THE RESPONSE OF THE AFRICA INLAND CHURCH TO POLITICS
IN MASINGA DISTRICT: 1975 -2010 (MACHAKOS COUNTY),
KENYA

BY

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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To my daughter Esther Mwikali and my students at Mulango Bible Institute

and Masinga Bible College
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Applied Christianity: Christianity’s relevance in addressing problems of modern society.

Church and Politics: The relationship between the Church leaders and the governance of the country.

Church Response to Politics: Active participation in socio-political issues affecting people in society using the Gospel values.

Ethnocentrism: Act of Church leaders being loyal to the ruling establishment because it shares one’s ethnic group.

Political Theology: Theology that informs the Church on her biblical mandate in politics.

Politics: The act of governing citizens providing them with means and ways of honest, just and peaceful life, combating elements of backwardness, such as lawlessness, poverty, hunger, ignorance, disease and corruption.

Sacralization of Political Leadership: The act or process of a political leader cultivating an Image of a Christian leader by adopting Christian or religious values in his/her leadership.
## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABC</td>
<td>African Brotherhood Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIC</td>
<td>Africa Inland Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIM</td>
<td>African Inland Mission</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATG</td>
<td>Around the Globe Ministries</td>
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<tr>
<td>CED</td>
<td>Christian Education Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>Central Church Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCC</td>
<td>District Church Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECK</td>
<td>Electoral Commission of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFK</td>
<td>Evangelical Fellowship of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GSU</td>
<td>General Service Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IEBC</td>
<td>Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCC</td>
<td>Local Church Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>NARC</td>
<td>National Rainbow Coalition</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCCK</td>
<td>National Council of Churches of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Regional Church Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RGC</td>
<td>Redeemed Gospel Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>YRCC</td>
<td>Yatta Regional Church Council</td>
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the response of AIC in Masinga District to Kenyan politics. The study aimed at investigating the factors affecting the apathy of AIC to politics from 1975-2010. To accomplish this goal, the study had three objectives: to discuss the history of AIC in Masinga District and its influence to the response of AIC to politics, to analyze the perceptions of AIC members in Masinga District on the role of the Church in politics and finally to evaluate the response of AIC in Masinga District to Kenyan politics, 1975 -2010. The study employed a descriptive research design. Further, it used purposive and simple random sampling techniques for collecting data in Masinga District. Data were collected from four out of the five wards that constitute the District. Various District Church Councils (DCC) were sampled from the wards in Masinga Regional Church Council (MRCC) and Matuu Regional Church (MRCC) council formerly under Yatta Regional Church Council (YRCC). From the sampled DCC’s local churches were sampled. A total of 80 respondents were interviewed. Questionnaires, interviews and analysis of library sources were also used. In interpreting and analyzing the collected data, the study employed a theological framework for social ethics in discussing the response of the Church to politics. The theoretical views of Hofst and Oldham, Gladden’s Social Gospel Theory and Fowler’s Prophetic Realism Theory were used. This theological framework revealed that the response of any Church to politics is to a great extent determined by the Church’s doctrinal assumptions on the relationship of the Church and the world. At the same time, it challenged the laissez-faire spirit apparent in AIC and advocated for a prophetic task which means that the Church becomes the conscious voice of the society by showing the relevance of the Gospel values to the problems of the modern society. The study revealed that the factors underlying the response of any church to politics are not only limited to theological and doctrinal assumptions but also political, denominational, administrative structures and ethnocentrism. The research findings revealed that AIC is among the silent churches in Kenya in regard to politics. AIC does not involve herself in political issues unless they directly affect her moral and spiritual values. The study established that AIC concentrates a lot on spiritual perspectives, an aspect borrowed from the founding mission AIM. The study exposes factors behind the silence of AIC to politics and challenges the indolent spirit evident in AIC. This is through non-involvement in the socio-political welfare of the people leading to betrayal of holistic nature of the Gospel as well loss as of relevance of the Church. The study is an awakening call for the AIC leaders to refocus on the relevance of the Gospel to politics.
CHAPTER ONE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study
The question of Church involvement in politics has been a controversial one not only in Africa but also in the world. There is always a tension when the Church gives a critical response to political issues. Precisely, the tension is based on the question, “Can the Church participate in the political process and to what extent without compromising its mission, vision and credibility” (Chepkwony, 1999:247). Such a tension has produced several approaches to politics by various churches. The major and general ones are enthusiastic support, passive approach, evaluative/critical engagement (constructive dialogue) and outright opposition (Gitari, 1986; Shiwati, 2008; Tarimo, 2009).

The approach given by any church to the political dimension is informed to great extent by the scope of the people’s perceptions of religion in public affairs. If religion is limited to the private order of personal spirituality, then the Church as a religious institution is denied a chance in public affairs. This act of separation of the sacred and secular has its foundation on the secularization process which is alien concept in indigenous African worldview. Indigenous African worldview was built on an integral whole without separation of the secular and the sacred (Smith, 1971:2; Chepkwony, 2008:17). In this context, there existed a religio – political approach in which the ideological basis of the state was guided by entirely religious ideas. This is
because the ruler was regarded as either a god or an agent of a god (Smith, 1971:2).

With the coming of the colonial administration with its culture of domination, it disrupted the traditional integrationist model because of the western ideas and power (Smith, 1971: 2; Gecaga, 2007: 58). The end result was the secularization process with religion beginning to “lose its hold on both levels of social institutions and human consciousness” (Gecaga, 2007:58). According to Smith (1971:3), the secularization of polity was triggered by a blend of modern ideologies. They involve liberalism with its emphasis on individual freedom of religion; revolutionary nationalism with its stress on sovereignty and integrity of modern nation – state; Marxism with its attack of the reactionary role of religion in society and the pluralism of the modern world with the view that ultimate religious values are incarnated in the state.

Haynes (1996:50) notes that separation of religion and politics in Africa is just an artificial dichotomy reminiscent to the felt necessity of dividing social sciences into subdivisions of economics, politics, and sociology and so on. This marked the reason as to why the African independent churches employed a combination of social, religious and political factors in their opposition against the colonial domination. In this regard, Ellis (2004:22) rightly observes that religious relationships perhaps constitute the most important avenues in which Africans interact with the rest of the world. As a result,
Ellis (2004:22) further finds the study of religious thought a privileged opportunity for observing political practice in Africa.

From the standpoint of biblical and theological teachings as well as the history of the Church, religion and politics (Christianity and politics in particular) have been intimately related. The Old Testament and New Testament depict God’s concern with socio-political affairs of his people. This is witnessed in various bible passages such as Exodus.3:7-8; 20:13-17; 22:21-22; Deuteronomy. 14:29; 15:7; I Kings 21: ff; Jeremiah. 29:7ff; Amos; 2:7 5:7-12; Habakkuk 1:2; Matthew 5:13-14; 25:31ff; Luke 4:18-19; Acts 4; I Corinthians 8, 9. In this context, “evangelism and social concern have been intimately related to one another throughout the history of the Church” (Stott, 1985: 19). This integration of evangelism and social concern was also reflected in Church history especially during the Evangelical Revivals of 18th and 19th Centuries. John Wesley\(^1\) was a striking example both as a preacher of the gospel and a prophet of social consciousness (Stott, 1985: 21).

It was the contribution of John Wesley to social concerns that the next generation of leaders took up social concerns seriously prompted by their

\(^1\) John Wesley was an 18th c preacher together with his brother Charles Wesley and great evangelist George Whitefield inspired the evangelical/Methodist revivals in both Europe and America. Besides their evangelistic task their gospel had a social concern leading to opening of orphanages, other social concerns and later the abolition of slave trade.
evangelical faith. Among others, William Wilberforce\textsuperscript{2} as the guiding torch, they fought for the abolition of slave trade which Wesley had already written against in 1774 (Stott, 1985; Shaw, 2006). With a theological approach of the centrality of the cross of Christ, they conceptualized sin not only in the realm of their hearts but also in the realm of inhuman institutions and structures (Shaw, 2006:157). It is this theological approach for social concern that saw the realization of the first settlement of slaves in Sierra Leone (1787), the abolition of the trade (1807), the registration of the slaves (1807) and finally the emancipation of the slaves in 1833 (Stott, 1985: 21). This marked an evangelical heritage of social concern which turned out to practical Christianity in the next generations of Christians.

Globally, practical Christianity was evident in the efforts of Church ministers like William Temple (England: 1881-1944), Dietrich Bonhoeffer (Germany: 1906-1945), Farwell (America, 1933), and Gustavo Gutiérrez (Latin America: 1928) (Lang, 1990). In Africa, the response of the Church to political process has been witnessed in countries like South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana, Cameroon, Guinea, Uganda, Tanzania and even Kenya. Involvement of the Church in politics has been achieved through ecumenical institutions and by individual church ministers. This participation has been in areas like, governance,

\textsuperscript{2} Others were Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, James Stephen, Zachary Macaulay, Charles Grant, John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), Thomas Babington, Henry Thornton. They formed the next generation of the evangelical leaders and several of them belonged to Clapham Parish Church. They were later known as the Clapham Sect.
violation of human rights, justice, apartheid, and democracy, socio-economic
and socio-political issues (Gitari, 1986; Okullu, 2003; Mugambi, 2004; Borer,
1998; Waslshe, 1997; Pobee, 1988).

In Kenya, the participation of the Church in politics can be traced from the
colonial period. According to Hayness (1996) and Githiga (2001), the
relationship between the Church and State during the colonial era was that of
a joint hegemony. However, it was at times faced with certain disagreements
over policy issues. The missionary Church shared power with the colonial
administration as the key missionaries were incorporated in the Legislative
council (Legco). In such a posture, the missionary Church did not speak
against the authoritarianism of the colonial government. The African
Christians dissatisfied with the collaboration of the missionaries and colonial
masters formed the African Independent Churches (Hayness, 1996). Their
main agenda was indigenization of Christianity involving social mobilization
and political resistance to European hegemony. But Githiga (2001) notes the
exceptional prophetic voice of two individual missionaries. The two were
Archdeacon Walter Owen and Archdeacon Leonard Beecher3. Their legacy
would be reflected on individual Church ministers in the independent Kenya
as briefly discussed below.

3 Walter Owen served as a Church Missionary Society in Western Kenya. His major concerns
involved unpaid public works after the Second World War, abuse of justice in local tribunals.
Beecher’s concern was the struggle for fair representation of Africans in LegCo. See Githiga,
In independent Kenya, Church involvement in political processes has been predominantly through the Catholic Church, the Anglican Church and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) and its member churches. Notable Church ministers due to their prophetic voice include the late Alexander Muge, the late Henry Okullu, the late David Gitari, the late Manasses Kuria, Timothy Njoya, and Ndingi Mwana-a-Nzeki. Their contribution to the political process has been through the quest for right governance, against violation of human rights, against unjust electoral procedures, the “tuff” and “rough road” to democracy, constitutional reforms, negative ethnicity and nation building.

While some churches in Kenya as well as individual Churchmen have been actively involved in the political arena, others have remained silent, indifferent or loyalists (Githiga, 2001: 13). Africa Inland Church (AIC) has been classified among such churches (Chepkwony, 1999:247). AIC is one of the mainstream churches in Kenya of an evangelical orientation. It was born out of African Inland Mission (AIM). The mission began its work in Ukambani in 1895, under the leadership of Rev. Peter Cameron Scott. Its apathetic nature to politics formed the focus of this study. In essence, the study sought to investigate the factors behind AIC aloofness to politics in Masinga District. This emanates from the principle that religion and politics, evangelism and social concern in particular are inseparable. That is why according Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania (Magesa, 1978:115) and Taylor (1979:54), the Church will be rendered irrelevant if it does not identify
with and participate in the liberation of people from all sorts of physical and spiritual slavery. It therefore, emerges that the Church cannot avoid the sphere of politics.

1.1 Statement of the Problem
The Church has got a critical role to play in the political life of the people. It acts as the salt and light of the world (Matt.5:13-14). This means that the Church leadership should guide the political systems for better governance. This emanates from the fact that the Gospel which the Church preaches is holistic encompassing both spiritual and social dimension. If any church loses sight of this prophetic task, it risks its relevance. It, therefore, follows that if AIC does not actively participate in the socio-political dimension of the people, its relevance will be at stake. Since the Bible is not opposed to church involvement in politics, the political apathy in AIC can be interpreted as a disregard of the holistic teaching of the Bible. As a result, it makes the Bible appear to be only a spiritualistic book without any social dimension. Therefore, the study sought to investigate the factors affecting the response of AIC to politics in Masinga District. Is it theological, biblical or political factors affecting the response of AIC to politics.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

i. Discuss the history of the emergency and organization of AIC in Masinga District.

ii. Analyze the perceptions of AIC members in Masinga on the role of Church in politics.
iii. To evaluate the response of AIC in Masinga District on Kenyan politics, 1975-2010.

1.3 Research Premises

i. The history of AIC in Masinga District can be traced from the founding mission: Africa Inland Mission (AIM).

ii. The response of any church to politics is determined to a large extent by its theological orientation.

iii. AIC has been classified among silent churches in the political process in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

i. How does the history of AIC in Masinga District from AIM contribute to her apathy in political issues in the District?

ii. What are the presuppositions held by AIC members in regard to Church and politics?

iii. What factors have contributed to the silence of AIC to political issues in Kenya since independence?

1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study

The rationale for this study is found in the fact that the Church has a holistic mission which entails both spiritual and social dimension. This is from the perspective that both religion and politics are intertwined. The Church should then make the Gospel bear practical fruit in the problems facing humanity in
the contemporary society. The study was carried out in Masinga District (see map 2), Machakos County. The choice of Masinga was based on the following reasons. First, Masinga being in Ukambani, experienced the coming of the local AIM missionaries dispatched from Mumbuni (Machakos) and Kangundo which were AIM stations from the early 1950s. On the eastern side bordering Kitui and Mwingi, Masinga received the gospel from local missionaries also from AIM station in Mulango (Kitui). This means that Masinga was a centre that experienced the preaching of the gospel from local languages so the need for an evaluation of whether the introduction of the gospel had any relevance to the socio-political issues. Second, the Church leadership has had some key leaders who for many years have been very close to the AIC central office. It was assumed that this fact will enable the researcher to access some information on the policies of AIC at National level in various historical moments relevant to this study.

The study is also significant in a number of ways. One, aids scholars of the relevant field in filling the knowledge gaps on the factors underlying lack of critical response to politics by some mainstream churches. Two, it adds to the written sources on the history of church participation in Kenyan politics, specifically the response of AIC to politics. Three, it challenges the AIC doctrines and assumptions on the socio-political responsibility of the Church. Four, it aids NGOs and other policy-makers in funding churches with a socio-political paradigm.
1.6 Scope and Limitations
Although there are many issues of academic importance in Masinga, the study restricted itself to the response of AIC in politics (1975 -2010). In particular, the study examined the factors leading to the silence of AIC on political issues in the district. The years 1975 to 2010, were chosen in consideration of three factors. One, 1975 was chosen after allowing four years of growth and actualization after AIC gained independency from AIM in 1971. Two, 2010 was chosen because it was the year in which AIC produced the first circular on a political issue. Three, the years 1975 -2010 marks three different political regimes, in which significant socio-political episodes have arisen which the Church could not ignore. In the discussion, the study briefly touched on literature preceding 1975 as foundation to Church and politics in the colonial era.

1.7 Literature Review
The literature review was done thematically. Three categories of literature were reviewed; a brief history of AIC from AIM, the role of the Church to politics and the Church and Kenyan politics (1975 -2010).

1.7.1 The History of AIC
According to Richardson (1968), Somba (1985), Frew (2006) and AIC constitution (2008), AIC is as a result of the missionary work of AIM. AIM was founded in 1895 under the leadership of Rev. Peter Cameron Scott. Shaw (1996:226) observes that though Scott was born in Scotland, he was educated in America. He had come to Africa earlier on in Congo but his mission was unsuccessful after the death of his brother and almost losing his life from
acute fever. Scott went back and after his recovery, he meditated on the prospect of returning back to Africa. In 1985, together with other seven missionaries, Scott landed in Mombasa.

Richardson (1968) and Shaw (1996) observe that Scott trekked inland and on 12th December, 1895, he arrived at Nzauwi in Ukambani establishing the first mission station. In 1896, another station was opened at Kangundo (Ukambani) which was the centre of AIM till 1903. Scott died on 4th December, 1896, and was succeeded by Willis Hotchkiss and later Charles Hurlburt who shifted the headquarters to Kijabe. Many other stations were later opened in parts of East Africa. Somba (1985) and AIC constitution (2008) explain that AIC in its formative years was known as the Church of AIM. However, in 1943, it was decided that the name Africa Inland Church should be used but still the leadership was in the hands of the missionaries. In 1952, the first AIC constitution was written and on 21st October, 1971, AIC was launched as an independent Church from AIM. All the property belonging to AIM was handed over to AIC. AIC and AIM have continued to partner in their missions up-to-date.

The coming of the gospel to Masinga has not been documented. However, according to some informants in the pilot study, it is believed that the gospel was introduced in Masinga in the early 1950s. This was through the work of four local Kamba missionaries dispatched from Mumbuni AIM station in Machakos. The four were: Stephen Kumeka, Philiph Mwathi, Isaac Kivai, and Benjamin Ngila. This study sought to document literature on the introduction
of Christianity to Masinga for reference. While the above literature provides a rich background on the history of AIC, it lacks any traces of church involvement in political process. It was the task of this study to ascertain whether the introduction of AIC through AIM and to Masinga had any bearing on political involvement.

1.7.2 The Role of the Church in Politics

Hooft and Oldham (Kunhiyop 2008) argue that the level of Church involvement in the society is based on the theological presuppositions, doctrines, together with the undefined and unconscious assumptions held by Christians with regard to relations of the Church and the State. Those Christians with a theological bend towards separation of the body and soul will favour a radical separation of the Church and State. It is from this context that the theology of the Church in politics can be explained. The above work though not directly related to AIC were crucial to this study for they aided in investigating the theological orientation, doctrines and assumptions held by AIC regarding Church and politics.

The Anglican Council Consultative Council in 1971 captured the role of the Church in politics from a theological perspective. This was through a vision of salvation as God’s total, all embracing gift of healing and liberation for his whole creation; of his salvation being concerned with men’s bodies as well as their souls, with their corporate life as nations and societies as well as with their personal and private life (Okullu, 2001:1). Nthamburi (2006:136) and
Kinoti (1997:3) see the role of the Church in politics as being involved in the affairs of the people and finding meaning to the most perplexing questions of human existence such as social ills, economic, gender equity, human rights, governance, and representation.

Adeyemo (1997) and Okullu (2003) view the role of the Church in politics as based in the Bible. Taking both the Old and New Testaments, they express God as being concerned with both the spiritual and social dimension of humanity (Deuteronomy 10:18; 2 Chronicles 12:16; Nehemiah 9:8; Jeremiah 9:24; Daniel 9:14; Zephaniah 3:5; Zechariah 8:8; 1 Kings 21; Amos 2:7 5:7; 11-12; Habakkuk. 1:2-4; Mathew.5:13-14; 25:31ff; Luke 4:18-19; Acts 4; 2 Corinthians. 8). The above scholars reveal that the Church has a critical role to play in politics by revealing that the Gospel is not a private idea but also social. However, they do not give a hint of why some churches lack a holistic mission. But they introduce the idea of the relationship between theology and politics.

Fowler (1988), Lang (1990) and Nthamburi (2003) approach the role of the Church in politics through the writings of various thinkers and episodes in the history of the Church. Some of the thinkers shaping the role of the Church to politics are men like Eusebus of Caesarea, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Luther, and Calvin. The Constantine’s Edict of Milan in 312 has also been sampled as one of the key episodes contributing to the role of the Church in politics. Shaw (1996) though writing from an historical perspective, observes that the Evangelical Revivals of the 18th and 19th centuries had a bearing to
the development of the Church political theology. The Evangelical Revivals were a response to the deadening effect of the 17th Century Enlightenment. Shaw argues that despite the three main agendas of Revival as: Centrality of the Cross of Christ, the necessity of the new birth, and new eschatology that envisioned the spread of Christianity as a prelude to Christ’s second coming, such convictions needed practical action for the liberation of the oppressed. This explains why the Evangelical Revival leaders gave weight to the abolition of slave trade. Dr. Anstey as quoted by Shaw explains this strategy as theological conviction. Anstey argues that, the evangelicals saw sin not only in the realm of their hearts but also institutionalized evils in the world of which they felt strongly called to combat.

The study was also to be informed by the writings of political theologians including Jurgen Moltmann, and John Baptist Metz as well as liberation and post-liberation thinkers like Gustavo Gutierrez and Jesse Mugambi (Chopp, 1996, Moltmann, 1997; Lang, 1990; Mugambi, 1995).

1.7.3 The Church and Kenyan Politics (1975 – 2010)
To understand the place of the Church in Kenyan politics the study of missionary Church and the colonial administration is important. This is for the purpose of a solid background to political participation of the Church in independent Kenya. According to Haynes (1996:46) and Githiga (2001:3) during the colonial period, the relationship of the Church and State reflected a joint hegemony. The missionaries and the colonial masters shared power in pushing their agenda for Africa. Hayness (1996:24) categorically notes that
the mission churches were important vehicles of attempted colonial cultural domination with both repressive and liberating functions⁴. Githiga (2001:31-34) while noting the exceptional prophetic voices of both Archdeacons Walter Owen and Leonard Beecher argues that, missionary Church did not raise her voice against the colonial authoritarianism. As a result, it was said among the Africans that, there is no difference between a settler and a missionary.

Hayness (1996:46) and Gecaga (2007:64) observe that it was out this dissatisfaction and failure of the Missionary Church that the African independent Churches (AIC’s) and the New Religious Movements (NRMs) developed. The African independent churches focused on indigenizing Christianity involving forms of social mobilization and political resistance to European hegemony. The Religious movements also developed vehicles for mobilizing citizens to win political power from the European administration.

According to Haynes (1996:53), the relationship of the Church to the state in independent Kenya had little difference with colonial time. The mainstream churches were treated with suspicion by the nationalist leaders as tools for neo-colonialism. On the other hand, the mainstream churches were skeptical of African nationalism as it was equated with communism. Githiga (2001:4) notes that as the missionary Church did not condemn the colonial masters, the mainstream churches were likewise reluctant to condemn African government.

⁴ The preaching of the Gospel and the Western education were the liberating forces but the missionaries treated African Religion and Culture as primitive and combined with domination of the settlers, it led to repression of the Africans (See Githiga, 2001:31-34).
However, with the legacy of colonial domination realized in both Kenyatta and Moi eras, the Church and individual churchmen through National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) began to take their prophetic task seriously (Githiga, 2001:4). The response of the Church to politics is discussed below touching Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki regimes.

**Kenyatta’s Era: 1963 – 1978**

Throup (1995), Abuom (1996), Nabende (1999) Githiga (2001), Waithaka and Ndikaru (2009) argue that during the Kenyatta era, the involvement of the Church to the political system was borrowed from the colonial era. The early years of Kenyatta regime saw the Church in partnership with the state in nation building, but the mainline churches had a great emphasis on evangelism and individual salvation. However, some critical moments surfaced which the Church used to put the government on check. In 1966, the NCCK exposed the selfish plan of KANU of misuse of public funds in building a KANU office at Uhuru Park. Another critical moment was the 1969 illegal oathing after the assassination of Tom Mboya. The Church through NCCK, the Catholic Church and individual clergy condemned the practice of oathing. AIM the founding mission to AIC was among the five bodies that formed CCK (now NCCK). This study aimed at unearthing the factors leading to the silence of AIC to politics when its founding agency (AIM) was not.

Waithaka and Ndikaru (2009) have noted that despite the 1969 oathing being central to Kikuyu land, it also spread to Ukambani specifically Kangundo and Yatta. Ndingi, the then a bishop of Machakos Diocese of the Catholic Church
tried to halt its spread to Ukambani. The contribution of these authors to oathing was important for this study. This is because they address the challenge of 1969 oathing in Yatta which touches the area of this study; Masinga (see Map page 144). But their work is centred on the contribution of the Catholic Church and does not give a glimpse of the response given by other churches in Machakos in general and Yatta in particular. This study sought to establish whether it is true that AIC in leadership in Masinga remained silent as her members went through this traumatizing experience.

Throup (1995) attributes this developing political activism by the Church to changing theological trends by the young clergy. He argues that at St. Paul’s Theological Training in Limuru, there was a change of conservative theology to a gospel of political and social responsibility. Kunhiyop (2008) construes this socio-political involvement by the Church from a wide scope as the fruit of Lausanne Covenant in 1974. It was in this convention that the evangelicals changed their traditional approach to church and politics. They came up with a statement affirming that both evangelism and socio-political involvement were both part of their Christian duty. While Throup and Kunhyop’s informed this study on the factors boosting political activism in Kenyan churches, they did not give an explanation as to why some churches remained cold to socio-political issues. Further, its is interesting to note that the Lausanne Covenant in 1974 came three years later after AIC had officially been launched as an independent Church in 1971. This study sought to establish whether or not AIC with its strong evangelical orientation was positively impacted by this
resolution in broadening the spectrum of its missionary mandate to include a
critical participation in political issues.

Moi Era 1978-2002
expressed the fact that the early years of Moi era (1978-1984) saw the Church
almost losing its prophetic voice. They attribute it to the promises the then
new head of state gave as part of his administrative strategy. Freeing the
political detainees, grand design to fight tribalism, corruption, drunkenness
thus bringing sanity to the administration were among the key promises.
Besides the political promises, Adar and Munyae (2008) take consideration of
the habitual church attendance by the head of state coupled with his religious
leadership manifesto of peace, love and unity. The study aimed at studying
how AIC was influenced by this politics of patronage owing to the fact that the
then Head of State was devout member of AIC.

Throup (1995) argues that from 1985, the Church began being critical of the
ruling regime. In a wider scope, it was what Ali Mazrui labelled “second
liberation struggle” in Africa which was to take full stage from early 1990s
(Gruchy, 1995). To express the political involvement of the Church in putting
the government to task for multiparty democracy, Throup has chosen to
embark on the contribution of individual clergy as well as NCCK. The clergy
men were, Henry Okullu, Alexander Muge, Timothy Njoya and David Gitari.
But as they struggled to put the KANU government in check, some churches
withdraw from the controversy by taking a passive or supportive approach to
the government. Such churches were AIC and other Pentecostal churches withdrawing from NCCK to EFK. Throup (1995); Freston (1997) and Maupeu (2005), all document the withdrawal of AIC from NCCK to EFK as a political move. Maupeu argues that, with NCCK becoming more politically oriented, the Head of State polarized the EFK, a less passionate body in socio-political concerns. The above scholars benefited this study in bringing to light the factors leading to withdrawal of AIC from NCCK and the subsequent silence on political issues. But the study also hoped to find extra factors to the silence of AIC to politics in Masinga District.

Choge (2008) has outlined several reasons leading to some churches being pro-KANU despite the increased violation of human rights and gross injustices. Among other reasons, the temptation of power and wealth was a key factor. Choge notes that all the churches which supported the then president had untold privileges and rewards, for instance, parcels of land, chaplaincy positions in the armed forces and contribution of money through harambee for church buildings. As a result, such rewards silenced most churches. This study has established the privileges that AIC enjoyed and how they contributed to her silence during his regime.

According Kamaara (2004), the 1990s marked the years of increased political activism by the churches in Kenya. Kamaara and Gruchy (1995), construe this activism as emanating from the changes in Eastern Europe, the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989, the collapse of socialism and the disintegration of Soviet Union.
According to Nyaundi (2003), this political activism was a campaign for democratization which was common in many African countries as they fought for multi-party democracy. Further, the Church in Kenya played a critical role in the introduction of multi-party politics. Towards this goal, the Church fought over unjust and sudden electoral systems such as the queuing (mloolongo) system, abuse of human rights, rigging of votes, and ethnic clashes. AIC kept quiet throughout this period of the struggle for the democracy. One wonders, whether the issues raised by the rest of the churches were not significant enough to warrant the voice of AIC.

Nabende (1999) and Maupeu (2005) observe that the contribution of the Church to Kenyan politics did not end after the achievement of multi-party democracy in 1992. They note the efforts of the Church in calling for a constitutional review as a factor to boost the multi-party politics. Further, 1990-1996 were years rocked by ethnic clashes; the Church offered a significant contribution to peace–making, conflict resolution and reconciliation.

**Kibaki Era 2002 – 2010**

Studies done on the response of the Church to politics during Kibaki era by Chacha (2010) and Mue (2008) have shown the Church becoming cold and partisan in socio-political issues. They attribute this silence to the cordial relationship between Mutava Musyimi (the Key personality of Ufungamano and an erstwhile critic of Moi regime) and Cardinal John Njue being a close ally to the president. This silence led to the condemnation of NCCK and its
member churches as well as the Roman Catholic Church in 2006 has having lost its credibility as a public watchdog due to their political partiality, soft stance and cooperation with the government. Chacha (2010) construes the close relationship between political leaders and Church leaders marking the genesis of courting religious leaders by patriarchs of political parties. The consequences were later felt in 2007 election leading to the violence and the formation of coalition government in 2008. According to Chumarr (2009, 9), the instigators of the violence were mostly Christians. Stinton (2008) captures the NCCK press briefing in February 2008 apologizing for its partisan role in both before and after the 2007 elections. The Church was to regain her prophetic voice during the 2005 referendum.

Mue (2008) views the 2005 Referendum as a way of the Church regaining its prophetic voice. He however, notes that their agenda became so much narrowed to matters of religion; the inclusion of Kadhi courts in the constitution. Further, the different positions taken by the Church on the draft constitution had ethnic overtones. As a result, broad issues on justice went on unquestioned. The churches were divided and majority of church leaders admonished their followers to vote according to their conscience. In Masinga, the AIC leaders failed to give direction to their members. This confirms the claims raised during the study by the AIC followers in Masinga District that their church leaders are silent on political issues.
From 2009 –2010, the search for a new constitution was the centre of debate for both church leaders and politicians. This time round, AIC released its first circular letter (circular letter 2) in history to its members on its stance on the draft constitution. Owing to the fact the Church was divided on its position to the draft constitution, this study endeavored to find out whether AIC stance 2010 draft constitution was politically or theologically motivated. It also sought to understand the interpretation the AIC members in Masinga gave to the release of the circular letter.

1.8 Theoretical Framework
This study employed a theological framework for social ethics in explaining the response of the Church to politics. It was informed by the following three theories: Hoft and Odham Theory (1937), the Social Gospel Theory of Gladden (1940) and Prophetic Realism of Fowler (1987).

1.8.1 Hoft and Oldham Theory
Hoft and Oldham Theory (1937) is a theological approach to the involvement of the Church to politics. It states that, it is the theological presuppositions that affect people’s understanding of the function of the Church in the society. These theological presuppositions are seen in areas like doctrines, undefined and unconscious assumptions regarding the relation of the Church and the world. Kunhiyop (2008:87), elaborating the same idea gives an example that those who favour a theology of separation of the body and the soul and between spiritual and material favour a radical separation of the Church and state. On the other hand, those who have a holistic understanding of God’s
involvement in sinful world, see the involvement of the Church in the world as indispensable. This theory was of great importance to this study for it opened an avenue for understanding AIC’s theological orientation in regard to the Church and society as rooted in the founding mission AIM.

1.8.2 Social Gospel Theory
Gladden’s Social Gospel theory (1940) is in essence a religious socialism created by Christian social activists. It was an attempt to make Christianity practical in addressing the problems of the society. The theory states that the proponents of applied Christianity, who are the clergy and the laity, are supposed to be politically experienced and effective in making Christianity seem relevant to the problems of the modern society (McCann, 1982:10). Social Gospel Theory makes effort to create heaven here on earth through its idealistic approach. But its key strength is in making Christianity relevant in meeting the problems of the modern society. It helped the researcher to critique the laissez-faire mentality in AIC leaders regarding Church and politics in Masinga District. However, this theory has a key weakness of being a moralist theory and having the danger of utopian idealism.

1.8.3 Prophetic Realism Theory
Prophetic Realism Theory by Fowler (1987) is an extension of Niebuhr’s writings (1952) on Christian Realism. Though similar to Social Gospel Theory, it is realistic in its approach. The term prophetic is borrowed from the Biblical Old Testament prophets who spoke against the evils in the society. The term Realism addresses its balanced approach and thus avoids the danger
of being an extremist theory. Prophetic Realism Theory is stated as a strategy
in the spirit of biblical prophets that refuses to let people ignore the oppression
and injustices that the society produces and condones. It does this, by seeking
to raise awareness of the structural and personal evils that mar society. At the
same time, it points in practical and concrete terms what changes are needed
for the society to be in the light of the word God. This theory was valuable to
this study because of its balanced and critical role of the Church in society. It
was also beneficial to the study in showing that AIC needs an ethical approach
to politics which is realistic to both the primary ministry of evangelism and the
prophetic mandate as well.

1.9 Research Methodology
The study employed both field and library search. The researcher visited
libraries at Kenyatta University, Hekima College, Scott Christian University
and Masinga Bible College.

1.9.1 Research Design
The design for this study was descriptive in nature. This design aided the study
in collecting data on factors affecting the response of AIC to politics, as well
as trends, values, and attitudes of AIC members regarding Church and politics.
The researcher also used questionnaires and interviews in gathering
information on factors underlying the response of AIC to politics in Masinga
District.
1.9.2 Study Area
The study was carried out in Masinga District (see map 2 page, 144), Machakos County. The district is divided into five administrative wards: Masinga Central, Kivaa/Kithyoko, Ekalakala/Ikaatini, Ndithini/Mananja and Muthesya. Originally as indicated on Map 2 (page 144), these wards constituted eight locations and two divisions (Masinga and Ndithini) before the new administrative units were enacted in 2010 by Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). However, it should be noted that Ekalakla/Ikaatini ward is in Matuu regional Church Council but within Masinga District. AIC is spread within Masinga District with two Regional boundaries (Masinga and Matuu). It has a population of approximately over 30,000 spread in over 150 local congregations and over 140 pastors (YRCC census, 2006).

1.9.3 Sampling Technique and Sample Size
The criteria for selecting respondents for this study considered factors such as age, education level, gender, and length of time in AIC as a member or leader. For effective data collection, purposive, stratified and simple random samplings were used. The purposive sampling was chosen specifically to select AIC pastors and elders for they would furnish the study with relevant data because of their leadership positions. Simple random and stratified samplings were employed specifically for the church members to ensure a representative whole of the AIC members in Masinga District. The study sampled DCC’s both from Masinga Regional Church Council (MRCC) and Matuu Regional Church Council (MRCC). The sampled DCCs from the two
regions were from the four sampled wards, Masinga central, Kivaa/Kithyoko, Ekalakala/Ikaatini and Ndithini/Mananja.

**AIC Pastors**
Since the sampled churches have got two pastors, both were included in the sample. As a result, a total of 32 pastors were sampled. Purposive sampling was used in selecting the two pastors since they are the only pastors. They were expected to respond to a questionnaire regarding the history of AIC in Masinga. It also aimed at capturing their general understanding and meaning of politics, Bible and politics, Church and politics. Evaluation of AIC’s response to politics, their role during national elections and 2005 and 2010 referendums, their reactions to the withdrawal of AIC from NCCK as well as its silence in political issues and church political ethics.

**AIC Elders**
In every sampled local church, 2 elders were chosen. The three were the vice chairman (since the pastor is the chairman), the secretary and the treasurer. Their choice was critical for together with the pastor, they form the executive of the LCC and the implementation of AIC policies from above is within their responsibility. This led to 48 Church elders from all the sampled 16 local churches. They expected to provide information on their understanding of politics, some political problems in Masinga District which the Church should respond to, also the role of the Church in politics and the evaluation of their Church in regard to politics. They were also expected to evaluate their pastor’s effectiveness in responding to political issues. Finally, they were to respond to
the AIC administrative structures in response to socio-political issues and ethical procedures in Church response to politics.

**AIC District Church Council /Regional Church Council Leaders**
The study purposively sampled 24 DCC leaders and 3 RCC leaders. The criterion for sampling the leaders was choosing the chairperson, vice chairperson, and the secretary for DCC and RCC. This is because for the DCC, the three have access to RCC and for the RCC, the three have access to ACC then to CCC, which is the national executive council in AIC. These leaders provided information on AIC theology of politics, policies on Church and politics and release of circular letters on political issues. They also responded to the reasons for AIC withdrawal from NCCK and its affiliation to EFK, as well as interaction with politicians and the history of AIC response to Kenyan politics.

**The AIC Members**
For the members both stratified and simple random sampling was used. The sample put into consideration areas like age, gender, participation in elections and referendums, and the period of membership with AIC (5 years and above). The study chose members who are 25 years and above. Five members from each local church were chosen making a total of 80 AIC members, from the 16 churches sampled from the sampled churches. The members were interviewed on their knowledge of the coming of Christianity in Masinga, understanding of politics, their views on Church and politics, political issues in Masinga from independence to-date, their civic rights, the guidance given by their pastors/leaders during national politics and in 2005 and 2010 referendums.
1.9.4 Data Analysis
In keeping with the topic under study, all the information was categorized according to the objectives and premises of the study. The primary data were interpreted and were integrated with the secondary data. Qualitative method was used. Based on the findings, chapters in this thesis were formulated. Conclusions, recommendations and areas of further research were also established.

1.9.5 Ethical Considerations
In keeping with ethical considerations, the researcher obtained permission from the church leadership in both Matuu and Masinga Regional Church Councils. Second, there were prior arrangements with the respondents before the material day. Third, since this study touched people’s views and beliefs, objectivity, confidentiality, respect of one’s beliefs and values, and flexibility was highly observed.

1.9.6 Problems Related to the Study
The study encountered some problems at the initial stages but with time, they were overcome. First, the researcher was treated with suspicion as some leaders thought that he was interested in political position in Masinga constituency. After a careful explanation of the purpose of the study, many came to understand. Second, some respondents especially the pastors and church elders feared giving out their views for fear of the church authorities. It was not until the researcher confirmed that the contagious issues they raised would be directly quoted that they freely responded. Third, the researcher had
a large distance to cover in reaching all the sampled churches. For effectiveness, the study used assistants and also reduced the number of respondents. Lastly, the researcher had to translate some questionnaires to Kikamba for majority of the respondents were either illiterate or semi-illiterate. At the same time, other respondents were busy and the questionnaires would not be returned in time. The researcher had to be a little patient with the respondents and at times visited them again and to supply new questionnaires for some would lose their first copies. The next chapter discusses the history of AIC from AIM and its influence to the response of AIC to politics.
CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY OF AIC IN MASINGA DISTRICT

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the birth of AIC from AIM the founding mission in 1895 and its introduction in Masinga District. The chapter presents elements in the history of AIC affecting her response to politics. It also examines the probable origins of socio-political apathy apparent in AIC administration even when critical situations may be calling for its response on behalf of their congregation. This study contends that the level of any church participation to the political process is determined to a great extent by its theological orientation. Such theological orientation is rooted on the foundation made by the mother mission. It is within this framework that this study finds Hooft and Oldham’s Theory (an approach to Church and politics) relevant to the political apathy that is apparent in AIC over the years in Kenyan history. The theology of AIM has affected the response of AIC to politics. This chapter has covered five areas which include: the birth of AIC from AIM, the introduction of AIC to Masinga District, the ministry focus of AIM, the AIC administrative structure and the history of theological training.

2.1 The Birth of AIC from AIM

Richardson (1968), Somba (1985), Shaw (1996) and the AIC Constitution (2008 revision) concur that AIC originated from AIM and that Peter Cameron Scott was the founder of AIM in 1895. Scott was born in 1867 in Scotland by godly parents. In his early twenties, he sensed a call to Christian ministry. He
later joined New York Missionary Training College for his theological education. According to Richardson (1968:24), as a young man, Scott had a strong passion for preaching about Christ in Africa. This is what drove him to take opportunity of working with International Missionary Alliance that was engaged in mission activity in Africa at the time. It was this opportunity that marked his first visit to Africa in 1891. He was deployed as a missionary in the West Coast of Africa, specifically Congo. A few months later, his brother John joined him and they both gave their lives to the preaching of the gospel. Unfortunately, after some few months, his brother died of fever. Scott made a coffin, dug a grave and there he buried his brother.

Scott also got an acute fever a few months later and almost lost his life. Such hard times made Scott to go back home to recuperate. On his way home, he passed through London where his old friends, Mr and Mrs. Brodie lived. They nursed him until he fully recovered. While in London, two occurrences planted the seed of AIM in his heart. The first occurrence was the spiritual strength he gained from the China Inland Mission, where he used to attend their prayer meetings. The second was the visit to David Livingstone grave - a missionary Philanthropist and explorer. Scott was encouraged by an epitaph on Livingstone’s tomb, *other sheep I have which are not of this fold; them also I must bring.* Richardson (1968:26) argues that Scott knelt down as he read the epitaph and it was at that moment that the seed of AIM was planted into his life. As he knelt there, he dreamed of a line of mission stations across Africa.
These two incidences, especially the second one strengthened his resolve to return to Africa. After his recovery, Scott went to America with the inspiration of starting a mission agency. He shared his vision with others such as Dr. A.T. Pierson and Rev. C. E. Hurlburt who encouraged him. These two became the first committee members who launched AIM. They held a farewell service party at the Pennsylvania Bible Institute in Philadelphia which they dedicated as the headquarters of the new mission they had formed. In the same year (1895), Scott and a band of seven missionaries left America and landed in Mombasa leading to the formation of AIM. Shaw (1996:226) observes that Scott and his band of seven missionaries were to carry on the vision of Krapf and Livingstone of a chain of mission stations across Africa.

Scott trekked inland and on December 12, 1895, he arrived at Nzaui in Ukambani where he established the first AIM station and the first AIC. In 1896, another station was opened at Kangundo in Ukambani becoming the centre of AIM until 1903. Under the leadership of Charles Hurlburt, later leader the headquarters would later shifted to Kijabe. Willis Hotchkiss took over after the death of Scott on 4th December, 1896 (Frew, 2006; Richardson, 1968; Shaw, 1996). Hotchkiss held the leadership position for a couple of years before going back home and Hurlburt would replace him.

The revised AIC constitution (2008) together with oral interviews, reveal that AIC in its formative years was known as the Church of Africa Inland Mission. They further reveal that in 1943, it was decided that the name Africa Inland
Church be used. Up to that time, the leadership was in the hands of white missionaries. In 1952, the first constitution was completed and approved, giving AIC – Kenya an opportunity to govern her affairs. However, the official handing over of the Church leadership and property to African leaders was done on 21st October, 1971. The name Africa Inland Church was officially adopted and the leadership was transferred to African Christian Akamba leaders. Since then, AIC has spread to many parts in Kenya especially to Eastern, Central Kenya and Rift Valley.

2.2 Introduction of AIC in Masinga

Introduction of AIC to Masinga in the early 1950s was through the work of local Akamba missionaries from Mumbuni (Machakos), Mulango (Kitui) and Kangundo AIM mission stations (Ivuti, Tabither, Beth and Kitetu - O.I. 12/8/2011). The four from Mumbuni were Stephen Kumeka, Philip Mwanthi, Isaac Kivai and Benjamin Ngila. They divided the area and each had his sphere of operation which today are now locations or sub-locations within Masinga District. Further, the four areas are now, DCCs. Stephen Kumeka went to Kitangani, Philip Mwanthi went to Kithyoko, Isaac Kivai went to Masinga while Benjamin Ngila went to Ekalakala.

Kitangani was the central place of meeting for all the churches in Masinga but later the offices were transferred to Masinga. Kitangani was chosen because it was the most central place for faithfuls coming from the Eastern side of Kithyoko and the southern side of Ekalakala (Naomi, O.I. 18/8/2011). The four were answerable to the AIM offices at Mumbuni in Machakos which
acted as the District Church Council (DCC). They would also meet at the end of every month to compile both the spiritual growth and financial reports which one of them would take to Mumbuni. Tabither (O.I. 12/8/2011), a wife to Philip Mwanthi who was one of the local missionaries who was the leader of the four recalls:

I would help my husband in counting the offering which amounted to a few shillings. I would then tie them in piece of clothe using a string made from wild trees. Then my husband by the use of a bicycle would take the offering to Mumbuni (Machakos). He would take two days to Machakos and two days back home. It was a very risky journey because of wild animals on the way but I would pray for him and trust that God will bring him back.

Matele and Ivuti (O.I. 12/8/2011) add that in 1961, Mumbuni DCC considering the great distance from Masinga to Machakos, and the dangers involved on the way because of wild animals transferred the responsibility of overseeing the work at Masinga to Kangundo Mission Station. Besides, being a mission station, Kangundo was also a DCC. This meant that the four Akamba local missionaries were answerable to Kangundo DCC.

The other force of AIC came through the mission station at Kitui (Mulango) through Mutonguni DCC. The Mulango station was formerly under Leipsig Lutheran Mission but taken over by AIM in 1915. It was through this mission station that AIM was introduced to Mutongoni then to Kithyoko under the leadership of several dedicated faithfuls who included: John Mwaniki Ngatiuni, Shadrack Kyusya Ngumbi, Philip Mwikya Mathoka (1938-1941); Rev. Jeremiah Kavingu Ndilya, Rev. William Mutisya Kavinga, Rev. Isaac Ithuku Kimama, Rev. Joseph Nzoka Kang’au, Rev. Zachariah Nzia Ngali,

It was through the work of these dedicated Akamba missionaries AIC spread to most parts of Kitui forming Mutonguni DCC. In 1975, from the headquarters at Mumbuni (Machakos) decided that all those areas occupied by the local missionaries should then become AIC administrative Branch Church Councils (BCCs). This was the second administrative unit in AIC after the Local Church Council (LCC; see Appendix for AIC administrative structure). This led to the merging of Kithyoko, Masinga, Ekalakala, Kinyaatta and Matuu in Yatta and thus formed Yatta DCC (Ivuti & Muinde O.I. 12/8/2011). Being a DCC, Yatta was now under the leadership of Machakos region under the chairmanship of Rev. Musyoki. The oral interviews further informed the study that in 1988, Yatta DCC resolved that all the areas occupied by BCC should be upgraded to DCC. At this stage, the wide Ukambani Region was divided into three: Machakos, Makueni and Northern Machakos. Yatta was in the Northern Machakos, under the leadership of the late Rev. Benjamin Muange. In 1997, Yatta became an RCC by itself and many DCCs were born within Yatta RCC.

In terms of church administration, Masinga was within this larger area Yatta (after the Yatta Plateau). This then confirms that the introduction of AIC in Masinga was through the mission stations in Mumbuni (Machakos), Mulango
(Kitui) and in Kangundo. According to the study, the period was marked with intense evangelism and building of administrative structures. AIC had no interest in involving itself in socio-political issues. Both oral interviews and the monthly reports are full of number of attendants in a given church, the number of converts, catechists and financial report.

2.3 The Ministry Focus of AIM

The ministry of AIM was centred on evangelism and individual salvation. From the oral interviews, it was confirmed that the early AIM preachers concentrated on evangelism and spiritual growth of the churches. Shaw commends on Hurburt when he writes:

… the only divine kingdom he (Hurburt) recognized was the “upper kingdom” where Christ dwelt and from where he sends his spirit to redeem the lost. The proper way to witness to the kingdom of God, for missionaries like Hurburt, was through preaching and evangelism (Shaw, 1996:241).

From the above citation, it is confirmed that AIM had a spiritual perspective of the gospel limiting it to the salvation of the soul. According to Muteti (O.I.13/9/2011), introduction of AIC to Masinga was packed with the same approach, of being purely spiritually-oriented. The early preachers saw their duty as only limited to preaching and evangelism. Muvea (O.I. 13/9/2011) argues that the white missionaries concentrated on spiritual matters neglecting the social aspects. He further argues that even the schools as well as the hospitals were geared towards the spiritual goals. The schools were geared towards acquainting the populace with reading the Bible and the Hospitals were more of evangelism cantres as people came for physical health.
Sandgren (1999) adds that AIM education was a handmaiden to evangelism. It later brought crisis in 1920s among the Akamba in Kangundo and Mbooni. The local community wanted an education that transcended just a belief in Jesus and learning how to read the Bible. Consequently, in a reactionary move, AIM missionaries stopped the financial support, leading to closure of some schools at Kangundo, Mbooni and Mukaa (Sandgren, 1999). The same reactionary move against the AIM missionaries repeated itself in 1945 in Githumu District among the Agikuyu. Shaw (1996:269) observes that the Githumu Church members accused AIM of poor quality of their schools and the mission’s lack of interest in development. The Githumu Church leaders in their letter emphatically argued that “leadership is everything” meaning that it has to be holistic. They lamented that with the narrow approach of the AIM leadership, they will not mark any progress in development. The matter was so serious that the resistance of the AIM leaders made the local leaders to opt for a court order in which the AIM lost.

The study has found that even to date, despite AIC having many sponsored schools in Masinga District, its sponsorship is only “by name”, but practically it rarely gets involved in the development of their schools. Further, it noted that it’s not just schools but generally AIC has been inactive in socio-political or development-oriented projects in the district. This is why Kinoti (1997:2) posits that the reason for many social, political and economic problems in Africa despite the presence of the Church for many years is because the
Church has fallen into blunder of limiting the Gospel to spiritual matters neglecting justice, peace, and material wellbeing among the people.

The theology of AIM regarding to socio-political issues confirms the premise that the history of AIC from AIM gives a clue to its political apathy in Masinga District. According to Mulandi (O.I. 14/9/2011), AIC as an evangelical church favours a theology of distinction of the body and soul, which leads to a separation of what is secular and spiritual. This idea is in line with theoretical framework of the study. This is because according to Hoft, Oldham and Kunhiyop (Kunhiyop, 2008), those who favour a theology of separation of the body and soul and between spiritual and material favour a radical separation of the Church and State. The consequence of such an orientation is seen in AIC staying away from socio-political dimension. Therefore, one factor leading to the political apathy prevalent in AIC today is the missionary factor embedded in the work of AIM as the founding mission.

The study revealed that the earliest converts in AIM even up to today have their emphasis on the work of the Church as evangelism and preaching thus concentrating only on spirituality. If they have to get engaged in the society, then it is only through prayer for the government and voting only. Active participation in socio-political issues is deemed a loss of focus from the main task of the Church. The informants in this study also pointed to the administrative structures as an indication of AICs as part of the history of AIC from AIM.
2.4 The AIC Administrative Structure
The administrative structure of AIC part of its history affecting its response to politics. The following is the administrative structure of AIC. The study has tabled both the old structure since 1971 and the new structure which was revised in 2008.

Figure 2.1: The Former AIC Administrative Structure from Top to Below

![Diagram of the Former AIC Administrative Structure](image-url)
According to the study, both the old and new administrative units have been given as obstacles to AIC active participation in the political process. Musili and Mutuku (O.I. 20/8/2011) argue that the AIC administrative units do not give room for socio-political involvement. Many of the respondents, especially the young pastors, see the revision of the administrative units as way of providing positions of leadership rather than meeting the crucial needs of the church like avenues of addressing social issues. Further, the 2008 administrative revision was just a simple modification of deleting BCC and adding ACC. This act did not change the theology of AIC with regard to politics neither did it create any room for socio-political involvement. It still
puts emphasis on evangelism and maintenance of the status-quo in AIC. The major task outlined even in the 2008 revised constitution is mainly on spiritual aspects. The oral interviews revealed that the outspoken pastors and elders are always reminded by the AIC authorities in Masinga to remember that AIC constitution does not give them room for politics and if one wants to participate in politics, he should relinquish the church responsibilities.

The above administrative structures do allow only one department in AIC, that is, the Christian Education Department (CED) which is mainly spiritually-oriented. It deals with spiritual growth of the various groups in the Church including men, women, youth and children. According to Mutisya and Mbuva (O.I. 5/9/2011), if AIC has to start getting involved to socio-political issues, then the administrative structures have to be changed to accommodate socio-political departments. Mutua and Kasiva (O.I. 5/9/2011), contend that why the Catholic Church in Masinga has been active in social issues in the district is because their constitution has a room for social involvement. This social involvement is given a substantial biblical support allowing the RCC to critically engage themselves in the social and political affairs in the district.

2.5 History of Theological Training
The history of theological training is crucial in assessing whether or not the training of pastors in the AIC institute has any bearing on socio-political issues. Mutua (O.I. 26/8/2011) while giving credit to AIC for the value it places on theological institutions, regrets that the training is purely on spiritual aspects. Many of the pastors who were sampled as respondents admitted that
in their various institutions of training in theology and ministry, they did not take any course on church and politics, Church and State or Church and Society. The emphasis is majored on theology, preaching and evangelism and ministry-oriented skills for church growth. Majority of the aged pastors also do believe that theology and ministry skills are the only basic training for pastors.

The study also traced the lack of curriculum that is sensitive to socio-political domain to the manner in which AIC was introduced by AIM as purely spiritual. They argue that since AIM embarked on evangelism and spiritual growth of the church; the same has been the emphasis on the Bible institutes as well as Bible colleges. Kaleli Mwinza (O.I. 8/9/2011) laments that, AIC pastors have been trained to think of ministry within the walls of the church building. He adds, “They have been trained to evangelize, preach and nourish the Church spiritually as if the people they minister to are only one-sided; spiritual not social”.

According to Katiwa, Muteti, and Kauwa (O.I. 29/8/2011), besides a curriculum that lacks social political orientation, the level of education of many of the pastors is a limiting factor to socio-political involvement. Mostly, in Masinga District the Church has been in the hands of leaders who are semi-illiterate. Even today, many of the pastors in Masinga are holders of KCPE certificate or its equivalent. Such a low level is an inhibiting factor for it does not allow a critical reflection of the social relevance of theology and ministry.
that is holistic. Such a little knowledge has been antagonistic to critical study of the Bible as well as its application to ensure that teachings of the Bible touch all areas of human life. Majority of such pastors who are in active church leadership in Masinga will not think of any further social participation apart from praying and voting.

It is quite amazing that some of the AIC training institutes are still admitting such people to enrol for theological education without being mindful of their education status under the pretext of a calling to Christian ministry. The informants in this study, argued that from a long time, AIM was contended with making people learn just “a little English” for reading the Bible and for communication. This is why then, some of young AIC members as early as fifteen years of age, will refuse to join high schools arguing that God has called them. While valuing the calling, it is high time that the AIC administration understood that the contemporary society calls for a learned pastor.

2.6 Conclusion
The foregoing chapter has examined the history of AIC from its initiation, spread and its response to Kenyan politics. It has examined its historical origin from 1895 by Scott, its growth and expansion across Ukambani and the establishment of various mission stations. The chapter has also examined the origin of the church’s apparent disinterest in politics mainly based on the initial policy of the founding mission (AIM). The chapter has further revealed that AIM lacked a holistic approach to its presentation of the gospel. The AIM
missionaries had placed their emphasis on preaching and evangelism. It has also revealed that the schools and hospitals which to many have been taken as a way of AIM involvement in social dimension, such facilities were geared towards serving spiritual goals. It is also clear in the chapter that this theology of being aloof to the socio-political dimension was transferred to the current AIC leadership. The current AIC constitution and administrative structures provides no room for socio-political involvement.

It has also been discovered that spiritual orientation of AIM devoid of the social dimension was transferred to the training institutions. This means that the AIC Bible institutes as well as the theological institutions lack a curriculum that can prepare the pastors to socio-political active life. Besides, the training in the theological institution and, the educational level of many of the pastors is a hindrance to socio-political participation. Therefore, the history of AIC from AIM becomes a major factor to the non-committal response of AIC to politics.

Lastly, the fact that the history of AIC affects her response to politics, has integrated well with Hofst and Oldham Theory of Church response to politics. It has confirmed that the level of the church response to political issues is determined by the people’s theological presuppositions seen in areas like such as doctrines, undefined and unconscious assumptions regarding the relation of the Church and the world. However, it has been revealed that when any church loses sight of the socio-political domain, it loses its relevance. This was the
crux of the 1920s and 1945 crisis between the AIM missionaries and the Akamba local populace and the Githumu Church leaders respectively. This fits well with Social Gospel Theory which argues that the proponents of applied Christianity who are the clergy and the laity are supposed to be politically experienced and effective in making Christianity seem relevant to the problems of modern society. In the context of this study, this theory challenges AIC to become effective in addressing the challenges of the modern society. This is because if AIC does not employ a holistic approach to its ministry mandate, then it betrays the holistic nature of the Gospel.

The findings in this chapter on the history of AIC and its influence on the political apathy leads the study to the next chapter. The chapter has discussed the understanding of AIC members in Masinga on the role of the Church in politics.
CHAPTER THREE

PERCEPTIONS OF AIC MEMBERS IN MASINGA ON THE ROLE OF
THE CHURCH IN POLITICS

3.0 Introduction
The previous chapter has discussed the historical evolvement of AIC from AIM. The chapter has shown that AIC in Masinga was as a result of the outgrowth of AIM’s evangelistic task. The chapter has also expressed the fact that the apathy of AIC to political issues can be traced in the manner in which AIC was introduced. This was through the ministry’s emphasis on being spiritually-oriented rather than being holistic in the presentation of the gospel. Building on the foundation of the previous chapter, the present chapter presents the perceptions of AIC members in Masinga on the role of the Church in politics. Towards this end, the chapter discusses the definition(s) given to politics by the respondents because the meaning attached to politics affects the role of the Church in politics.

These views bring to surface the perceptions, assumptions, and doctrines held by AIC members in Masinga on the role of the Church to the world. An integration of their views and library research explains the various perspectives on the meaning of politics as well as the role of the Church on political concerns. The chapter affirms the premise that, the response of any church to politics is determined to large extent by the people’s perceptions of the relationship between religion and politics. Their perceptions are then embedded to their theological teachings and practice. The chapter highlights
the negative approach to Church and politics, the positive approach to Church and politics and the role of the Church in politics.

3.1 The Negative Approach to Church and Politics

Negative approach to politics comes to surface when people put emphasis on the vices evident in politics. Comparing such vices with the teachings of Christianity leads many Christians to conclude that politics is ‘dirty’ and Christians should distance themselves from political issues. In essence, negative approach to politics is based on sacred – secular divide and seeks the separation of the Church from politics (Shiwati, 2008). It is a model embedded in some Christian’s attitudes that seeks to make the Church apolitical arguing that its sole jurisdiction is in spiritual issues and it can be corrupted by politics.

Such an approach finds its basis on the people’s perceptions of the relationship between religion and politics. This is because in religion, reality transcends what is observable in material world to the experiences of the invisible world (Ellis, 2004). Therefore, religious practice calls for the perception of the interaction between the visible and the invisible worlds. The invisible world is commonly regarded as the ultimate source of power and therefore, affects the visible world. This is built on arguments of the sacred and the profane. Gecaga (2007:61) builds the understanding of the ‘sacred’ on the definitions of the studies of religious phenomenologists likes Otto (1923), Eliade (1957) and Wach (1944). In their studies, the ‘sacred’ is considered as the ‘Holy’ or the ‘wholly other’ and qualitatively different from all other common and
everyday occurrences and activities and in essence the hallmark of religion. According to Gecaga (2007:60), the ‘profane’ translates to what is not concerned with religion or religious matters. It is that which at times brings contempt for sacred things. The anthropological perspectives of Steiner (1956) and Douglas (1966) informs that the ‘profane’ implies ‘unclean’, disorder and incoherence.

Gecaga (2007:60) and Chacha (2010:110) argue that the relationship between the sacred and the profane can be understood from a double sense. The first sense of understanding is the abstract level. In this sense is the mutual exclusion of spheres of reality (sacred and profane). In the context of this study abstractly, the spheres of religious and political thought tend to be conceptualized opposites (Chacha, 2010:110). In this sense, the basic power reflected in politics is secular, of this world, and that reflected in religion is of another quality from another world (Chacha, 2010:110).

The second sense is the cognitive level in which the profane is perceived as the reality accessible to humanity (Gecaga, 2007:61). This double sense implies that whereas politics is concerned with relations of men with other men, religion is concerned with the relations of men with gods or other spiritually conceived forces (Chacha, 2010:110). In this regard, then religion deals with the sacred and politics deals with the profane. However, Gecaga (2007:61) posit that the integration of the sacred the profane has been undermined by the secularization process that has resulted to differentiation of social institutions like economy, the polity, morality, justice, education among
others. It is within the context of the ‘sacred’ and the ‘profane’ that the negative approach to church and politics is based on. As a result, the perceptions of politics as a ‘dirty game’ and the church as ‘holy and separate’ are discussed below.

**Politics as a “Dirty Game”**

Politics has been understood as a “dirty game”. As a result, many Christians want to distance themselves from political issues. This aspect of politics being construed as a “dirty game” has not escaped the eyes of the scholars. O’Donovan (2000) observes that political leaders in Africa have given a negative meaning to politics. Adopting the description of Blaine Harden (1991), O’Donovan has generalized character of political leaders in modern Africa in the following words:

A big man who looks like this: His face is on the money. His photograph hangs in every office in his realm …. He names streets, football stadiums, hospitals and universities after himself. He insists on being called doctor or … ‘the big elephant’ or … ‘the wise old man’ or ‘the national miracle’. His every pronouncement is reported on the front page… He scapegoats minorities to shore up support. He rigs elections. He emasculates court justice. He cows the press…. His enemies are detained or exiled, humiliated or bankrupted, tortured or killed. He uses the resources of the state to feed a cult of personality and defines him is incorruptible, all – knowing … and kind to children. His cult equates his personal well-being with the wellbeing of the state.

Harden’s (1991) and O’Donovan’s (2000) description captures political histories of the modern African countries in the late 1980s and 1990s as they sought for the second liberation. Though not exhaustive, it serves to depict the bad side of politics which has led many to conclude that politics is a dirty
game, ruining even those who get involved despite their ardent Christian values.

Majority of the respondents, especially the older generations perceives politics as a “dirty game”. There are two reasons underlying this belief. The first one is the definition given to politics. Katiwa Mueni and Mokonza (O. I. 3/09/2011), for example, takes a Kiswahili understanding of the word politics (siasa) as coming from a Kiswahili word ‘sihasa’( not right or not justified). The underlying attitude is that of something that is not right, or lacks justice. Out of this misconception, then politics is branded a “dirty game”.

The second aspect emanates from the practice of politics. Here respondents perceive politics as driven by corruption and general lack of integrity. Mutisya (O.I. 19/8/2011) confirms this when he argues that majority of AIC members brand politics a dirty game. He further elaborates;

they construe politics within the confines of insults, abuse, a game of seeking power and influence, and assault and harassment of those opposed to one’s ascension to power. This is evidenced in pride, love of money bad influence, corruption, rigging of election, emasculation of court justice, and other related vices.

Wanza (O.I. 27/8/2011) says, “If you want the public to know the dark side of your life, then venture into politics”. Nduume and Mulee (O. I. 3/9/2011), noted that politics is a dirty game because most of the politicians usually abuse one other defaming their opponents. Respondents, further noted that the politicians thrive on lies to ensure that people vote for them. After they
achieve their wishes, they forget the people who voted them in till the next election period. Therefore, because politics is identified as a “dirty game”, the Church is construed on the opposite world of being pure and spiritual hence should separate itself from politics.

The Church is ‘Holy and Separate’

The above section has shown the definition given to politics as well as the dirty images displayed by politicians. In such an understanding, politics and the way of Christianity are put at parallel ends. This is why some of AIC followers in Masinga will emphasize on the sacred – secular divide. Here, the Church is perceived in only sacred terms and having a sole jurisdiction in preaching the gospel. It is argued that Church and politics have got nothing in common. This is an old view attributed to Martin Luther (The Lutheran Theory). This theory is based on Luther’s writing of the two kingdoms (from Augustine’s writings of the conception of Rome as two cities), God’s kingdom under Christ and the kingdom of the world under the governing authority (Fowler, 1988; Sinnema, 1995).

In Luther’s writings, the state is perceived to thrive in the Kingdom of the world but the Church functions in the Kingdom of God, where Christ is supreme. The Church is construed in the aspect of an always inward and spiritual, the company of the “regenerated by the Holy Ghost” ruled by Christ alone through his word alone (Fowler, 1988). Though the Church accepts to be under state rule, the state cannot interfere with the “the Church proper” – the preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments (Fowler,
1988:24). At the same time, Luther presents the civil government as ordained by God. The government preserves order by curbing lawlessness. However, the Christians are not governed by the civil government. This is because since they are righteous, they do not need the coercion of the law. But they get involved in the government for the sake of their neighbours in helping the government promote peace and order (Sinnema, 1995: 82). Although Luther values the human government, he presents a limited participation of the individual in political issues. If the Christian believer does not get involved in the affairs of the government on his account but on the account of his neighbour, then he becomes alienated to some extent from the socio-political affairs.

This understanding of the separation of the Church from socio-political issues is also captured by Chaplin (1995:61) in his discussion of the Gospel and politics. Chaplin’s positions are a typology of both H. Richard Niebuhr’s writings on *Christ and Culture* and James H. Althuis’ views on, *Must the Church become secular*. The first four of his positions, namely; *The Gospel against politics; The Gospel in tension with politics; The Gospel above Politics; and The Gospel baptizes politics* are based on the spiritual nature of the Church, the worldly nature of politics and the limited role of the Church in political endeavors. In view of this separation of the secular and sacred, then the Church is construed as a spiritual entity having nothing if not limited relationship to politics.
Munguti and Maingi (O.I. 12/8/2011) citing Matthew 28:18-20, note that the Great Commission that Christ gave to his disciples was purely based on spiritual matters; making all nations Christ’s disciples. Therefore, politics is not part of the mission of the Church. Mbatha (O.I. 5/9/2011) quoting 1John 2:14-17, which warns Christian believers against loving the world or anything in the world for the love of the world is enmity with God. According to Mbatha (O.I. 12/8/2011) since politics is dirty, it is one of the aspects the Bible labels worldly which believers should be careful about. He reiterates that even those strong Christians who have ventured into politics have always had to compromise their faith. He further cites 1Timothy 2:1-2 as a key text in reminding the Church of its basic responsibility regarding political issues.

I urge, then, first of all that requests, prayers, intercession and thanksgiving be made to everyone- for kings and all those in authority, that we may live peaceful and quiet lives in all godliness and holiness (NIV).

Most informants strongly concurred that in view of this verse, the Church has the sole business of praying for those in authority. The way of the Church is taken as the way of peace, godliness and holiness. Since the Church is holy, it should then not get involved in politics. Politics is deemed dirty and involving violence, it is contrasted with the way of the Church: peace and “quietness”. It is argued that Christian believers must be peaceful and should not get involved in politics. Other passages cited by the respondents in support of the

We read in part from Matthew 22:21, “Then he said to them, ‘Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s’. It is held that this verse indicates that a Christian believer should have nothing to do with politics. This is because Jesus clearly gave the difference between Caesar and God. In essence, Caesar and God operate in two distinct worlds and Christians should only focus on God’s Kingdom (Lavi, Ndumba & Munguti, O.I. 12/8/2011). In Romans 13:1-8, Paul calls upon Christians to be submissive to the authorities in power for it is God who brings to power all the authorities. However, in support of this view, it is held that the Christian believer should not question the authorities in power because to do so is to question God’s authority and will. The Christian believer should then accept the status quo knowing that it is the will of God for such authorities to exist. The spiritual role of the Church is then to pray for the government in power and always be submissive. In this regard, the Church in general or the individual believers cannot question the activities of the government because doing so is seen as going against the biblical teachings.

This view of politics as being a “no-go-zone” to Christians and especially church leaders is also held by politicians. The politicians are hasty in reminding the Church leaders to keep within the confines of preaching the gospel and stop meddling in politics. For example, during a media interview (through Citizen TV on 01.06.2011), the incumbent president of Uganda said,
“Church leaders like commenting on political issues which they know little about, I myself am a committed Christian but you have never seen me baptizing people”.

Such comments sent the signal that Church and politics should be separated. However, it has been the researcher’s observation that politicians would like to use the churches as venues for their campaigns, even influencing the church leaders to rally support for them. Church leaders in Masinga usually use politicians as guests of honour in raising funds for construction of churches or during their own fund drives. Muinde (O. I. 15/9/2011) holds:

Provided we are using the politicians for a spiritual course it is not a sin. There is no problem in calling for their support in promoting the kingdom of heaven through raising money to build churches or buying cars and motorbikes for efficiency in propagating the gospel. It is also a way of bringing them to Christ.

This study noted that the practice is a case of double standard for first, why would one want to benefit from a politician’s money if politics is a dirty game? Second, why would one ask the support of the Church if the Church should keep off politics? There is a need for proper understanding of politics as well as proper exegesis of the above texts putting them within their context. This aspect will be expounded in the next section on the positive approach to politics. However, within the concept of politics as dirty and the Church as spiritual and separate, two other models appear which are a subset of the sacred - secular divide.
3.1.3 Related Perspectives

Reformed Heart Perspective

According to Shiwati (2008), this model is also anti-politics. It is based on the argument that any effort to reform the society is not possible apart from God’s saving grace. The Church then gets involved in politics through centralizing the gospel message in encouraging members to be true Christians. Fowler (1987) labels it the Personal Morality Model of social involvement. Its strength as a basis for the participation of the Church in social issues is envisaged in the presence of Christian individuals who behave according to Christian standards of personal morality such as honesty, integrity, truthfulness, diligence and fairness. Here, there is no verbal judgment directed to the social structures in the society. Rather, it is the behaviour of individual Christians painting the values of the gospel message.

The evils evident in politics such as greed and lack of integrity among other vices are believed to be emanating from breakdown in personal morality. In this understanding, verses calling Christians to be the light and the salt of the world are emphasized (Matt. 5:13, 14). Individual Christian believers are encouraged to live such good lives in the present corrupt world that others would come to glorify God because of their conduct. (1 Peter 2:12). Some informants in the study advocated for this model. They argued that if Christians, being the majority in the society maintained a Christian character, then the society would adopt the same Christian values advocated by Christians (Tabither, Nduku & Mueni, O.I. 12/8/2011). Close to this model is the realised Kingdom model.
**Realised Kingdom Model**
This model is closely related to the Reformed Heart Perspective. According to Fowler (1987), this model encourages Christians to influence the political issues by taking the possessions of the key structures in the society in order to make them instruments of God’s Kingdom. Beneath this model is the realization of the kingdom of God in all human structures, the end result of which realization of a Christian state.

Fowler (1987), drawing from the understanding of Helmut Thieckle, observes that one great strength for this model is that where it is taken seriously, “it prevents Christians from a quietistic and *laissez faire* withdrawal from political life” (Fowler, 1987). This study revealed that putting Christians in positions of influence may not guarantee perfect ruling. History has shown that even Christians in political leadership and Church leadership have erred. Further, taking possession of key structures of society does not mean that the Church is carrying out its prophetic mandate. In such a position, the Church may end up taking sides or being co-opted by the ruling system. In essence, both reformed heart perspective and the realized kingdom perspective, eventually turn out to be an epitome of idealism which hopes to create heaven here on earth. Such a negative and limited approach to politics and the participation of the Church brings the study to the next level on the positive approach to politics.
3.2 Positive approach to Church and Politics

Positive approach to church and politics has received various labels like progressive approach (Nabende, 199), critical, constructive and creative participation (Gitari, 1986), and evaluative/critical engagement. It is the fifth positive position on Chaplin’s (1995:70) study on Gospel and politics which he labels, *The Gospel transforms politics*. It is a perspective that critically gets involved in socio-political dimensions under the premise of the holistic nature of the Gospel entrusted to the Church by Christ. In the words of Andre Dumas as quoted by Okullu (2003:2), “… the real reason as to why the Church cannot run away from the sphere of politics is that it does not simply preach a particular religion ‘which is a private possibility for individuals’.

The view is based on a broad spectrum of the relationship between religion and politics. It takes the premise that: “Religion and politics have been inextricably related since the dawn of human history” and that “In the contemporary society, religion and politics are like twins” (Lang, 1990:1; Nthamburi, 2003:149). Therefore, it follows that, since religion and politics are greatly interrelated, so is the Church and politics. At its base, it is twofold: first, it seeks the correct meaning of politics and second the relevance of the gospel message in the socio-political context. This section will discuss these two areas: the correct perception of politics and the relevance of the Gospel in political aspects.
3.2.1 Correct Understanding of Politics

The correct understanding of politics will lead to a critical involvement of the Church to the political process. Agostoni (1997:373-374) and Nthamburi (2003) gives caution over the narrow understanding of politics. The narrow understanding comes when politics is construed through the imagery of party politics hence a “dirty game”. Agostoni in particular derives this narrow understanding of politics from Greek, “polis” meaning city – state. In this sense, “groups of citizens unite to pursue and exercise political power in order to solve economic, political and social problems in accordance with their own criteria or ideology” (Agostoni, 1997:374). As a result, political interests of powerful groups pursuing their interests at the expense of the others bring the conception of politics as a dirty game. However, politics should be viewed beyond party politics. A broad approach is needed which transcends party politics. Agostoni (1997:373) defines politics from a broad perspective as:

…that science which teaches man to seek the common good at both national and international levels. Its task is to spell out the fundamental values of every community in the temporal sphere and to enable the leaders of a nation to provide the community with ways and means of honest, just and peaceful life, combating elements of backwardness, such as lawlessness, poverty, hunger, ignorance, disease and corruption.

Nthamburi (2003:136) defines politics as “being involved in the affairs of the people and trying to find meaning to the most perplexing questions of human existence such as social ills, economics, gender equity, human rights and governance representation” This broad understanding of politics is the one
commonly used by political scientists. They usually define politics as …*the authoritative allocation of values and resources for all society* (Henry, 1979:65). Here, politics is taken to mean an “allocative” activity, in both values and resources. Henry (1979:65) notes that politics so understood means that it is concerned with distributive justice. It distributes values and resources. As a distribution of justice, it implies that the allocation of resources “reflects value judgments concerning what is or not a “just” allocative formula within a society (Henry, 1979: 66). Politics as distribution of values cannot leave out the Church. Endowed with the Word of God, His divine will for the holistic life of humanity the Church cannot be left out in decision-making process affecting values of society. This is well-captured in Henry’s words that:

… when the Christian community speaks forcefully about concerns relative to racism, sexism, world hunger, environmental limitations, war and so forth it is effecting a political role- insofar as it shapes the civic culture and the public philosophy which informs the moral assumptions of public policy. The Christian community, through its recognition of God’s call to justice in society, affects the social context form which political decisions are made (Henry, 1979:67).

Politics, from such a broad context, noted above is not dirty. Kunhiyop (2008:97) pursues the same point that politics is not dirty; it is only that human beings have sinful natures and thus easily tempted by corrupt practices. Further, citing of some verses in the Bible with intention of expressing separation of the Church from politics is a case of inadequate hermeneutical skills and lack of a critical approach to the unified biblical message. This is
because humanity which is the focus of the gospel is multidimensional and the Gospel should bring a holistic relevance to human life. The correct interpretation of politics prompts the study to the next level on the relevance of the Gospel on political issues.

3.2.2 Relevance of the Gospel on Socio-political Issues
This section is built on the premise that the Church must make the gospel bear a practical relevance to the socio-political issues because the Gospel itself addresses humanity in a holistic manner. Moltmann (1984:104), states that the salvation that the gospel brings is not a private but public salvation, not only spiritual but bodily, not a purely religious but also political. It is this theological premise which contends that the Church cannot ignore politics and if it does, it will be risking its relevance. This means that the Gospel the Church preaches must have a practical bearing on all areas of human life: spiritual, social, economic, and political. God relates with humanity not only on spiritually but holistically. This is why Taylor (1957:59) warns:

If the Church in Africa (by which is meant the whole Christian community spread throughout Africa, but focused as it must be, in the congregations of the locally organized churches) gives the impression that God is not concerned with man’s social and political affairs, then men will not be very much concerned with such a God. And this not because men wish to use God for their own ends and demand that his thoughts shall be their thoughts; but if they feel that God cares nothing for things which vitally affect their daily lives and stir their deepest emotions, they will not easily be persuaded that such a God loves them in any real sense at all.

The Church is then called to critically bring the gospel it preaches to bear fruit in the holistic life of humanity. This practical relevance of the Gospel is
already found in the Bible and it translates itself to political theology. This aspect of theology critiques the dogmatic nature of Christian theology by seeking to raise consciousness of every Christian theology. While being careful not to politicize the Church, it seeks political involvement of Christians and takes upon itself the “modern functional criticism of religion and urges movement from orthodoxy of faith to the orthopraxis of discipleship of Christ” (Moltmann, 1984:99). The practical relevance of the gospel can be seen in three closely scriptural perspectives: the Bible and socio-political welfare of humanity, the prophetic task of biblical prophets and the Messianic anticipation motif. The study discusses the three perspectives.

1. The Bible and Socio-Political Welfare of Humanity
The Bible does not only address the spiritual dimension of humanity but also addresses humanity on a socio-political dimension. God is concerned about the social as well as spiritual aspects. This theme runs throughout the Bible. In the Old Testament (OT), God addressed not only spiritual nature but also the socio-political nature of his chosen people; Israel. The patriarchal blessings bestowed upon Abraham in the Pentateuch went transcended spiritual aspects to include socio-political aspects of land inheritance, peace and prosperity regarding material possessions in the land of promise (Genesis 12:1ff; Deuteronomy.28:1ff). In expressing concern for the social wellbeing of humanity against all forms of oppression and slavery that robs human dignity, God heeded the cry of the Israelites while in bondage in Egypt. He sent Moses as a liberator (Exodus 3:7ff).
At Mt. Sinai, the Decalogue given touched not only the spiritual life, but also social and political issues. There are laws governing the sanctity of human life (thou shall not murder), respect other people’s property (thou shall not steal), safeguarding of the integrity of other people (thou shall not give a false testimony against your neighbour) and general laws regarding proper treatment of slaves, widows and orphans, aliens and other less fortunate groups within the Israelite community (Exodus 20:13-17; 22:21-22; Deuteronomy 14:29; 15:1-18). Here, socio-political issues are in focus for such acts seek the common good, equity and the harmonious co-existence of all humanity sharing both values and resources.

In the historical books (Joshua – Esther), God is expressed as still concerned with the socio-political dimension of his people. For example, he settles them in the Promised Land, allocating land to each tribe; he appoints Judges to deal with people’s social issues as well as delivering them from political enemies. He establishes the reign of the kings, restores them to their land after a period of captivity, fights for them against politically instigated plans. A case in point is Herman’s (Esther 3:1ff) against the Jews. The history in these books reveals righteousness and justice as part of God’s attribute (Chronicles. 12:6; Nehemiah. 9:8). God loves justice rewarding those who pursue it and punishing the unjust.

Adeyemo (1997:62-63) argues that there is absolutely no concept in the OT with such a central significance for all human relations and life as that of
“sedaqah”, justice and righteousness. The wisdom and poetic books (Job – Songs of Songs) do not lose focus of the socio-political dimension of humanity. In the said books, God is revealed as a king who values justice and fights for the marginalized Israelites. For example, he gives justice to the weak and vindicates them (Psalms 82:3-4; 103:6). The same theme is found among the prophets as they became the voice of God among the voiceless. This will be fully developed in the next subsection on the prophetic task of the biblical prophets.

In the NT, God does not abandon his socio-political focus of his people, it is rather more pronounced with the work of Jesus Christ. In the Gospels, the liberating work of Christ does not only touch the spiritual dimension but also the social. Jesus’ ministry manifesto bears witness to this socio-political dimension. The manifesto reads:

The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed, and to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favor (Luke 4:18-19).

Jesus’ ministry manifesto should not be limited to spiritual aspects only; poor in spiritual matters, spiritual prison of sin, spiritual blindness or just spiritual liberation of the heart from sin. Both spiritual and social dimensions should be put in place in the interpretation of this passage. Adeyemo’s (1997:62), observation here is noteworthy. Following the definition of Boerma, Adeyemo, presents a classical example of poor in this passage. Tracing the
meaning of the word poor from Greek (*ptochois* – poor), the poor person is the one who is, “bowed down; one who occupies a lowly position; who ducks away in fear. He completely lives without means and consequently reduced to a beggar”. This poor man transcends the spiritual dimensions to the victims of structural evil evident in economic and socio-political systems of our time. Jesus as the revelation of God’s justice in the NT is concerned with such people (Okullu, 2003:6). Jesus, in His ministry, besides preaching, fed the hungry, healed the sick and the lame, as well as attending social gatherings. This was an expression of the recognition of the value of the social context of the gospel He brought. The biblical teachings in the gospels also reveal the social responsibility in that the final judgment will have a bearing on what we did to others; provision of food, visiting the sick, among other works of charity (Matt. 25:31-46).

Further in the NT, the Church is presented not only sharing the good news but also sharing material possessions to the needy. The early Church shared food with the needy; Paul collected food for the famine stricken Jewish Christians in Jerusalem. When Paul was in prison, the Church offered him support. James challenges Christians to prove their faith by good works done to others, giving them material support. He further challenges Christians to take up the course of the orphans and widows in their distress. John admonishes that loving God means loving others, adding that one cannot just love by words but by actions. The actions are seen in seeking a just society for peaceful co-existence of all

In the OT and NT, humanity is viewed in the spiritual dimension as well as social. According to Mbesu (O.I. 14/9/2011), this biblical foundation gives the Church a theological basis in participating in political issues. However, she laments that many of the pastors in AIC, due to their theological education background do not understand this enormous context of the Bible. Instead, they have hermeneutic confined to inner spiritual aspects of the human heart.

2. The Prophetic Task of the Biblical Prophets
The prophetic task is a motif borrowed from the OT prophets for being the voice of God to the oppressed and marginalized in the society. Prophecy in the Bible has two dimensions; foretelling and forth telling. In foretelling, a prophet would prophesy a future event which would be fulfilled. In forth telling a prophet became the voice of God in condemning evils of the people, guiding them to understand God’s will. The present-day pastors in their spatial – temporal context could be likened to prophets in the second sense.

Here, some OT prophets are sampled as an example of the relevance of the gospel in the contemporary society. The same picture will be transferred to the modern-day prophetic task of the Church. Elijah serves as a prophetic voice to the voiceless. He condemned King Ahab and Jezebel his wife for plotting and executing Naboth so as to acquire his vineyard (1 Kings 21:1ff). Nathan condemned King David for taking Uriah’s wife and the subsequent planned
death of Uriah (2 Samuel.12:1ff). Amos on his part condemned the rich for exploiting the poor and the general pervasion of justice. He lamented that the righteous were sold for silver and needy for a pair of sandals, that the rich people trample the head of the poor in dust of the earth (Amos 2:7). Both Isaiah and Jeremiah condemned those who practised injustice, enriching themselves by the sweat of others (Jeremiah 22:13-16; Isaiah.10:1-2).

It is from this OT prophetic task that the present-day Church is called to uphold its prophetic task. Kavutu, Muliliya and Muli (O.I. 20/8/2011), observe that the present-day pastor is the Elijah of the day condemning evils in the society. They observed that the present day pastors in Masinga as the prophets of their time should not wait until matters worsen then issue condemnations. They should, instead, be involved in the affairs of the society including political gatherings and other development-oriented programme in Masinga District. Oral interviews and questionnaires from some of the respondents revealed that the Church should be the voice of the people since it is the light and the salt of the earth (Matthew 5:13-16). If the human rights are violated and the Church keeps quiet, then in a way it approves such a violation of human rights and also risks its relevance.

The Church as the custodian of God’s word is the representative of God on earth and should be the paradigm of God’s will in the society. It should not therefore, be silent on socio-political matters. In emphasizing the Church’s
prophetic role, Nyerere as quoted by Magesa (1988:115) puts across the following rhetorical but critical questions:

What is the church, if not the defender of the defenseless? What is the mission of the church, if not like its master, it does not readily give its life so that the world may live? What is the task of the minister of the church, if not to identify with, and participate in the liberation of people from all sorts of physical and spiritual slavery?

Nyerere further contends that the mission of the Church has its core in the establishment of justice, freedom, equality and human dignity and the Church cannot relegate these values only to the political system (Magesa, 1991:78). However, while appreciating these core values, one should be careful not to forget that the core ministry of the Church is propagating the gospel in a holistic view of humanity. History has shown that, whenever the Church compromises its prophetic task, either by being silent or by experiencing a privileged position in the society, it has risked its relevance.

History records instances where the church comprised. The Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa gave a support to the racial segregation. The Roman Catholic Church in Angola due to its privileged position during the Portuguese colonial government kept quiet as the people suffered the indignity of cultural genocide as they were forced to take up Portuguese’s way of life. The Orthodox Church in Ethiopia, enjoyed the privileged position under the reign of Haile Selassie and kept quite while millions of Ethiopians suffered extreme poverty (Gitari, 1987:120-121)). Such continued silence made the Church to be interpreted as among the oppressors and with time, it
lost its relevance. This explains why the majority of the people in these countries welcomed Marxism for it promised a better future (Gitari, 1987:120-121). The same happens today when the Church keeps quiet in the presence of political evils. The messianic anticipation motif is the third dimension in making the gospel relevant to political issues.

3. The Messianic Anticipation Motif

The Messianic anticipation motif is a theological enterprise whereby the story of Jesus Christ is given an eschatological outlook. What is meant here is that, the story of Jesus is read within the OT framework of the promised Messiah who would bring newness, and hope to humanity, as the God human. This eschatological outlook is based on the OT promissory history and seeks to understand Jesus’ conflict with the law and his fulfillment of the OT promises. Moltmann (1984:101) asserts that, this theological eschatological framework must also,

… interpret his death (Jesus) and his resurrection from the dead in the light of the hope in the coming God in order to understand him as the liberator of the world sent from God. Jesus is understood historically only if history is read in the light of remembered hope of the Old Testament and the awakened hope of the kingdom of God. In this way then he is understood as God’s Christ.

The anticipated Messiah, of the OT, now well-explained in NT, brings a holistic salvation that touches both spiritual and social aspects of humanity. In essence, such salvation is not a dual perspective, but holistic such that the spiritual transforms to the social. It also means that this eschatological Christology requires a change of hermeneutics (Ibid, 1984:101). This means a hermeneutic that moves from historical explication to prophetic application. In
in this context, what the story of the anticipated messiah means to us in our time is captured. The key question here centres on the relevance of the story of Jesus as promised in the OT and its fulfillment in NT. The Jews had the messianic anticipation figure as they awaited a Messiah who would liberate them from the yoke of their oppressors. When Jesus came, it was hard for them to accept that he was the one, the anticipated Messiah. John’s question to Jesus through his disciples points to this dilemma, “Are you the one who was to come, or should we expect someone else?” (Matthew11:2). The answer that Jesus gave revealed that he was the anticipated Messiah of the OT history, bringing hope and future to humanity. Through him the blind saw, the lame walked, lepers were cleansed and the deaf heard; the dead were raised up and the poor had good news preached to them (Matthew 11-4-6). Jesus’ answer to John agrees with his ministry manifesto in Luke 4:18-19. Jesus is portrayed as the one Isaiah calls, ‘Child to be born’, a male child, described as the wonderful counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father and Prince of Peace. This child as a king establishes his kingdom with justice and righteousness (Isaiah. 9:6, 7). He brings hope to those living in distress and ushers in hope expressed in joy and end of war (Isaiah. 9:1-5).

Matthew takes note of the Messiah as the anticipation of hope by attaching the beginning of Jesus’ preaching ministry as a new dawn for humanity (Matthew 4:12-17). This new dawn is found in the words, The people living in darkness have seen a great light; and those living in the shadow of death a light has dawned. This is a quotation from Isaiah about the promised male child (Isaiah.
9:1ff). Now Jesus as the promised child, at the beginning of his ministry, the news of the realization of the promised hope is given. This new dawn was the ushering in of the Kingdom of God as Jesus preached, “Repent for the kingdom of heaven is near” (Matthew 11:17). In this context, Moltmann (1984:101) asserts that the universal question about the future concentrates here on the question of the “coming one, who will turn calamity to wholeness of salvation and lead people from oppression to freedom”.

The Christian community (AIC in Masinga) has directed the understanding of the work of Christ and His cross only to the inner justification of the heart, leaving out its social and political implications. Moltmann traces this one-sided application of the ministry and work of Christ to Protestantism with its foundation to Luther’s teachings (Ibid, 1984:104). But this should not be the case; rather the anticipated messiah touches all areas of human life. This was the hermeneutics that gave rise to political theology and later to liberation theology.

According to Metz as quoted by Moltmann here the effects of the death of Christ belong not to the privacy of religiosity but rather in the language of the Hebrews, “outside” the gate of the city. The death of Christ ushers in, “a salvation that is not only spiritual but also bodily, not purely religious but also a political salvation” (Ibid, 1984:104). This broad spectrum of the work of Christ explains why Jesus was in constant conflict with people and the institutions which closed the future of the people. Since Jesus preached the
kingdom of God to the poor, he conflicted with the rich. By giving God’s grace to the sinners, he contradicted the laws of the Pharisees and Zealots. Because he revealed God’s lordship to the lowly and oppressed Pilate sentenced him to crucifixion (Moltmann, 1984:102).

The Church should take her prophetic task seriously by following the footsteps of her master, Jesus Christ. In doing so, the Church should change her hermeneutic procedures from majoring on spiritual relevance to a hermeneutics that brings social and political relevance to the person and work of Christ. But such hermeneutics should also realize that the kingdom which Christ launched is “already and not yet”. Although the kingdom is seen in redemptive work of Christ in a holistic manner, it is not yet consummated. Such an understanding continues the OT eschatological anticipation. There is the future hope where Christ shall subject everything to his rule. But the present manifestation of the kingdom of God in person and work of Christ is a foretaste of the future anticipated and not yet consummated kingdom.

The hope of the future begins to unfold with the story of Jesus, and the future is to some extent experienced in the present. For example, Jesus being the first fruits of those who die (I Corinthians 15:20) means that the universal resurrection was begun with Jesus. Out of this stance of anticipation comes the practical passion to renew life now not only in spiritual aspects but also in social and political dimension. The Church then in this new form of hermeneutics reads the Bible as witness of God’s promissory history of hope (Moltmann, 1984:105). As a result, an eschatological theology is born which
is political in its orientation because it is a socially critical theology (Moltmann, 1984:105).

The relevance of the Gospel to political issues is authoritatively witnessed in the Bible and socio-political welfare of humanity, the prophetic task of biblical prophets and the messianic anticipation motif. It was this pursuit of the practical relevance of the gospel to socio-political issues that gave rise to three interrelated branches of theology: political theology in Germany, Liberation theology in Latin America and Mugambi’s Reconstruction Theology. All these theologies awaken the church to pursue a theology that touches the socio-political dimension of the people. Such theologies, rooted in the Bible presuppose a different hermeneutics where biblical text(s) are brought to bear relevance to the political lives of the people. Political theology arose in Germany with Jurgen and Metz as a practical theology with Christianity as a critical witness in the society. Jurgen and Metz had a vision of salvation and liberation that took concern over the political conditions in a society (Chopp, 1996:175).

Liberation Theology was begun in the 1960s in Latin America with key participants like Gustavo Gutierrez. Although political theology in Germany had a hand in the genesis of Liberation theology, it was the resolution of Vatican II in 1968 that gave it the greatest impetus. Just like political theology, Liberation theology is a practical theology with the faith of the poor as its locus (Chopp, 1996:176). Liberation theology critiques the structures
and institutions that create the poor including even the modern Christianity which in many times has identified itself with the rich. The same theme of liberation was pursued by the Ecumenical Association of Third world Theologians (EATWOT), as they laid a theological basis for fighting racism, and discussions on inculturation.

Reconstruction theology was brought to surface in the 1990s through Mugambi. It reasons that the Church in post-colonial Africa needs a reconstruction paradigm, since the Liberation paradigm does not now apply to the contemporary needs of Africa. Here, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are given the baseline to reconstruction motif. However, it is the arguments of this study that both liberation and reconstruction theologies should run concurrently. This is because as we reconstruct, there is a possibility of oppressive structures and institutions which calls for liberation. This study appreciates these theologies as practical and critical way of making the gospel relevant, an idea which is non-existent in AIC leadership in Masinga District. After laying a foundation of the basis of the relevance of Gospel to politics the next section deals with the role of the Church in politics.

3.3 Role of the Church in Politics
In this section, the study discusses the role of the Church in socio-political issues. Building on the relevance of the gospel to the socio-political dimension, the Church is then left without an option; she must be involved in politics. However, the role of Church in political process should be a critical engagement lest she loses track of her priorities. The Church must develop a
political ethic in dealing with politics. This section will simultaneously discuss the role as well as the political ethics to be observed. In the course of research, various roles of the Church to politics have been discovered as discussed below.

3.3.1 Praying for Those in Power
Respondents cited praying for those in political power as a key responsibility of the Church. Those allied to the position of politics as “dirty a game” and the Church as pure and separate, argue that prayer is key in Church’s socio-political issues. Regarding to prayer, three respondents, Ivuti, Mumangi and Nthuli (O.I. 12/8/2011) noted that even the white missionaries, taught that politics corrupted Christians and the best way to get involved was through prayer. Ivuti, a retired pastor with AIC, categorically cited 2Timothy 2:1-2, asserting that many of the current political problems in the society are a signal that the Church has stopped being passionate in praying for those in authority. He further recalled his days in catechism class whereby in their lessons in prayer, praying for the government was made key element of their prayers. He continued to assert that in their days, no pastor would lead the opening prayer on Sunday service and fail to ask for the well-being of the state. The Oxford Conference of 1937, in its discussion of the duties of the Church to the state, ranked prayer in the first position (Kunhiyop, 2008). But while appreciating the role of prayer, Mutisya and Mutua (O.I. 18/8/2011) observed that prayer should not be a blind act. They felt that the best prayer is that of faith and the genuine faith is that of action. The Christian community should
translate prayers to actions through getting involved in socio-political issues in society.

3.3.2 Honoring and Respecting the Authorities
The role of honouring and respecting the governing authorities is based on the admonition given to Christians in Romans 13:1-8. The underlying premise is that all authorities (whether good or bad) are established by God hence to dishonour them leads to dishonouring God. The Oxford Conference rated this aspect of loyalty and obedience in second position (Kunhiyop, 2008). Nthenya, Mwikali and Mulei (O.I. 12/8/2011) maintained that even the most evil forms of leadership come from God and are geared towards accomplishing His purposes. They further asserted that, areas such as praying and voting expressed the Christian obedience and loyalty to the governing powers. However, it is very important to critically evaluate the meaning of honouring and respecting the authorities.

Mutiso (O.I. 6/9/2011) laments that many are the times in the pretext of loyalty to governing authorities Christians have allowed bad governance to persist. A case in point is sand harvesting in Masinga District. It has been a source of environmental degradation as well as children dropping out of school. Mutiso, further noted that keeping quiet especially, by AIC leadership in Masinga is a symbol of misguided loyalty. Kaloki (O.I. 6/9/2011) observes that such misguided approach in submission to the State is due to first, literal reading of the text in Romans 13:1 and 1Peter 2:17, and second, lack of a critical approach to the holistic nature of the message of the Bible.
The study observed that such a limited understanding could lead to fanaticism; if one suffered injustice, for example; he would assume that he is following the example of Christ. It is an idea which is reminiscent in Calvin’s writings that in calling the submission of the Christian to the state he ‘almost’ advocated for an extreme position. Concerning the power of the magistrates, Calvin argued “If the magistrate treats us cruelly or inhumanly, there are two things we can do as ‘private persons’: (1) be ready to suffer, following the example of our Lord, and (2) bring to mind our offences and humble ourselves and repent before God” (Rooy, 1995:152).

Silence on bad governance on the side of the Church under the pretext of submission to the governing authorities is betrayal of the Gospel values. Henry (1979:70) warns that such a pseudo-submission amounts to a sin of omission. The Church bears the responsibility for the unspoken word, the unfulfilled deed and the withdrawal from the decision-making process which removes Christian witness from the political struggle. Therefore, just like in the role of prayer, the role of honouring and respecting should be a critical one. If not critically evaluated, it makes the Church part of the evils present in the structures and institutions of the governing authorities.

3.3.3 The Prophetic Role
The prophetic role is borrowed from the work of the OT prophets of being the voice of God in the society hence the conscience of the societies of their time. According to Okullu (2003:16), the Lukan passage (4:18-19) on the mission strategy of Jesus is a continuation of the prophetic task of the OT prophets in
which the present day Church should embrace. In this regard, the present-day Church is called to the conscience of the society and the nation as a whole. The prophetic role does not mean that the Church has lost her goal of the Great commission. Instead, while holding fast to this primary task, her mission should be inclusive of a total mission encompassing all areas of human life: spiritual, social, political and economic (Okullu, 2003:16).

The oral interviews and the questionnaires revealed that AIC in Masinga has failed in as far the prophetic role is concerned. Mbula, Mbeti, and Ngui (O.I. 10/9/2011) observed that while the Catholic Church in Masinga spoke against socio-political issues such as sand harvesting, besides joining the society in abolition of sand harvesting in the District, AIC kept quiet. This is why Mwanzia and Mutuku (O.I. 11/9/2011) wondered why AIC despite its good doctrinal teachings, AIC does not produce pastors in the spirit of prophet Elijah and Amos who could articulate the voice of the people in the society. They further asserted that, the reason as to why AIC in Masinga is losing many members and the young pastors to the current mushrooming churches is due in part to its lack of voice in the socio-political affairs of the people in the district.

The Church then as the light and the salt of the earth (Matthew 5:13-16) should become the conscience of the society. M’Ithinji (1999:74), posits that in this text, Christ calls the Church to do what good salt does, protecting and preserving the world from corruption. Here, the Church does not only construe sin from the perspective of personal transgression to God’s
righteousness, but also the presence of sin is seen in areas such as oppressive political structures and institutions. Bonhoeffer, the German pastor during the Nazi regime and William Temple, the Archbishop of Canterbury were good examples of the prophetic voice of the Church (Lang, 1990). Bonhoeffer asserted that prophetic role of the Church entails condemning the evils present in the political institutions as well as promotion of justice and righteousness. He further warned that while in pursuit of her prophetic task, the Church should be ready to pay the consequences of her prophetic role. His death under Nazi regime was the cost he had already spoken of. Temple in explaining the prophetic role of the Church concluded:

The Church, therefore, has a duty to advise the state on social matters affecting the citizen’s spiritual health, including economic matters, and to move the world towards a Christian social order where exist, “the fullest possible development of individual personality in the widest possible fellowship” (Lang, 1990:125).

The same pursuit of the prophetic role has been evident in various countries through some churches including Protestant churches in South Africa during the struggle against Apartheid, the Church in Uganda during the time of Iddi Amin Dada, the writings of Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania and the segments of the Kenyan Church during the 1980s and early 1990s struggle for multi-party democracy.

The informants in this study revealed that the gospel the Church preaches is the standard of what God wills for the society in general. Consequently the Church should seek to transform the society to resemble God’s pattern as implied in the Bible. Katua (O.1. 11/9/2011) exclaims:
What is the benefit of telling people that heaven shall be a wonderful place, if they cannot have a foretaste of that wonder here on earth? It’s not God’s plan for people to suffer in form of injustices or hunger and enter his beautiful and eternal home already impoverished. We are the people (Christians) of the truth and we must reflect to society what it means to have faith in God.

Katua further observes that if the AIC in Masinga cannot actively get engaged in the political issues in the district, for example, educating her members to vote wisely, speaking against evils such as sand harvesting and the poor distribution of bursary among others, then it becomes a spiritualistic church whose relevance retreats to spiritual matters only. This is why Choge (2008:101) following the discussion of Okullu (2000) and Yoder (1997) argues that in her prophetic role, the Church becomes the paradigm of God’s will for society. In view of this aspect, the Church is called, “… to reveal what the life of God looks like in concrete day –to –day terms (Choge, 2008:101). But the Church should also scrutinize her character that she will not be harbouring the same structures and institutions it condemns.

Nzioki, Mutunga and Kamene (O.I. 11/9/2011), while appreciating the value of the prophetic role warn that, some times, the Church due to the favours it enjoys from political leaders, has been robbed of its prophetic stance. They give an example of AIC arguing that why AIC cannot condemn evils like sand harvesting is because those in the business of sand harvesting have been mostly the chief guests of honours in Church fund drives. As a result, their co-option has robbed them the autonomy and the stance of prophetic role. This is why both Okullu (2003) and Odomaro (2007) warn that Christian leaders
should practise, a critical detached method. Here, the Church guards herself against a privileged position which robs her of the prophetic authority. Kunhiyop (2008:104,105) expresses three modes of this critical engagement to political process which amounts to Church political ethics: separation, transformation and involvement.

First, separation means that the Church must be distinct in terms of values and morality where the Church in a distinct manner expresses her purity. Here, imageries like, “you are not of the world”, “Do not conform to the pattern of the world”, and “come out of them” are used (John 17:16; Romans 12:2; 2 Corinthians 6:17). In the words of Taylor (1957:54), “The Church must over and over again oppose and repudiate the attitudes and the standards which are accepted in the rest of the society, otherwise it ceases to be the Christian Church”. Taylor further argues that if the Church loses this distinction in terms of value and morality, it becomes as salt which has lost its savour.

Second, through transformation, the Church seeks to transform the values and the morals of the society through the gospel values. In essence the Church becomes the paradigm of God’s will in the society. Third, by involvement, the Church is called to avoid being aloof in socio-political concerns. Instead, she is actively involved in the political affairs of the society, “… sharing its traditional points of view, influenced by its past history, and involved in its strength and its weakness, its rise or fall” (Taylor, 1957: 54). Consequently, Taylor (1957:54), warns that, “a Church that is cut off from the rest of the
society, living a separate life, enclosed life of its own, will be ineffectual; and will probably in the end, become paralyzed and perish altogether”.

Through transformation, the church should be practical in exercising her civil rights. This involves voting in the right leaders as well as educating her members on civic issues. Nthama and Mutuku (O.I 03.09.2011) lamented that most of the AIC members are not educated on their civic rights. As a result, not all of them participate in voting. They further argued that, most of the AIC members in Masinga, vote because of the influence from political leaders when the Church should be leading in teaching the kind of the leadership needed in the society. The AIC pastors in Masinga do not frequently teach or preach on Church and politics. This was evident as many of the respondents confirmed their pastors do not preach on Church and politics. What they do mostly is reminding the church to pray for the state and beware of the corruption of politics.

3.4 Conclusion
This chapter has examined the understanding of AIC members on the role of the Church to politics as a factor contributing to the aloofness of AIC in politics. The chapter has revealed that there are those who define politics as a “dirty game” thus seeing a limited role of the Church in politics. This limited role is seen in areas like praying, voting and complete submission to the government of the day. The chapter has also shown the Bible verses used in supporting such a view. On the other hand, are those who out of correct understanding of the meaning of politics see the relevance of the gospel to
socio-political concern. As a result, they argue that the Church cannot ignore politics since doing so will not only be a betrayal of the holistic nature of the gospel but also risking the relevance of the Church.

The chapter also presented a detailed study on the foundation of the gospel’s relevance to politics. Areas such as the Bible and the socio-political welfare of humanity, the prophetic task of the OT prophets and the Messianic anticipation motif have been used as biblical and theological backgrounds to the role of the Church in politics. The chapter also explores history in vindicating the biblical and theological relevance of the gospel. It has briefly cited political theology, liberation theology and reconstruction theology as examples.

The role of the Church in politics as discussed in the chapter can take three dimensions: prayer, submission and the prophecy. The chapter has analyzed that those people who understand politics as dirty focus more on the role of prayer as a tool for changing the evils in the society. At the same time, they emphasize the role of submission, citing biblical passages like Romans 13:1ff. But the chapter has also challenged mere prayers and uncritical submission. The chapter has shown that the three; prayer, submission to authorities and the prophetic are expressions of the role of the Church in the society as the conscience of the society. At same time, to avoid co-option of the Church by the political system, a church political ethics has been briefly discussed. The Church political ethics entails a detached approach whereby the Church
refuses a privileged position. In contrast, the Church employs a separate, transformational and involvement model in her participation to politics.

Lastly, the evidence adduced in this chapter on the understanding of AIC members in Masinga on the role of the Church to politics is well-articulated in the theoretical framework of the study. It fits well within Hoft and Oldham’s theory of Church involvement in politics. The chapter shows that it is the theological presuppositions seen in such as like doctrines, undefined and unconscious assumptions regarding the relation of the Church and the world that give direction to the role of the Church in politics. The evidence in the chapter also fits within the Social Gospel Theory of Gladden which argues that the clergy and the laity must make Christianity relevant to the problems of the modern society. The findings in the chapter also agree with the Prophetic Realism of Fowler in that it calls Christians to be prophetic by challenging the institutions and structures that rob off human dignity. It informs the Church while keeping her purity and as God’s paradigm on earth, not to stay aloof but get involved in transforming society using the gospel values.

The following chapter intends to trace the historical participation of AIC to political issues in Masinga from 1975 to 2010. Since some issues stem from independence 1963, the chapter will also capture some information preceding 1975.
CHAPTER FOUR
EVALUATION OF THE RESPONSE OF AIC IN MASINGA ON KENYAN POLITICS (1975-2010)

4.0 Introduction
The preceding chapter discussed the understanding of AIC members on the role of the Church in politics. It expressed the perspectives held by the AIC members on political involvement: the negative perspective, the positive perspective, the relevance of the gospel to politics and the role of the Church in politics. This chapter is an evaluation of the response of AIC to Kenyan politics in Masinga from an historical perspective, 1975 – 2010. The chapter has divided the political history into three parts in accordance to the particular political eras: Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki. AIC was launched as an independent church in 1971, and the study has given a leeway of four years for self-actualization after her autonomy. However, the chapter has included the period starting from 1963, when Kenya attained her independency for it lays the political history during the Kenyatta era, second, 1975 is a continuation of the political history from 1963. In evaluating the role of AIC to politics in Masinga, the chapter has discussed the factors leading to her political apathy in the three regimes.

4.1 Factors Underlying Response of AIC to Politics in the Kenyatta Era, 1963 - 1978
This section deals with the factors affecting the response of AIC to politics during the Kenyatta era. AIC was under the leadership of AIM missionaries from 1895. In 1971, she became autonomous. The leadership was handed over
to the indigenous people. This means that this section covers the two sections of the Church under the founding mission and also her continuation under the African leaders. The study has found that during this time, the Church in Kenya was at learning stage on how to co-exist with the government. In essence, the section discusses the factors shaping the response of AIC to politics during this political era.

4.1.1 The Missionary Factor
During the period covering the Kenyatta era, the leadership of most churches in Kenya was under the white missionaries. This meant the relationship of the Church and the state during the independent Kenya was reflective of the colonial period. In the colonial period, the relationship between the Church and the colonial government was one of hegemonic control (Haynes, 1996). The white missionaries collaborated with the colonial masters except some special cases of Walter Own and Leonard Beecher as discussed earlier in this study. Since the Church at colonial failed in upholding her prophetic voice against the state’s abuse of power, it was reluctant to condemn African government under the African president (Githiga, 2001). However, the voices of individual clergy men like the late David Gitari and Henry Okullu issues like the political assassination of J.M. Kariuki and division of national unity through tribal oathing respectively made them reminiscent of Owen and Beecher. But despite these few voices, the Church was largely under the leadership of white missionaries.
This has resulted to what this study labels a missionary factor. The missionary factor had several facets in which it affected the level of Church participation on political issues for the Kenyan church in general and AIC in particular.

First, by the time Kenya attained independence, church leadership was still under white missionaries (Githiga, 2001:50). AIC is one example because it was under the AIM leadership until 1971.

This meant two things: first is the continuation of total allegiance to the government by the Church as during the colonial era, second, the fear of the white missionaries in getting involved in political issues lest they be interpreted as interrupting the independence. Githiga (2001:55-60) for example, takes the case of Leonard Beecher, an expatriate of the Church Province of Kenya (now ACK) who preferred the African bishops to speak first about the political issues lest he be interpreted as interfering with the new government. AIC being under the AIM missionaries perhaps sought the same line and therefore did not get involved in politics. In Masinga, AIC was not under white missionaries but was being controlled from the AIM stations in Mumbuni and Kangundo. The local pastors being under AIM also maintained the same spirit of not interfering with political issues.

The second facet of the missionary factor was transfer of the missionary ministry strategy to the emerging African churches. Though AIC became independent in 1971, the AIM strategy was wholly adopted. Githiga notes that many of the Protestant churches during the 1960s and 1970s carried the
legacy of their founder missions. He asserts, “... Protestant churches carried on with the legacy of evangelism geared towards individual salvation” (Githiga, 2001: 46). As a result, AIC pursued the spiritual goals at the expense of the social and political engagement. This is because as discussed earlier in Chapter Two of this study, the theology of AIM was basically on evangelism and individual salvation. According to the informants, AIC in Masinga was then under local Akamba preachers sent from Mumbuni in Machakos, and Mulango in Kitui mission stations, and their emphasis was on evangelism. Even when it became a self-governing Church in 1971, AIC pursued the task of evangelism and spiritual nourishment. This is in line with Githiga’s observation that,

The Church laid its emphasis on self-propagation as western missionaries gradually begun to return home. In recognition of the missionary zeal in spreading the gospel to the unreached people, churches in the early 1960s started creating missionary places which the European missionaries had not yet reached (Githiga, 2001: 46).

The third facet on the missionary factor was the training given to the African Christians preparing for full-time ministry. It is quite important to note that training into full-time ministry was still in the hands of the expatriate missionaries (Githiga, 2001:47). Consequently, the theological curriculum put emphasis on spiritual aspects. Githiga notes that with the influence of the East African Revival Movement (EARM), the expatriate missionaries would not want to expose their students to the emerging modern theologies like liberation theology. Githiga (2001) and Throup (1995) further note that it was in the 1970s that the training of pastors on Christian responsibility on political and social concerns was adopted by St. Paul’s Theological College. At the
same time, such a move to Christian involvement in political issues was challenged by the older African clergy as being liberal (Githiga, 2001:47). According to the informants, the older AIC generation and especially the pastors, now retired, would constantly reminded the researcher that the Church should not get involved in politics. They cited this perspective as coming from the white missionaries who taught them that the Church exists for evangelism and nourishing of her members spiritually as they await the second coming of Christ (Ivuti, Muvea, Kavete and Mbaluka, O.I. 12/8/2011).

The legacy of the founding missions was transferred to the African churches and as a result, the same perspective of loyalty to the state was uncritically carried over. This was a general phenomenon in all the churches except for the independent churches. It explains why AIC could not venture into political issues because to a greater part of the Kenyatta’s era, AIC was in the hands of the white missionaries. It was only from 1971 that AIC became independent, that is only seven years of being independent in Kenyatta era. Although AIC was a member of the NCCK and at one point commented against 1969 oathing ceremony. But this was just a learning stage as it will be discussed in the proceeding section.

4.1.2 The Learning Stage
Githiga (2001:63) concludes that both the government and the Church were in a learning stage of self-governance after both became self-governing. Taking into account the various stands taken by different churches towards the struggle for independence, and the legacy of the founding missions, the
Church had to learn how to relate with the then current government (Abuom, 1996: 98). Abuom, further captures the puzzling moment of the Church by adding that the then “political leadership expected the Church to be as loyal to the new authority as it had appeared to the old” (Abuom, 1996:98).

A good example of the learning stage was the 1966 prophetic voice of the Church through NCCK exposing KANU’s plan to misuse public money in building ostentatious headquarters at Uhuru Park. Okullu (2003: 54) and Nabende (1999:134) note when the government interpreted this move by NCCK as meddling with KANU politics, the Church dissociated herself with Target Newspaper which had exposed the evils of KANU. They associated the Target Newspaper with East African Venture Company and the editor was pressurized to resign so as to maintain state/party – church relation. Here, the Church did not stand with courage as it was to do later during the Moi era in the fight against injustice and the struggle for multi-party democracy.

Another example is the 1969 secret oathing, after the assassination of Tom Mboya. The Baptist Church, AIC and the Presbyterian Church gave a press release condemning the oathing that ensued (Githiga, 2001: 54). Githiga correctly observes that the condemnation of the oaths by the Church was purely on Christian moral grounds in defending the faithful. At the same time, the Church leadership in general feared being seen as becoming political. These were not only the evils in Kenyatta era, but the Church in general was careful in exercising her prophetic voice for she avoided conflict with the
political leadership. At other times, when the Church was expected to speak it failed. Githiga (2001:58-60) cites cases such as corruption, tribalism and nepotism practices in Kenyatta government, but the Church did not raise her voice against them.

AIC which raised her voice against the 1969 secret oathing was to be stalwart supporter of Moi government even during the gross violation of human rights. The oath taking ensued from the uncertain death of Tom Mboya. Mboya’s death raised some political questions. To prevent political upraising, Kenyatta henchmen resulted to oath taking (Githiga, 2001). The oath was geared to ensure that the presidency remained within Kikuyu community. Although it started with Kikuyus, it spread to other ethnic communities. While giving the AIC administration credit for this one prophetic act in Kenyatta era, Kimenye (O.I. 27/08/2011) argues that AIC spoke because the matter was directly affecting the Christian moral issues. He further comments that oathing was not the only gross evil in Kenyatta government. There were many other political evils during this time which AIC did not raise her voice against.

The practice of secret oathing spread and its effects were felt at Masinga. Waihenya and Ndikaru (2009:65) observe that, “It was not just in Kikuyu land that the oathing was taking place. In Eastern Province areas of Yatta and Kangundo, the same scenario was enacting itself …” Masinga was under the large area called Yatta after the Yatta Plateau. The church administration was then under the large Kangundo DCC. This means that the Christians in
Masinga experienced the pain of oathing. According to the informants, the practice of oathing was referred as *kuthi mwaini* having a literal meaning, “going to the moon”. Waihenya and Ndikaru (2009, 62) argue that “going to the moon” was an euphemism for the secret oathing borrowed from the idea that it was in that year that the first person on earth had landed on the moon. Mbeke (O.I. 5/10/2011) recalls a day they were in a community project making bricks for a local dispensary when a lorry appeared with some youths forcing people to Yatta Plateau for oath taking. While some people were forced on the lorry, majority escaped.

Kitetu (O.I. 12/08/2011), an AIC elder remembers that he was forcefully taken for the oath taking and remembers being in the midst of hundreds of people who were being brought by lorries at Yatta Plateau. But before the administration of the oath began that day, a man, later to be known as Mutune Ndulu came running and shouted, “The GSU is here coming to arrest all of you taking the oath and you better run for your lives”. Everyone ran home and that marked the end of the oathing ceremonies in Ukambani. Kitetu, further remembers that it was a strategy by the Yatta Member of Parliament (MP) that time Gedion Mutiso to end the oathing ceremony in Yatta. It was alleged that the MP had sent Mutiso Ndulu.

Ndingi, the then Bishop Catholic Diocese of Machakos Diocese was vocal in condemning the practice and preventing its spread to Ukambani (Waihenya & Ndikaru, 62; Nabende, 134). As stated earlier, AIC at national level was
among the churches that condemned the practice. However, at a local context in Masinga, there is no known pastor who openly condemned the practice. Tabither and Nthenya (O.I 5/10/2011) do remember that mostly their pastor Philip Mwanthi embarked on telling them to pray that the evil practice ends and the same time admonishing them to remain vigilant of the lorries ferrying people to the “moon”. This confirms the premise that, AIC like any other church, condemned oathing because it had a direct attack on Christian faith.

Many of the young pastors sampled for the study observed that AIC does not concern herself with social and political matters unless they impinge directly on the Christian values. In general, the Church was in the learning stage on how to handle political issues and AIC in particular was still under the leadership of the white missionaries.

4.1.3 Sacralization of Political Leadership

Sacralization of political leadership takes place where the political leader cultivates for himself an image of a Christian leader, by adopting Christian or religious values in his/her leadership, thus making the religious leaders and the Christian Church in particular difficult to criticize his leadership. It was a picture that was prevalent in Kenyatta era as well as Moi era. Okullu (2003:55) argues that:

Kenyatta refuses to attach himself to any organized religion, but believed in God, and all his political speeches were full of biblical references …. This posture was politically effective in discouraging any Church or individual from assuming an overtly prophetic role in society. Its aim was to reduce everyone to size.

Githiga (2001:46) on the same note observes that “Kenyatta’s emphasis on reconciliation and forgiveness made him appear as a leader who was ready to
cherish Christian virtues”. Further, as Githiga (2001: 41) notes, Kenyatta as the first president of Kenya, leading the nation from over seventy years of colonialism was seen as a messiah. Songs such as, “We see the love of Kenyatta in that book, He gave his life to save us”, express the extent to which Kenyatta’s leadership was held as sacred. Thromp and Hornsby (1998:11) likewise argues that Kenyatta being a symbol of Kenya’s independence and nationhood as well as, the founding father of both nationalists politics and the nation created a posture of a leader no one could criticize. Githiga (2001: 45) cites this culture of the political leader receiving praises and no criticism as the one that raised both Kenyatta and Moi to a cult status. Consequently, it was even hard for the Church to speak against their leadership especially AIC during the Moi era.

In such a ‘sacred mood’, the Church is easily co-opted as an arm of government and robbed her prophetic voice. This was evident in Kenyatta era whereby Church leaders often failed to uphold their prophetic stance except when a political issue directly affected the Christian moral issues. This was a common phenomenon in all the churches. Therefore, AIC being a member of the NCCK was caught in this attitude of sacralization of political leadership. Therefore, during the Kenyatta era, the response of AIC can be seen in those three avenues: the missionary factor, the learning stage and the sacralization of political leadership.
Kenyatta era was a redefining moment on the part of the Church as it learned to co-operate with the government in nation building as well as learning how to practise the prophetic role and self-governance as the leadership was being handed over to the African clergy. The fact that AIC denounced the 1969 oathing ceremonies aimed at consolidating leadership to Agikuyu community did not mean that AIC was active in politics. This is because as already concluded her comment was because the oathing was against her doctrinal teachings as well as an offence to their spiritual and moral values. The following section (Moi era) will present AIC totally maintaining silence even in gross violation of human rights, search of the multi-party democracy and constitutional debates.

4.2 Factors Underlying Response of AIC to Politics in Moi Era: 1978 - 2002

The section discusses the response of AIC during the Moi era, the second political history in Kenya after independence. The previous section has established that during the Kenyatta era, AIC like any other church was at the learning stage on how to co-exist with the government. The study observed that during the Moi era, the church co-existed peacefully with Moi government until late 1980s when she started becoming critical over the political evils prevalent in the government then. Further, the section reveals that as other churches such as ACK, PCEA and the Catholic Church became critical, AIC kept quiet throughout this time period.
4.2.1 Sacralization of Political leadership

Sacralization of political leadership was more pronounced in Moi reign than Kenyatta’s. Aboum (1996:99) writing on the place of the Church in Kenya’s democratization process, and looking at the beginning of Moi era, comments: “Before too long the president hijacked the pulpit and was busy cultivating for himself an image of a Christian leader”. This is why the early years of Moi governance (1978 -1985) have mostly been referred to as the honey moon period (Throup & Hornsby, 1998:20 Githiga, 2001:69). There are several areas which gave evidence to the sacralization of the political leadership which led the Church to sanctify Moi leadership in the early part. The first one was Moi habitual church attendance. Among the three presidents of Kenya, none was fascinated about attending church like the retired President Moi, who was a devout AIC member. Okullu (2003:55) has the same point when contrasting Kenyatta and Moi, “In contrast to Kenyatta, the President Arap Moi is a Church goer and a member of African Inland Church. He attends to worship in any church of his choice each Sunday” This regular church attendance gave Moi the status of a Christian leader. As a result, the Church leadership trusted that he would lead the nation with godly values. This “honeymoon” period did not just affect AIC alone, it also affected churches in general.

The second aspect of the sacrilization of political leadership was the Nyayo Philosophy with its theological orientation of Love, Peace and Unity. The Nyayo Philosophy was an idea developed by Moi in showing that he was following the footsteps (in Kiswahili, Nyayo) of his predecessor; Kenyatta
(Githiga, 2001:73). Gitari (1986: 128-129) argues that the triads of the three biblical words were added to prevent the Nyayo Philosophy from becoming an empty slogan. Gitari further observes that it was after the attempted August 1982 coup d’etat, that the president declared that Nyayo Philosophy would be included in the school curriculum despite absence of literature on the subject.

Through the NCCK, a study of the three words, Love, Peace and Unity was carried out culminating into a book: Love, Peace and Unity: A Christian view of Politics. Such a task of ‘Christianizing’ the ruling regime made the Church in general to give Moi’s presidency a Christianized origin. Abuom (1996: 99) best captures the mood of that period when she says:

In response to the mixed message, the Church seemed to lower its guard. It was now expected to sanctify the state and its leadership, and indeed, the Church blessed the state and called President Moi’s leadership God-ordained.

The Church felt part of the ruling regime and as it poured praises to Moi, it was helping in building a personality cult which it was to wrestle with in the near future. This was generally to all churches but in particular AIC became almost the state Church. According to Mutwathei (O.I. 23/09/2011), Moi began so well that none could fail to attribute his leadership to God. Mutwathei adds that every Sunday, the broadcasting stations would narrate of the Church that the head of state attended and his speech would be given a wide coverage.
Throup & Hornsby (1998:28), Adar and Munyae (2001) note a third reason as to why the Church labelled Moi government God-ordained. They note that the promises which the Head of State gave painted him as the right person to lead the country into a new era characterized by rights and lack of ethnic dominance. The promises were freeing of political detainees including politicians like Martin Shikuku, M.J. Serenoy and prominent novelist Ngungi wa Thiong’o, grand design to fight tribalism, corruption and bringing sanity into his administration. Some of these promises were immediately realized. For example, in an attempt to bring sanity into his administration, the then Commissioner of Police, Benard Hinga had to resign for allegations of corruption (Drum Magazine, 1980).

These three factors helped in sacralising the political leadership such that churches saw God’s intervention in Moi government. The sacralisation of political leadership reached its climax with president being almost being made supreme. This was seen in titles such as Mtukufu having the impression of one who is praiseworthy or deserves praise. Even when the president advised people not to use such titles for him and just labelling him simply as Rais (President), people would not cease in using such titles and invoking his name in patriotic songs (Weekly Review, May, 1990). AIC was affected the most by sacralisation of political leadership. This was because Moi was a devout member of AIC. This point is discussed below as denominational affiliation factor.
4.2.2 Denominational Affiliation Factor

The previous section has discussed the sacralization of political leadership as a factor contributing to political apathy of AIC in Masinga. In this section, the denominational orientation of the then president is analysed as a factor which affected the response of AIC to politics. This explains why AIC was pro – government and almost the State – Church. During this time, in Kenya’s political history (1985 - 1992), Moi government was under serious criticism both locally and internationally. The criticism was due to abuse of power representing itself in lack of justice and democracy. It was during this time in history (August, 1986) that the electoral system was abused through the introduction of the queuing (mlolongo) system of voting. These sudden changes to the electoral system replaced the secret ballot to mlolongo voting system. Within this new electoral procedure, it was stipulated that a candidate obtaining 70% of the votes at nomination stage will automatically be elected unopposed (Adar & Munyae, 2001:3). The Church leaders and various social groups like Law Society of Kenya condemned the government.

The NCCK representing the views of 1200 pastors issued a press statement vowing not to participate in queuing system (Abuom, 1996: 101). Bishop David Gitari, Alexander Muge, Henry Okullu, Manasses Kuria of CPK and Rev. Timothy Njoya of PCEA condemned the queuing system of voting (Weekly Review, October, 1988& May 1990). The Catholic Church also added her weight to the attack on the government. This was through Ndingi Mwana-a-Nzeki who by then was in charge of the Diocese of Nakuru. In a written statement, Ndingi Mwana-a-Nzeki lamented that the removal of secret
ballot system was a great cutback to democracy in the country (Waihenya & Ndikaru, 2009:92).

Surprisingly, while the other church leaders condemned the evil practices of KANU regime, AIC did not raise her voice against any. Instead, AIC withdrew from NCCK besides issuing sharp condemnation to NCCK for being anti-government. Githiga (2001:94) and Gifford (2009:35) captures the aspect of AIC being induced by Moi to quit NCCK. Githiga (2001:91), for example posits that the most outspoken church leader in his attack on the NCCK was Bishop Birech of the AIC whose church broke away from the Council in 1988 for the latter’s involvement in politics.

AIC instead joined Evangelical Fellowship of Kenya (EFK), a less passionate body in political matters because of its orthodox role. It was AIC which influenced EFK to gather the support of the fundamentalist churches as well as the new Pentecostals and independent churches to support Moi administration (Maupeu, 2005:50, Gifford, 2009: 35). This is why Birech was anti-NCCK. When Birech spoke, his voice was the voice of AIC in general. The informants in this study have argued that since Moi was a “son” of AIC, it was difficult for AIC to condemn him. Even leaders from AIC executive who defied mentioning agreed that though there were many evils in the government, AIC leaders could not raise their voice against him since he was one of them in faith and practice.
At a local context, Masinga experienced the weight of KANU practices. This was through Akamba influential leaders such as Mulu Mutisya. It was in Masinga Market where the KANU office was and with the influence of the KANU youth soldiers, every dissenting voice was silenced. No one was expected to raise his voice against the evils of KANU including the abuse of the electoral system. While the people of Masinga were forced in an unjustified electoral system, AIC kept quiet. Mutiso (O.I. 20/10/2011) noted that it was wrong for AIC to withdraw from NCCK, and continuing to support a system that was rocked by many evils, but since the bishop had spoken in favour of the President, no one could challenge that decision. Even in the continuing years (1988-1992) when the rest of the church leaders and various organizations fought for multi-party democracy, AIC leaders kept quiet.

Mutwathei (O.I. 20/10/2011) remembers that in those days as one of the KANU branch chairmen, one of his mission was to ensure that KANU was the party of the people of Masinga. He reiterates that any dissenting voice was forcefully silenced. At the same time, he notes that AIC members and their leaders were very co-operative in campaigning for KANU because Moi was one of their “sons” in terms of faith. This meant that the AIC leaders would rally their members to support KANU. The denominational factor was further influenced by ethnic factor.

4.2.3 Ethnocentric Factor
According to Choge (2008:106), ethnocentricity in Christianity in relation to political issues expresses itself in a tendency of being loyal to the, “ruling
establishment because it shares one’s ethnic group rather than seeking the unity with members of the body of Christ, regardless of tribal affiliations”. Choge further identifies this aspect in both the colonial as well as in Kenyatta government. During the colonial period the missionaries did not condemn their fellow white colonial masters except for brave persons such as Archdeacon Owen. Notably, Kenyatta the president, the assistant bishop of the Anglican Church, Obadiah Kariuki, who was also a brother in-law and majority of the top church leaders being Agikuyu, the Anglican Church became pro-government (Githiga, 2001:50).

The same scenario was witnessed during the Moi reign. Githiga (2001:94) observes that Birech, the AIC Bishop during Moi tenure was a Kalenjin as well as an in-law of Moi. This explains why Birech rallied the support of the AIC to Moi’s government. Mulandi and Mweu (O.I. 20/10/2011) argue that since the senior leader of the Church shared the same tribal and family ties, there was no room for criticism. Consequently, the leaders in Masinga had to comply since they benefited from such a close relationship. This is because the AIC leaders in Masinga through Birech, Moi often came to Masinga during Church fund drives. Though the leaders in Ukambani shared different tribal orientation, they supported Moi in favour of Bishop Birech and because of the benefits attached to such a support. This explains why the ethnocentric factor was greatly boosted by the factor of temptation of power and wealth which we now turn to.
4.2.4 The Temptation of Power and Wealth Factor

Choge (2008:109) uses the term temptation of power and wealth as a factor affecting political indifference in churches in Kenya’s political history. Owing to the denominational affiliation and the ethnocentric factors, the temptation to power and wealth was increased among AIC leaders. According to this study, temptation to power and wealth come when church leaders seek to gain from the political leadership in both positions of leadership and material gain by being incorporated into the ruling regime. Choge (200:109 - 110) correctly observes this picture when she argues:

During the rule of Moi, those churches that supported him received parcels of land to build church structures, schools and hospitals. They were rewarded with positions as Chaplains in the armed forces. The president contributed a lot of money in form of Harambee contributions so that the Church could build many Church structures. As a result many Church leaders did not speak against him. Those who spoke against the government were considered as serving foreign masters or not submitting to the ruling authorities. As a result, they were denied gifts and handouts from the government.

The above description although applicable to other churches, fits AIC. According to Ivuti, Mwikali and Kitetu (O.I. 12/8/2011), there is no other church that enjoyed the privilege of power and wealth as AIC during Moi presidency. Most informants in this study remembered the many times Moi came to Masinga and the general support Moi gave to AIC. From a national level, it was observed that majority of the AIC local churches in Nairobi and its vicinity obtained their big parcels of land through Moi. The president also
used to invite all AIC pastors to his home at Kabarak for conferences. This was a way of strengthening the AIC support for the government.

Moi assisted AIC in Masinga in various ways for instance through contribution of money in *harambee*. Moi gave over one million shillings for the construction of the office block for Masinga Bible College, an AIC institution. Also, over one million for construction of an administration block in Masinga Boys, an AIC sponsored school. At the same time, Moi also gave money in assisting the purchase of the car for the Regional office in then Yatta RCC which Masinga was part of (Munguti & Muinde O.I. 18/8/2011). Further, whenever the church leaders visited Moi at State House, they were given gifts in form of money. Besides the collective gains, the information gained in this study established that Moi promoted many AIC pastors in giving them positions of chaplaincy in the armed forces. Such privileges explain why AIC leaders in Masinga could not raise their voice against KANU practices in Masinga.

As the people of Masinga suffered political injustices including, lack of freedom of expression, forced to buy KANU badges, forced to buy KANU identification cards which were almost the national identification cards, forced to contribute to community *harambee* through the office of the headman and chief, denied relief food in case one lacked or failed to renew KANU identity card and many other injustices, AIC leaders in Masinga kept quiet. Even during the search for multiparty democracy and later in the search for constitutional reforms that began in 1993. It was this temptation of wealth that
led to church divisions in Masinga. Ann, Musili and Munywoki (O.I. 24/8/2011) remember that when Moi came to Masinga for an harambee in aid of AIC Masinga Bible College, he offered 40,000 Kshs. The RCC leaders instead of leaving the offering to the Masinga DCC which had prepared the occasion or the college, they decided to carry the offering. This act brought sharp divisions which took several years to solve. This act paints the extent to which AIC leaders in Masinga had been corrupted by material gains. The temptation to power and wealth was to affect unity of AIC as it politicized the church leadership because of the bishop’s seat. This is discussed below under the internal crisis factor.

4.2.5 The Internal Crisis Factor
This section analyses the internal leadership crisis within the CCC from 1996 and fully blown in 2001 and the consequent divisions up-to-date. For a long time (1980 -1996), AIC was under the leadership of one bishop, Ezekiel Birech. As already discussed above, Birech’s closeness to Moi gave AIC an appearance of a state church, with AIC giving Moi government great support despite the gross abuse of political power and gross violation of human rights. AIC leaders in return had been used to gain from the government and that compromised their prophetic stance. In 1996, another person entered the office of the bishop; Rev. Dr. Titus Kivunzi. Respondents to this study, described Kivunzi as a highly spiritual and God-fearing man and well principled in life. Mutisya (O.I 12/8/2011) states that although during the
time of Birech AIC was growing structurally, given some extra years of leadership, Kivunzi would have moved AIC to greater spiritual heights.

Most of the AIC pastors thought Kivunzi would follow the footsteps of his predecessor. But he proved different. In delivering a sermon during AIC’s annual men’s conference in Masinga, Kivunzi stated, “I better die a poor man than benefit from crooked gains by selling the Church of Christ to corrupt political systems”. This is because he had refused any material gain or position of power to continue giving undue support to the KANU regime. This meant that the government was losing a key supporter; AIC. Since the deputy bishop (Cyrus Yego) was a Kalenjin, through the influence of the government, Kivunzi’s downfall was put into strategy. Some informants observed that even the false allegations that Kivunzi had raped one of the secretaries in the CCC office, were just but a strategy to undermine him. Since that strategy failed, another one was planned to ensure that he does not return to office after his five-year office term.

The respondents in this study observed that with the office of the bishop politicized, towards the end of Kivunzi’s tenure, there were clear indications that he would not return to office. According to Mutisya (O.I. 05/09/2011), Yego was the person the head of state wanted as the bishop. This was because as a Kalenjin, he would follow the footsteps of Birech. He would rally the support of AIC to Moi government. Mutisya and other informants in this study reveal that towards the beginning of 2000, secret meetings were held in prestigious hotels in Nairobi and Mombasa to forge a strategy of ensuring that
Kivunzi does not return to office. They revealed that since the leaders of RCC are responsible for electing the bishop, they were also influenced through material gains. Muteti and Muvea (O.I. 13/9/2011) account that some leaders received a total of not less than thirty thousand while it was reported that some got up to seventy thousands shillings. This strategy worked and that is why during the election date in 2001, Yego was elected to office of the Bishop without any possible opposition.

This means that when the other churches were busy on calling for constitutional reforms (1993 -2001), AIC was busy handling internal leadership crisis. In Masinga, no voice was raised on socio-political issues. AIC in Masinga was influenced by the politicization of the office of the bishop. Even when Moi went round selling out Uhuru Kenyatta as his successor, AIC leaders in Masinga conceded Moi proposal. The informants lamented that AIC leaders had not learned that the populace was already tired of KANU. Their indignation with KANU was expressed in 2001 when Moi’s proposal for Uhuru as the next president was openly rejected by the people at Masinga Market. Surprisingly, the reception for Moi and his team was held at Masinga Bible College, an AIC institution. This was an expression of the favour that AIC experienced from Moi that it could not speak against him, especially now that Kivunzi was out and Yego was the new bishop.

AIC during Moi’s reign did not raise a voice against the evils present in his government. The study has established several reasons behind this apathy to politics. It has mentioned areas such as sacralisation of political leadership,
denominational and ethnic factors, temptation to power and wealth and lastly the internal crisis factor. This means that AIC failed to uphold her prophetic voice and almost losing her relevance. This is because AIC was counted among the evil doers for supporting the evils present in KANU regime. The people of Masinga experienced their hard moments as discussed above, no single AIC leader would raise his voice against Moi government. The young pastors and elders sampled for this study expressed their dissatisfaction with AIC leaders in Masinga for even up to day, if an issue does not touch their moral issues directly, AIC does not speak. The next section will discuss the response of AIC to politics during Kibaki’s era. A general anticipation is that, since Moi retired in 2001 ushering a new rule in 2002, whereby the president is not an AIC member, AIC should participate in socio-political issues.

4.3 Response of AIC to Politics During the Kibaki Era

The previous sub-section has dealt with the response of AIC to politics during the Moi era. It has revealed that several factors shaped the response of AIC to politics. The section has shown that beside other factors, Moi was a member of AIC and consequently it was hard for AIC leaders to critique his government. The forthcoming subsection discusses the response of AIC during Kibaki era after being a stalwart supporter of KANU regime. Now that Kibaki is not a member of AIC, one assumes that AIC should be actively involved in politics. Below are factors that have shaped the response of AIC to politics during the Kibaki era.
4.3.1 The Christian Ideology Factor

Grouchy (1995:178) observes that from 1985 when the Church began being critical of the ruling regime (KANU), it was in pursuit of new dispensation, which Ali Mazrui calls “Second liberation struggle”. With the achievement of multi-party politics and with first multi-party elections in 1992, it meant that struggle was fruitful. Maupeu (2005:44) further argues that from 1993 – 2001, the Church in Kenya added her voice to constitutional reform. In particular by the member churches to NCCK and the Catholic Church. This form of ecumenism translated itself to the Ufungamano initiative with its key support for constitutional reforms. A good example was the sponsorship of a civil society initiative group, the 4Cs (Citizen’s Coalition for Constitutional Change) by both the NCCK and the Catholic Church. The agenda of this committee was to organize a discussion on a probable constitution labelled, The Kenya we want (Maupeu, 2005:45).

The struggle for constitutional reforms marked a search for a new dispensation from 2002 which Maupeu calls mwamko mpya (a new awakening). This was the era that brought Christian ideology a factor leading to compromise on the part of the Church. This was because the Church was an indispensable member in the search for constitutional reforms. Second, the defeat of KANU regime, and the ushering in Natioan Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government was attributed to God’s intervention. Chacha (2010:111) argues that:
…when Kenyans went to polls on December 2002, there was much at stake than the fate of the KANU regime under Moi. For many Kenyans, it was an issue of whether or not they could break the 40-year monopoly of power and determine who would lead the their country out of the then crippling economic and political crises in which civil liberties such as free speech that had been severely circumscribed…. Indeed, as Kibaki’s optimistic speech echoed, it was a historic moment for democracy in Kenya.

Since the NARC victory was attributed to God’s victory and thus marking a mwamko mpya, celebrations, ceremonies and prayer breakfasts marked the early period of Kibaki’s presidency. Maupeu (2005:64) notes that many parliamentarians celebrated their victories in a religious manner giving the religious leaders large part of their proceedings. He further cites the National Prayer Breakfast in 2003, the Nairobi Municipality, the universities and police prayer breakfasts as the genesis of Christian ideology. In this case, Christian ideology was evident because the Christian philosophy of prayer was woven into politics. Within this mood, Christian leaders in general relaxed and to some extent compromised. Chacha (2010:111) notes, with the president promising to lead the country out of the wilderness to the Promised Land, the religious leaders in Kenyanrelaxed their stance to his regime.

According to the informants in this study, the same mood of victory over KANU was evident in Masinga. The residents of Masinga were tired of the KANU regime and wanted a change. They were also looking forward to elect a new member of parliament since they disliked Col. Kiluta, the then member of parliament (MP). The dislike of Kiluta was because of a number of reasons. First, Kiluta was considered an outsider for his original home was at
Kangundo, and the people of Masinga wanted a leader originally from Masinga. They contested that Kiluta was supporting the people from his home Kangundo than in Masinga in terms of providing them with job opportunities. Second, Kiluta was a strong KANU member and the people wanted a change. Since Benson Mbai (incumbent MP) came under NARC and being a promising coalition in bringing the desired political change, it influenced the masses. As a result, Mbai won. Third, Kiluta had failed to bring the desired community development programmes with the people accusing him of abusing them whenever they visited his home for assistance.

With the coming of Benson Mbai as an aspirant to Masinga Constituency parliamentary seat, under the coalition political of parties under NARC, the general public saw it as God’s intervention. Mbai easily won the seat and up-to-date he has been the MP for Masinga. After his inauguration in 2003, celebrations to mark his victory were held in his home and in other areas where church leaders were present. This attribution of his leadership with God meant that no one raised his voice against his leadership in Masinga. Even when issues of environmental degradation through sand harvesting were evident, no church leader in AIC raised his voice. The Catholics were to raise their voice concerning such issues during his second term in parliament. The AIC leadership influenced by Mbai’s Christian character has used him mostly in church fund drives and have not raised a voice against his leadership.

The Christian ideology factor has blinded the eyes of Christian leaders that they have relaxed their stance on Kibaki government. The government
appears ‘Christian’ and thus no Christian leader thinks of criticizing it, and after all the Church has put great efforts in securing a new dispensation. Christian ideology has led to a general silence on the side of the Church and marking the genesis of courting of religious leaders by political leaders. Eventually such a move has led to co-option of Christian leaders into political circles.

4.3.2 Co-option of Church Leaders to Political System
According to Chacha (2010:111), co-option of church leaders had its genesis when Mutava Musyimi (former critic of Moi’s government and former NCCK secretary) became a close ally of President Kibaki. Chacha attributes Musyimi’s presidential appointment to serve in an anti-corruption body as an indication of the closeness between the two. It was a factor that led to the compromise of NCCK even after Musyimi had left as the Secretary General after successfully contesting for Gachoka parliamentary seat. Chacha further notes that Cardinal John Njue of the Roman Catholic Church also became a close ally of the president and his statements could be interpreted as being pro-Kibaki. Even when the president did not honor the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and there appeared to be divisions in the government, the Church did not make her stand clear.

This co-option of church leaders into support of political systems made them silent and the effects were to be realized in 2008 during the post-election violence of 2007 General Elections. Generally, the Church in Kenya did not know that it was being co-opted into the political system until the break of the
violence in 2008. This is why NCCK gave a press release in February 2008 apologizing for its partisan role in both before and after the elections (Stinton, 2008:10). Chacha (2010:114) observes that co-option of church leaders to politics was fully fledged in 2007 whereby the church leaders were divided into what he humorously describes “those serving the God of PNU and those of ODM”. Besides campaigning for their party of interest some church leaders also aspired for the civic, parliamentary and presidential posts. This explains why the Church in general had failed in her prophetic mandate. Even at the height of the post-election violence the church had no authority left to mediate for reconciliation.

In Masinga, co-option of the church leaders to political system was evident but mostly touching the AIC. According to the informants, in the first term of Kibaki’s era which Benson Mbai served his first tenure as the MP of Masinga, the church was not so much in politics. But towards the end of his five year term and to ensure that he got his seat back, he forged a strategy that ensured the church gave him support. The study revealed that during this time round, some AIC pastors were appointed to senior positions in the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK). Due to their influence other AIC pastors received positions such as that of Returning officers or Deputy returning officers or clerks during the 2007 general elections.

The study notes that during this time, especially from 2004, when some of these pastors began working with ECK, the ECK office at Masinga was replete with cases of corruption. For example, the task of appointing ECK
officials to serve as polling clerks, DROs or ROs and the vetting of vehicles to transport the ballot boxes meant that one had to give a bribe. At certain times, a person’s name who had been appointed for some task would mysteriously miss on the list and instead another name would be inserted.

The coming of the Interim Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IIEBC) was a great reprieve for the people of Masinga (Mwikali, O.I. 12/08/2011). This is because according to Mwikali the corrupt ECK officials were no longer the office bearers. This included the AIC leaders holding senior positions in ECK. They wondered why the leaders would turn out to be very corrupt and yet AIC authority raised no alarm. This explains why AIC in Masinga could not stand up against Kibaki’s government. The other underlying factor affecting the response of AIC to politics during the Kibaki era was the spiritualization and politicization of the 2005 and 2010 referendums.

4.3.3 Spiritualization and Politicization of the 2005 and 2010 draft constitutions
According to Stinton (2008:8) and Mue (2008) the 2005 and 2010 referendums have been viewed as moments of the Church in Kenya regaining her prophetic stance. However, it is the contention of this study that the churches in general and AIC in particular got involved this time round because some contentious issues in both referendums were affecting her spiritual and moral values. In the 2005 draft constitution, the issue at stake was the provision on the Kadhi’s courts. The issue of abortion on certain
conditions was also another factor but it was the issue of the Kadhi’s that appeared to be more a prevalent concern for the church. Chacha (2010:112) observes that in 2004, 34 Protestant churches threatened to take legal action to have the provision of Kadhi’s courts deleted from the draft.

AIC Bishop Cyrus Yego was among the 34 Protestant leaders threatening to seek the intervention of the court. But according to the informants, there was no seriousness on side of the AIC at CCC, because in 2005, on the same draft, AIC did not give her members any direction. Mutisya (O.I. 05/09/2011) critically asked, “If the inclusion of the Kadhi’s courts made the document unsuitable for Christians, then why did they (AIC leaders) not tell us to reject it? Why did they tell us to vote with our conscience?” This means that AIC leaders as well other churches spoke against the inclusion of the Kadhi courts only on grounds of spiritual perspective for it was deemed that Kenya might become an Islamic state. This explains why the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAG) responded by giving a proposal to a Christian court in the draft (Chacha, 2010:112). Similar sentiments from AIC leaders and followers posited that a provision for a Christian court parallel to Muslim Kadhi’s court was necessary. The question that lingered on was whether Kadhi’s courts were the only issue to wrestle with. What about issues on justice? This exposed the spiritualization of the 2005 referendum.

Besides the spiritualization there was the politicization of the draft. Chacha (2010:112) argues that the church leaders came to note that their followers
could consider ethnicity and the advice of the politicians hence left them at the liberty of their conscience. Respondents attested to the fact that AIC at the national and local levels did not give any direction of being either for or against the draft. The pastors sampled reported that they were called for a meeting where they were asked to advise their followers to vote with their conscience. But the information gathered from the sample of AIC followers confirmed that since the leadership did not give any concrete direction the members listened to the voice of the politicians.

According to the informants in this study, it was observed that the politicians influenced people with the language of voting for the symbol of an orange which meant a NO vote. They were discouraged from voting for the symbol of a banana which meant a YES vote. It was further observed that most people in Masinga had not personally read the document (draft constitution). Since the Church leaders did not read it for them, the people thought it wise to follow the advice of the politicians. This study established that since Hon. Stephen Kalonzo (Vice President then) was among the contesters for a NO vote, many people in Masinga echoed his words. Therefore, it was not the church but the politicians influencing the conscience of the AIC followers in Masinga. The same was repeated in the 2010 referendum.

The 2005 draft constitution was voted down by the masses with the government loosing and the opposition registering the victory. At the same time in 2006 new political parties were born in preparation of the 2007
general election (Chacha, 2010:112). The post election violence came and was over and the next stage was the preparation for a new constitution. From 2009 – 2010, the search for new constitution was the centre of the debate between the church leaders and the politicians. Just like the 2005 referendum, the 2010 referendum was both spiritualized and politicized.

Church leaders were against the draft mainly because of the Kadhi’s courts and the abortion clause. Naomi, Mutua and Mwikali (O.I. 20/08/2011) argued that the same clauses were in the Kenyan constitution but now the church leaders were becoming critical as if it was the first time they were introduced. Further the draft had other critical issues on land and devolution of power, but because these two clauses were impinging on the Church’s moral and spiritual aspects the leaders vowed to rally church members against the draft. A great percentage of the Church in Kenya in general organized for prayer rallies in various parts of the country to admonish their faithful to vote against the draft. Churches under NCCK and the Catholic, through the media gave their stand that they would not support the draft constitution and that they would rally their members to follow suit. Pentecostal churches followed suit with the key Pentecostal preachers forming coalition front against the draft. They were Bishop James Nganga of Neno Evangelism Centre; Bishop Margaret Wanjeru of Jesus is Alive Ministries; Apostle Joseph Musili of Around The Globe Ministries; Bishop Pius Muiru of Maximum Miracle Centre and Bishop Mark Kariuki of the Redeemed Gospel Church.
AIC was not left behind, it joined the NCCK and the other Churches on voting against the draft constitution. AIC issued a circular (Circular 2:2010) citing the clauses on Kadhi courts and abortion as her grounds for voting against the draft constitution. But the sampled informants in this study wondered where the voice of AIC was during the evils of the KANU regime when so many innocent people suffered and others died. Kioko (O.I. 19/9/2011) added that AIC’s circular was just an external expression of concern. This is because in the history of the Kenyan politics there were many other critical moments when AIC leadership would have given a circular letter on her stance. Therefore, AIC spoke not because it was a matter of critical national importance but because it was affecting some moral issues it deemed crucial; Kadhi’s courts and the clause on abortion.

The partisan nature evident in the Church of Kenya on the draft also revealed the politicization factor. In political circles, there was a rift as different politicians gave different stands for the constitution. The President, the Prime Minister and others were for the draft constitution. Others such as William Ruto advocated for a No vote. On the other hand, others, for the example the Vice President then, were not clear about their position. The same divisions evident in political circles were evident in the church. The NCCK, Catholic Church, AIC and the Pentecostals advocated for a NO, vote. But while PCEA advocated for a NO vote, influential leaders such as Timothy Njoya called for a YES vote. In Kisumu, churches advocated for a YES vote probably due to ODM influence. AIC being predominant in Kalenjin and Ukambani, and with
strong political leaders such as the retired president and William Ruto, probably influenced AIC for a NO vote. The informants did inform the study that while AIC released a circular opposing the draft many AIC members voted YES for the constitution. Some of the informants claimed that they could not trust the AIC’s claims because for many years, AIC has been the influence of political system and had lacked a critical judgment in matters pertaining to politics. Besides the spiritualization and politicization of the 2005 and 2010 draft constitutions, was the internal crisis factor affecting the response of AIC to political issues in Masinga.

4.3.4 Internal Crisis Factor
The most part during Kibaki’s era, AIC was rocked with leadership wrangles which made her focus on consolidating the Church for unity. It was a long leadership dispute which landed the top leaders into court battles. It finally led to a court ruling that has recently led to closing of several local churches in Kangundo and Mwala. It is a crisis that led AIC in 2008 to revise its constitution to deal with dissenting leaders something that has caused divisions at a local context. It has also seen the Church skip the normal elections done after every five years thus causing more divisions and crises.

The leadership conflicts can be traced to the 2002 church elections. According to the pastor’s and AIC members interviewed, from the LCC to DCC there were no problems with the elections. But from the RCC to CCC, the positions of the RCC chairperson and the office of the bishop were politicized. At the CCC, two men were eyeing the bishop’s seat. The two were the then Bishop
Cyrus Yego and David Mbuvi, a former key leader in CCC. Information gained from pastors and members, indicated before the elections, there were already different camps at the AIC Central office (CCC). The camps already existed when Rev. Dr. Kivunzi was leaving office in 2001. But this time, before the elections, crisis had surfaced in CED at a national level. The study found out that the then CED leader at national level, Joseph Maswai, was embarking on some CED reforms that his senior leaders did not like. The pastors interviewed, especially the young pastors informed the study that the CED reforms by Maswai were relevant. This is because the reforms geared towards making CED relevant and contemporary. These pastors hinted that such reforms would retain majority of the church members from shifting to other churches. This because the CED governing laws have been interpreted as conservative. As a result majority of AIC members are barred from participating in various CED groups unnecessarily. Consequently, they would shift to other churches where freedom of participating in church activities was accorded. Therefore, they welcomed Maswai’s reformation policies not that majority of them headed the CED in both DCC and RCC.

The information gained from the RCC leaders in Masinga who have access to CCC, indicated that the Central office interpreted Maswai’s actions as sinister. The CCC accused Maswai of organizing for CED seminars of which the money was not accounted for. Secondly, the CCC accused Maswai of corruption. This is because it was alleged that he his own printing press from where the CED materials were printed and thus corruption. Thirdly, since
Maswai’s policy reforms were welcomed by the young pastors leading CED at both DCC and RCC; it was interpreted as move to join the bishopric seat. This move translated itself to cases whereby many CED leaders at RCC and DCC level were also removed from office due to rebellion (2007 – 2008). This led to the removal of Maswai from CED office. Information gained from this study hints that Maswai, influenced several RCCs from his home place (Riftvalley) to oppose the Bishop (Cyrus Yego). Although Maswai later apologized to the CCC, and was put under church discipline, the leadership wrangles would continue under David Mbuvi.

David Mbuvi, who was the then Chairman of Nairobi RCC then, and a member of CCC, went to preach in Rift valley, in one of the RCCs opposing the removal of Maswai. The CCC interpreted Mbuvi’s move as a support for Maswai. The study revealed that the Bishop, Rev. Cyrus Yego was angered by Mbuvi’s action. However, respondents informed that study that even before Maswai’s opposition, Yego and Mbuvi had started differing because each looked forward to the bishop’s seat. Information gained from top leadership in Masinga RCC, who were members of the CCC, hints that during one of the CCC meetings, Yego ordered Mbuvi to walk outside. This was for purpose of the CCC deliberate about him. However, as the study learned, instead of Mbuvi waiting, he disappeared completely. When they needed him, was not to be found. The respondents recalled that Mbuvi even switched off his mobile phone. This is was the beginning of great leadership crisis in AIC. Mbuvi went round influencing a number of pastors and congregations against Yego
and thus a creation of two camps in AIC: Mbuvi’s and Yego’s. During the 2006 elections, while Yego’s team was meeting at AIC Milimani for elections, Mbuvi’s team was meeting at AIC Ziwani. Mbuvi and his team rushed to the Registrar of Societies so as to be registered as the new AIC bishop. But according to this study, somebody either working in the registrar of societies and an AIC member or one who knew the move called Yego and alerted him. Yego, immediately rushed to the Registrar of Societies with the minutes of the various previous CCC deliberations confirming that he was the official AIC Bishop. This meant that Mbuvi’s team would not be registered.

Respondents informed the study that, since Yego had been registered, Mbuvi formed his own camp rallying a great number of supporters after starting a parallel AIC church. Yego on the other hand rallied support from loyal RCC leaders to do away with Mbuvi. In 2008, the AIC constitution was revised deleting the BCC and introducing ACC (see chapter 2), so it to be different with Mbuvi. These sudden changes caused a split at the local churches after noticing that Yego was not to be trusted. Yego’s team which is regarded as the official condemned Mbuvi to the extent of withdrawing his ordination.

The CCC issued a circular warning churches of partnering with Mbuvi. The study learned that, the circular was never read by all Church leaders for they also deemed Yego to be on the wrong. Yego had also used Church money for his legal suits with Mbuvi something that angered the Church members. But because of fear of excommunication, no one spoke boldly against it. The leadership wrangles have continued and now AIC had two camps: Yego’s
deemed the official and Mbuvi deemed the dissent. These leadership crises have been the source of several court rulings and injunctions even broadcast in the media. The case was concluded recently in Court in favour of Yego leading to closure of all churches in Kangundo and Mwala associated with Mbuvi. However, the crises are still emerging in other parts causing splits in AIC. Therefore, it was this leadership crisis which sparked the leadership wrangles between Mbuvi and Yego till today. Such leadership chaos contradict the spirit of Christianity and the rationale of Christian leadership because the two are believed to be model leaders who should emulate Christ, the chief leader of the Church.

In Masinga, the same leadership wrangles have been evident. This is because Rev. Philiph Muinde, the long serving Yatta RCC Chairperson and now Masinga RCC chairperson as well as the deputy bishop in Machakos ACC has been close to CCC office. Majority of the pastors, elders and members sampled refer to his leadership as autocratic. It is this autocracy that he has used to warn the pastors and elders of Mbuvi’s camp. For better part AIC in Masinga has not been able to look out at the socio-political issues as much time has been spend in dealing with leadership wrangles. This factor has made AIC aloof to political issues in Masinga District.

4.3.5 Conclusion
The chapter has evaluated the response of AIC in Masinga to Kenyan politics. The factors that affected her response to politics in Masinga stemmed from AIC’s organizational structure at a national level. The study demonstrated its
thesis that AIC does not actively participate in political issues unless they impinge directly on her moral and ethical values. Her response to politics in the Kenya’s three political regimes has been discussed. During the Kenyatta era, it was the missionary factor, the learning stage and the sacralisation of political leadership. The church was at a learning stage on how co-exist with African government leaders, although the church leadership was still in the hands of the white missionaries. These missionaries feared lest they be interpreted as interfering with Kenya’s independency. At the same time, Jomo Kenyatta was seen as the savior of the country from colonial rule. In particular, AIC was predominately under white missionaries and like any other church, was at the learning stage.

During the Moi era, AIC became almost the state Church. The man in power being their one of them in matters of faith meant that AIC would not raise her voice against Moi’s leadership. This compromise was boosted by factors such as sacralisation political leadership, denominational affiliation, temptation to power and wealth, besides the ethnic and tribal affinities between the Head of State and the AIC bishop and the internal leadership crisis that rocked the Church from 1996. During the Kibaki era, other factors that shaped the response of AIC to political involvement were the Christian ideology factor; co-option of church leaders by politicians, spiritualization and politicisation of the 2005 and 2010 draft constitution and the internal crisis factor.

The chapter confirms the premise of the theoretical framework of Hoft and Oldham that the theological presuppositions held by any Church do affect her
function in the society. The study has shown that it is not only the theological presuppositions that affect the response of Church to politics. There are both internal and external factors that might either make the Church actively or passively involved. The apathy of AIC to politics, although stemming from the theology inherited from AIM of being concerned more with evangelism and individual salvation other external and internal factors, have brought in their influence. Ethnocentrism, sacrilisation of political leadership, internal leadership wrangles and co-option of Church leaders by politicians are some of the factors outside theological presuppositions. A combination of these factors has made AIC silent to political issues in Masinga.

Such a state of apathy has led to compromise and loss of relevance of AIC. This is because AIC has not been active in making Christianity relevant in addressing the problems of the modern society as envisaged in the Social Gospel Theory of Gladden (1940). AIC is then challenged by the Prophetic Realism Theory by Fowler to employ a strategy of the biblical prophets to critically get involved in the affairs of the society, by refusing to ignore the oppression and the injustices that the society produces and condones. AIC should then have a balanced role whereby while maintaining her prophetic role, she guards herself against assuming a privileged position and thus compromise. But as per the present moment, AIC remains apathetic to political issues hence a change is needed so as to make the Gospel relevant in all areas of life. The next chapter contains the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction
The present chapter summarizes the entire study. It is divided into three parts. First, it presents the summary of the main findings. Second, are the study recommendations and third, proposed areas for further research.

5.1 Summary and Conclusions
The study examined the response of AIC to politics in Masinga District in Machakos County from 1975 to 2010. In essence, the study focused on factors contributing to the apparent apathy of AIC to political concerns in Masinga District. Through readings and observations, the study established that AIC does not actively participate in political issues even at national level unless they impinge directly on her moral values. The study reveals that the Gospel which the Church preaches should be holistic encompassing both spiritual and social dimension. This then means that the Church has a critical role to play in the socio-political life of the people by being the conscience of the society. This is because the Church is the light and salt of the world (Matt.5:13-14). The task of being the conscience of the society calls the Church to be prophetic. The study established that if any church loses sight of this prophetic task, it betrays the holistic teachings of the Gospel and also risks its relevancy.

The study looked at the history of AIC from AIM and its influence to the response of AIC to politics. It further discussed the understanding of AIC
members in Masinga District on the meaning of politics and the role of the Church in politics. It also evaluated the response of AIC to politics from 1975 to 2010, putting into focus the three Kenyan political regimes; Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki regimes. The study employed oral interviews, questionnaires, and participant observation secondary sources in collecting data. Based on the objectives of the study the collected data was categorized and thematized for analysis and interpretation.

The theoretical framework adopted for the study was a theological framework within the focus of social ethics. The study employed it to study the response of AIC to politics. The theoretical framework interpreted three theories: Hoft and Oldham Theory, the Social Gospel Theory of Gladden (1940), and the Prophetic Realism of Fowler (1987). This theoretical framework was used to unearth factors underpinning the response of the Church to politics, AIC in particular. At the same time, it was used to challenge AIC leadership to actively get involved in socio-political issues.

The first objective of the study was to discuss the history of AIC in Masinga and its influence to the political apathy apparent in AIC. It was found out that AIC was introduced in Masinga in the early 1950’s by local Akamba preachers from AIM stations in Mumbuni (Machakos), Muisuni (Kang’undo) and Mulango (Kitui). The study also established that the history of AIC from AIM contributes to the apathy present in AIC to socio-political factors. This is because AIM was predominantly preoccupied with the preaching of the
Gospel and personal salvation. The AIM missionaries majored on the spiritual aspects and they did not give the gospel a socio-political dimension. The same aspect was adopted by AIC. Even today, AIC does not respond to socio-political issues unless they seem to directly affect her moral values.

The AIC administrative structures both the old and the new one (2008 revision) were viewed as part of her AIC. The administrative structure only takes care of positions of leadership but does not allow for various departments that can deal with socio-political issues affecting the members and the society in general. The history of theological training of AIC was also revealed as a factor underlying the response of AIC to politics. The study found that AIC has patterned its theological training after AIM. The theological training has only majored on preaching, evangelism and theology and ministry skills. A socio-political focus lacks in the training. Overt involvement in politics was viewed by some respondents as loss of ministry focus. The study also found out that, just as AIM did not consider very much the level of education of their trainees, the same is evident in AIC. Most of the pastors in Masinga are KCPE holders or its equivalent thus not able to critically bring out the socio-political dimensions of the Gospel. The study, therefore, affirms the premise that history of AIC in Masinga from AIM gives clues to its apparent apathy in politics.

The second objective was to analyze the understanding of AIC members on the role of the Church in politics. The study found that there were those who
considered politics is a ‘dirty game’ and the Church as holy and separate hence can be polluted by politics. Accordingly, the Church should not get involved in politics. The study analyzed these approaches to church and politics. It also discussed the biblical passages used in support of the same. Such an approach was seen in tandem with Hoft and Oldham Theory. The Theory argues that it is people’s doctrines, assumptions and views regarding the function of the Church in the society that affects their response to politics. However, the study established that quoting some verses to affirm the separation of the Church and politics amounts to poor hermeneutics.

On the other hand, are those who argued that politics is not dirty and the Church cannot ignore politics. Here, the positive approach regarding church and politics is employed. In this case politics is construed as being involved in the affairs of the people in seeking answers to fundamental questions of social ills, justice, gender equity, human rights, sharing of resources and values. The study established that the Church cannot ignore politics. A basis of the role of the Church in politics was discussed touching on areas such as the Bible and the socio-political welfare, the prophetic task of the Biblical prophets and the Messianic anticipation motif. The role of the Church in politics was seen in areas like praying for those in authority, honouring them as well as practising the prophetic responsibility. This positive approach to church and politics was in agreement with both Gladen Gospel Social Theory and Fowler’s Prophetic Realism. The two theories call the Church to become active in political issues, thus making Christianity relevant in society.
The study observed that people give various meanings to politics which affect the response of the Church to politics. Christians who perceive politics as dirty and the Church as holy and separate will have a limited and a naïve response to socio-political issues. Those who have the positive approach of politics will see the Church as inevitably involved in politics since they will approach the Gospel message holistically as touching on both spiritual and social dimensions. This confirms the second premise of the study that the response of any Church to politics is determined to a great extent by its theological orientation. The study concluded that it is the AIM theology of being pre-occupied with evangelism and preaching, coupled with training devoid of social and political bearing. It appears that the same attitude will persist since there is no strategies laid in changing the training of the pastors. Also, the administrative structures remain the same without any room for socio-political engagement.

The third objective was to evaluate the response of AIC in Masinga to Kenyan politics from 1975-2010. The study had chosen 1975 because AIC became independent from AIM in 1971 and the study gave four years for actualization. However, in its discussion, it touched on political issues from 1963. The year 2010 was chosen because it was the year the AIC produced its first circular letter on a political issue. The study aimed at an evaluation of AIC to politics in Masinga within the Kenyan three political regimes. In each political epoch, the study established that there were multiple factors accounting for the silence of AIC to politics.
During the Kenyatta era, the Church in general was at a learning stage on how to co-exist with the African government. AIC in particular was still in the hands of foreign missionaries for a great part of Kenyatta regime. The other factor was sacralisation of political leadership. Kenyatta was given some sacred postures that ensured that no Church leader thought of criticizing his leadership. Although AIC spoke against the 1969 oathing practices, the study established that AIC spoke because the oathing was infringing upon her moral Christian values. During the Moi era the study found that AIC became almost the state Church. Several factors led to her silence in political issues in Masinga and even at national level. The factors involve sacralisation of political leadership, denominational affiliation, ethnocentrism, temptation to power and wealth by the Church leaders and internal leadership crisis. During this era, AIC even withdrew from NCCK which was maintaining a tough prophetic stance to issues of justice, human rights and governance.

During Kibaki era, the study found that combination of factors underpinned the response of AIC to politics. AIC seems to have woken up from the slumber of being apathetic to political issues by giving forth the first circular letter on the 2010 draft constitution. However, the study established that AIC did that because contagious clauses were affecting her moral Christian values just like in the case of 1969 oathing. The factors that led to silence to political issues involved the Christian ideology factor, co-option of Church leaders to political systems, spiritualization and politicization of the 2005 and 2010 draft constitutions. It is also the conclusion of the researcher that AIC does not get
involved in politics unless such social or political issues directly affect her Christian morals. The researcher further concludes that it is not only the theological and doctrinal presuppositions which affect the response of the Church to politics. There are also diverse factors which may affect the silence of Church to politics like political, ethnic, and denominational factors. It is also the conclusion of the study that AIC lacks a proper critical ethic as well as biblical hermeneutics in its response to political issues.

5.2 Recommendations of the Study
The study recommends that the Ministry of Education should also have a hand in the curriculum of the theological institutions. This is not to amend their statements of faith but in advising them to take a contemporary approach besides their teaching on Bible and theology. This is because the pastors on training in these institutions should be professionals who can fit in the wider community and be able to meet the national goals including economic, social and political agenda.

Second, AIC should redefine her approach to political issues. She should rethink about the holistic nature of the teachings of the Bible. In doing this, proper hermeneutics should be employed so that the Bible message will be brought to bear practical relevance to the socio-political issues. Like wise, the administrative structures should be revised to accommodate various departments with a socio-political outlook. If the administrative structures only address the issues of positions of leadership within the Church, they separate the Church from the larger society. This is because the Church will
be only looking within herself and not outside. Such a focus is a betrayal of the holistic teachings of the Bible.

5.3 Suggestions for Further Research
This study recommends further research on AIC modern history. This is because in addition to the limited literature, the ones available capture its inception to 1970s. Also, research on the response of other churches to the political issues should be carried out for variation of the factors affecting the response of any church to politics.
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## Appendix 1

**LIST OF RESPONDENTS**

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Appendix 2

A7: Map of Kenya showing location of Machakos District

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999
Appendix 3

A8: Map of Machakos District showing Study Sites

Appendix 4

Questionnaire 1: For AIC Pastors

I’m Stephen Kioko, a Master of Arts student at Kenyatta University. I am conducting a research on Church and politics. You are kindly requested to fill this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. Please note that any information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality and thus writing your name is optional.

Instruction Put a tick {✓} where you agree and {✗} where you disagree with the statement. The blank spaces left are for additional information where necessary.

1. Personal Data

   a) Name (optional) ...........................................
   b) Age (years): i. 20-29 {✓} ii. 30-39 {✓} iii. 40-49 {✓} IV. > 50 {✗}
   c) Gender (i). Male {✓} (ii) Female {✗}
   d) Name of your local church……………………………………
   e) Name of DCC…………………………………………………………
   f) Highest Educational level (i). University {✓} (ii). Secondary {✓}
      (iii). Primary {✓} (iv) others {✓} (specify)………………
   g) Highest Theological Training (i). Degree {✓} (ii). Diploma {✓}
      (iii) Certificate {✓} (iv) BEE/ BTCP {✓} (v) others (specify)………..
   h) Where did you receive your training in theology ..............

2. Leadership

   a) Which position do you hold in this local church? Pastor in charge {✓}
      assistant pastor {✓} Other specify ……………………………
   b) For how long have you been a pastor with AIC? 1-5 {✓} 5-10 {✓}
      10-15 {✓} 20-25 {✓} > 25 {✓}
   c) For how long have you served in the present local church? 1-5 {✓} 5-10
      {✓} 10-15 {✓}
   d) How many members do you have in your church?…………………

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e) What other position do you hold in the society? …………………

f) Which other occupation/ profession do you have?…………………

3. When was christianity introduced in Masinga? ………………………

4. Meaning of church involvement in politics:

a) In your own understanding, what is the meaning of “politics”…………

b) (i) Is Politics a dirty game? YES { } NO { }
   (ii) Briefly explain your answer
       ………………………………………………………………………
       ………………………………………………………………………
   (ii) Briefly explain your answer………………………………………………

c) (i) The Church is holy and can be polluted by politics? YES { } NO { }
   (ii) Briefly explain answer……………………………………………………

d) (i) In your Theological Training did you take some courses on church and
    politics or church and society YES { } NO { }
   (ii) Briefly explain answer……………………………………………………

e) What are some the key courses that you took in your Theological or
    Pastoral Training?
    i. …………………………………………………………….
    ii. ……………………………………………………………
    iii. …………………………………………………………..
    iv. …………………………………………………………..
    v. …………………………………………………………..
   (iii) Do the following Biblical episodes give the church permission to get
    involved in politics?
    i. God’s act of liberating the children of Israel from the bondage of
       slavery in Egypt? YES { } NO { }
    ii. Elijah’s act of condemning Ahab for killing Naboth ( I Kings 22)
        YES { } NO { }
    iii. Amos’ condemnation of the rich for oppressing the poor ( Amos
        2:7; 5:7,11, 12) YES { } NO { }
    iv. Jesus’ ministry manifesto in Luke 4:18? YES { } NO { }
v. Jesus said, “Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s” Does this mean that the Church can not get involved in politics? YES { } NO { }

vi. Paul in Romans 13:1-8, has that all governments come from God; does this mean that the Church can not question the activities of the government? YES { } NO { }

g) (i) Should the church get involved in the politics of the country? YES { } NO { }.
(ii) Explain your answer
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
h) (i) Is it good for a pastor to give a response to political issues of the country? YES { } NO { }.
(ii) Explain your answer
........................................................................................................................................
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i) Should the Church keep quiet when the government goes wrong? YES { } NO { }
(ii) Explain your answer
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................
j) Do you have a voter’s registration card? YES { } NO { }
k) For how long have you been voting? 1-5 years { } 5-10 years { } 10-15 years { } 15–20 years { } > 20 { }
l) What motivates you to vote? .........................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

5. The response of AIC to politics in Masinga
   a) Has AIC been active in the Kenyan politics in Masinga District?
      YES { } NO { }
b) Is it true that AIC has been silent on issues of politics?  
YES { } NO { }

c) Was it a wise idea for AIC to withdraw its Membership from the NCCK?  
YES { } NO { }

d) In your own opinion what factors contributed to the withdrawal of AIC from NCCK?  
i.  
ii.  
iii.  
iv.  

e) (i) Does AIC administration give written guidelines to its pastors/elders and followers during national elections? YES { } NO { }.
Explain .................................................................

f) As a church leader, did you receive a written guideline/position of AIC during:
   i. 2005 referendum  YES { } NO { }
   ii. 2010 referendum  YES { } NO { }

g) (i) Do you occasionally preach about Church and Politics? YES{ } NO { }.
Explain .................................................................

h) Are the AIC members satisfied with the socio-political aloofness of their Church leaders? YES { } NO { }

i) If AIC has to get involved in politics, what are some of the pitfalls to avoid?  
i.  
ii.  
iii.  
iv.  

Appendix 5

QUESTIONNAIRE 2: FOR AIC ELDERS

I’m Stephen Kioko a Master of Arts student at Kenyatta University. I am conducting a research on Church and politics. You are kindly requested to fill this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge Please note that any information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality and thus writing your name is optional.

Instruction
Put a tick {✓} where you agree and {✗} where you disagree with the statement. The blank spaces left are for additional information where necessary.

1. Personal Data

   a) Name (optional) ………………………………….
   b) Age (years): i. 20-29 { } ii. 30-39 { } iii. 40-49 { } vi. > 50 { }
   c) Name of your Local Church…………………………………………….
   d) Name of DCC…………………………………………………………..
   e) Highest Educational level i. University { } ii. College { } ii. Secondary { } iv. Primary { } v. Others
      (specify)………………………………

2. Leadership

   a) What position do you hold in this church? Chairman { } Secretary{ } Treasurer { }
   b) What is your occupation? …………………………………………….
   c) What other position do you hold in the society? ……………………..

3. Meaning of Politics:

   a) Politics is a dirty game? YES { } NO { }
b) In your own understanding, what is the meaning of politics?
…………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………
4. AIC and politics in Masinga District
a) Does the church have role in the politics of the country? YES { } NO { }
b) Is there sand harvesting in your area? YES { } NO { }
c) What are some of the problems the community is facing due to sand harvesting?
   i. ………………………………………………………
   ii. …………………………………………………
   iii. …………………………………………………
   iv. …………………………………………………
   v. …………………………………………………
d) Has AIC leadership addressed the problem of sand harvesting? YES { } NO { }
e) Is it true that the Catholic Church priests in the District have been at the frontline in addressing in condemning sand harvesting? YES { } NO { }
f) Is it true that there has been unfair distribution of bursary in Masinga District YES { } NO { } If Yes, has AIC leadership commented on the issue owing to the fact that there are many AIC sponsored schools in the District? YES { } NO { }
g) Does AIC get involved in other community based projects? YES { } NO { }
h) Do you invite politicians during church fund drives (Harambees)? YES { } NO { }
i) Do the AIC leadership complain when such politicians are invited? YES { } NO { }
j) What could be the factors affecting AIC silence on political issues?
   i. ………………………………………………………………………
   ii. ………………………………………………………………………
   iii. ………………………………………………………………………
f) Does your pastor give response to political issues in the district?
   YES { }    NO { }

g) Does he occasionally preach about Church and Politics or Church and government? YES { } NO { }

h) Is the training given to AIC pastors in various AIC institutions effective in enabling them to respond to political issues? YES { } NO { }

i) Is it true that AIC threatens to expel the pastors and elders who comment on political issues? YES { } NO { }

j) Are you satisfied with current AIC administrative structures? YES { } NO { }

k) Are the current administrative structures able to give room for AIC involvement in socio-political issues? YES { } NO { }

l) What advice can you give the AIC leaders as far as their response to politics is concerned?
   i.                                      
   ii.                                     
   iii.                                    
   iv.                                     
   v.                                      

Appendix 6

QUESTIONNAIRE 3: FOR DISTRICT CHURCH AND REGIONAL CHURCH LEADERS

I’m Stephen Kioko a Master of Arts student from Kenyatta University. I am conducting a research on Church and politics. You are kindly requested to fill this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. Please note that any information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality and thus writing your name is optional.

Instruction
Put a tick {✓} where you agree and {✘} where you disagree with the statement. The blank spaces left are for additional information where necessary.

1. Personal Data

a) Name (optional) ..............................................

b) Age (years): i. 20-29 {✓} ii. 30-39 {✓} iii. 40-49 {✓} vii. > 50 {✓}

c) Gender (i). Male {✓} (ii) Female {✓}

d) Name of your local church...........................................

e) Name of DCC...........................................................

f) Highest Educational level (i). University {✓} (ii). Secondary {} (iii). Primary {} (iv) others (specify) ............... 

g) Highest theological training (i). Degree {✓} (ii). Diploma {✓} (iii). Certificate {✓} (iv) BEE/ BTCP {✓} (v) others (specify)

h) Where did you receive your training in Theology

..................................................................................

2. Leadership

a) Which position do you hold in DCC or RCC

..................................................................................
b) For how long have you been in the position of leadership in either DCC or RCC
   1-5 { }  5-10 { }  10-15 { }  20-25 { }  > 25{ }

c) Are you a member of Area Church Council? YES { } NO { }
d) Are you a member of Central Church Council? YES { } NO { }

3. History of AIC in Masinga
   a) Which year(s) was Christianity introduced to Masinga? ………..
   b) Is AIC among the old denominations in Masinga? YES { } NO { }
   c) Who introduced AIC in Masinga? …..............................................
   d) Did the pioneers of AIC in Masinga participate in politics?
      YES { }  NO { }

4. Church and Politics
   a) Is politics a dirty game? YES { } NO { }
   b) The Church is spiritually pure and can be polluted by Politics?
      YES { } NO { }
   c) Theology and politics are two great enemies
      YES { }  NO { }
   d) Does AIC have a written theological guideline on its responsibility in regard to political issues? YES { } NO { }
   e) Is God concerned about the socio-political issues of his people?
      YES { } NO { }
   f) Does AIC have policies in regard to Church and Politics?
      YES { } NO { }
   g) What are some of these policies if any?
      i. ...............................................................
      ii. ...............................................................
      iii. ...............................................................
   h) To what extent are the AIC pastors/elders free to get involved in politics?
      i. ...............................................................
      ii. ...............................................................
      iii. ..............................................................
i) Does the church have a role to play in the politics of the Country?
   YES { } NO { }

j) What are some of these roles of the church in regard to the politics of the Country?
   i. .................................................................
   ii. ............................................................... 
   iii. ..............................................................
   iv. ............................................................... 
   v. ............................................................... 

k) Why did AIC withdraw from National Church Council of Kenya (NCCK) in 1988?
   ........................................................................

l) Why did AIC join Evangelical Fellowship of Kenya (EFK) after withdrawing from NCCK?
   ........................................................................
   ........................................................................
   ........................................................................

m) Does AIC leadership give guidelines to her members on political issues? YES { } NO { }

n) Why that AIC leadership is did not give any guideline during 2005 referendum?
   ........................................................................
   ........................................................................

o) What motivated the AIC leadership to issue a circular letter to her members in 2010 August referendum unlike 2005 referendum?
   i. ...................................................................................................
   ii. .................................................................................................
   iii. ............................................................................................... 
   iv. ...............................................................................................
2. How can you rate the response of AIC to politics in the following political eras:

(a) Kenyatta’s Presidency (1963 – 1968) Active { } Passive { } Dormant { }

(b) Moi’s Presidency (1978 – 2002) Active { } Passive { } Dormant { }

(c) Kibaki’s Presidency (2002 – 2010) Active { } Passive { } Dormant { }
Appendix 7

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR THE AIC CHURCH MEMBERS

I’m Stephen Kioko a Master of Arts student at Kenyatta University. I am conducting a research on church and politics. You are kindly requested to fill this questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. Please note that any information given will be treated utmost confidentiality and thus writing your name is optional.

SECTION A

Name ................................................. (Optional)

Age, > 25 { } 30- 35 { } > 51 { }

Sex: Male { } Female { }

Educational Level: Primary { } Secondary { } College { } University { }

Name of your Local church ..............................................................

For how many years have been a Church member 1-5 years { } 5-10 { }
10-15 { } > 15 { }

Name of your DCC ..............................................................

Occupation: Farming { } Business { } Employed { } None { }

SECTION B

1. a) Do you have a voter’s registration card? YES { } NO { }

   b). For how long have been voting? 1 – 5 years { } 5 – 10 years { } > 15 years { }

   c) In your own understanding what is the meaning of politics .................

       ........................................................................................................
d) Is politics a dirty game YES { } NO { }

e) Should the Church get involved in politics? YES { } NO { }

f) The Church is pure and deals with spiritual matters only

YES { } NO { }

g) The Church can be ruined by politics? YES { } NO { }

h) Politics is for non – Christians YES { } NO { }

i) Should the Church give direction to the Church members on political issues? YES { } NO { }

SECTION C

1. During Kenyatta era, at one point in 1969 there was oathing (Muma) and people were being taken to Yatta (Kithimani) for oathing. Did you participate YES { } NO { }

2. Did your pastor/Church leader discourage from taking the oath (Muma) YES { } NO { }

3. Was the oathing against Christian values and beliefs? YES { } NO { }

4. What are some of the problems people faced in Masinga during the KANU era
   i) ………………………………………………………………………
   ii) ……………………………………………………………………
   iii) ……………………………………………………………………

5. Did you like the queuing (Mlolongo) system of voting? YES { } NO { }

6. Did your pastor/Church say anything against the problems facing people during the KANU era like being forced to buy KANU badges, Mlolongo system of voting, KANU membership cards, and contributions to support KANU activities? YES { } NO { }
7. In 2002, Moi’s Uhuru project was rejected by the Masinga at Masinga Market. What led to this rejection?

8. In which ways did Moi help the AIC in Masinga District?
i).................................................................................................

ii).................................................................................................

iii).................................................................................................

iv).................................................................................................

9. Since Moi was a member of AIC, did the AIC leaders speak against his government whenever it went wrong? YES { } NO { } 

10. In 2005 draft constitution, what did you vote for Orange { } Banana { } 

   Explain why .................................................................

11. Did you receive directions from the pastor/church leaders on what to vote for? YES { } NO { } 

12. In 2007 general election what was your political party affiliation?

.................................................................................................

13. Did your pastor give your guidelines on how to vote?

    YES { } NO { } 

14. After the chaos that resulted out of 2007 elections what did your church do? Prayed only { } Gave material aid to the affected people{ } Nothing { } 

15. In 2010 draft constitution what did you vote for? YES { } NO { } 

16. What motivated your decision? Your pastor { } the political leaders { } personal decision { } 

17. Did your pastor or church give any direction on what to vote for?

    YES { } NO { }
18. What reasons did they give for or against the draft constitution?
   i) ........................................................................................................
   ii) ........................................................................................................
   iii) ........................................................................................................

19. Are you pleased with the level of your church (AIC) on political issues?  YES { } NO { }

20. Does your pastor preach on church and politics? YES { } NO { }

21. How can you rate your church’s involvement in politics?
    Very active { } Active { } passive { }