

Salt & Light

18 April 2015

Oxford Centre for Mission Studies



Governments and money

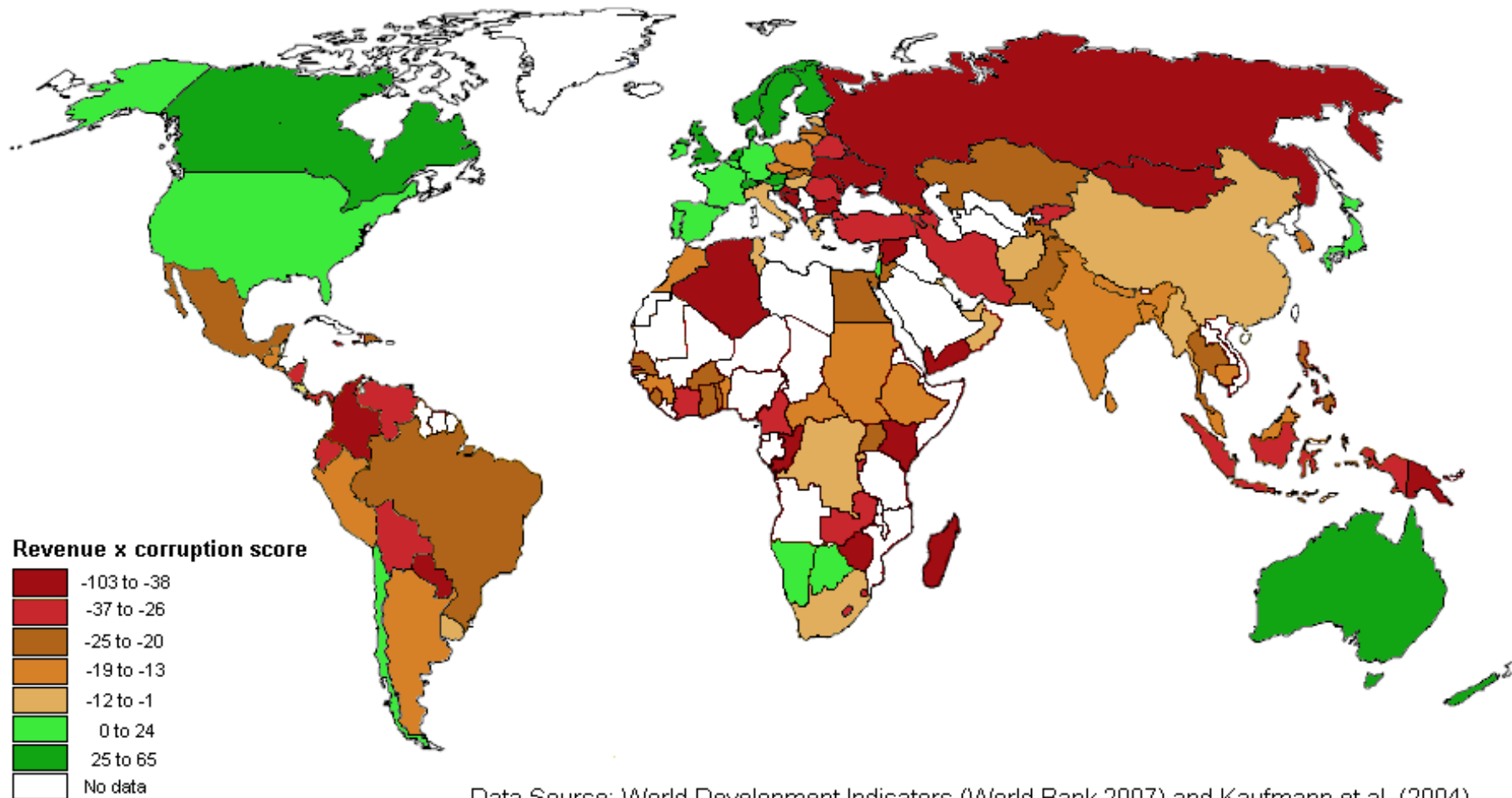
Q. Do governments transfer money ...
... from richer people to poorer people?
... or from poorer people to richer people?

A. It all depends whether your country is on the good
or the bad side of the '**corruption tipping point**'

Guess which side of the 'corruption tipping point'

- Sweden
- Afghanistan
- UK
- USA
- Greece
- Italy
- Botswana

Above or below the corruption tipping point in 2000?

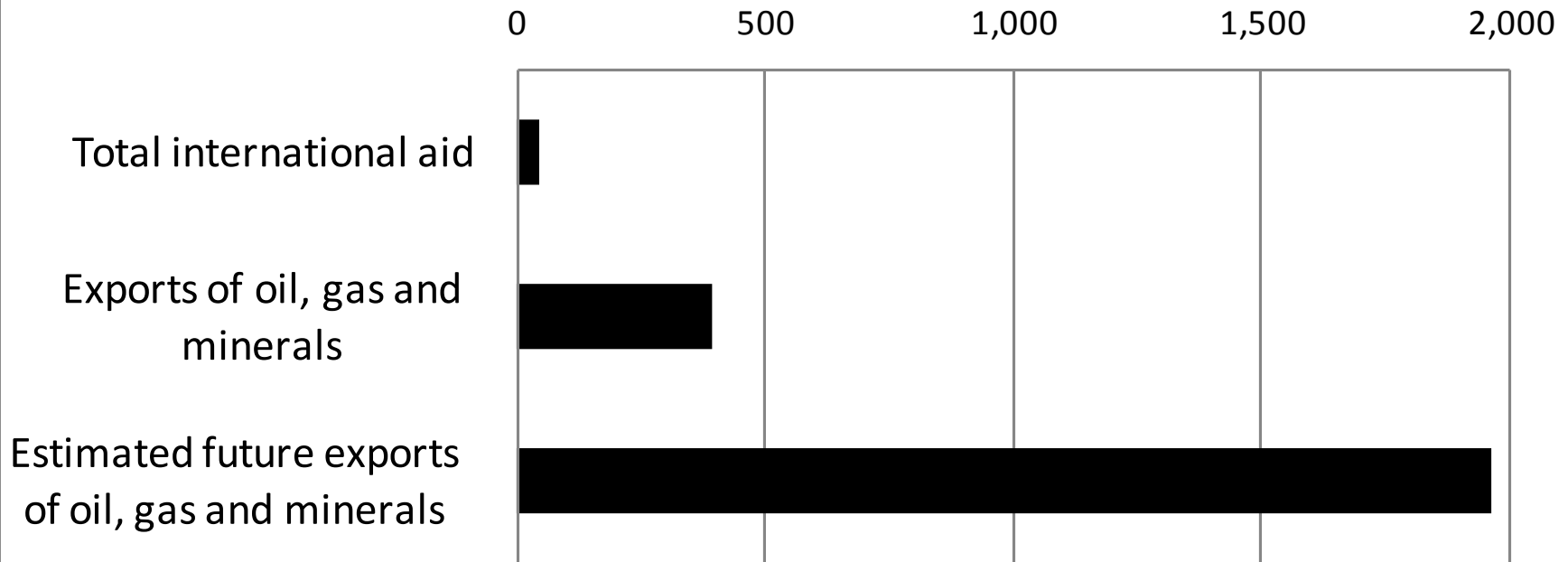


Data Source: World Development Indicators (World Bank 2007) and Kaufmann et al. (2004)

Q. If corruption were better controlled, would aid programmes still be needed?

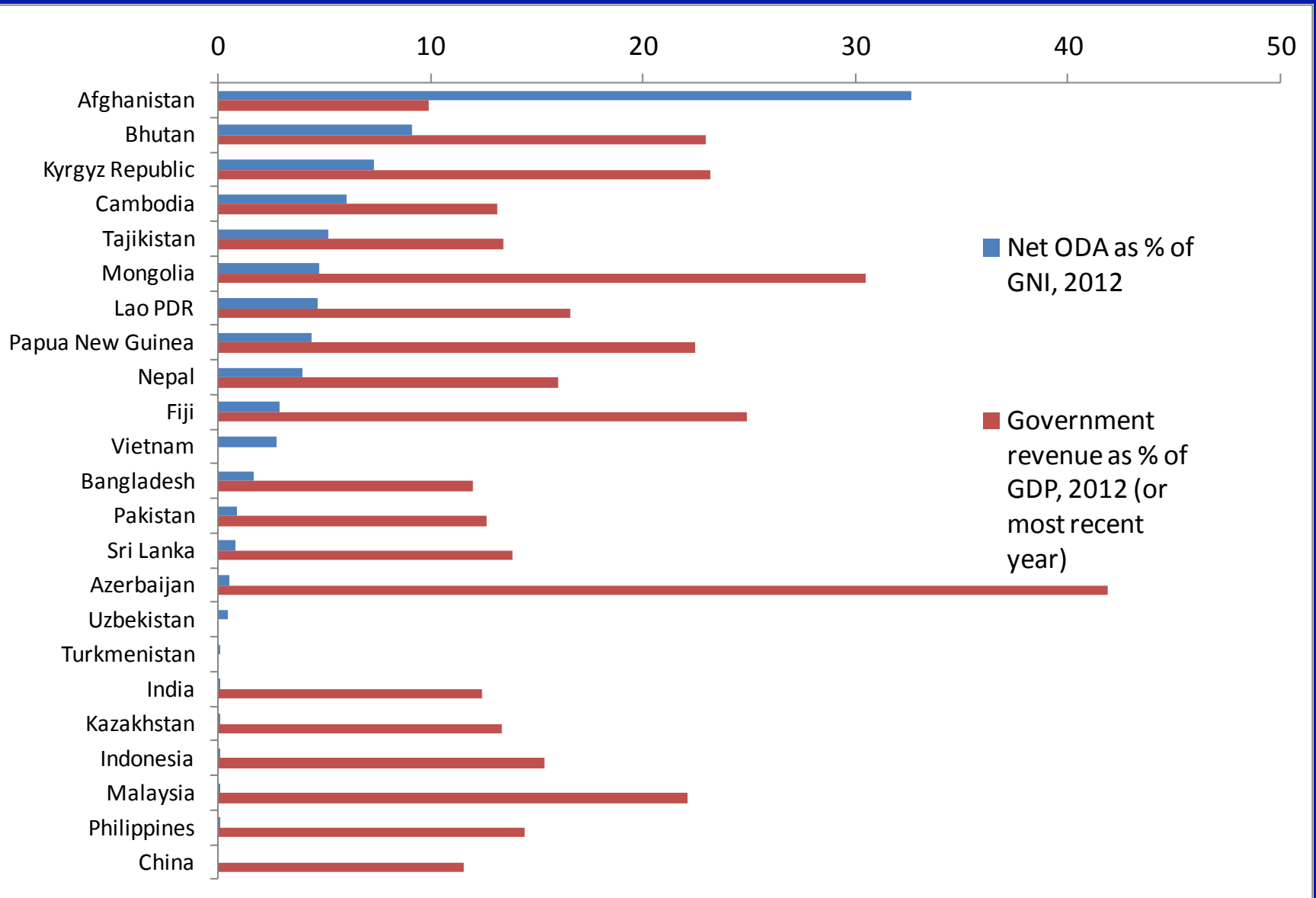
Potential resources for poverty reduction in Africa, 2009 and beyond

Annual value (\$ billion)

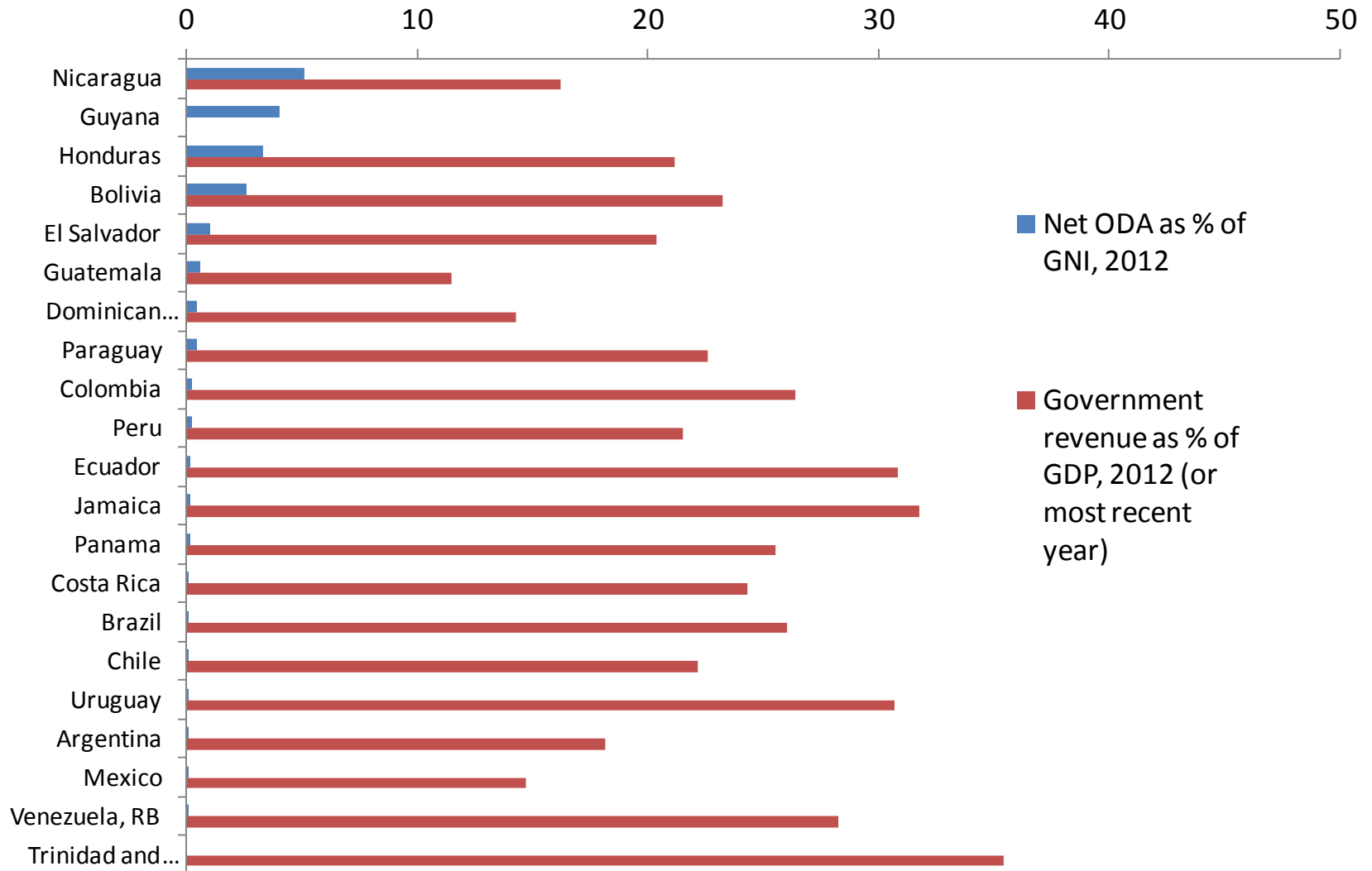


*Sources: OECD International Development Statistics; WTO International Trade Statistics;
Paul Collier (2010) The Plundered Planet*

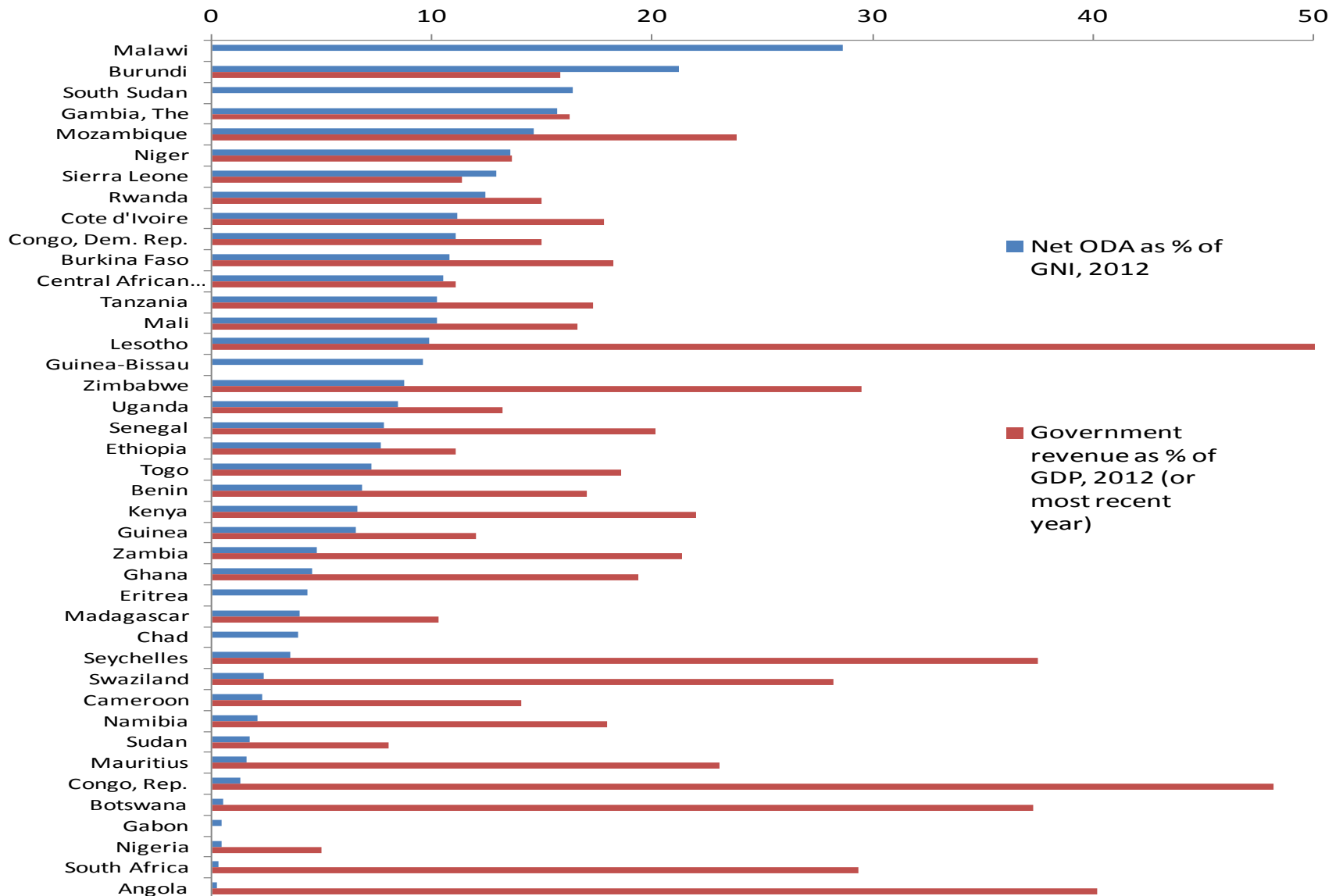
Aid vs. government revenue in Asia



Aid vs. government revenue in Latin America



Aid vs. government revenue in Africa



The most important issue in reducing material poverty

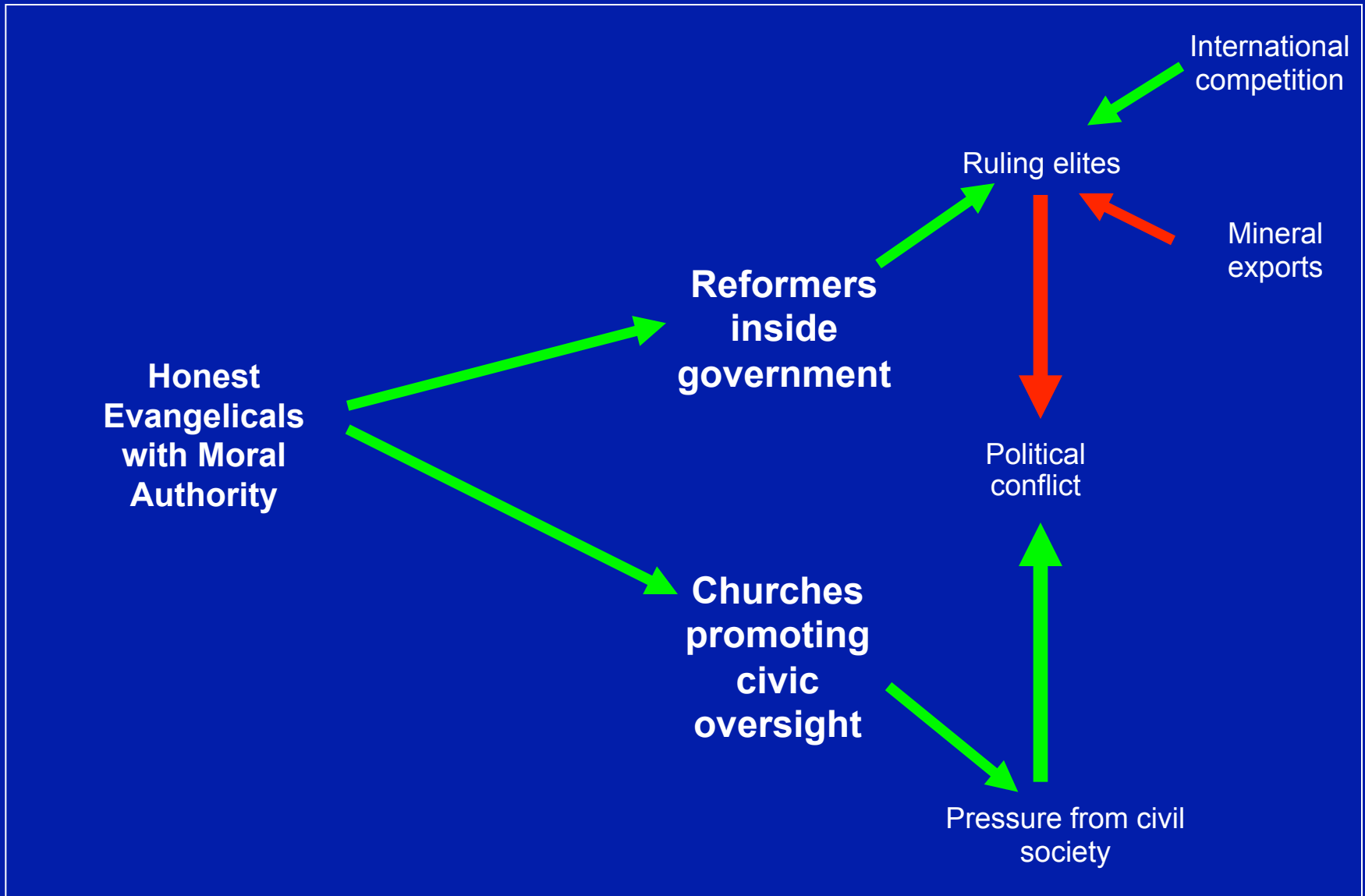
Who will benefit from the trillions of dollars of natural resources that will be extracted in developing countries over the next 20 years?

My research focus

Initial entry point: **economic inequality**

Focus became: **evangelicals and corruption**

Ways that Evangelicals might help reform government



Interview questions

- How do you see the relationship between the churches and corruption in your country?
- How do you think Evangelicals can best contribute to opposing corruption?
- Do you think there is any difference between Evangelicals and Catholics as regards their reputation for honest behaviour?

Country case study methods

2 Catholic countries: the Philippines & Peru

2 Protestant countries: Kenya & Zambia

20 – 30 key informants per country

- Evangelical leaders

- Denominational churches
- Umbrella bodies
- NGOs
- Businesspeople, professionals & academics

- Catholic leaders

- Transparency International

The reputation of Evangelicals for
honest behaviour

Good reputation in the Philippines & Peru

‘If I were to meet an Evangelical in government, my bias would be to believe that these people have their integrity intact. The Catholics, I would doubt.’

Vincent Lazatin, Catholic leader of Transparency & Accountability Network, Manila



‘Evangelicals tend to believe more in what they believe, and so they probably tend to be more honest.’

Ivan Montoya, Catholic law professor, Peru

Poor reputation in Kenya



‘Corruption is found even in the church itself - in the elections of bishops and of church elders; and also with the money - it may not be banked.’

Benjamin Nzimbi, Anglican Archbishop of Kenya



‘All the big Pentecostal names have acquired land plots from powerful politicians, so they are not able to speak.’

Paul Ndungu, FOCUS (Christian Unions)



Poor reputation in Zambia



‘The whole motive of starting a new church is to have access to resources. Slowly that has worked back into the traditional churches.’
Dyness Kasungami, DfID



‘Receiving money from the President compromised the Evangelical voice. Our moral authority has been eroded.’

Pastor Nevers Mumba, former Vice President of Zambia



Exceptions to the rule in Kenya and Zambia



‘I was driving home at night in Lusaka. A car was trailing me, and I realised I was in danger. So I quickly turned, facing them, and I tried to rush to the police. As I passed them they fired. In the morning I picked out the cartridge and took it to the police and they said it was one of the police or the military weapons that had been used. I thank God that I’m still alive.’

Paul Mususu, Director of Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia



‘I became so vocal about queue-voting that thugs came to this house to kill me, in 1989. It was organised by the government. The following morning the police came here to tell me “This is the work of X”, who was the Minister for National Guidance.’

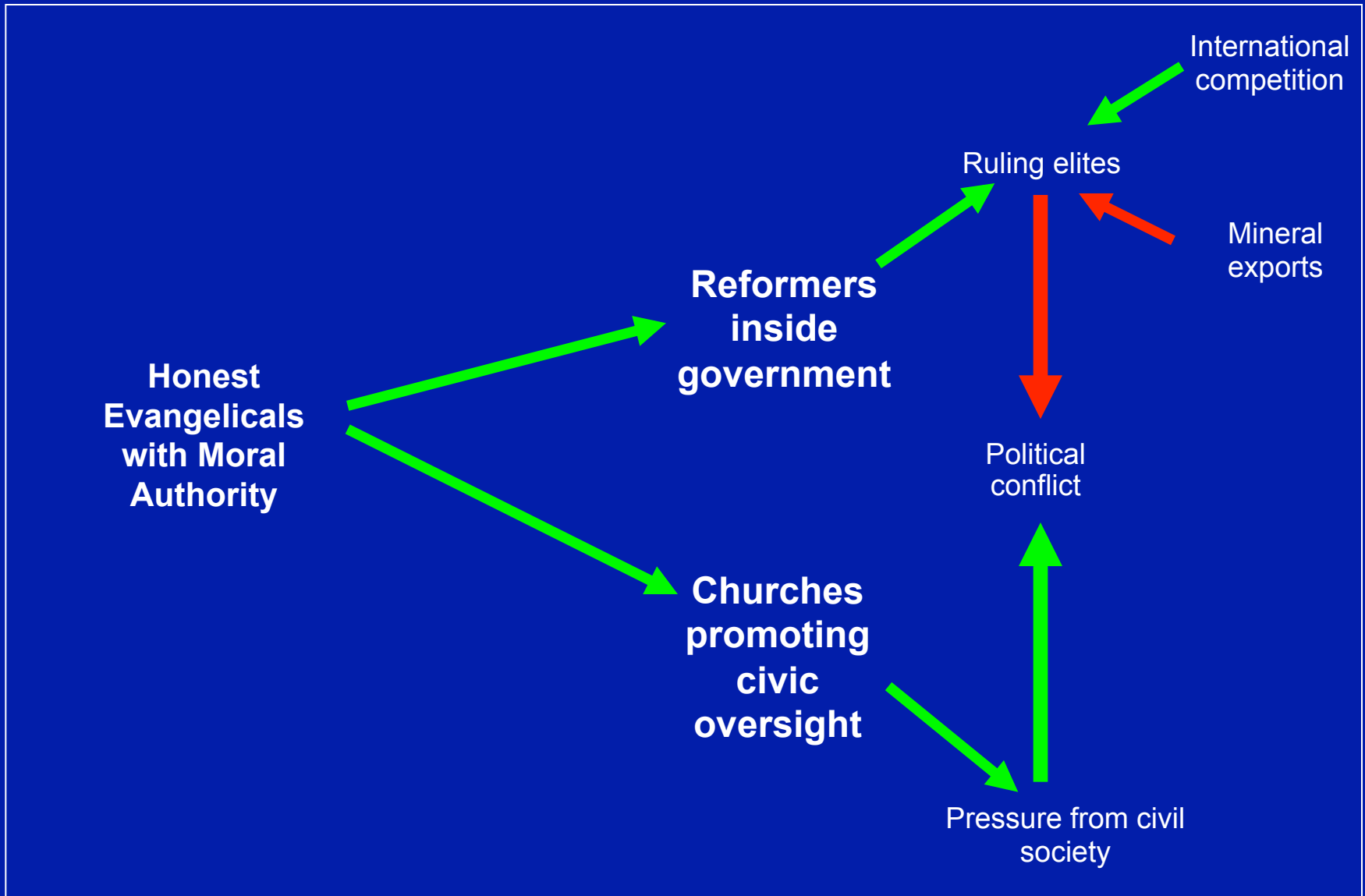
David Gitari, former Anglican Archbishop of Kenya



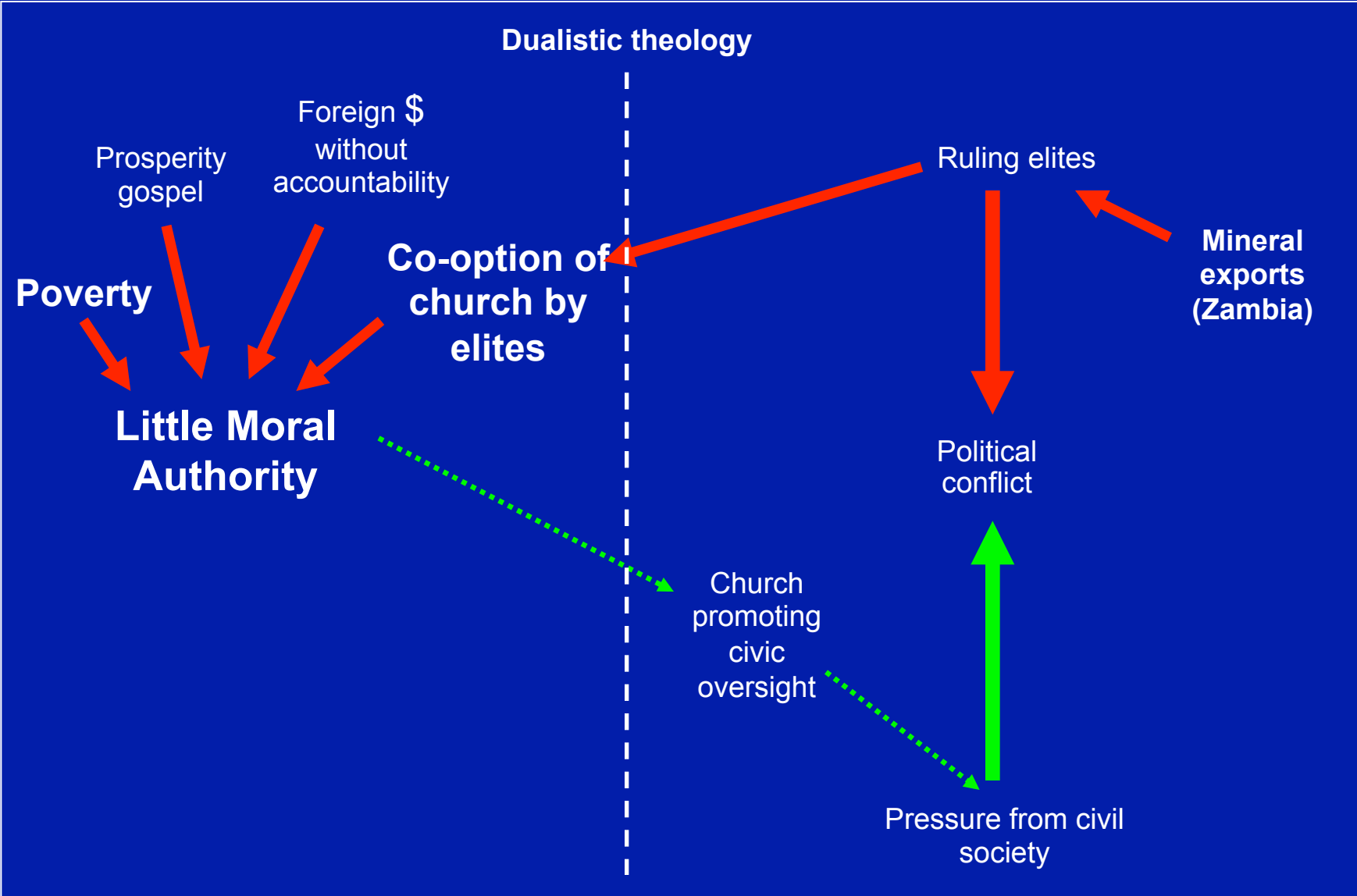
Why does the reputation of Evangelicals for honest behaviour vary?

- Majority groups (e.g. Evangelicals in Kenya and Zambia) are more likely to be compromised
- Stated causes of Evangelical corruption in Kenya & Zambia:
 - Co-option by state
 - Poverty
 - ‘Touch not God’ s anointed’
 - Prosperity gospel
 - Affluence of western Christians, and tribalism – Kenya only
 - Don’ t see ‘corruption’ as wrong – Zambia

Ways that Evangelicals might help reform government



Evangelicals lack moral authority in Zambia & Kenya



Do Evangelicals in the Philippines and Peru
use their reputation for honest behaviour to
promote civic oversight of government?

Little civic engagement in the Philippines



‘People are taught that as long as you’ re not hurting other people, you’ re doing bible study and praying, that’ s alright ... You need a pastor who’ s going to tell the congregation: “When you don’ t care about society, you’ re actually committing sin”. But no pastor would say that.’

Raylene de la Pas, works for anti-corruption NGO



‘The Catholic Church has been more resolute, more determined, than the Evangelical churches in regard to pursuing good governance.’

Jovita Salonga, former President of the Senate (Evangelical)



Little civic engagement in Peru



‘The churches have not taken a prophetic role in denouncing acts of corruption ... it’s not on the churches’ agenda.’

Jose Mendosa, Peruvian Evangelical Church



‘Instead of trying to relate faith to political ethics, Christianity is a private religion for both Catholics and Evangelicals.’

Alfonso Wieland, Paz y Esperanza



Not seeking justice for others in Peru



‘Evangelicals who participate as citizens do so with the thought that the benefits need to be for the church... There’s not a campaign in the same way against corruption, against injustice.’

Rafael Goto Silva, President of CONEP

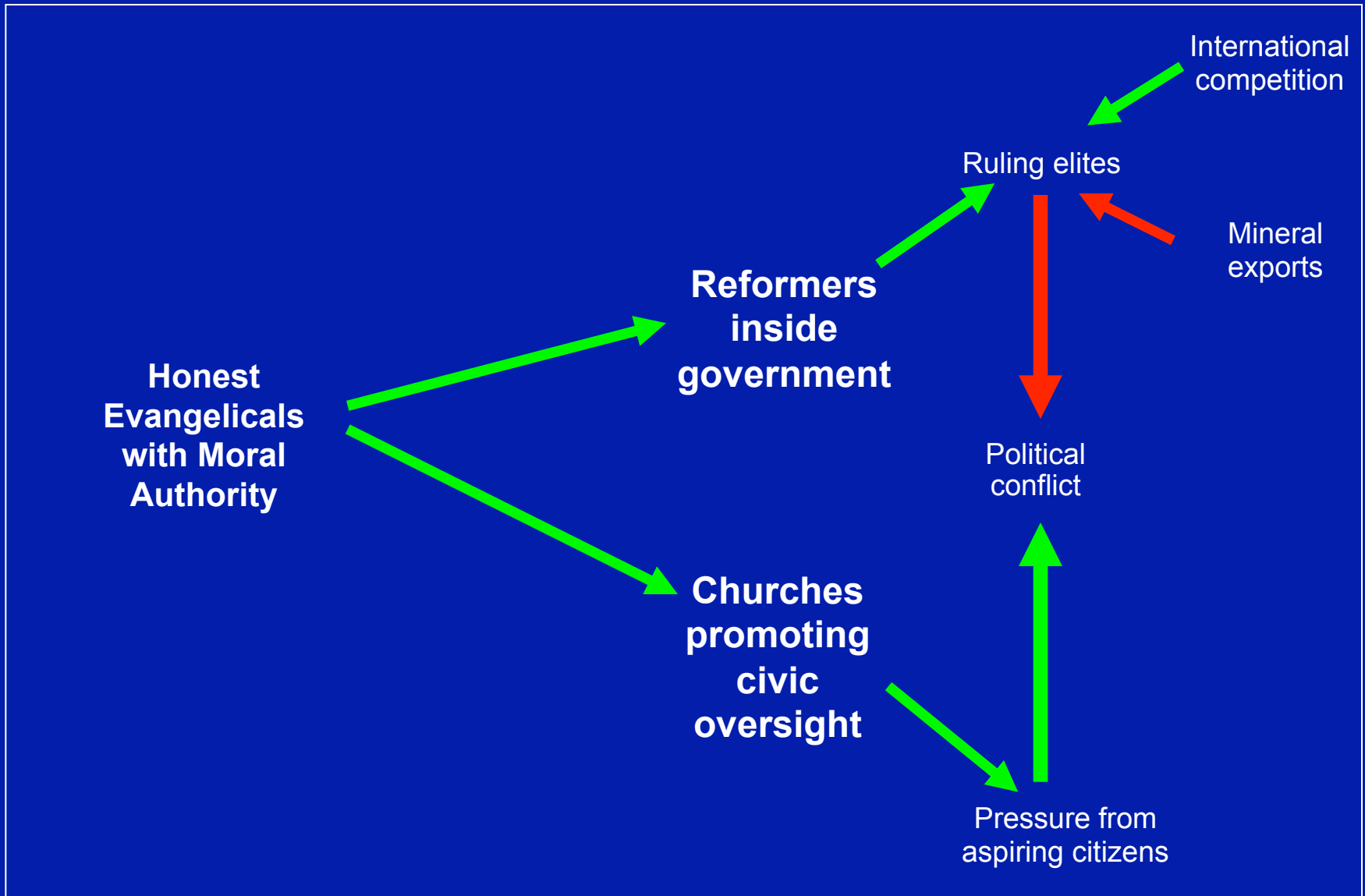


‘Evangelicals are more aware about their own rights – religious freedoms, how to reduce taxes for Evangelical pastors or churches, how to get some benefits from the state. They want to protect their rights, but not the rights of others.’

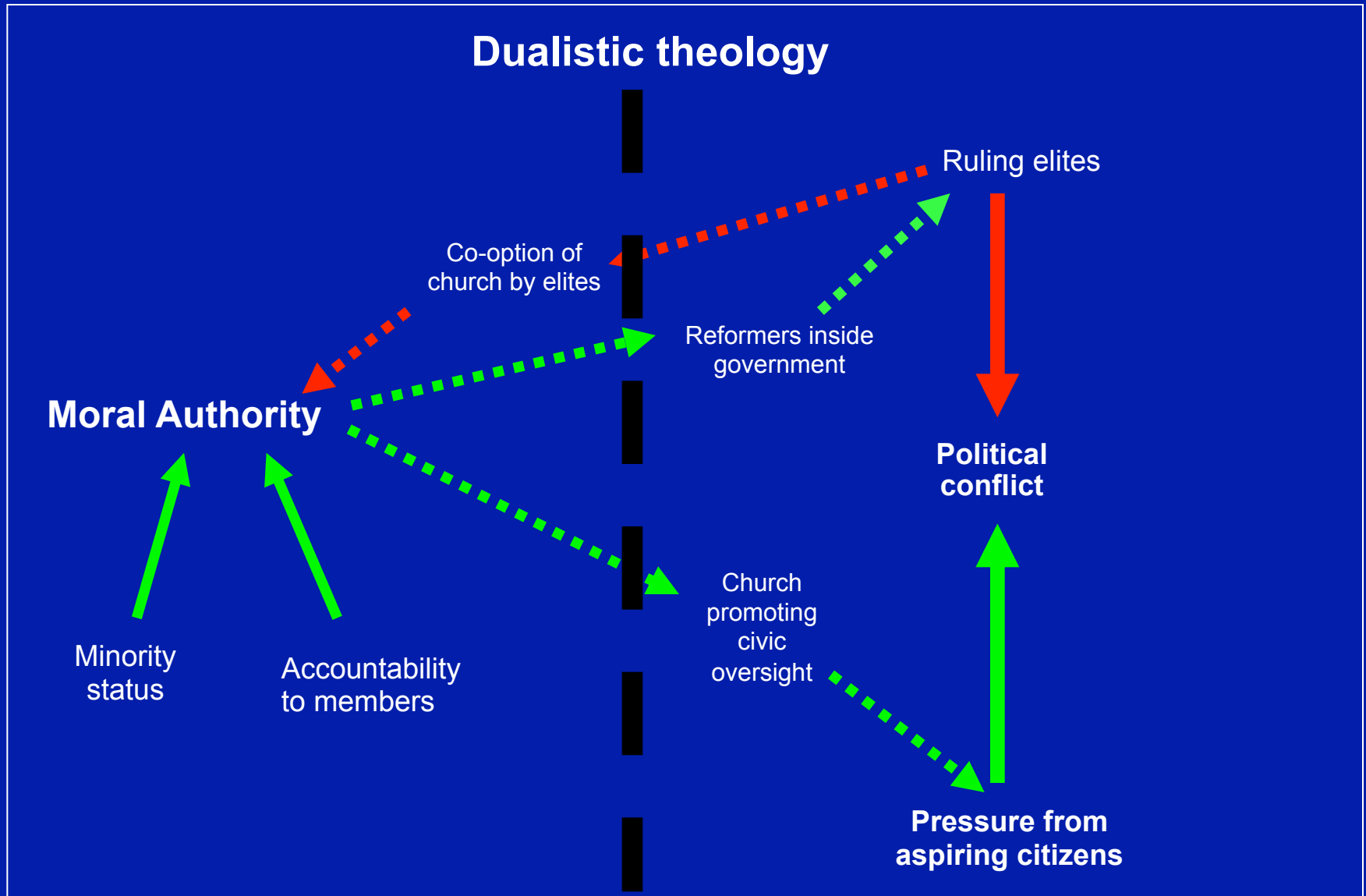
Alfonso Wieland, Paz y Esperanza



Ways that Evangelicals might help reform government



Evangelicals don't engage with society in the Philippines & Peru



Recap

- **Loss of moral authority** inhibits Evangelicals from seeking government reform in Kenya & Zambia
- **Dualistic theology** inhibits Evangelicals from seeking government reform in the Philippines & Peru

What about Evangelicals as reformers
within government?

Success in local government (Philippines & Peru)



‘After the local leader became a Christian we did some “Excellence in the Workplace” training for the local officials and within weeks you could see less corruption’ .

Melba Maggay, ISACC



‘Evangelicals politicians haven’t embezzled public resources. They performed better at local than national level because they feel responsible for their towns, and there’s also greater surveillance.’

German Vargas, Paz y Esperanza



Failure at Presidential level in Kenya & Zambia



Potential at national level in the Philippines

- ‘What generally works is partnering with like-minded government officials, those that are already oriented towards reform ... We want to identify second tier leaders, the Under-Secretaries, and help them stay the course and not give up, because I can imagine to be in that position as a reformer, to be ostracised and persecuted because of what you’ re trying to do, is a tough thing to experience alone. And while one of the things we do in TAN is criticise government where we see fit, we also realise the flipside of that coin is to identify the areas of good, and support that.’

Vincent Lazatin, Catholic leader of Transparency & Accountability Network, Manila

Faith in Government

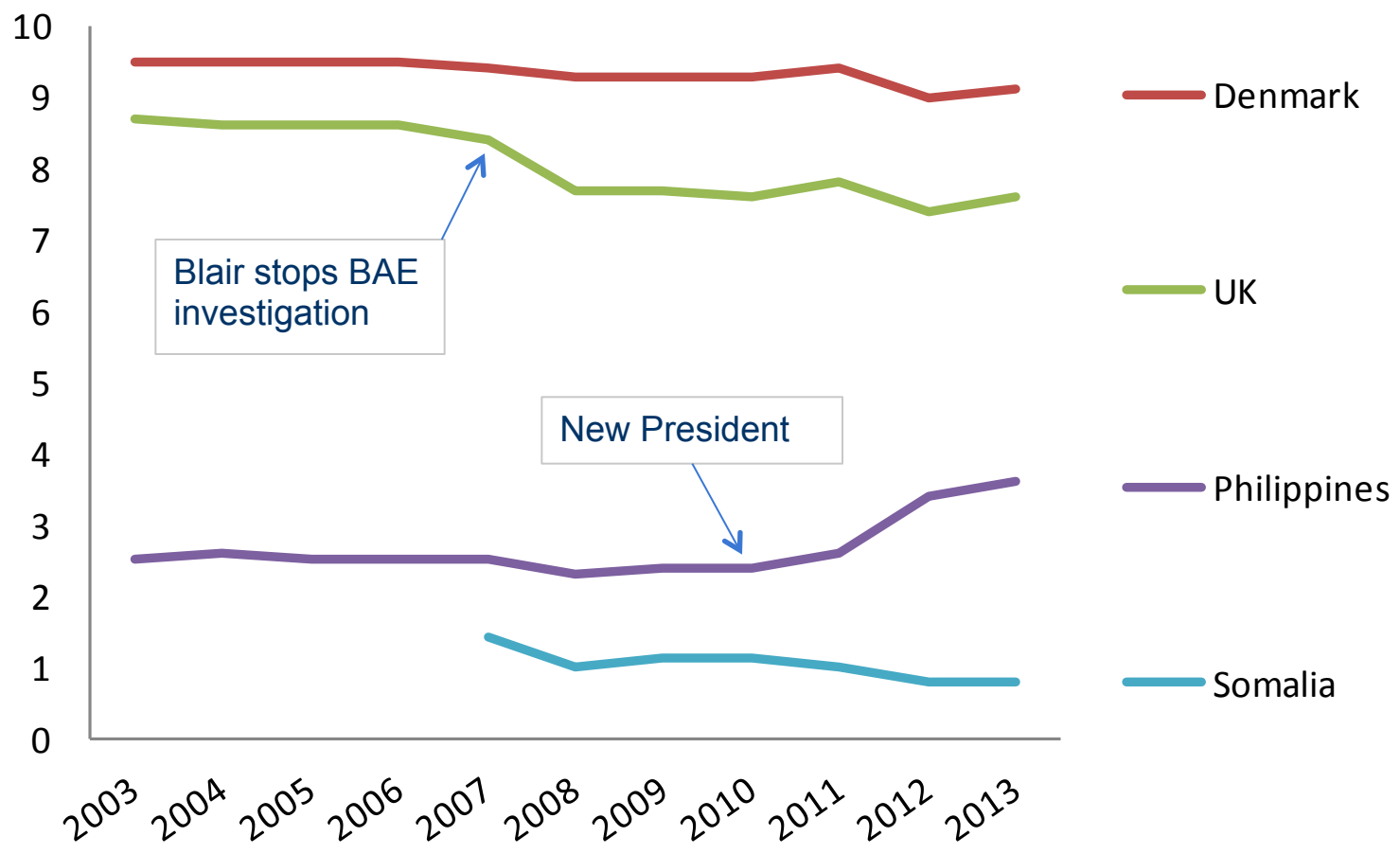
Supporting Christians in public and private sectors in low and middle income countries to promote the sound administration and development of the law, according to the tenets of their faith.

Getting a better President in the Philippines



Impact of a better President in the Philippines

Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index



Elisama Daniel in South Sudan



Elisama Daniel in South Sudan



Elisama's plan

- Workshops with ~ 10 committed Christian graduates in govt, army & business
- How to apply Christian faith in seeking better governance?
- Needs resources for travel & accommodation
- Needs evaluation

Pray for Elisama Daniel in South Sudan

‘Corruption fights back and the minority clique that usually gain from corruption is very powerful and not short of resources. I am therefore aware that it is life threatening, the risk of loss of job / self sustenance is real and some of those who choose to cooperate and collaborate with this can be subject to the same – especially in our highly militarized and traumatized society. So it is a real spiritual warfare I am undertaking, I believe that God is also in it, as such I avail myself to be one of the tools He can use in my situation. I will dearly need every support throughout the process; prayer, encouragement and every support as the situation dictates.’

Pray for Elisama Daniel in South Sudan

‘If anyone would come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross and follow me. For whoever wants to save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for me will find it.’ (Matthew 16:24-25)

‘From everyone who has been given much, much will be demanded.’ (Luke 12:48)

Read all about it ...



Areas for further research

- In which other developing countries are Christians reforming government from the inside?
- Are some countries too dangerous to try to fight corruption head-on?
- If so, what should Christians do instead?

Questions?

Key literature

- Ernst Troeltsch (1912). The social teaching of the Christian churches. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Daniel Treisman (2000). The causes of corruption: a cross-national study. *Journal of Public Economics* 76(3):399-457.
- Michael Johnston (2005). *Syndromes of corruption: wealth, power and democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- World Bank (2007). *Strengthening World Bank Group engagement on governance and anticorruption*. Washington: World Bank.
- Douglass North, Wallis JJ and Weingast BR (2009). *Violence and social orders: a conceptual framework for interpreting recorded human history*. Cambridge University Press.