in Oxford, England, undertook numerous efforts in the 1980s and 1990s to develop sophisticated evangelical analyses of a host of global issues, including modernity and modernization, market economics, population growth, and human disability.<sup>1</sup> Toward the end of the 1990s it occurred to INFEMIT's director, Indian theologian Vinay Samuel, that international evangelicalism itself merited a critical analysis, particularly because of its growing social and political prominence in the developing countries of the "global South" (i.e., Africa, Asia, and Latin America).

Evangelical politics merited analysis, Samuel believed, not only because evangelical political efforts were increasingly organized and consequential but also because their impact on global South politics seemed so varied and ambivalent. After all, some of the best known instances of evangelical politics include the military dictatorship of Efraín Ríos Montt in Guatemala in the early 1980s as well as the support many white evangelicals gave to apartheid in South Africa until the early 1990s. On the other hand, the evangelical wing of Kenya's Anglican Church proved to be authoritarian president Daniel arap Moi's most vocal critic in the 1980s and 1990s.

In this variety and ambiguity global South evangelicals are not unlike their evangelical counterparts in the United States. Major



political figures (such as former president Jimmy Carter, former senator Mark Hatfield, and former attorney general John Ashcroft) and movements (such as the Moral Majority and the Christian Coalition) suggest the enormous growth and influence of American evangelical political activism during the last thirty years. But they also underscore evangelicals' deep differences in political philosophy, their divergent policy goals, and the uncertainty of their long-term political achievements.<sup>2</sup> The fact that American evangelicals have remained consistent and enthusiastic supporters of George W. Bush—a president otherwise deeply and increasingly unpopular both inside and outside the United States—only deepens the sense that global evangelicalism has bequeathed an ambiguous political legacy that evangelicals bear a special responsibility to scrutinize.<sup>3</sup>

To launch this project of critical self-understanding, Vinay Samuel gathered a small team of evangelical scholars, including myself, in 1997. For the necessary funding, we turned to The Pew Charitable Trusts, which had an impressive track record of supporting scholarship on, and by, evangelicals. Luis Lugo, head of Pew's Religion Program at the time, and Susan Billington Harper, program officer with the Religion Program, provided indispensable encouragement and guidance at this early stage. As a first step in Pew's support, they provided a seed grant to conduct a preliminary "mapping" of the basic patterns of evangelical political activism across the global South as well as the most promising avenues for long-term research on the subject. Paul Freston, an outstanding sociologist specializing in the study of pentecostalism in Brazil and a member of our team, agreed to produce this mapping, and in a few short months performed the major miracle of writing a booklength overview of evangelical politics in nearly thirty countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, complete with an exhaustive bibliography. Freston's study, first in manuscript form and later as a published monograph, became a constant point of reference as we designed the project and, later, as we conducted the research.<sup>4</sup> It also made a compelling case to our prospective funders that the subject deserved more systematic and sustained examination. So in June 1999, The Pew Charitable Trusts provided our INFEMIT research team with a generous grant to conduct field research on politically engaged evangelicals on three continents—Asia, Africa, and Latin America—over three years.

We focused our critical analysis of evangelical politics in these regions of the global South in two ways. First, we identified what seemed to be the most significant cases of evangelical political mobilization and influence in each region's most significant countries: Brazil, Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Chile, and Peru in Latin America; Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe in Africa; and China, India, Indonesia, South Korea, and the Philippines in Asia.

Second, to give our research a sharper analytical and evaluative edge, we decided to pay special attention to the relationship between evangelical politics

and democracy in each region. How has the overall trend toward democratization in all the regions of the global South, especially during the “third wave” of democratization (1974–1991), given evangelicals new incentives and opportunities for political mobilization and influence?<sup>5</sup> And, more important for our critical purposes, what has been the impact of politically engaged evangelicalism on democratization? To what extent has it contributed to the inauguration and consolidation of democratic regimes? And in countries where democratic transitions have not occurred, to what extent have evangelicals promoted the norms and practices of democratic politics, whether at the local, regional, or national level? Conversely, to what extent have politically engaged evangelicals blocked, slowed, or otherwise undermined democratization in the global South?

Evangelicalism’s impact on democratization compelled our attention not only because of our interest in assessing the level and quality of evangelical political activism. It also seemed worthy of study because democratization in the global South, despite dramatic advances, remained so limited and fragile—particularly insofar as democracy in its most robust and valid form requires not only free and fair elections but also effective respect for basic human rights and freedoms. Democracy in Asia, Africa, and Latin America needed all the help it could get, and we wanted to know how much help, if any, evangelicals were giving. Since the start of our research, just how much the overall social and economic development of the global South requires the establishment of more effective, transparent, and democratic governance has become even more painfully obvious. Yet in Asia and Africa in particular, according to a 2007 Freedom House report, democratization has stagnated or even reversed since 2005.<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, recent studies of religion and democratization had included almost no broad, comparative treatment of evangelical influences. Numerous scholars noted the important roles Catholic and mainline Protestant churches played in democratic transitions throughout the global South during the “third wave” of democratization, particularly in the 1980s and early 1990s. Indeed, the pro-democratic activism of such churches continues to provoke scholarly and journalistic interest. The vocal opposition of Zimbabwe’s Catholic bishops to the increasingly repressive regime of Robert Mugabe, for example, received considerable attention in the press in early 2007, notably in *The Economist*.<sup>7</sup> But mainstream scholarship on religion and democratization, whether focused on Africa, Asia, or Latin America, tended to ignore or downplay the burgeoning evangelical sector of global South Christianity.<sup>8</sup> Granted that bishops and archbishops, clergy and laity, as well as a globe-trotting pope mobilized Catholic and mainline Protestant churches to battle authoritarian regimes and support democratic transitions throughout the global South, what about evangelical churches, denominations, and political parties? What about evangelical movements within mainline churches? After all, many of these churches in

the global South, if not in their counterpart churches in Europe and North America, remain animated by the biblicist theology and missionary activism that are the hallmarks of evangelicalism.<sup>9</sup> Finally, we were eager to investigate the political contributions of the pentecostal subsector of evangelicalism in particular, which has become the most dynamic and demographically dominant force not only in global South evangelicalism but in global South Protestantism as a whole.

In addition, demographic trends recommended a focus on evangelical contributions to global South democratization. Whereas throughout the 1950s and 1960s leading scholars and other observers, such as Indian historian and diplomat K. M. Panikkar, predicted with breathtaking confidence and uniformity that Christianity in Asia and Africa would collapse once the coercive pressures of Western colonialism were removed, Christianity and especially Protestantism saw continuing expansion, not contraction, in the last decades of the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup> In Africa, for example, according to religion demographers David Barrett and Todd Johnson, Christians numbered 10 million in 1900 and 30 million in 1945, but then jumped to 144 million by 1970 and further to 411 million by 2005.<sup>11</sup> Africa's most dramatic Christian growth, in other words, occurred *after* decolonization. Protestantism in particular has seen significant postcolonial growth across the global South, more than doubling from about 4 percent of the overall global South population in 1970 to about 10 percent by 2000. In comparison, Roman Catholicism saw its overall share of the global South population increase by only a little more than one percentage point during the same thirty-year period, from 13 percent to 14 percent, and Islam's share also grew rather modestly, from 19 percent to 23 percent. As a result of this exponential growth, the Protestant proportion of the population in Latin America was six times greater at the end of the twentieth century than at the beginning of the twentieth century, in Asia ten times greater, and in Africa thirteen times greater.<sup>12</sup> No other major religious group came close to experiencing such a dramatic, sustained, and extensive demographic expansion across the global South during this period.

The most important driver and beneficiary of Protestantism's demographic expansion across the global South has clearly been evangelicalism—particularly, in recent years, in its pentecostal expressions. Within most of the global South's thriving mainline Protestant churches, evangelicalism is the dominant, driving element, which of course is what increasingly separates Protestants from fellow Anglicans, Episcopalians, Methodists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians in Europe and North America, among whom, to put it plainly, a gospel of political inclusion has increasingly displaced a gospel of spiritual conversion. Evangelicalism is thus not a denominational category, as our research takes pains to emphasize. Evangelical Methodists in Mozambique may have far more in common with evangelical Presbyterians in South Korea or with evangelical pentecostals in Brazil than with fellow Methodists in Maine or Minnesota.

Evangelicalism in its Spirit-filled pentecostal form has proven particularly contagious, constantly spreading across otherwise well-defended ecclesiastical borders. Numerous Protestant churches in the global South, not to mention the Roman Catholic Church, have succumbed to pervasive “pentecostalization” in the form of highly successful charismatic movements, even as pentecostal denominations such as the Assemblies of God expand and multiply with remarkable velocity in virtually every corner of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. A ten-country public opinion survey of global pentecostalism conducted by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life in 2006 found that nearly half or more of all Protestants interviewed in Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, Nigeria, and Kenya were members of pentecostal churches, while more than a quarter of Protestants interviewed in South Africa, South Korea, Guatemala, and the Philippines were Protestant charismatics (i.e., people who identified with the pentecostal label or with pentecostal practice such as speaking in tongues but remained members of nonpentecostal churches).<sup>13</sup> In Africa, for example, according to 2006 figures from the World Christian Database, pentecostals and charismatics now represent nearly 17 percent, or about 150 million, of the population of nearly 890 million people, whereas they represented less than 5 percent in 1970.<sup>14</sup> When one considers that both pentecostal and nonpentecostal evangelicals generally have higher rates of religious observance than other Christians, the conclusion that evangelicalism has become the dominant form of Christian practice in much of the global South is inescapable.

Further arguing in favor of a focus on evangelicalism’s contributions to democracy is an impressive body of recent research on the democratic potential of this burgeoning form of Protestantism. Distinguished sociologist David Martin and a number of other scholars have painted a picture of global South evangelicals in the late twentieth century reminiscent of Alexis de Tocqueville’s picture of American Christians in the early nineteenth century: voluntarist, independent of the state, and assiduous practitioners of the “art of association.”<sup>15</sup> In their churches and small prayer and Bible study groups, evangelicals carve out what Martin terms “autonomous social spaces” within which believers receive Word and Spirit directly, without priestly mediation, and are empowered to share them with others. Amid degradation and exploitation, they experience stability, dignity, and equality.<sup>16</sup> In addition, Martin and others document how conversion to evangelicalism involves the acquisition of a “Protestant ethic” that transforms drunken and indolent men into sober and responsible householders, which in turn provides their families with a modicum of economic stability.<sup>17</sup> As the pioneering sociologist of religion Peter Berger likes to say, “Max Weber is alive and well and living in Guatemala.”<sup>18</sup>

In documenting these cultural, social, moral, and economic transformations, Martin and other scholars argue that they may well suggest that evangelicalism

enjoys an intrinsic tendency to promote both the kind of moral and purposeful individualism and the kind of robust associational life that are conducive to democratization. But these somewhat tentative claims concerning evangelicalism's long-term democratic potential could and should be empirically tested, it seemed to us, against the actual political activism and performance of evangelicals across the global South. If the "evangelical ethic" really does promote the spirit of capitalism through microlevel moral and cultural change, does it also promote the spirit of democracy through macrolevel political change? The increasing number of cases of evangelical political activism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America enabled us to investigate whether evangelicals were living up to their democratic potential.

To direct the research on African evangelicals and democracy that generated this volume, we turned to Terence O. Ranger, an eminent British scholar of southern Africa and an emeritus professor of race relations at Oxford, who has sensitively explored the interconnections between African religion, culture, and politics over a long career. Professor Ranger helped us assemble an outstanding team of African scholars to conduct intensive field research in the key countries we had selected: Anglican scholar Cyril Imo on Nigeria, church historian John Karanja on Kenya, theologian Anthony Balcomb on South Africa, religion scholar Isabel Phiri on Zambia, theologian Isabel Mukonyora on Zimbabwe, and sociologist Teresa Cruz e Silva on Mozambique.

The perceptive studies of these scholars reveal an African evangelical community that is increasingly exchanging political passivity for faith-based civic engagement. The studies also reveal a growing democratic ferment *within* evangelicalism: evangelical leaders and laity are engaging in fierce debate among themselves about the most appropriate level and form of political participation. Through their intensifying internal debates as well as their accumulating stocks of social and moral capital, evangelical churches often function as "schools of democracy" even where they eschew direct political action. Such schools of democracy ground evangelical believers in participatory norms and practices; they also ground African social and political discourse in an increasingly evangelical religious culture.

At the same time, Ranger's scholars demonstrate that evangelical leaders, organizations, and churches are also participating in "high politics"—running candidates for national elections, lobbying for and against legislation, protesting against authoritarian governments—in all the countries they studied. In many cases, such political activism has contributed to democratization by drawing previously marginalized and quiescent groups into national politics and widening the boundaries of effective political participation. It has also often contributed to democratization by weakening the hegemony of authoritarian rulers and increasing the competitiveness of political systems.

However, it is also true that the contributors document numerous instances in which evangelical leaders and their constituencies have been all too

willing to offer their fervent prayers and praise for dictators they deem “godly”—a designation dictators usually earn by their adoption of biblical rhetoric and sponsorship of religious functions, particularly the ubiquitous evangelistic crusade. In so doing, some evangelicals reproduce and indeed reinforce the corrupt clientelist politics rife in the region: a pattern that perhaps no scholar has analyzed more widely and perceptively than Paul Gifford, who has honored this volume with an acute postscript.<sup>19</sup> But the authors are careful to note that the legitimization some African evangelicals offer authoritarian leaders is almost always challenged by at least some other evangelicals, and this kind of dissent seems to be increasingly vigorous as evangelicalism grows in internal diversity and as its adherents develop greater political sophistication and achieve higher social and economic status.

Though this research has in many ways been an exercise in evangelical self-criticism, it is important to note that many of the researchers who have been involved in it do not identify with evangelical Christianity. With respect to the world and worldview of evangelicalism, Terence Ranger himself reminded us—ever so gently—that he is an outsider, though a sympathetic one. To conduct field research and produce the country case studies, we sought scholars who were based in the countries they were studying and who had ample experience investigating evangelicalism in these countries, regardless of whether they were “card-carrying” evangelicals, as it were. In a number of cases, the most impressive scholars we could find *were* evangelicals. But that was not the point. Precisely because we wanted to offer the evangelical world a nondistortive picture of evangelical politics in the global South, warts and all, our overriding criterion in selecting our research team was not theological correctness but a proven ability to provide intelligent access to the phenomenon at hand.

Just as our research was produced by a religiously diverse team of scholars, however, we expect that it will be of interest to a religiously diverse audience. Evangelicals and nonevangelicals alike have a stake in understanding the political intentions and influences of this burgeoning, global movement, especially when a growing number of studies are sounding the alarm about the political dangers of religion in general and evangelical religion in particular.<sup>20</sup> The politics of global evangelicalism can be understood at the most basic level, however, only if one pays close attention to the politics of global South evangelicalism, which accounts for the vast majority of the world’s evangelicals. At the same time, our research is an essential starting point even for those with no particular interest in global evangelical politics per se but who seek a deeper understanding of, say, American or Canadian or British evangelical political activism. For one cannot distinguish the constant and characteristically evangelical features of any of these movements from contingent features arising from the accidents of time, place, and political opportunity without systematically comparing them with forms of evangelical activism prevalent elsewhere.

“And what should they know of England who only England know?”<sup>21</sup> Understanding evangelical politics anywhere requires at least some familiarity with evangelical politics everywhere.

Our somewhat fanatical insistence on the cardinal importance of broad and comparative inquiry leads us to believe that this volume is best read in conjunction with its companion volumes on Asia and Latin America. These three volumes were not generated by three separate projects, after all, but by one project motivated from the start by a common set of concerns and questions about the adequacy of evangelicalism’s “political witness”—to use an evangelical phrase—in the countries of the global South. We developed common approaches to our key concepts, particularly evangelicalism and democracy, and we immersed ourselves in a common body of literature on religion and democratization. In the course of the project, there was significant interaction between the directors of the regional research teams, which encouraged significant intellectual cross-fertilization. And in June 2002, all the project participants gathered in Potomac, Maryland, to present our research to a distinguished gathering of scholars from around the world. The answers to the questions that launched our project lie in the totality of this cross-regional research and should not be inferred from any one volume or case study.

When seen in its totality, this body of research not only provides a broad survey of evangelical politics in nearly twenty countries but also offers insights into the wider trend that Peter Berger aptly terms the “desecularization of the world”: the process whereby all the major religious communities—Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity—have surged in vitality and political influence from the early 1970s right up to the present, thus weakening the hold of secularist political regimes and ideologies throughout the world and filling otherwise secular public spaces everywhere with religious voices.<sup>22</sup> Just as no case of evangelical politics can be properly studied in isolation from other cases, no case of religion’s global political resurgence can be properly understood apart from this broad spectrum of politically mobilized religions. Any minimally adequate understanding of the causes and consequences of the Islamic political resurgence, for example, requires rigorous comparison with other cases of religion’s political resurgence. And perhaps no case provides a more apt comparison than the worldwide evangelical political upsurge. Evangelical Protestantism, like Islam, is an egalitarian, scripture-based religion without a central hierarchy that has achieved impressive global expansion and political influence largely through grassroots mobilization. Yet I am aware of no systematic and sustained attempt to compare these powerful forms of religious political activism, despite the fresh insights into both movements such a study would be bound to generate. Perhaps our research can facilitate this and other potentially fruitful comparisons between the world’s politically resurgent religions.

In coordinating such a massive project over so many years, I have incurred almost innumerable and certainly unrepayable debts. David Battrick, Darin Hamlin, Matthew Fesak, and Anne Fontenau provided crucial support as the project was launched in 1999 and early 2000. David Fabrycky, Laura Fabrycky, Scott Bond, and particularly Dawn Haglund offered various forms of assistance, with Dawn Haglund taking on the monumental task of organizing numerous research workshops throughout the world as well as the project's large international conference in June 2002. In this massive undertaking, Eric Naus and Cara Farr were a tremendous and cheerful help. At a later stage, Sarah Mehta and Stephen Joyce offered invaluable assistance. Abey George helped coordinate the arduous task of organizing and cleaning up the bibliographies of all three volumes, assisted admirably by Laura Fabrycky.

In the last two years, no single person has contributed more to the seemingly endless task of preparing the volumes for publication than Rachel Mumford. She happily immersed herself in the minutiae of each volume to an extent that would have driven lesser mortals insane. I can explain this only by her repeated affirmation that she made the project her own. I cannot thank her enough. Working closely with Rachel Mumford, Patricia Barreiro contributed her tremendous skills as a copyeditor and in the process gave up more tears and sweat than our meager recompense could justify. Without this dynamic duo, the volumes might never have seen publication.

Several institutions provided crucial support at points. The Ethics and Public Policy Center (EPPC) offered me and the project an extremely happy and hospitable base of operations from the moment The Pew Charitable Trusts decided to fund our research in June 1999 until I left the Center in July 2004. Elliott Abrams took a personal interest in the project and saw to it that I received all the help EPPC could muster. Markus Österlund was an unexpected and enormously delightful and stimulating intellectual companion. Above all, EPPC vice president Michael Cromartie gave me the warmest possible welcome and made himself an instant and continuing friend of this project with his characteristic combination of sharp advice and strong encouragement. Fieldstead and Company gave valuable financial support, enabling us to considerably expand our June 2002 conference, thus helping to make it a great success.

In his new capacity as director of the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, Luis Lugo offered me and the project generous support when I joined the Forum in August 2004. Thanks to his remarkable generosity and consistent belief in the importance of the subject matter, I enjoyed tremendous freedom to work on the project as well as outstanding assistance from Forum staff. Among Forum staff, the most notable assistance came from Julia Kirby, who worked closely with Rachel Mumford in the summer of 2005 to prepare the



manuscripts for their original review by Oxford University Press. Most recently, Boston University's Institute on Culture, Religion and World Affairs (CURA) and the Council on Foreign Relations have provided the perfect institutional settings for thinking through the long-term significance and geopolitical consequences of evangelical expansion in the global South. My friends at these institutions, Peter Berger at CURA and Walter Mead at the Council, are the most perceptive, encouraging, and stimulating interlocutors on the issues addressed by this project that one could possibly hope for.

Numerous other individuals offered incisive commentary and valuable guidance at various stages of the project: Philip Jenkins, David Martin, Samuel Huntington, Mark Noll, Robert Woodberry, Paul Gifford, Daniel Levine, Susanne Rudolph, Christian Smith, Christopher Sugden, Haddon Willmer, Richard John Neuhaus, Virginia Garrard-Burnett, Jeffrey Klaiber, David Maxwell, Lamin Sanneh, Daniel Philpott, Ken Woodward, Paul Marshall, Ron Sider, Jim Skillen, Keith Pavlischek, Oliver O'Donovan, Joan Lockwood O'Donovan, N. J. Demerath, José Míguez Bonino, Paul Sigmund, Timothy Steigenga, Hannah Stewart-Gambino, John Green, Dennis Hoover, Ruth Melkonian-Hoover, Hillel Fradkin, Daniel Bays, Marc Plattner, Carol Hamrin, David Aikman, Rosalind Hackett, John Wolffe, Matthews Ojo, Uwe Siemon-Netto, John Wilson, and Phil Costopoulos.

At Oxford University Press, Cynthia Read has been marvelously encouraging and unfailingly patient at every stage, despite the fact that the process of seeing the volumes to publication proved much more time-consuming and difficult than she ever dreamed possible. Christine Dahlin handled the volumes in the final stages with extraordinary efficiency and professionalism. We are also grateful for Theodore Calderara's and Julia TerMaat's assistance.

There would of course be no project and no volumes without our dedicated team of scholars. It has been a particular honor to work with our abundantly talented regional research directors: Paul Freston, director of the Latin American research; Vikram Chand, the first director of the Asian research, who had to give up his responsibilities with the project when he assumed a senior position with the World Bank in New Delhi in 2000; David Lumsdaine, who succeeded Dr. Chand as the director of the Asian research; and, as I have already noted, Terence Ranger, director of the African research. Each of these outstanding scholars contributed immeasurably to the project as a whole and not merely to his own piece of it. Above all, however, the chapter authors have been the heart and soul of this project. They have all produced rich and insightful case studies, and many braved considerable danger and difficulty in conducting their fieldwork. In addition to the Africa scholars already mentioned, our Asia scholars were Sushil Aaron, Sujatha Fernandes, Kim-Kwong Chan, Young-gi Hong, David Lim, and Bambang Budijanto; and our Latin America scholars were Alexandre Brasil Fonseca, Felipe Vázquez Palacios, Darío López Rodríguez, Clay Matthew Samson, Roberto Zub, and David

Muñoz Condell. In addition, University of Michigan political scientist Daniel Levine, a long-time student of religion and politics in Latin America, contributed a highly readable, personal, and illuminating set of observations on evangelicals and politics to the Latin America volume.

This project has had its highs and lows, with many of the lows falling thickly in the last two years prior to publication. Through it all, no one has been a more constant and energetic encouragement than my wife, Becky. Though she has had every right to be exasperated by a project that I have been working on longer than we have been married, she has instead been consistently herself: ferociously loyal and supportive and adamantly uncomplaining about the additional psychic burdens this project placed on me and therefore on her. I am deeply grateful.

Finally, let me reiterate that this ambitious project began as an idea in the fertile and deeply evangelical mind of Vinay Samuel. Without his leadership, at once visionary and practical, no such project would have been organized, funded, or even imagined. On behalf of all those who have participated in the project, I therefore gratefully dedicate the project volumes to the Rev. Dr. Vinay Kumar Samuel and to the simultaneously struggling and thriving churches of the global South he intended the volumes to serve.

—Timothy Samuel Shah  
Council on Foreign Relations  
Boston University  
August 15, 2007

## NOTES

1. Philip Sampson, Vinay Samuel, and Chris Sugden, eds., *Faith and Modernity* (Oxford: Regnum, 1994); Herbert Schlossberg, Vinay Samuel, and Ronald J. Sider, eds., *Christianity and Economics in the Post–Cold War Era: The Oxford Declaration and Beyond* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1994); and D. G. R. Belshaw, Robert Calderisi, and Chris Sugden, eds., *Faith in Development: Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa* (Oxford: Regnum, 2001). Major INFEMIT-sponsored analyses also appeared in the international evangelical journal *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies*, started in 1984, including a special 1998 issue on human disability edited by Rebecca Samuel Shah (October–December 1998; volume 15, number 4).

2. For an outstanding collection of sympathetic yet critical appraisals of the political activism of American evangelicals in recent years, see Michael Cromartie, ed., *A Public Faith: Evangelicals and Civic Engagement* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003). See also Christian Smith's powerful analysis in *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

3. Seventy-eight percent of white evangelical voters supported Bush in 2004, giving him 40 percent of his winning vote share, and in the 2006 congressional

elections, 72 percent of white evangelicals voted Republican in races for the U.S. House nationwide. See John C. Green, Corwin E. Smidt, James L. Guth, and Lyman A. Kellstedt, "The American Religious Landscape and the 2004 Presidential Vote: Increased Polarization," available at <http://pewforum.org/publications/surveys/postelection.pdf>, last accessed on August 14, 2007; and the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "Religion and the 2006 Elections," available at <http://pewforum.org/docs/?DocID=174>, last accessed on August 14, 2007.

4. Freston (2001).

5. Huntington (1991).

6. Arch Puddington, "Freedom in the World 2007: Freedom Stagnation amid Pushback against Democracy," January 2007, available at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=130&year=2007>, last accessed on August 9, 2007.

7. *The Economist*, "The Hogwash of Quiet Diplomacy," April 4, 2007.

8. See, for example, Paul Gifford, ed., *The Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa* (1995), in which independent evangelicals and pentecostals receive relatively little attention, as Terence Ranger notes in the volume's conclusion.

9. "As products of Evangelical enterprise, mainline churches in Africa uphold basic Evangelical doctrine with varying degrees of consciousness and conformity," notes Jehu J. Hanciles, in "Conversion and Social Change: A Review of the 'Unfinished Task' in West Africa," in Donald M. Lewis, ed., *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004), 171. On the evangelical and even fundamentalist tendencies of many mainline churches in other parts of the global South, see Lionel Caplan, *Class and Culture in Urban India: Fundamentalism in a Christian Community* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), and Philip Jenkins, *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

10. K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History, 1498–1945* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1959). Paul Gifford notes the predominance of this view among scholars of Africa during the era of decolonization in his introduction to *The Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa* (1995), 2.

11. David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, "Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission: 2004," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 28 (January 2004): 25. However, the figures in the text for 1900, 1970, and 2005 reflect revised and updated statistics accessed from the World Christian Database, directed by Todd M. Johnson, as quoted in The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "Overview: Pentecostalism in Africa," available at <http://pewforum.org/surveys/pentecostal/africa>, last accessed on August 9, 2007.

12. Barrett, Kurian, and Johnson (2001), 4, 13–15; Robert Dudley Woodberry and Timothy Samuel Shah, "The Pioneering Protestants," *Journal of Democracy* 15 (2): 49.

13. The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "Spirit and Power: A Ten-Country Survey of Pentecostals," October 2006, p. 3; available at <http://pewforum.org/publications/surveys/pentecostals-06.pdf>, last accessed on August 9, 2007.

14. Quoted in The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, "Overview: Pentecostalism in Africa," available at <http://pewforum.org/surveys/pentecostal/africa>, last accessed on August 14, 2007.

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# Abbreviations

## *Introduction*

AICs	African Instituted Churches (also, African Initiated Churches)
CHAPEL	Charismatic and Pentecostal Association of Malawi
INFEMIT	International Fellowship of Evangelical Mission Theologians
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
OAIC	Organization of African Instituted Churches
PAC	Public Affairs Committee
PFN	Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria
ZAOGA	Zimbabwe Assemblies of God in Africa
ZCC	Zimbabwe Council of Churches

## *Chapter 1 (Nigeria)*

APP	All Peoples Party
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
COCIN	Church of Christ in Nigeria
ECWA	Evangelical Church of West Africa
EFAC	Evangelical Fellowship in the Anglican Communion
GCM	Great Commission Movement
MASSOB	Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference

OPC	Odua Peoples Congress
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PFN	Pentecostal Fellowship of Nigeria

*Chapter 2 (Kenya)*

AACC	All Africa Conference of Churches
ACK	Anglican Church of Kenya
AICs	African Instituted Churches
AIPCA	African Independent Pentecostal Church of Africa
CCK	Christian Council of Kenya (former name of NCCCK)
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DC	Deliverance Church
EFK	Evangelical Fellowship of Kenya
GSU	General Service Unit
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KSCF	Kenya Students Christian Fellowship
MCK	Methodist Church in Kenya
MRA	Moral Re-Armament
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NDP	National Development Party
PCEA	Presbyterian Church of East Africa
WCC	World Council of Churches

*Chapter 3 (Zambia)*

AICs	African Initiated Churches
CCIA	Commission of Churches in International Affairs
CCZ	Christian Council of Zambia
ECZ	Episcopal Conference of Zambia
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia
ICASA	International Conference on AIDS and Sexually Transmitted Infections in Africa
IFES	International Fellowship of Evangelical Students
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NCC	National Citizens' Coalition
NGOs	Nongovernmental organizations
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PACWA	Pan African Christian Women Alliance
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SDP	Social Democratic Party
UCZ	United Church of Zambia
UNIP	United National Independency Party

UNZASU	University of Zambia Students' Union
UPND	United Party for National Development
ZAFES	Zambian Fellowship of Evangelical Students
ZAP	Zambia Alliance for Progress
ZCTU	Zambian Congress of Trade Unions

*Chapter 4 (Zimbabwe)*

AICs	African Initiated Churches (also African Independent Churches)
EFZ	Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NACLA	National Association for Christian Leadership Assembly
ZANU/PF	Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front
ZAOGA	Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa
ZCC	Zimbabwe Council of Churches

*Chapter 5 (Mozambique)*

AEM	Evangelical Association of Mozambique ( <i>Associação Evangélica de Moçambique</i> )
AICs	African Initiated Churches
CCM	Christian Council of Mozambique
COPAPEMO	Council of the Pentecostal Patriarchs of Mozambique ( <i>Conselho dos Patriarcas Pentecostais de Moçambique</i> )
FRELIMO	Mozambique Liberation Front ( <i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> )
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística
MNR/RENAMO	Mozambique National Resistance ( <i>Resistencia Nacional Moçambicana</i> )
NGOs	Nongovernmental organizations
TVM	Mozambique Television
UCKG	Universal Church of the Kingdom of God
UMCM	United Methodist Church in Mozambique
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

*Chapter 6 (South Africa)*

ACDP	African Christian Democratic Party
AE	African Enterprise
AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
AICs	African Initiated Churches
ANC	African National Congress
CESA	Church of England in South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPSA	Church of the Province of South Africa