RELIGION AND POLITICS IN ZAMBIA: INVESTIGATING THE RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE IN THE 2016 ELECTORAL CAMPAIGNS

Nelly Mwale
University of Zambia

Abstract

This article qualitatively investigated the religious discourse in the 2016 electoral campaigns in Zambia using the media as a lens. The article observes that religion was increasingly used and abused in the 2016 election campaigns for political mileage by using religious songs, Bible verses, names and prayers. The campaigns also included accusations of Satanism and witchcraft. The declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation was a major factor in the use of religious citations in the political campaigns. However, just as the declaration was a mere pronouncement, the use of religion in the campaigns by politicians was merely for political gain and a campaign brand.

Keywords: Religion, Politics, Religious Discourse, Electoral Campaigns, Christian Nation and Violence

Introduction

This article interrogates religious discourse[1] in politics with reference to the 2016 election campaigns in Zambia. This inquiry arises out of the concern that one of the most significant but overlooked factors in electoral politics is the role played by religious issues (Wilson, 2012). Zambia held general elections on 11 August, 2016, and of interest to this article was the religious discourse that emerged in the media. There were nine (9) contesting parties: the Patriotic Front (PF); the opposition, United Party for National Development (UPND), the Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD), People's Alliance for Change (PAC), United Progressive People's Party (UPP), Rainbow Party (RP), Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), Green Party (GP) and Democratic Alliance (DA). However, the first two parties (PF and UPND) were prominent in the interrogation of the discourse simply because they were the widely covered political parties groups.

The 2016 elections were also held under an amended constitution and the new legal regime which introduced changes to electoral rules. For example, presidential

---

[1] Discourse is here viewed as language in use (Brown and Yule, 1983), constructed as oral or written texts and functions in social contexts, occurring naturally and spontaneously (Chalon, 1985; Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981; Onadeko, 2000; Van Dijk, 1985). Discourse is also considered as a socially and historically situated mode of action in a dialectical relationship (socially shaped and socially shaping) with other facets of the social sphere (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1989).

candidates were required to have running mates while parliamentary and local government candidates were required to process Grade 12 educational qualifications or their equivalent. A further requirement for the winning presidential candidate was to garner a minimum of 50 per cent plus one of the votes among others.[2]

Prior to the elections, the different political parties were engaged in diverse campaign activities. These included: producing and airing adverts for radio and television, mounting billboards in various cities and towns, hiring buses or ferrying supporters from one place to another, printing and distributing t-shirts, caps, *chitenge* materials and foodstuffs to supporters, and conducting rallies across the country among others (Zambia Elections Information Centre Report, 2016). While these can be deemed as traditional methods of campaigning, the religious element was not absent despite not being captured by pre-election monitors. Therefore, the intention of the article was to explore the religious discourse, which was associated with politics in the campaign period to mirror the interconnectedness of religion and politics; and most importantly to make meaning of how religion has shaped Zambian politics. It is hoped that future studies would delve into correlating the actual impacts of the religious factor in the voting patterns. The article does not dwell on the post-election period to ascertain whether voters were influenced by religion but is limited to pre-election campaign activities, in particular from May to August 2016.

The inquiry is deemed significant because of its contribution to the existing body of knowledge on religion and politics in Africa and Zambia in particular, by bringing to the fore the place of religion in Zambian politics from an empirical perspective. Studies on religion and politics in Africa point to the idea that political power and religion are commonly considered to be closely intertwined, despite the formal separation of religion and politics. For instance, Haynes (2004: 80-81), observes that it is difficult to be sure where 'religion' ends and 'politics' begin in Africa. Furthermore, Marshall (2009) argues that religion has had a tendency to spread into a range of other domains, especially the political, while Bompani and Frahm-Arp (2010) contend that religious and public political spaces in Africa are commonly used concomitantly.

Review of Related Literature

This section highlights brief perspectives on the major themes from a selected review of literature that informed the study directly and indirectly from global, African, and Zambian perspectives in religion and politics. Apart from giving additional general background information, the global and African studies helped situate the study more broadly while the Zambian studies provided a precise background on which this study was established.

---

[2] Article 47 and 101 of the Constitutional Amendment Act 2016.

Globally, scholarship on religion and politics is focused on the politicisation of religion and religionalisation of politics. For example, Huntington (1993), in *Clash of Civilisations* hypothesised that people's cultures and religious identities would be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold-War world. Contrary to secularisation theorists who had predicted the decline of religion in modern politics (Smith, 1970), Huntington (1993) argued that religion was a societal factor that has filled the vacuum created by a loss of political ideology. Given that major religions had received new surges, Huntington (1993) further argued that replacing politics with religion was as a result of increased communication among societies and cultures as people needed new sources of identity, forms of stable community and sets of moral precepts to provide a sense of meaning and purpose, all which were fulfilled by religion. While giving a broader framework of religion and politics in the post-Cold-War era, Huntington's (1993) hypothesis focused on conflicts and yet religion can also play a constructive role.

In addition, the growing presence of religion in global politics was acknowledged in global literature. For example, Haynes (2014) provided a comparative overview of the relationship between religion and politics in Europe, America, Africa and Asia and showed how religion, far from fading from political relevance, had assumed an important role within many cultures. However, Haynes (2014) does not deal adequately with how religion had become part of the electoral process. Haynes (2015), in *Religion in Global Politics,* further examined the relationship between religion and politics in the last quarter of the century through a global survey in which he observed the widespread and simultaneous refusal of world religions, such as Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism to restrict themselves to the private sphere. In addition, Haynes (2015) observed that religious organisations of various kinds openly rejected the secular ideals dominating most national policies and refused to restrict themselves to the pastoral care and instead raised questions about the interconnections of private and public morality. While adequately showing how the religions and religious organisations had stepped into politics such as through lobby, protest, and publishing reports, Haynes's (2015) global survey did not address how politicians had tapped into religion in their electoral campaigns.

Global scholarship also showed the interconnectedness between religion and politics. For example, Fox (2008) brought out the different ways in which governments were engaging religion. Precisely, Fox (2008) advanced 62 variables indicating a way in which religion and politics could engage while Moyser (1991) argued that religion and politics could engage in three different forms, such as through political authorities controlling religious institutions, religious leaders prescribing to political authorities and or a symbiotic co-existence of politics and religion. These ways did not pay

attention to the use of religion for political campaigns, as the linkage between political authorities and religion was largely through political control of religious institutions.

At the continental level, the religion and political studies reviewed include Ellis and Ter Haar's (2007) study in which the authors argued that Africans believed that their widely attested malaise of public life could be explained largely by reference to the invisible forces. Ellis and Ter Haar (2007) observed that religion and politics in Africa were not to be treated as separate entities as was the case in the Western tradition, a scenario that had resulted in failure to give serious attention to the role played by religion in politics and governance literature in Africa. The co-authors also observed that [some] writers, writing on African states, assumed that religion was a cultural matter and less important than the analysis of economics and politics. As such, the duo argued that the interconnectedness between religion and politics needed to be taken seriously as understood in Africa, hence, provided a basis for studying religion in Zambian politics, in particular, in the election campaigns.

Apart from the broader conceptual categories, other reviewed studies focused on country perspectives. For example, in Senegal, Gifford (2016) explored religion and politics in contemporary times in which he observed that, although the most salient social force in Senegal was the *Sufi* brotherhood whose essence was the disciples' submission to the will of the guide. It was never the case that a guide could deliver his disciples' votes to his chosen politician as disciples distinguished political from religious injunctions. Gifford (2016) concluded that although the brotherhoods still exercised considerable power, their influence was fading owing to the external factors from the wider Islamic world and internal factors such as the commercialisation of the religious families and the growing reluctance of educated disciples to be dictated to in political matters. Gifford (2016) brought out a significant variable in religion and politics by alluding to how education created a critical analysis of political issues to a point that religious sentiments would not influence political decisions.

Onapajo (2012) studied religion and politics by exploring religious politics in democratic Nigeria. Onapajo (2012) highlighted conflicts within the context of the global resurgence of religion in politics and advocated for dignifying roles for religious leaders in the constitution so as to reduce the tension associated with religious politics in that country. However, Onapajo's (2012) emphasis on the engagement of religious leaders in politics did not adequately address how politicians used religion in election campaigns despite linking religion and politics to political violence. Burgess (2015) also linked religion and politics to violence and conflicts in Nigeria, in a study on *Pentecostals and Politics in Nigeria and Zambia* from a historical perspective.

While Tfwala (2016) studied the participation of Pentecostal churches in politics from a pastoral perspective in Swaziland, Beyers (2015) explored religion as a political instrument in a democratic era in the South African context. Using content analysis, Beyers (2015) included Japan in his study and advanced four main reasons for the political use of religion, namely: lack of separation between the spheres of existence, culture of religious participation in politics, politics and religion touching on emotional and sentimental chords, religion's contribution to national identity, religion's claim to divine approval of political decisions and religious communities as effective partners in implementing government policies. Beyers (2015) concluded that a political system could only utilise religion for political gains within a society that was receptive to religion, citing the case of Japan where politicians viewed religion as an extremely effective tool to bring about social change and the South African context in which religion did not prove to be an effective tool to restore moral order.

Specific Zambian studies on religion and politics have concentrated on the role of the church in politics in general and the Christian Nation discourse. For example, Hinfelaar (2005) showed that religion and politics in Zambia had a long history. She observed that scholars of recent Zambian politics had not resisted the lure of the simplistic binary between Kaunda's socialism and Chiluba's Christianity and, therefore, argued that a history of Zambia's First and Second Republics could not be deemed complete without a comprehensive description of religious beliefs and institutions.

Other studies focused on the involvement of the church in politics, such as Phiri (1999), who provided for reasons to explain why African churches preached politics from the Zambian context using a framework that was developed by Jean Francoise Bayart on the political functions of the churches in Cameroon in the 1970s. These studies revealed that the focus on how religion and politics were related had dwelt on what the Church was doing or had done; as such, they did not sufficiently deal with how politicians used religion.

The other studies in the Zambian context delved into how religion and politics were connected through the examples of political leaders. For example, Cheyeka (2014) observed that Pentecostal clergy's involvement in partisan politics was new in Africa and analysed how Nevers Mumba left televangelism, joined politics and became the fourth president of the Movement of Multi-party Democracy (MMD). Cheyeka (2014) brought out the contradiction in practice between Mumba's political ethics and politics and argued that Mumba seemed to have compromised his Christian faith for the rewards of the 'politics of the belly' and a future that led him into the morass of political duplicity. Similarly, Cheyeka (2014) demonstrated how Frederick Chiluba mixed religion and politics and argued that Chiluba abused Christianity for

his own gratification contrary to the people's expectations that Christianity would be used to create democratic institutions, structures, and values. Phiri (2003) also studied the career of Frederick Chiluba from his election as President until his renunciation after attempts to stand for a third term in 2001. He argued that the Christian Nation concept had the inadvertent consequence of giving evangelicals a clear basis on which to judge Chiluba and the Zambian State and, hence, served as a catalyst for more energetic and extensive political engagement.

The selected review of literature revealed that studies on religion and politics have often explored the role of religion in politics (at other levels) in Zambia (Cheyeka, 2014; Phiri, 1992; 2009) and, therefore, this study sought to make a modest contribution towards the existing literature in Zambian scholarship by extending the religion and political conversation to the electoral campaigns which appeared to be more Christianised over time.

Methodology

Qualitative methods were applied in the form of documentary analysis to gather and analyse data. Using document review as the main data collection method, the investigation acknowledges that social scientists largely neglected and ignored the use of documents in favour of other methods in which they are actively involved, to produce data for their own purposes (McCulloch, 2004; Ahmed, 2010). Informed by Bryman (2004:380-92), that documents as sources of data include letters, diaries, autobiographies, mass media outputs, newspapers, magazines and photographs, the study analysed media campaign adverts, official political party campaign statements, political party manifestos, newspaper articles, photographs, and picture stories. This was supplemented by content and discourse analysis of six (6) election campaign videos. The different forms of documents were chosen using the availability criteria (Cohen, *et al.,* 2007), and covered the time when the election campaigns were officially opened on 16 May, 2016 until they closed on 10 August, 2016. All the political parties that participated in the elections were potential targets for the search of the religious discourse in the campaigns, but two main parties (PF and UPND) which had extensive media coverage dominated the inquiry. The central question which guided the data collection was to establish how the religious discourse was used in the 2016 General Election campaigns.

The data collected from these sources were inductively analysed as guided by Braun and Clarke (2006:77-101) through coding and analysis of recurring themes. Suffice to mention that although some political parties were prominent in their engagement with the religious discourse, particularly the PF and UPND, the study did not seek to study these particular political parties but rather to broadly understand

how different political parties used religious discourse in their campaign messages as portrayed in the media. In a like manner, the study did not set out to interview voters, but based its analysis of the religious discourse that was presented in the media with a view that, to understand society in the 21ˢᵗ century, we must also understand the media and the ways that phenomena are remade through their interaction with modern media (Hoover, 2012).

Theoretical Framework

In order to analyse the use of religious discourse in the electoral campaigns, two prominent perspectives were used whose roots are in American Religion and Political Scholarship, the Ethnoreligious and Religious Restructuring Perspectives. The Ethnoreligious theory identifies the key religious groups as being the historic denominations born in Europe and later multiplied on America's shores to combine distinct religious worldviews with other cultural attributes such as ethnicity, race, or regional location (Guth *et al.,* 2006). The religious traditions developed their own political cultures that were fostered by religious leaders, houses of worship and ethnic neighbourhoods, and activated by party leaders. Using this perspective, Jensen (1971) and Klepper (1979) observed that American party politics involved competing alliances of ethnoreligious groups.

Some sociologists recently challenged the continuing utility of the ethnoreligious perspective as the nature of religious affiliation breaks down and people move freely among religious settings, ignoring old ties of doctrine, denomination, ethnicity, region, and family (Ammermna, 1997). This challenge gave rise to the new interpretation of the use of religion in politics as advanced in the religious restructuring perspectives.

The religious restructuring perspective is anchored on the premise that every society's religion has been divided into two factions holding two opposing worldviews, fostered by competion for religious institutions and leaders (Guth, *et al.,* 2006). Wuthnow (1988) and Hunter (1991) argued that major religious traditions had become polarised by theological, social, and cultural conflicts into a conservative or orthodox faction on one side and a liberal or progressive one on the other. The identification of the rival forces constitutes the most valuable insight of this perspective and as such, scholars employ various names for the resulting factions such as traditionalist or modernists.

An examination of religion in the media revealed continued battles between traditionalists and modernists in almost every major religious tradition and denomination (Protestants, Evangelicals and Catholic). While these differences were anchored on theology and practice, they also produced opposing moral, social, economic and political perspectives (Guth, *et al*., 2006). The divisions may influence electoral politics only because they shaped the cues presented to the public by religious and political elites (Guth *et al*., 1997; Fiorina *et al*., 2005).

In this article, both perspectives are deemed significant in understanding presidential politics (Layman, 2001) because political leaders in the campaigns capitalised on the historic and newer Christian churches in the country who had long shaped Zambian politics and people's religiosity in general. Most importantly, the structuring of Zambian Christianity manifested the divisive role of religion in politics as politicians used religion by identifying with it (as Christians) and to de-campaign others in the quest of attracting what can be deemed as a 'Christian vote' (votes from Christians).

Ethnoreligious and religious restructuring perspectives highlight the major concepts of religion and politics. While the conceptualisation of religion[3] and politics[4] had often been modelled in academia on the assumption of a structural distinction between the visible or material world and the invisible world, Ellis and Haar's theory which proceeds from the proposition that the religious ideas held by so many Africans need to be taken seriously and should be considered in their own terms in the first instance (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2004:16-21), also informs this inquiry. Ellis and Ter Haar (2007) argue that religion in sub-Saharan Africa is best considered as a belief in the existence of an invisible world which is distinct but not separate from the visible one that is home to spiritual beings with effective powers over the material world.

With regard to politics, many people in the world, just as in sub-Saharan Africa, consider power as having its ultimate origin in the invisible world. This, they argue, has a marked influence on the conduct of politics and on political attributes such as authority and legitimacy (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2007). The article, therefore, reflects on religion and politics to mirror how they empirically influenced each other in the campaigns, most importantly because of a lack of distinction between the sacred and the secular. This is because by remaining a prism through which many people view the world, religion and politics become two facets of power that are in constant interaction (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2007).

In this article, the focus was on political party politics and election campaigns. By focusing on political parties, it is acknowledged that political parties are not the only thinkable vehicles to pursue religious politics, but other religious bodies have also contributed to politics in Zambia. For example, Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) have played an increasingly important role in the social service provision, and religious leaders have long occupied prominent social and political positions both on the national and local levels. Uzodike and Whetho (2008), confirm that this is a common trend in Africa, where religious leaders are commonly conceived

---

[3]   The article uses the understanding of religion as advanced by Ellis and Ter Haar (1998:387) as a belief in the existence of an invisible world, which has substantial influence and power over the material world.

[4]   Politics is the process of making binding collective decisions, and a universal human attribute which all societies and communities develop mechanism for is employed (Leftwich, 2008:5).

as trusted public figures. Most importantly, the focus is mainly limited to the kind of politics that touch the public and are observable.[5]

Context of the 2016 Election Campaigns - Brief Perspectives

The 2016 elections were highly contested and this demonstrated the country's growing democracy, at least, through the multiplicity of political parties. The campaigns were conducted in a religious context, whose main religions were Christianity, Islam and traditional religions often called African Traditional Religions (ATRs). Cheyeka (2014), reported that, of Zambia's population (14, 222, 000), 95.5 per cent were Christians, 0.5 per cent were Muslims, 0.1 per cent were Hindus, while other and non-affiliated categories accounted for 2 per cent and 1.9 per cent respectively. For this reason, the focus of this article is on Christianity. All major Christian denominations have their corresponding institutions, which take part in the political debates of the country. For example, Cheyeka (2014) observes that Zambian's Christianity is also spoken of in terms of the Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC) instituted in 1963, the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ), and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ). The CCZ was established in 1945 as the umbrella body of mainline Protestant churches. The EFZ was officially formed in 1964 to oversee evangelical churches. In 2001, a fourth umbrella body, the Independent Churches Organisation of Zambia (ICOZ), was formed to bring together charismatic churches, ministries, fellowships, and centres.

The discussion of religion in Zambia is not without the influence of the 1991 'Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation.' The concept of a Christian Nation in Zambia has received wide scholarship and debate (Cheyeka, 2008; Simuchimba, 2004). Cheyeka's (2014) conceptualisation of a Christian Nation in which he argues that the declaration needed to have moral underpinnings, informs this inquiry. Cheyeka (2014) notes that this declaration which was made for political reasons had done very little to contribute to development. Instead, it has become a slogan and a heresy. Cheyeka (2014) based his accounts and analysis on the top political leadership by examining what he coined as Chilubaism.

This article extends this observation by focusing on political figures in the electoral campaigns. As will be discussed later, the declaration has indirectly created a new clientele in the voters, and, in turn, the politicians have commodified religion by using the religious discourse to attract voters in their political campaigns. Practically, the declaration was a brand that did not go with the deeds of the top political leaders as

---

[5] For purposes of political analysis, Haynes' assertion that the religious consists of both the institutional (which entails the religious institutional organisation) and the spiritual (which signifies a system of guiding individual and social behaviour (1996: 1-2) is acknowledged because the emphasis was on the spiritual as displayed by individual politicians in their campaign messages.

they used it for political mileage. As such, what was going on in the campaigns did not reflect the application of Christian virtues and messages, thus, the religious discourse in this way was largely a political strategy.

The political landscape was also diverse as earlier alluded to and each of the political parties had a special message for the electorate as captured by the Zambia Elections Information Centre Report (2016). For example, the PF promised to create more jobs, build better roads, medical facilities, and Industrial development and more of government's involvement in the running of the economy (social democracy). The UPND promised to provide free education, create stable and consistent policies to the mining industry, and allow more private sector involvement in the running of the economy (Liberal agenda).

The Green Party (GP), was premised on the environment, although its focus was on exporting *marijuana* to raise income for the country. This was to done by generating biofuel from *marijuana* as well as demystify public misconceptions about *marijuana.* The Forum for Democracy and Development (FDD) promised to increase the capacity of resource-poor small-scale farmers to enable them generate higher income from agricultural activities and to provide incentives that would enable them increase productivity and diversify into agro-processing to adding value to their produce. The FDD also promised to promote democratic decentralisation aimed at securing the full participation of people in the governance of the nation. The Rainbow Party (RP) promoted a socialist agenda and argued that the current social development and economic model did not address the challenges facing the peasants and the urban poor. As such the party proposed to move away from the current social-economic framework that excluded the majority of the Zambian people.

Other than these messages, the 2016 pre-election period was also associated with numerous reports of violence in selected places. For example, the European Union Election Observation Mission (2016) reported that throughout the campaign, both the ruling party and the opposition made statements that inflamed tensions. They also argued that in all observed campaign events, candidates and parties campaigned vigorously and usually respected campaign regulations, but the aggressive rhetoric of some speakers contributed to an occasional intolerant tone. It was in this scenario that religion found its place in the campaigns.

Findings and Discussion

There was a range of issues relating to religion that featured in the pre-election campaigns. All the presidential candidates claimed to have a Christian background, and this only reflects the country's religious landscape. The political campaigns in 2016 turned out to be fierce, confrontational and religious sentiments had their part in the

political rhetoric. During the election campaign, the different political parties and their candidates used religion with the hope of attracting votes from different social groups (voters). This was not unique to Zambian politics but has been reported elsewhere too, for instance, in Nigeria, Brazil, and America among other countries (Mariano and Oro, 2016; Harris, 1994; Souza and Teixeira, n.d). The themes presented here reflect the two-sided use of religion in the political election (campaign and de-campaign) and broadly some entho-religious and restructuring perspectives of religion in politics. The findings also reveal that out of the nine (9) political parties that were campaigning, only the two major political parties' (PF and UNPD) campaigns prominently featured the religious discourse in the public sphere.

Biblical Names and Verses

The campaigns revealed the use of biblical names and verses in a manner that sought to speak to the Zambian societal needs. For example, a prominent Bible name was Elijah as some political leaders, such as the UPND President, were referred to as 'Elijah' in their campaign messages. Baxter (1960), in his appraisal, notes that Prophet Elijah was one of Israel's most startling and romantic characters, who suddenly appeared on the scene as the crisis-prophet, with thunder on his brow and tempest in his voice. Some authors have called him the 'Martin Luther' of old-time Israel, who single-handedly challenged the whole priesthood of the state religion, and all the people of the realm, to the decisive test on Mount Carmel (Baxter, 1960). It is clear in the Bible accounts that the appearance of Elijah signalled a new era in the history of Israel.

By appropriating the coming of Elijah to the Zambian set up, the challenges of the Zambian society, such as high unemployment levels, inflation, corruption, electricity load-shedding, among others, were to be resolved with the new era of leadership by the UPND. The 'Elijah' messages were communicated through speech and song (*Aleisa Elijah* - Elijah is coming). By saying Elijah was coming, the political party (UPND), sought to promise Zambians a better world in which social ills would be resolved (equating to the messianic tendencies).

The UPND political leader was also called *Kachema Musuma*, the good shepherd who would take care of the flock (Campaign Videos, 2016). The Bible account of the good shepherd is linked to shepherding or leadership. For example, through the prophet Ezekiel, God rebuked the evil shepherds (or leaders) of the nation Israel and spoke of a coming day when the leaders would be judged, and God Himself would gather His scattered flock in the person of Messiah (Morris, 1971). The good shepherd image is also reflected in the Bible in John 10 when Jesus boldly claimed to be the promised 'Good Shepherd' and in contrast to his shepherding, exposes and indicts the Jewish religious leaders especially the Pharisees as wicked shepherds, who cared not

for the hurting and troubled sheep and used to abuse the sheep of God's flock for their own personal gain (Morris, 1971).

In the campaigns, the good shepherd image was thus used as a promise that if voted into power, the voters or society would never lack necessities, as the 'Good Shepherd' would take care of them. The good shepherd would also not let the economic and social ills go unattended to as was the case with previous leaders who had neglected the element of shepherding the people. For example, the UPND President remarked that:

> This high cost of living will retire him [Edgar Lungu]. He does not care about the people of Zambia. This country has collapsed. If you go to the hospital with one disease, you come out with three more diseases because of the environment our people are in. These are the people who are feeling the pain of a failed leadership (Tembo, 3 July, 2016, *Post Newspaper* Article; Interview on *Radio Icengelo,* 1 July, 2016).

Similar figures are associated with the Saviour and Moses leading the exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land. Some citizens equated the country to Egypt and Pharaoh when the pre-election violence heightened:

> People are not free to wear other parties' regalia… God should help us…. We are in Egypt…. We need a Moses to redeem us from this Pharaoh called Edgar and his PF (*Post Newspaper* Article, 3 July, 2016).

The association with biblical names, therefore, mirrored some millennial belief in a radical transformation of society into some kind of ideal situation in which all current problems are eliminated (Ranger, 1986); tendencies as understood in some Christian denominations in the country.

Other than the theme of biblical names, some Bible passages were also used in the campaigns. For example, Proverbs 4:24, which reads, in part, *'Keep your mouth free of perversity; keep corrupt talk far from your lips...,'* 1 Corinthians 12:27 and 2 Kings 17 were some of the passages used by the UPND. The passage from Proverbs 4 was used to castigate the political opponents with reference to not walking the talk in the wake of pre-election violence. At the same time, the 'would be' voters were encouraged to embrace each other as they all belonged to the body of Christ.

The passages above had the possible impact of making the citizens keep away from leaders who were deemed to be liars by not fulfilling their promises and at the same time, encouraging them to vote for the UPND whose leader outwardly pronounced his religious affiliation (Adventist) and had served in the church hierarchies. In this way,

ethnoreligious perspectives which identify religious communities were reflected in the campaign messages in order to attract the Christian vote. This was also fuelled by calls from the clergy who called on people to vote for peaceful leaders. For instance, one Bishop advised Zambians to elect a leader that cherished peace and not those who abetted evil (Mboozi, *Post Newspaper* Article, 3 July, 2016).

The PF was associated with passages such as Exodus 20:17, *'Honour your father and mother'* and 2 Chronicles 7:14, *'If my people who are called by my name will humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and heal their land,'* among others. The Bible passages were contextualised in numerous ways. For example, by using Exodus 20:17, the political party insinuated that it was the political party that had honoured the Bible command by being gender sensitive and recognised the place of women in society. In addition, the Exodus 20:17 image portrayed the party as being the ideal Christian family by having a male and female president and running mate in a context of the growing debate on homosexuality. This was in contrast to the UPND which had the majority of males in the top leadership.

With regard to 2 Chronicles 7:14, while the immediate context is tied up with Solomon's dedication to the building of the temple to God and to Israel in general (Benson, 1857), this verse is widely used by many countries in this modern day. 2 Chronicles 7:14 was a promise to ancient Israel and perhaps even to modern day Israel that, if the Israelites repented and returned to the Lord, He would rescue them. Many Christians in modern-day states have taken this verse as a rallying cry with the interpretation that Christians are the people who are called by God's name. The understanding is that if Christians will humble themselves, pray, seek God's face, and repent, then God will heal their land, and this, often, is attached to moral, political and economic healing. Thus, by appropriating the verse in the campaign talks, the PF promised healing of the land. This had been re-echoed during the 'National Day of Prayer and Reconciliation' in which all Christians were invited to pray for the nation (*Daily Nation,* 2015). It is also probable that the initiative of building a National House of Prayer is tied to the 2 Chronicles 7:14 scenario in which Solomon built a temple for God. Ultimately, the use of the Bible verses reflected the ethnoreligious tendencies of religion and politics as the verses were an indication of appealing to people who identified themselves as Christians and more so as 'born again.'

Despite the prominent theme of biblical names and verses in the campaigns, not all religious leaders welcomed the use of Bible verses. For instance, some political adverts on Television, which started with Bible verses, received numerous comments from the public. For instance, commenting on a political campaign advertisement for UPND on ZNBC which started with a Bible quote, one Bishop explained that the

Bible itself was very clear on how the word of God could be used, at what time and that politics could be a wrong forum as there would be personal gain (*Daily Nation, Newspaper* Article 2016). Bishop Nyongo said:

> While there was nothing wrong in quoting Bible passages in spreading messages of hope and goodwill to the people, it should be for the sole purpose of preaching salvation and eternal life and not anything else.... We ought to be very careful when quoting the Bible because nowadays, many people believe they were being used by God when, in fact, not. There is nothing wrong with quoting the Bible when expressing how one feels in their Christian life, but God's word must not be used for jokes or for play because the Word of God is about Jesus Christ and so, it should be centred around Christ's influence in one's life (*Daily Nation Newspaper* Article, 19 May, 2016).

The restructuring theoretical tendencies that divide religious communities, with some being traditionalists and other modernists, on the use of religion in politics, were mirrored through these concerns.

Godliness and Forgiveness

The campaigns also emphasised on the godliness of those who sought political office. The PF promised that the country would be ruled by the principles of the Bible and that the members were God-fearing people who needed to be given a chance to be in political office. For example, in the wake of the violent actions before the elections, Lungu the party presidential candidate, said:

> Zambians know the kind of leader that I am and that I am a man of faith that walks with God (*Zambian Eye Newspaper* Article, 9 July, 2016).

Other supporters of Lungu also endorsed this godliness. For example, former Presidential Advisor of President Chiluba, Mbita Chitala said he had decided for back President Lungu in the election because he had proved to be God-fearing and a man with respect to the rule of law (*Radio Phoenix Special Programme*, 20 July, 2016).

In addition, just before the election campaign period was officially closed, Esther Lungu, wife of Edgar Chagwa Lungu described her husband as a kind and generous man with a strong Christian background since childhood.

> Mrs Lungu said she will vote for President Lungu in Thursday's elections together with the rest of the family because he has a big heart, he is a tested leader and a God-fearing humble but tough man (*Daily Mail Newspaper* Article, 9 August, 2016).

Similarly, Hichilema the UPND Presidential Candidate advocated for godly leadership through choosing leaders who were God-fearing just prior to the official campaign period.

> We are in the situation we are today, in which we face high food prices but few job opportunities and poor service provision, largely because of a simple failure to heed the advice. Going forward, we want God-fearing leadership that respects the rights of everyone and practices broad-based consultation as a rule before programme implementation (UPND Campaign Facebook Page, 26 April, 2016).

The need for God-fearing candidates and elected members was echoed constantly in popular discourse. For example, when President Lungu visited St. Kizito Catholic Church in Lusaka, he said:

> (We)…will continue to put God first despite being accused of trying to gain political mileage using the church…. I am happy to be here today…. However, I do not have a lot to say because we are in a campaign season. There are those who are telling you to remove me and vote for them but people are able to judge who is a good leader. The economy is getting better, the rains came and we now have enough food. Those who were laughing at us have now seen that God works in miraculous ways. God is wonderful…. I was a believer before I joined politics or before I became a minister. I am a believer in my heart. I would like to tell my critics that I will keep coming to church (*Daily Nation Newspaper* Article, 20 June, 2016).

Both the PF and UNPD used the godliness image in their campaigns in which they upheld Jesus as the model of leadership, defined in terms of 'shepherdship, servanthood, and sacrifice' (Gibbs, 2005). The meaning of 'God-fearing' in politics is often unspecified but it is not only associated with being Christian but that a 'God-fearing' leader would be dependent on God's wisdom and guidance which would prevent him or her from being corrupt and abide by the principles of the Bible (Gibbs, 2005). Other terms that are associated with the 'God-fearing' image are linked to honesty, transparency, and trustworthiness.

Other than spending their private time in Church, the political leaders also sought for forgiveness as a religious virtue in their political talk. For example, the PF's Secretary General apologised to the people who might have been injured by the party during their course of governance because making mistakes was human (Kapoma, 16 April, 2016, *Lusaka Voice*). In an interview, Mr Davies Chama noted that:

…to err is human and to forgive is divine… If we work together, as a united people and we come together, we put our heads together, let's respect the views of other people, they may be in the minority, we may be in the ruling party, our resolution this year is to respect the views of the Zambian people, and to make sure that we work even harder as a party in government. That this one year we are remaining with before we finish our five year mandate, we complete the projects that we embarked on from what we promised the Zambian people from the manifesto that we launched in 2011. I know we may have made mistakes in the past, on behalf of the party, we tender our apology and please understand that it is not an easy journey, and we are appealing to the Zambian people please continue supporting the PF. The PF is here to work for you, to transform and to develop our country (*Pan African News*, 15 April, 2016).

Christian Nation

Another theme that was used prominently by both the PF and the UPND was the declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation. For example, the UPND Presidential aspirant noted that Zambia's declaration as a Christian Nation was significant and that once elected as a Republican President, he would ensure that the Christian status was upheld as the only way to build a just and fair society based on mutual respect. Several scriptures from the Bible were also quoted, noting that the body of Christ was one and called on Christians to end and begin each day with a prayer (*Radio Christian Voice's 'Chatback Programme'*).

> …Once elected as a Republican President, courtesy of the Zambian people, HH would ensure that the Christian status is upheld as the only way to build a just and fair society based on mutual respect. He would actualise the declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation that was introduced by the late President Frederick Chiluba by putting in place a mechanism whereby State House would be easily accessible to church groups and consider offering tax exemptions for equipment and other facilities that are used for evangelism (*Zambian Eye,* 16 February, 2016).

By floating religious promises, both the opposition and the ruling party sought to win Christian votes since the declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation seemed to be a 'brand' most people appreciated. Cheyeka opines that most Zambians have taken the declarations in a fanatic manner (Personal Communication, 15 June, 2016). The declaration was used as a brand to market political parties and had the possible impact of attracting Christians to cast a vote for one who kept the Christian identity in check.

No Vote for Unchristian Traits

Other than for campaigning, religious discourse was also used to de-campaign other political parties. For example, towards the start of the official campaign period, some political leaders from the UPND called on the electorate not to vote for those who were promoting unchristian traits in a Christian Nation by noting that Christianity did not condone violence, and that all well-meaning Zambians needed to condemn it and vote out those promoting unchristian traits (*Radio Christian Voice's 'Chatback Programme,*' 2016). The UPND President read the Bible and quoted Proverbs Chapter 4 verse 24, which reads in part 'Keep your mouth free of perversity; keep corrupt talk far from your lips.' He said Christianity must help build Zambia. Hichilema also condemned violent activities that were prevailing then in the country, regardless of who was involved:

> Christianity does not condone violence, and all well-meaning Zambians must condemn it and vote out those promoting unchristian traits. He further appealed to the country to remain calm and practice Christian values both in word and deed so that Zambia can remain a beacon of true Christianity (*Zambian Eye*, 16 February 2016).

This was in the wake of reported violence associated with campaigns in different parts of the country.

Unchristian traits were also associated with the image of Satanism. For example, the *'Black Friday,'* called upon by the UPND was linked to Satanism. This Satanic name-calling became very topical, thereby attracting responses during political rallies. For example, at a joint Zambia United Alliance campaign in Luwingu, Dr Nevers Mumba challenged Christians who found solace and comfort in laziness and poverty by branding every rich man a Satanist and that the people of Luwingu did not need to be cheated by deceptive calls for prayer and fasting (*Lusaka Times*, 2016). Nevers Mumba noted that:

> Mwamba began engaging in private business ventures by applying his strong in-born entrepreneurial spirit at a very young age and through his dedication to hard work and business sense, managed to create wealth which laid a strong financial base for his businesses and his family…. The same applies to UPND President Hakainde Hichilema who, from a very humble, rural background of herding cattle in the village, embraced hard work, self-discipline, a passion for education, to emerge as one of the most prosperous businessmen in the country also at a young age, but instead of celebrating such successful Zambians, some lazy, envious 'pull-him-down' Christians and political opponents find it more

comforting to call such people Satanists and heap all kinds of verbal abuse on them, which …is most unfortunate (*Lusaka Times Newspaper* Article, 26 July, 2016).

Hakainde Hichilema also responded to these allegations of Satanism by noting that:

What I hear on radio stations and unfortunately what I hear in churches about this fellow called HH is something else. My church, the SDA, which is a Christian Church; there is no Mason there, there is no Satanist. Somehow we tend to discriminate against each other for whatever reason but being a Christian, the most important thing is to forgive. But I think it is also important to explain to men and women of God to give them facts so that they can go away with facts and bear facts (*Daily Nation Newspaper* Article, 1 April, 2016).

Satanism was a campaign strategy through its threatening power and association with forces of evil. By labelling other political players as Satanists, the Christians were to beware in their voting. In the Christian worldview, the 'Satan' figure is an enemy of goodness and, in turn, a source of evil (Magesa, 1997). By using religion to label each other, the political parties used religion as a dividing tool in their quest to attract Christian votes. Most importantly, this posits a paradox in which one camp positioned itself as God-fearing while labelling the other as having unchristian traits.

Other Religious Elements

Besides the cited religious expressions in the political talks, the campaign rallies also portrayed a peculiar religious discourse. For example, the rallies often began with a prayer and ended with a prayer, depicting a form of public worship. Some campaigners went to the extent of using 'hallelujah - amen' as a rhetorical strategy to create rapport with the listeners. This was no different from what the Pentecostals have been known to do in their services as they seek to ensure that the congregants are following the preaching by demanding for the 'amen' response (Chitando *et al*., 2014). By conveniently using the tenets of worship in campaign rallies, religion was reduced to a tool for attracting would be voters. Here again, ethnoreligious orientations are evident as the political leaders sought to identify with the people's religious beliefs, practices and behaviour so as to attract a Christian vote. These strategies had the possible effect of making the people who attended the rallies feel at home in their quest for belonging to a religious environment.

The political players also performed numerous religious activities such as attending church services in which they were often given a podium to say a word to the electorate. For example, the presidential aspirants attended church services in different congregations. When the PF presidential aspirant attended the church service at Kabundi Kapisha United Church of Zambia (UCZ) congregation in Chingola, he urged the congregants to continue praying for peace and unity:

> President Edgar Lungu has urged Christians in Zambia not to relent in praying for peace and unity in the country.... Zambians observed that God has been very gracious on Zambia as a country because of Christians' consistent prayers and petitions sent to Him.... The efforts of Christians have resulted into Zambia enjoying the peace while other countries have faced wars. Mr Lungu said the culture of insults, vulgar language, and violence among political parties will come to an end once politicians begin to genuinely fear and worship God (*Lusaka Times Newspaper* Article, 6 June, 2016).

President Lungu also called on Christians to join politics across the country so as to bring love and unity to the political atmosphere when he addressed congregants in Kitwe at St. Margaret United Church of Zambia in Kitwe.

> Christians always want to operate behind the scenes on the issue of politics. Zambia's political and economic responsibilities would be difficult to attain if Christians continued taking the backseat. Christians must join politics for them to help bring in love and unity in the political arena (*Times of Zambia Newspaper* Article, 23 April, 2016).

Similarly, the UPND President attended church services. For example, during the church service at Kabwata SDA Church, it is reported that Hichilema called on the country to begin forgiving one another both in word and practice.

> Mr Hichilema said Christians must not harbour hate against each other and that those who had such temptations must immediately turn to God for deliverance and strength (UPND Facebook Page, 6 June, 2016).

The *Lusaka Voice Newspaper* (12 June, 2016) also reported that before attending the rally in Kasama, Hichilema attended a church service at the Kasama Central SDA Church, accompanied by party Vice-President Geoffrey Bwalya Mwamba. While Ellis and Ter Haar (2007) note that like politicians the world over, Africa's political leaders spend most of their time in pursuit or distribution of material resources, and their cultivation of spiritual power is usually more private than public. The 2016 elections proved otherwise as political leaders took to spending their time in church publicly and talking to possible voters whenever they were accorded an opportunity to speak during the church services, an indication that cultivating spiritual power was a vital component of a political career.

A close examination of the ways in which the religious discourse was used in the campaigns in Zambia reflects similarities with what other scholars have observed. For example, O'Connell (2012), observes that the basic forms of religious rhetoric used in election campaigns by presidential candidates are varied and include quoting

the Bible, taking advantage of the proximity of the celebration of religious holidays (including Christmas, Easter, the patrimonial festivities and others), participating in and promoting religious rituals and practices such as praying and divine worship, discussing the importance of certain values such as justice, mercy, forgiveness, brotherhood and respect for life among others. Broadly put, religious discourse was used to campaign and decampaign others. It also divided political opponents as opposed to uniting them. It is no wonder Browne (2009), asserts that religion plays a role in the political realm in terms of whether it unites or divides or trivialises or universalises society. These sentiments are also closely related to the relationship between religion and politics from the ethnoreligious and religious restructuring perspectives.

Accounting for the Religious Discourse in the Election Campaigns

The growing presence of the religious discourse in the campaigns can be explained in numerous ways. The influence of the declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation cannot be downplayed, and it was perhaps the greatest influence since it was frequently referred to in the campaign videos. In this regard, the political leaders kept referring to the declaration in their speeches as though to say they were living by the dictates of the declaration, or better still, that once elected, they would live by the principles of a Christian Nation. However, the irony of the increased religious discourse in the campaigns did not manifest its fruits; for the campaigns were marred with numerous cases of violence, as Onapajo (2012) and Burgess (2015) had established in the Nigerian context. While the Nigerian context involved more than one religious tradition, the Zambian context was unique as only one religion, Christianity was dominant in the election campaigns. In this way, the political leaders did not reflect anything new about religion in politics in Zambia as religion had been used merely for political reasons by the MMD under Chiluba (Cheyeka, 2014).

One would argue that the society was becoming a Christian Nation more by mere proclamations than by actions especially among top political party leadership because religion could well be described as a mere tool that could be manipulated for economic and political reasons. According to O'Connell (2012), religious arguments in the campaign are something that most candidates and presidents use in modern democracies. As such, the Christian Nation declaration that appeared to be appreciated by the citizenry was merely a political slogan because religion was used to identify with religious communities in order to win their votes.

This was also reflected in the use of religion to de-campaign others by referring to them as Satanists, and reference to some political leaders who were consulting witch doctors for political reasons. While this, in some way, reflected the African religious worldview, it is probable that it could have had the potential of having an indirect influence on the electorate who wanted to be associated with the Christian Nation motto. Therefore, the quest to see another person lose the elections outwardly contributed to the labelling tendencies using the religious discourse, in which case,

religion as a political tool was a source of division based on its restructuring and ethnoreligious tendencies.

In addition, the religious discourse portrayed the interconnectivity that existed between religion and politics, thereby confirming Ellis and Ter Haar's views that there is no separation between the sacred and the secular for many Africans (2007). Religion and politics had a common source of power (the invisible world). This may also explain the accusations of using Christian prophets and traditional medicine specialists for political reasons.

Further, the place of religion in politics is not strange as those seeking political office use religion to attract voters, and the voters become interested in Christianised campaigns. This confirmed the conclusions drawn by Beyers (2015) that religion as a political instrument could only be utilised by political systems for political gains within a society that was receptive to religion. As observed by other scholars, African societies are commonly depicted as very religious, which is evident among other things in the vast number of Muslim, Christian, and other faith groups that exist in most African countries (Chabal, 2009; Uzodike and Whetho, 2008; Haynes, 2004). Ellis and Ter Haar (1998) also note that religious belief operates at every level of society in Africa, while Chabal (2009) observes that religion is the glue that binds societies together. These observations may well be said to apply in Zambia where the religious factor has been neatly crafted in the political campaigns albeit for diverse reasons which call for a critical and discerning approach towards religion in the public sphere.

Given the interconnectedness between religion and politics in the African worldview and in light of how the religious discourse emerged in the 2016 election campaigns, the article argues that while there was nothing wrong with using religion in politics constructively, there was everything wrong to abuse religion or use religion destructively. There was, therefore, need to deconstruct and reconstruct the use of religion in the Zambian public sphere so that the masses could discern between bad and good religion because religion can be both liberating and enslaving, constructive and destructive.

Conclusion

The article explored religious discourse in the 2016 General Election campaigns in order to mirror the place of religion in politics. By reflecting upon the place of religion in the campaigns, the article did not undermine the voice of the Church but rather focused on the political voices. Several charismatic and Pentecostal Protestant sectors led a campaign to show support for certain candidates including predicting the winners of the elections. This article, therefore, observed that despite an increased use of the religious discourse in the campaigns, the 2016 General Elections were characterised by numerous unreligious talk, speeches, and attacks, confirming Huntington (1993)

hypothesis that people's cultures and religious identities would be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world. When religious discourse in the campaigns was situated in the ethnoreligious and religious restructuring perspectives, it was clear that religion was used for the purposes of identifying with religious communities and at the same time, divisions within the religious communities accounted for varying use and support of religion in politics. The declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation was an important factor in the campaigns except for the prominence of religious sentiments which did not translate into what could be deemed as a campaign in a Christian manner since religion was used to campaign for oneself and de-campaign others in a quest to attract Christian votes.

References

Ahmed, J.U. (2010), 'Documentary Research Method: New Dimensions.' *Indus Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, *4*(1), 1-14.

Ammerman, N.T. (1997), *Congregation and Community*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Baxter, J.S. (1960), *Explore the Book*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House.

Benson, J. (1857), 'Commentary on 2 Chronicles 7:14.'

Beyers, J. (2015), 'Religion as a Political Instrument: The Case of Japan and South Africa.' *Journal for the Study of Religion*, 28(1), 142-164.

Blume, R. (1985), *Discourse and Literature,* Van Dijk, T.A. ed., (Vol. 3). Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

Bompani and Frahm-Arp (eds.) (2010), *Development and Politics from Below: Exploring Religious Spaces in the African State*. Non-Governmental Public Action Series. Palgrave Macmillan.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006), 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology.' *Journal of Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3, 77–101.

Brown, D.D. (1986), *Umbanda: Religion and Politics in Urban Brazil*. Columbia University Press.

Brown, G. and Yule, G. (1983), *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Browne, K. (2009), 'Religion and Presidential Elections.' Chrestomathy: *Annual Review of Undergraduate Research*, Vol. 8:30-44.

Bryman, A. (2004), *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burgess, R. (2015), 'Pentecostals and Politics in Nigeria and Zambia: An Historical Perspective,*' in Pentecostalism in Africa*. Leiden:Brill, pp. 291-321.Cambridge University Press.[1 SEP]

Chabal, P. (2009), *Africa: The Politics of Smiling and Suffering*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, South Africa.

Chalon, Y. (1985), 'The Structure of Communicative Interaction,' in Riley, P. ed., *Discourse and Learning*, Harlow: Longman, pp. 12–19.

Cheyeka, A.M. (2008), 'Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post-Colonial Zambia,' in J.B. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar, G. Macola (eds), *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post- Colonial Zambia.* Leiden, E.J. Brill, pp. 144–63. ⌈⌉ₛₑₚ

Cheyeka, A.M. (2014), 'Zambia,' in *World Mark Encyclopedia of Religious Practices*, Vol. 4: *556-566.*

Cheyeka, A.M. (2014), *The Politics and Christianity of Chilubaism, 1991-2011.* Ndola: Mission Press.

Chitando, E., Manyonganise, M. and Mlambo, O.B. (2014), 'Young, Male and Polished,' *in Prophets, Profits and the Bible in Zimbabwe*, University of Bamberg Press: Bamberg 153-170.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2007) *Research Methods in Education.* London: Routledge.

Coulthard, M. and Montgomery, M. (1981), *Studies in Discourse Analysis*. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Crystal, D. (1994), *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Domke, D. and Coe, K. (2007), *The God Strategy: How Religion Became a Political Weapon in America*. Oxford University Press.

Ellis, S. and Ter Haar, G. (1998), 'Religion and Politics in sub-Saharan Africa,' *Journal of Modern African Studies,* 36, 2: 175-201.

Ellis, S. and Ter Haar, G. (2004), *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*. London: C. Hurst & Co. and New York: Oxford University Press.

Ellis, S., and Ter Haar, G. (2007), 'Religion and Politics: Taking African Epistemologies Seriously.' *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 45(03), 385-401.

Fairclough, N. (1992), *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity.

Fiorina, M., Abrams, S.J. and Pope, J.C. (2005), *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarised America.* New York: Pearson Longman.

Foucault, M. (1991), 'Politics and the Study of Discourse,' in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P.H. Miller, (eds.) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Harvester Wheatsheaf, Hemel Hempstead: 53-72.

Fox, J. (2008), *A World Survey of Religion and the State*. New York:

Gibbs, P. (2005), 'Political Discourse and Religious Narratives of Church and State in Papua New Guinea, State, Society and Governance' *in Melanesia Working Article 2005/1*.

Gifford, P. (2016), 'Religion and Politics in Contemporary Senegal.' *African Affairs*, 115(461), 688-709.

Guth, J.L., Green, J.C., Smidt, C., E., Kellstedt, L.A. and Margaret M. Poloma, M.M. (1997), *The Bully Pulpit: The Politics of Protestant Clergy.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Guth, J.L., Kellstedt, L.A., Smidt, C.E. and Green, J.C. (2006), 'Religious Influences in the 2004 Presidential Election'. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, *36*(2), 223-242.

Harris, F.C. (1994). 'Something within: Religion as a Mobiliser of African-American Political Activism.' *Journal of Politics*, *56*(1), 42-68.

Haynes, J. (1996), Religion *and Politics in Africa*. London: Zed Books.

Haynes, J. (2004), Religion and Democratization in Africa. *Democratization*, 11(4), 66-89.

Haynes, J. (2014), *Religion in Global Politics*. Routledge.

Haynes, J. (2015), 'Religion in Global Politics: Explaining Deprivatization.' *Journal Ilmiah Peuradeun,* 3(2), 199-216.

Hinfelaar, M. (2005), 'Legitimizing Powers: The Political Role of the Roman Catholic Church, 1972-1991,' in Gewald, J., Hinfelaar, M., and Macola, G (eds.). *One Zambia Many Histories*. Leiden: Brill, 129-43.

Hoover, S.M. (2012), 'Religion and the Media in the 21st Century,' Paper Presented at a Conference on Media, Diversity, and Religious Freedom, Auditori de la Facultat de Comunicació Blanquerna, Universitat Ramon Llull.

Hunter, J.D. (1991), *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America.* New York: Basic Books.

Huntington, S.P. (1996), *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York.

Jensen, R.J. (1971), *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888-96.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kleppner, P. (1979), *The Third Electoral System: Parties, Voters and Political Cultures*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Leftwich, A. (2000), *States of Development On the Primacy of Politics on Development*. Oxford: Polity Press, Blackwell Publishers.

Leftwich, A. (2008), *Developmental States, Effective States, and Poverty Reduction*: *The Primacy of Politics.* UNRISD Project on Poverty Reduction and Policy Regimes.

Magesa, L. (1997), *African Religion.* Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Mariano, R. and Oro, A.P. (2016), 'Religion and Politics in Brazil,' in *Handbook of Contemporary Religions in Brazil*. Leiden: Brill, pp.361-378.

Marshall, R. (2009), *Political Spiritualities*: *The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria. Chicago*: University of Chicago Press.

Marshall, R. (2010), 'The Sovereignty of Miracles. Pentecostal Political Theology in Nigeria.' *Constellations*, 17(2), Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

McCulloch, G. (2004), *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences*. Routledge.

Morris, L. (1971), *The Gospel According to John*. Grand Rapids: W.M.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

Moyser, G. (1991), *Politics and Religion in the Modern World*. Routledge: London.

Ojo, M. (2006), *The End-Time Army: Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria*. Trenton: Africa World Press.

Onadeko, T. (2000), 'Discourse Analysis: The Fundamentals,' in A. Babajide, A. ed., *Studies in English Language,* Enicrownfit, Ibadan: 81-104.

Onapajo, H. (2012), 'Politics for God: Religion, Politics, and Conflict in Democratic Nigeria.' *Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4(9), 42-67.

Phiri, B. (1992), 'Decolonisation and Multi-Party Liberation in Northern Rhodesia: A Reassessment,' *Zambia Journal of History*. 5. pp. 14-36.

Phiri, I. (1999), 'Why African Churches Preach Politics: The Case of Zambia.' *Journal of Church and State,* 41, 323.

Phiri, I.A. (2003), 'President Frederick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia: The Christian Nation and Democracy.' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 33(4), 401-428.

Ranger, T. (1986), 'Religious Movements and Politics in sub-Saharan Africa.' *Africa Studies Review* 29(2): 1-29.

Simuchimba, M. (2004), 'Religious Education in a Christian Nation: The Case of Zambia,' in Carmody, B. (ed.). *Religion and Education in Zambia*. Ndola: Mission Press, 88-97.

Smith, D.E. (1970), *Religion and Political Development*. Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown

Taiwo, R. (2007), 'Tenor in Electronic Media: Christian Discourse in Nigeria.' *International Journal of Language, Society, and Culture*, 20: 1–9.

Ter Haar, G. (ed.) (2007), *Imagining Evil: Witchcraft Beliefs and Accusations in Contemporary Africa.* Trenton: Africa World Press.

Tfwala, N.H. (2016), 'The Participation of Pentecostal Churches in Politics: A Pastoral Perspective' (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pretoria).

Van Dijk, T. (1985), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Academic Press.

Whetho, A., and Uzodike, U.O. (2008), 'Religious Networks in the Post-conflict Democratic Republic of the Congo: A Prognosis.' *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, *8*(3), 57-84.

Wilson, J.M. (2012), 'Religion and the 2012 American Presidential Election,' in *Instituto Per Gli Studi Di Politica Internazionale Commentary*.

Wuthnow, R. (1988), *The Restructuring of American Religion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Selected Media Sources

Daily Mail Home News (2016), 'Don't Abuse the Bible, Hichilema Advised.' *Daily Nation* 19 May, 2016.

Hakainde Hichilema (2016). ' Official Statement on the Eve of Campaigns.' *Lusaka Times*, 15 May, 2016.

Hermit Hachilonde, H. (2016), 'Davies Chama Offers an Apology to People Whom PF May Have Offended. *Pan African News*, 15 April, 2016.

Lusaka Times Staff. (2016), ' Not Every Rich Person a Satanist-Nevers Mumba.' *Lusaka Times.* 26 July, 2016.

Lusaka Times Staff. (2016), ' President Lungu Urges Christians to Continue Praying for Peace and Unity in Zambia.' *Lusaka Times*, 6 June, 2016.

Lusaka Times Staff. (2016), 'UPND has Plan that Covers Everything from Job Creation to Good Governance.' UPND Official Statement, *Lusaka Times*. 25 July 2016.

Lusaka Times Staff. (2016). 'HH Calls for Peaceful Campaigns on the Eve of the 2016 Campaign Season.' *Lusaka Times*, 15 May, 2016.

Lusaka Times Staff. (2016). 'President Lungu Leads Zambians in Prayer.' 25 July, 2016.

Mboozi, A. (2016), 'Denying the Opposition Chance to Campaign Freely is not Guaranteeing Level Play Field,' in *Post Newspaper Article,* 3 July, 2016.

Nation Reporter. (2016), 'I'll Put God First-Lungu'. *Daily Nation*, 20 June, 2016.

News Desk (2016), 'I Am a Man of Faith that Walks with God…..,' Lungu Chides the Nation on Violence.' *Zambian Eye*, 9 July, 2016.

News Desk. (2016), 'HH Urges Zambians to Uphold Christian Values.' *Zambian Eye*.

Nsama, T. (2016), 'Picture- President Lungu and First Lady Esther Lungu During the National Day of Prayers for Peaceful Elections at Lusaka's Show Grounds on Sunday.' 24 July, 2016.

QFM News. (2016), 'Lets Love One Another, HH Urges Zambians.' *QFM Radio*. 19 June, 2016.

Radio Programme (2016), 'Mbita Chitala' on *Radio Pheonix Special Programme*, 20 July, 2016.

Radion Programme (2016), 'Chatback Programme- Featuring Hakainde Hichilema, *Radio Christian Voice's* 16 February, 2016.

Special Correspondent (2016), 'Lungu is a Kind Man.' *Daily Mail*, 9 August, 2016.

Tembo, C. (2016), 'Lungu Aleya-HH.' *Post Newspaper Article,* 3 July, 2016.

Zambia Daily Nation Staff. (2016), 'I'm Not a Satanist-says HH.' *Daily Nation*. 1 April, 2016.

Zambian Observer (2016). 'UPND Campaign Rallies 10 August in Pictures.' *The Zambian Observer*, 10 August, 2016.