PLS 343
Politics of Sub-Saharan Africa

Week 9, Lecture 2:
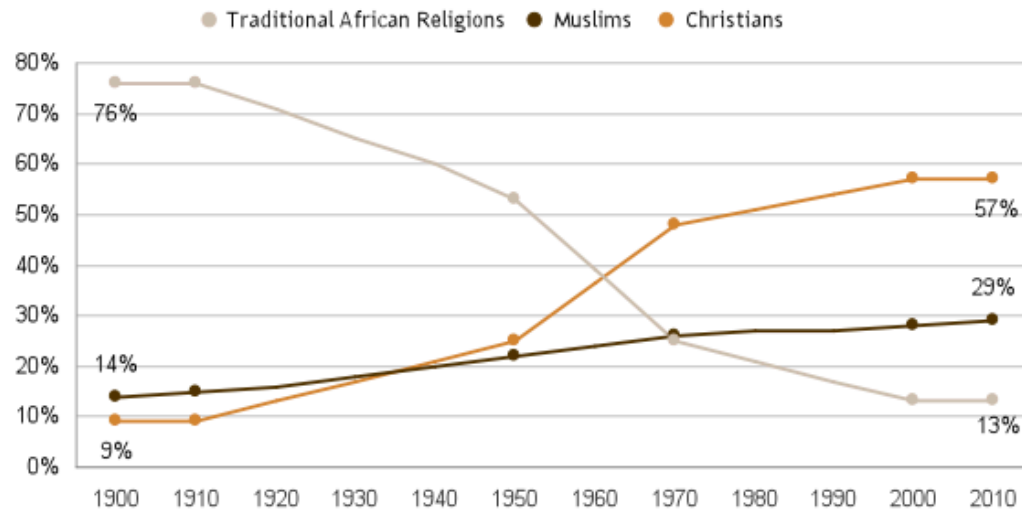
Politics of religion

Recap

- Variation in the political salience of collective identities

Plan for today

- Politics of religion:
  - Political uses of of religion
  - Effects of political mobilization of religion

Religion in Africa

Growth of Islam & Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa Since 1900

Legend: Traditional African Religions, Muslims, Christians
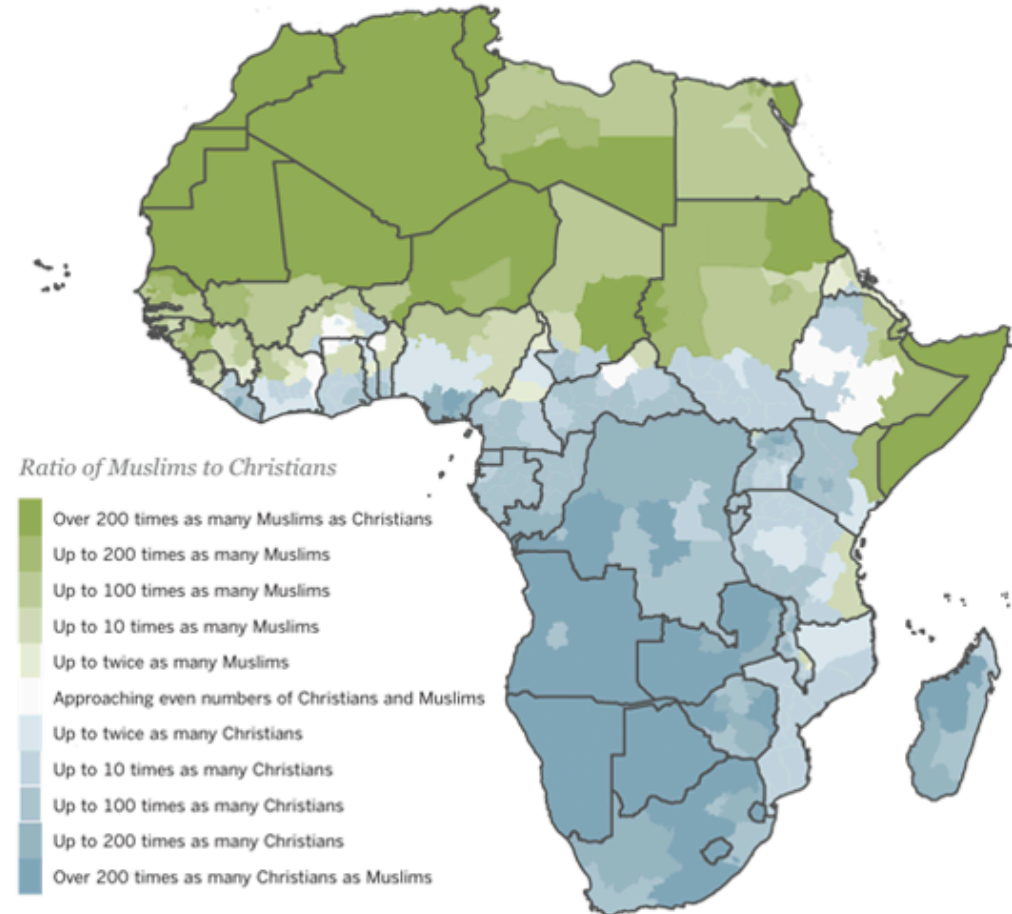
Values shown: 76%, 14%, 9%, 57%, 29%, 13%

Source: World Religion Database. Historical data draw on government records, historical atlases and reports of religious organizations at the time. Later figures draw on U.N. population estimates, surveys and censuses.

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, April 2010

Muslims and Christians in Africa

This map shows the ratio of Muslims to Christians in each country and province. The north is heavily Muslim, and the south is heavily Christian.

Ratio of Muslims to Christians

- Over 200 times as many Muslims as Christians
- Up to 200 times as many Muslims
- Up to 100 times as many Muslims
- Up to 10 times as many Muslims
- Up to twice as many Muslims
- Approaching even numbers of Christians and Muslims
- Up to twice as many Christians
- Up to 10 times as many Christians
- Up to 100 times as many Christians
- Up to 200 times as many Christians
- Over 200 times as many Christians as Muslims

Sources: censuses, demographic and health surveys, and the World Religion Database

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, April 2010

Religion and politics in Africa according to Schatzberg

- "Most Africans understand that 'politics' and 'religion' are parts of the same terrain: that power flows between the visible material world and the invisible spiritual world; and that the political kingdom contains a politically significant spiritual terrain. Moreover, intelligent and gifted politicians know the contours of this terrain and are comfortable traversing it in either its material or spiritual manifestations. They understand that in their culture power is unitary and cannot be divided into separate boxes."

    - Schatzberg, Michael. 2001. *Political Legitimacy in Middle Africa: Father, Family, Food*. Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press: 74.

Politics of pentecostalism in Zimbabwe

- Zimbabwe Assemblies of God, Africa (ZAOGA) and the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (Zanu-PF) regime

- "Catch the Cockerel before dawn"

- Reproduction of neopatrimonialism within ZAOGA

- Internal contestation

- Pentecostalism as means of social control

https://www.herald.co.zw/first-lady-opens-zaoga-hospital/

Politics of Christian morality in Uganda

- Uganda's Anti-Homosexuality Act 2014 & 2018 and elite manipulation of social anxieties

    - Sadgrove, Joanna, Robert M. Vanderbeck, Johan Andersson, Gill Valentine, and Kevin Ward. 2012. "Morality Plays and Money Matters: Towards a Situated Understanding of the Politics of Homosexuality in Uganda." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 50 (01): 103–29.

https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/uganda-passes-anti-gay-bill

Politics of anti-Muslim prejudice in Kenya

- 2007 parliamentary elections in Laisamis Constituency:
  - Joseph Lamasolai Lekuton (Ariaal) vs. Abubakar Godana Hargura (Saale Rendille)
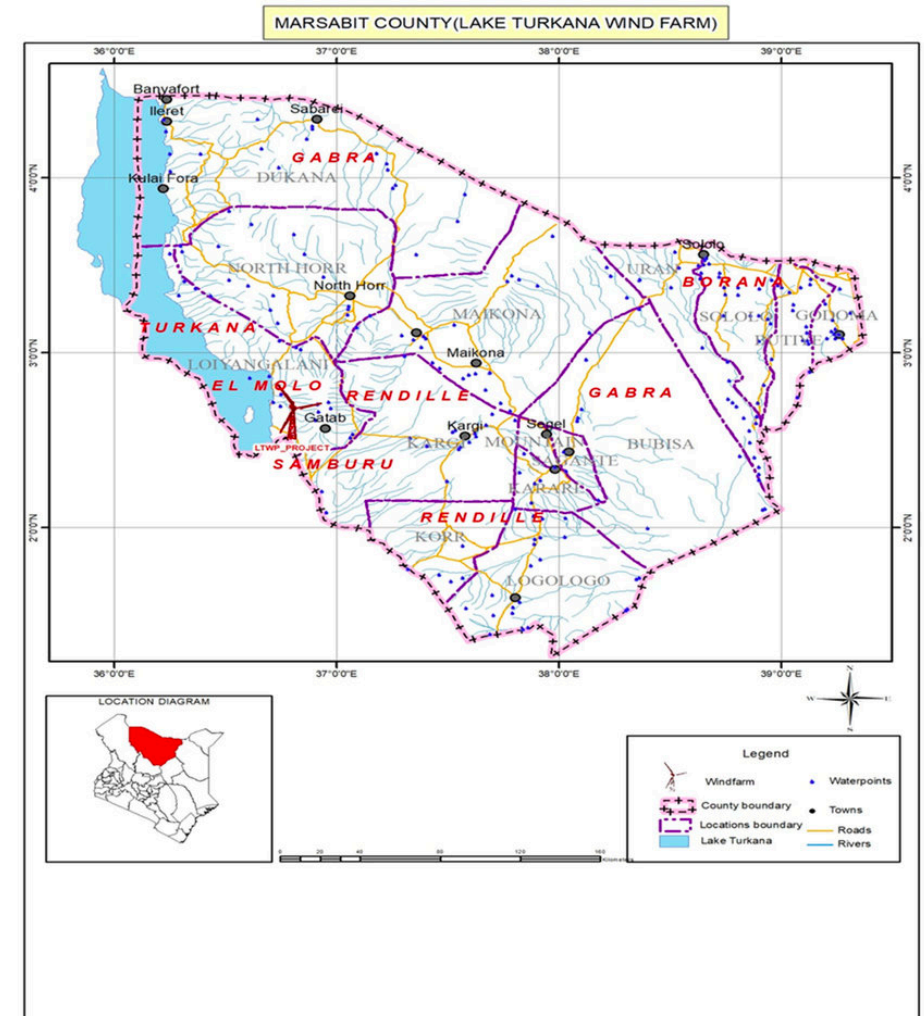

Q SEARCH

The New York Times Magazine

Magazine

The African Front

By JOSHUA HAMMER   DEC. 23, 2007

https://www.nytimes.com/2007/12/23/magazine/23kenya-t.html?nytmobile=0

Achiba, Gargule. 2019. "Navigating Contested Winds: Development Visions and Anti-Politics of Wind Energy in Northern Kenya." *Land* 8 (7): 1-29.
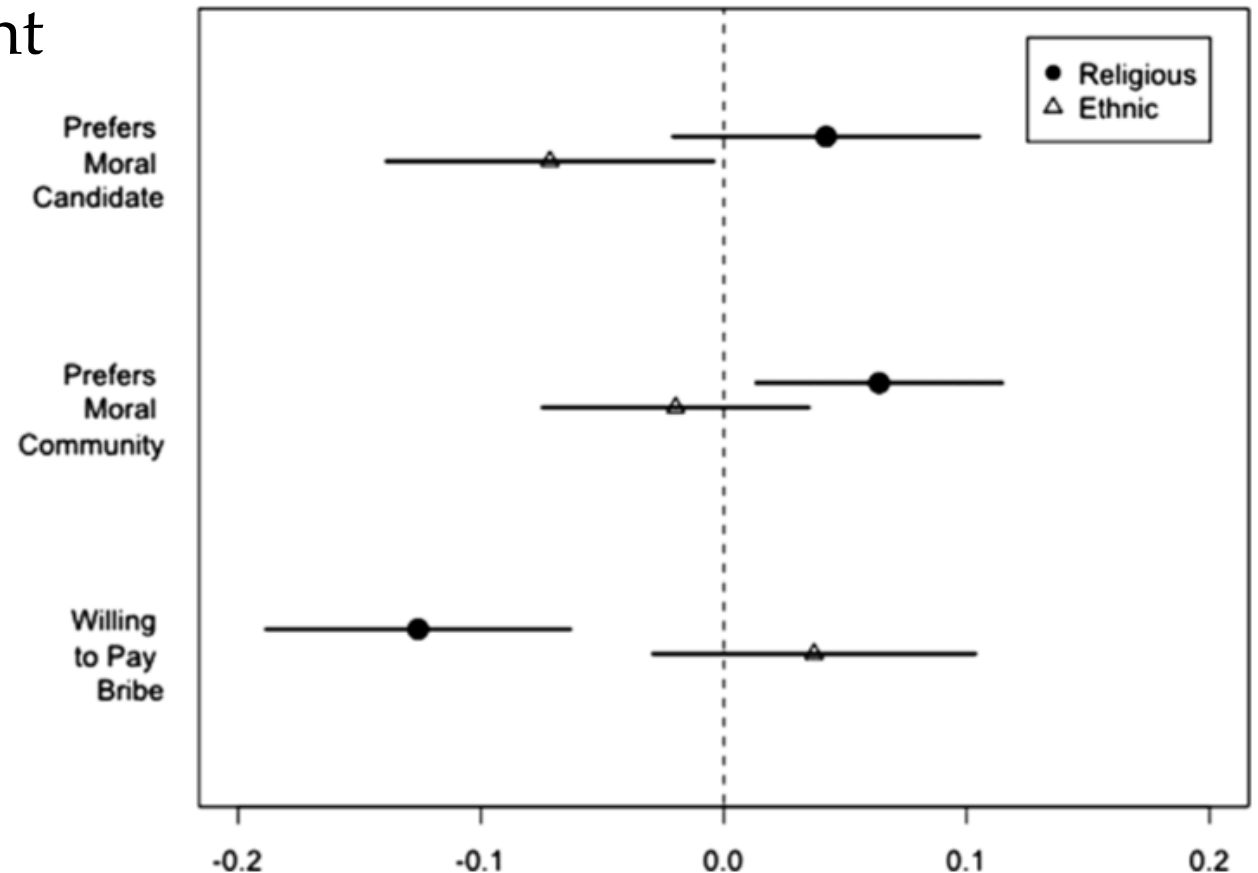

MARSABIT COUNTY(LAKE TURKANA WIND FARM)

Politics of 'traditional' religion in Ethiopia

- Oromo nationalism and other centrifugal forces in Ethiopia

- Ethiopia's ethnic federalism project

- Osmond:
  - Waaqeffannaa association, return to (neo)traditional religion, and invention of tradition
    - Osmond, Thomas. 2004. "W*aaqeffannaa*: une association religieuse d'Éthiopie entre nationalisme ethnique et idéologie afrocentriste." *Politique africaine*, 94(2), 166-180.

Political salience of ethnicity and religion

- McCauley's framing experiment in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana:
  - Individuals randomly assigned to a religious or ethnic political context
  - Ethnic priming —> prioritization of club goods
  - Religious priming —> prioritization of behavioral policies and moral probity

McCauley, John F. 2014. "The Political Mobilization of Ethnic and Religious Identities in Africa." *American Political Science Review* 108(4): 801–16.

Takeaways

- Instrumentality of political mobilization of collective identities and its limits

- Variation in the effects of increased political prominence of different collective identities

- Primacy of ethnicity as the most politically salient collective identity in contemporary Africa