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CHRISTOCENTRIC WORLDVIEW AND PARTISAN POLITICS IN NIGERIA AND GHANA: A POLITICAL THEOLOGY FOR AN ETHICAL DILEMMA

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ABSTRACT

In recent times, there has been a growing public concern regarding partisan political activities in Africa. The problem centers on the increasing polarization and divisiveness that characterize political affiliations, often leading to a lack of accountability and ethical governance. In many African nations, including Nigeria and Ghana, partisan politics has become synonymous with corruption, electoral malpractices, and uncritical support for political parties, which can compromise democratic processes and undermine public trust in government institutions. Electoral malpractices, such as votebuying, intimidation, and manipulation of results, have raised alarms about the integrity of elections and the legitimacy of political leadership. Given this situation, there is a pressing need for a reevaluation of how political engagement is approached within the context of faith, particularly among Christian communities. This research, therefore, explores how Christocentric worldview might address ethical issues related to partisan politics in both Nigeria and Ghana. A desk-based research approach was used to gather and analyze data from journal articles, Bible commentaries, books and theses. It will present various scholarly viewpoints on the subject, followed by an exploration of Christ's perspective on political involvement. This paper contends that a Christocentric worldview can provide a transformative framework for ethical political engagement, fostering justice, servant leadership, integrity and accountability in the political landscape of Nigeria and Ghana. The paper addresses a critical issue that is gaining attention in African politics; namely, the negative impact of partisan divisiveness on democratic integrity and ethical governance.

Keywords: *Christocentric worldview, Christians, partisan politics, Nigeria, Ghana*

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

As much as many Christians in Nigeria and Ghana pretend to be apolitical¹ and prefer to be nonpartisan, the obvious truth is that this makes them political. Just as Keller rightly notes, "to not be political is to be political" because totally evading politics is an implicit support of the status quo which might include unjust and evil systems and structures.² Closson helpfully provides examples of such political apathy from the church in history, from different parts of the world, which in turn implies an endorsement of the evils perpetrated by the political leaders in their communities.³ The inescapability of political involvement lies in the fact that "all service is woven into social and political structures" and that "our service cannot escape the realities of power in the world system."⁴ The reality, therefore, is that all human beings, Christians inclusive, are politically involved. The difference is the extent and manner of involvement. This study focuses on partisan politics are the only legitimate way to attain state power. Furthermore, both countries have a huge Christian presence that has the potential to impact the nation if Christian citizens become more politically involved.

Few years ago, Danfulani tagged Christians as the most politically docile group in Nigeria's politics.⁵ This accusation, however, cannot be said to be absolutely true of politics in Nigeria today because a good number of "Christians" have continued to hold elective positions at different levels over the years since independence. In Ghana, there have been instances where the mass media—including the press, public newspapers, and national radio—has suggested that the church should limit its role to the spiritual welfare of its members and refrain from involvement in political and economic matters.⁶ Such a contention is unfortunate in a country where the church has contributed and continues to contribute immensely to the development of the society. In both Nigeria and Ghana the church has been involved in the establishment of schools and hospitals, among other amenities.

In fact, Christians have not only been members of political parties but they have also served as political leaders and key stakeholders in various political parties. For example, Kofi A. Busia, John Agyekum Kuffour, John Atta Mills, Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo and the current president of Ghana, John Dramani Mahama, are Ghanaian (professing) Christians who are politically involved. Similarly, Yakubu Gowon, Olusegun Obasanjo, and Goodluck Jonathan, are Christians who have served as presidents of Nigeria, while the former vice president of Nigeria, Professor Yemi Osinbajo, is a pastor. Therefore, the current challenge is not non-participation in or apathy towards partisan politics but the manner of involvement. Henry, about eight decades ago, warned that Christianity's reluctance to apply the gospel message to "pressing world problems" will dwindle its influence.⁷ This warning is true of Christians' partisan politics in Nigeria and Ghana as many Christians either fail or hesitate to apply the gospel message to their involvement in party politics. This study endeavors to guide Christians on how to do this.

⁴ P. Hamby. "Obama: GOP Doesn't Own Faith Issue," *CNN* (2007); http://www.cnn.com/2007/POLITICS/10/08/obama.faith/index.html.

¹ cf. Tiwatola A. Falaye, "Christianity and Politics: The Experience from Nigeria," *Global Journal of Politics and Law Research* 4, no. 6 (2016); 1-7, 3.

² Timothy Keller, "How Do Christians Fit Into the Two-Party System? They Don't," *The New York Times* (2018); <u>https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/29/opinion/sunday/christians-politics-belief.html</u>.

³ David Closson, *Biblical Principles for Political Engagement: Worldview, Issues, and Voting. Biblical Worldview* (Washington, DC: Family Research Council, 2019), 8.

⁵ Habila Umar Danfulani, "Religion, Politics and Integrity: A Discourse About Fostering Political Participation by the Church in Nigeria." *In Paper presented at the Religion, Politics and Integrity. DRACC Conference Centre, AMAC/ACO Estate, New Lugbe, Abuja, November 4* (2019); 299-329, 301.

⁶ Joshua N. Kudadjie and Robert K. Aboagye-Mensah, *Christian Social Ethics for Everyman* (Accra: Asempa Publishers, 1992), 28.

⁷ Carl F. H. Henry, *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1947), 65.

2.0 DESCRIBING PARTISAN POLITICS IN NIGERIA AND GHANA

The word "politics" derives from the Greek *polis*, which refers "Greek city-states (political entities ruled by a body of citizens)."⁸ Its root word in Greek, *politikos*, means "citizen" or "civilian," and this word was eventually used to indicate a "process by which groups of people make collective decisions."⁹ In ancient Greek conception, politics was "concerned with the struggle over the control and distribution of power across a range of sites," and thus not just limited to state governance.¹⁰ According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, politics is "the science or study of government and the state or the activities or policies associated with government, especially those concerning the organization and administration of the state, and with the regulation of relationships between states;" and it involves "public life and affairs involving matters of authority and government."¹¹ Politics, thus, has to do with how people groups interact and organize their affairs.

Based on the historical and etymological context, this paper considered politics as the structured process through which groups of people make collective decisions regarding the organization, control, and distribution of power. This process encompasses not only the activities and policies associated with state governance but also the broader dynamics of authority, influence, and regulation within various societal and civic structures. Essentially, politics is about how people interact, govern, and structure their shared lives, extending beyond state matters to all areas where power and public life intersect. In the context of democratic framework, politics may refer to the science, art and philosophy of soliciting votes into any elective office from voters, acquiring and exercise governmental power, governing a society or group of people, distributing national resources or wealth and influencing and/or making decisions that affect a group of people.¹²

Partisan politics, therefore, involves the formation of political parties through which politics, as described above, is carried out.¹³ In both Nigeria and Ghana, the partisan political system allows for multiple political parties, each presenting its own candidates for various elective positions during elections. These parties engage in campaigning, canvassing for votes, and seeking to influence political decisions and policies in favour of their ideologies and agendas. The formation of these political parties reflects a collective identity rooted in shared interests and ideologies, with the primary goal of attaining power to enact policies that align with their vision for the nation and, ideally, serve the public's interest.¹⁴ This political framework supports democratic governance, wherein the people exercise authority over their state or nation by electing representatives who, in turn, make decisions and implement policies on their behalf. Through this system, elected officials serve at various levels of governance model in which the people have an active, albeit indirect, role in the ruling and decision-making process.

¹² Bright Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for New Age* (California: University of California, 1984), 225.; Danfulani, "Religion, Politics and Integrity," 299-329, 303-304.; V. O. A. Elleh, "Gospel Ministers, The Church in Partisan Politics," *Icheke J. Fac. Humanit* (2021); 139-155, 140.; Charles H. Mansfield, *America's Constitutional Soul* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 163.; Tom McArthur, *Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English* (England: Longman House, 1982), 109.; Desmond Osei-Acheampong Tutu, "Biblical Perspective on Christians Participation in Politics," *World Wide J. Multidiscip. Res. Dev.* (2017); 165-170, 165-166.

⁸ Closson, *Biblical Principles for Political Engagement*, 4.; Danfulani. "Religion, Politics and Integrity," 299-329, 304. ⁹ James Nkansah-Obrempong, *Foundations for African Theological Ethics* (Carlisle, Cumbria: Langham Monographs,

^{2013), 138.}

¹⁰ Jonathan Leeman, *Political Church: The Local Assembly as Embassy of Christ's Rule* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2016), 83.

¹¹ Oxford English Dictionary as cited in Nkansah-Obrempong, Foundations for African Theological Ethics, 139.

¹³ Ezichi A. Ituma, "Religion and Partisan Politics in Nigeria: A Challenge to the Committed Christian," *Bassey Andah J.* (2009); 30-42, 32.

¹⁴ Tutu, "Biblical Perspective on Christians Participation in Politics," 165-170, 166; Onyekpe Nkem, *Politics and Political Power* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1999), 61.

3.0 THE NEED FOR CHRISTIAN PARTICIPATION IN PARTISAN POLITICS

The question of whether Christians should engage actively in politics has been a topic of considerable debate. In this section, the paper will present various scholarly viewpoints on the subject, followed by an exploration of Christ's perspective on political involvement.

Taylor categorizes Christians' political participation into five approaches, viz.: rejection, paradox, critical collaboration, synthesis, and imposition.¹⁵ The rejection approach views politics as inherently corrupt or morally dangerous, suggesting that Christians should avoid any form of political engagement to prevent compromising their faith and moral integrity. For those adhering to this perspective, politics is seen as an area Christians should separate themselves from entirely. The paradox approach regards politics as a "necessary evil," recognizing that Christians may have to participate in it, but only minimally and when required by law. This engagement should be limited to avoid deeper involvement, which could risk eventual corruption. It may also permit civil disobedience as a means of minimal engagement when legal obligations conflict with Christian values. The critical collaboration approach interprets politics as fundamentally good or neutral but acknowledges it has inherent deficiencies.¹⁶ This perspective allows Christians to engage in politics selectively, guided by the gospel, and to critically assess and respond to political ideologies and policies. The synthesis approach suggests that politics is part of the gospel mission and intrinsic to Christian service in society. According to this view, all Christian activities, including political involvement, should be done in a way that glorifies God and benefits humanity. Christians following this approach are encouraged to engage in politics in ways that are peaceful, lawful, and honourable, respecting diverse opinions while promoting righteousness and justice in the community.¹⁷ Finally, the imposition approach advocates for an assertive Christian presence in politics to drive social reform. It involves shaping governance and policy-making to reflect Christian principles, believing Christians should actively influence who governs and how governance is conducted. This approach views politics as a tool for profound societal transformation based on Christian ethics and values.¹⁸

All five aforementioned approaches are akin to Ezeogu's models of political involvement for Christian ministers (priests, pastors), namely: the Traditional Preacher model, the Play Director model, the Music Conductor model, the Priest-Politician model and the Black Panther model.¹⁹ Each model states the extent to which the Christian clergy are involved in politics. The priest-politician model advocates the involvement of clergy in partisan politics so that they can have "a more balanced understanding of politics based on experience and not only on head, secular or theological theoretical knowledge," exemplify political engagement devoid of compromise of one's faith for Christians, and transform and decontaminate politics in Nigeria in all ramifications and at all levels.²⁰ These reasons are also valid for Christians in Nigeria and Ghana to participate in partisan politics.

Danfulani notes that partisan politics is often "left to 'so-called Christians', made up of school drop-outs, ordinary Church goers, 'nominal Christians' and people who are generally neither serious with Christianity nor are they known to the Church leadership."²¹ The eventual outcome of this choice by many Christians in Nigeria and Ghana to be non-partisan or unchristian in their partisanship is that

¹⁵ John Wesley V. Taylor, "The Christian and Politics (I)," Perspect. Dig. (2010); 1-15, 2.

¹⁶ Taylor, "The Christian and Politics (I)," 1-15, 4-5.

¹⁷ Taylor, "The Christian and Politics (I)," 6; Hugo Zorrilla, *The Christian and Political Involvement. In Committed to World Mission: A Focus on International Strategy* (Hillsboro: Kindred Press, 1990), 103-105.; Paul Marshall, *Thine Is the Kingdom: A Biblical Perspective on the Nature of Government and Politics Today* (Basingstoke: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1984), 46-47.

¹⁸ Taylor, "The Christian and Politics (I)," 6-7.

¹⁹ Ernest Munachi Ezeogu, *Baptizing Politics: Models of Priests and Religion Participation in Nigerian Politics. In Religion, Violence and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria* (Makurdi: Aboki Publishers, 2008), 57-61.

²⁰ Danfulani, "Religion, Politics and Integrity," 312-313.

²¹ Danfulani, "Religion, Politics and Integrity," 305.

politics in these countries become so "dirty" and the church often bears the brunt of ungodly policies by the government. Ironically, a good number of committed Christians in both countries shy away from partisan politics because they consider it as a "dirty game" unfit for them.²² This aligns with Taylor's "rejection" approach and Ezeogu's "Traditional Priest" model.

However, inasmuch as political parties cannot have religious affiliation or affinity, as in Taylor's "imposition" approach and Ezeogu's "Black Panther" model, Christians in Nigeria and Ghana should not expect a Christian political party. Therefore, their partisanship means they belong to a system that is non-Christian and may not uphold their Christian values. This is why though it seems less knotty to posit that Christians should be involved in politics since they are affected by politics, it becomes intricate and difficult when Christians are told to participate in partisan politics.²³

Politics is undeniably a means of acquiring authority to advance the well-being, development, and flourishing of people.²⁴ Politics also serves "utilitarian values that deal with the people's happiness and well-being in a given state" by ensuring "the fair and equitable sharing of power and wealth of the country to all her citizens."²⁵ Christians, therefore, have a responsibility to engage in politics to promote the welfare of their fellow citizens, who are also their neighbors. Political participation aligns with the Christian principle of loving one's neighbor; stepping away from politics only leaves communities more vulnerable to the negative effects of unjust leadership.²⁶

4.0 BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT BY GOD'S PEOPLE

Despite the above observations, Christians also find several examples that underscore the biblical call for Christians to engage in politics. Figures like Daniel, who rose to a high position in the Babylonian empire, and Joseph, who governed Egypt and saved his people from famine, demonstrate that believers can hold significant political power while remaining faithful to God (Dan 2:48; 6:3; Gen 41:46). Esther, as a queen, used her influence to protect the Jewish people from destruction, showing that Christians must sometimes participate in politics to protect the vulnerable and promote justice (Est 4:14). Additionally, kings like David and Solomon were entrusted with political power to govern justly and in alignment with God's will, exemplifying that political leadership should serve to ensure justice and righteousness in society (1 Sam 16:13; 1 Kings 3:5-14). The prophets Amos and Isaiah further emphasize the importance of political engagement, as both criticized the corruption, injustice, and inequality within their societies. Amos condemned the exploitation of the poor and the corrupt leadership that ignored justice, urging leaders to "let justice roll on like a river" (Amos 5:24). Similarly, Isaiah rebuked the political and religious leaders of his time for their hypocrisy, oppression of the poor, and failure to uphold righteousness, calling them to "seek justice, encourage the oppressed" (Isaiah 1:17). These examples illustrate that Christians are called to engage in political affairs, not for personal gain but to address societal injustices, promote God's righteousness, and work for the common good.

²² Nkansah-Obrempong, Foundations for African Theological Ethics, 143.; Taylor, "The Christian and Politics (I)," 2-4.; Ituma, "Religion and Partisan Politics in Nigeria," 31.; Kerby Anderson, "A Christian View of Politics, Government, and Social Action," (2002); <u>http://www.leaderu.com/orgs/probe/docs/xian-pol.html</u>.; Carl Knott, "The Christian and Politics," (2001); <u>http://www.nlbchapel.org/politics.htm</u>.; Robert L. Saucy, "The Presence of the Kingdom and the Life of the Church," (1988); 30-46, 46.

²³ Rothney Tshaka and Senokoane Boitumelo, "The Christian Politician? An Investigation into the Theological Grounding for Christians' Participation in Politics," *HTS Teol. Stud. Stud.* (2016); 1-7, 1.

²⁴ Mansfield, *America's Constitutional Soul*, 163-169.; Paul Marshall and Enoch Vanderkloet, *Foundations of Human Rights* (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute, 1980), 48; Elleh, "Gospel Ministers, The Church in Partisan Politics," 140.

²⁵ Danfulani, "Religion, Politics and Integrity," 305-306.

²⁶ Closson, *Biblical Principles for Political Engagement*, 4-8.; Kevin DeYoung, "The Church at Election Time," *The Gospel Coalition* (2018); <u>https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/blogs/kevin-deyoung/churchelection-time/</u>.

In the New Testament, the life, teachings, and actions of Jesus, as well as the ministry of the apostles, also carry significant political dimensions. Jesus' call for Christians to be the "salt of the earth" and the "light of the world" (Matt 5:13–16) implies an active, transformative role in society, which includes political engagement.²⁷ This mandate suggests that Christians are not called to withdraw from the world but to influence it positively, especially in areas such as governance, justice, and the common good. Jesus' own ministry was often a response to the social, economic, and political issues of His time, from His criticism of the oppressive religious establishment to His calls for justice and mercy (Matt 23:23). His encounters with political authorities, such as his dialogue with Pilate (John 18:33–37), reveal a broader understanding of his kingdom that transcends earthly political systems, while also highlighting his involvement in challenging the status quo.

The apostles, particularly Paul, also demonstrated a nuanced engagement with politics. While Paul emphasized that Christians' ultimate allegiance is to God's kingdom, he still navigated the political realities of the Roman Empire with strategic involvement. Paul appealed to Roman law to secure his rights and protection (Acts 22:25–29). Through such actions he showed that engaging with political systems was sometimes necessary for the advancement of the gospel and the protection of believers. In his letters, Paul urged Christians to pray for rulers (1 Tim 2:1-2) and to live peaceful lives in submission to governing authorities (Rom 13:1–7). Yet, he also boldly confronted political corruption and injustice when it stood in opposition to God's righteousness (Acts 16:37–40; 24:10–21).

Other apostles, such as Peter, also addressed political matters by urging believers to submit to rulers but also to stand firm in their faith, even when political powers sought to suppress or persecute them (1 Pet 2:13–17). Their teachings emphasize that while Christians live under the authority of earthly governments, they are ultimately citizens of God's kingdom and should advocate for justice, righteousness, and the well-being of society.

Clearly, the Bible shows that Christians are not called to disengage from politics but to actively participate in it, seeking to influence society according to God's values. It is, therefore, argued that when Christians withdraw from political life due to the presence of corruption, they risk forfeiting their ability to influence who holds power and the values those leaders represent.²⁸ This perspective is especially relevant in countries like Nigeria and Ghana, where Christians can influence politics to ensure the selection of leaders who uphold justice and the well-being of society. Just as the early church navigated the political realities of their time, contemporary Christians are called to engage in the political process to make meaningful contributions to society, upholding values of justice, peace, and righteousness.

Historically, Christians have been involved in political activities. These personalities viewed political involvement not as a departure from their faith, but as a vital aspect of living out their Christian calling in the world. A few examples can be noted and examined. St. Augustine (354–430), one of the most influential early Christian thinkers, had a profound impact on Christian views regarding politics. In his *The City of God*,²⁹ Augustine discussed the relationship between the earthly and the heavenly city. He argued that while Christians are citizens of God's eternal kingdom, they must still engage with the political structures of the world. Augustine emphasized that government can serve a good purpose by maintaining order and justice, but it must be guided by divine principles to avoid corruption. His theology provided the foundation for later Christian political thought, suggesting that Christians should work within political systems to promote justice and righteousness, even as they recognize the ultimate sovereignty of God.

²⁷ Taylor, "The Christian and Politics (I)," 11; Musa Danladi, *Christians in Politics* (Jos: African Christian Textbooks, 2009), 35.

²⁸ Ituma, "Religion and Partisan Politics in Nigeria," 33.

²⁹ St. Augustine, *The City of God*, ed. Philip Schaff, trans. Marcus Dods (Buffalo, NY: The Christian Literature Company, 1887).

Martin Luther (1483–1546), the leader of the Protestant Reformation, took a significant step in advocating for the involvement of Christians in political matters.³⁰ Luther's doctrine of the "two kingdoms" emphasized the distinction between the spiritual realm (governed by the Word of God) and the secular realm (governed by civil law). Luther believed that while the Church has a spiritual authority, secular authorities are ordained by God to maintain peace and order. He encouraged Christians to participate in politics and obey the governing authorities, as long as they did not conflict with God's commands. Luther's views laid the groundwork for the Protestant understanding of the relationship between the Church and the state, advocating for responsible political engagement in the broader society.

John Calvin (1509–1564) further developed the concept of Christian involvement in politics. Calvin emphasized that civil government is part of God's plan for the world, and he encouraged Christians to support rulers who governed justly and to actively participate in political life.³¹ Calvin argued that government is a means of preserving justice, and he believed that Christians have a duty to uphold God's moral law in their societies. Calvin's ideas influenced the development of Reformed political thought and laid the foundation for later Protestant involvement in politics, including the rise of democratic principles and civil rights.

John Wesley (1703–1791), the founder of the Methodist movement, took a more socially engaged approach to politics, emphasizing the importance of Christian responsibility in society. Wesley believed that personal salvation was inseparable from social justice, and he called for Christians to take an active role in addressing issues such as poverty, inequality, and the abolition of slavery. His teachings motivated many Christians to engage in political activism, particularly in Britain and the United States, where his followers were instrumental in social reform movements. Wesley's practical theology encouraged Christians to not only focus on personal piety but also to address the social and political needs of their communities, advocating for a society that reflects Christian values of justice, mercy, and charity.

In the 20th century, Jurgen Moltmann (1926–present), a German Reformed theologian, continued the tradition of politically engaged Christian scholarship. Moltmann's theology is deeply influenced by his experiences in post-World War II Europe and his commitment to justice and human rights. His works, particularly *Theology of Hope*, challenge Christians to engage with political realities and work for social transformation.³² Moltmann advocates for the liberation of oppressed peoples and the transformation of society through the message of the Gospel. He sees the Kingdom of God as not only a future reality but also a present reality that Christians are called to work toward through social and political activism. Moltmann's theology calls for a Church that actively participates in politics, seeking to bring about justice, peace, and reconciliation in the world.

Despite the biblical and historical examples of Christian engagement in politics, many contemporary Christians in Nigeria and Ghana remain hesitant to participate actively in political life.³³ This reluctance is largely driven by ethical dilemmas that arise from the political landscape, where corruption, injustice, and unethical practices are prevalent. The following section explores these challenges and the moral concerns that influence their decision to avoid political involvement.

5.0 THE ETHICAL DILEMMA OF PARTISAN POLITICS

Partisan politics is often viewed by some Christians as spiritually distracting, as it frequently involves worldly entanglements that the Bible cautions against (2 Cor 6:14; 2 Tim 2:4). The ethical dilemma arises from the challenge of living a dualistic life, where Christians are expected to uphold Christian values in all aspects of life, including political engagement. For many, the tension lies in balancing their heavenly citizenship with their earthly civic duties (cf. 2 Cor 5:20; Phil 3:18–20; Col 3:1–2; 1 Pet

³⁰ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, Christian Social Ethics for Everyman, 36.

³¹ Kudadjie and Aboagye-Mensah, 36.

³² Jürgen Moltmann, *Theology of Hope* (London: SCM Press, 1967).

³³ see Falaye, "Christianity and Politics: The Experience from Nigeria," 4.

2:9–11). Partisan politics, however, often demands compromises on essential Christian principles, making it difficult for believers to navigate political involvement without compromising their faith. This dilemma is aggravated by the fact that partisan politics requires Christians to endorse, campaign for, and vote for candidates that do not fit into the biblical standards for leadership. In many cases, these candidates are ethically bankrupt and even involve in unethical practices as they seek elective positions. Furthermore, partisan politics can be divisive to such a toxic extent that can affect interpersonal relationships among Christians. This discourages many well-intentioned Christians from partisan politics.

In Nigeria and Ghana, most people think of politics as necessitating lies, theft, cruelty, murder, and all kinds of duplicitous activities.³⁴ Some examples can be cited in Ghana. For example, Ghana's first president in the Fourth Republic, John Jerry Rawlings faced allegations of corruption, including the disappearance of US\$7 million from a US\$10 million fund allocated for refurbishing the Tema Food Processing Factory.³⁵ His successor, John Agyekum Kufuor also faced allegations of abusing political power, particularly concerning the purchase of the African Regent Hotel by his son for US\$3.5 million, which raised concerns of conflict of interest and patrimonialism.³⁶ The same or similar can be noted about other presidents of Ghana.

Aside these, various government officials across different administrations have faced numerous corruption allegations. For example, in June 2009, President John Evans Atta Mills requested Hon. Mubarak Muntaka, the Minister of Youth and Sports, to resign following allegations of financial misconduct and abuse of power, and he was instructed to repay the embezzled funds.³⁷ In 2017, an internal audit uncovered payroll fraud within the National Youth Employment Agency, totalling GH¢50 million (US\$11.1 million), though no officials were held accountable.³⁸ That same year, the Electoral Commission faced a corruption scandal leading to the dismissal of its chairperson, Charlotte Osei, and her deputies after an investigation by the Economic and Organized Crime Office.³⁹

The observation about politics in contemporary Ghana is also true of contemporary Nigeria. In their 2018 article, Gbadamosi Tolulope Victoria and Ajogbeje Olamide Olutoke observed that Nigerian political leaders engage in diverse corruption tactics, including bribery (and its local variant, kickbacks), nepotism, misappropriation of funds, fabricated security threats to justify personal enrichment, exploitation of insider relationships for business advantages, auto-corruption, extortion, and employment patronage.⁴⁰ In their view, corrupt officials frequently develop new strategies to evade anti-corruption efforts. In other words, the people who are expected to curb corruption devise strategies to entrench it.

In 2015, Nigeria's former National Security Adviser, Sambo Dasuki, was arrested for allegedly embezzling \$2 billion (£1.3 billion).⁴¹ He is accused of awarding fake contracts to purchase 12 helicopters, four fighter jets, and ammunition, all intended for the fight against Boko Haram militants. Another example of alleged political corruption was the implication of Diezani Alison-Madueke, the

³⁴ C. A. J. Coady, "Politics and the Problem of Dirty Hands," in *A Companion to Ethics*, ed. Peter Singer (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 373; Nkansah-Obrempong, *Foundations for African Theological Ethics*, 143; Umar Habila Danfulani, "Religion, Politics and Integrity," 305.

³⁵ Richard Andoh, "Theoretical Perspectives and Explanations of Political Corruption in Ghana," *Equinox Journal of Economics, Business & Political Studies* 8, no. 1 (2021); 23-45, 32.

³⁶ Andoh, "Theoretical Perspectives and Explanations of Political Corruption in Ghana," 33.

³⁷ Andoh, "Theoretical Perspectives and Explanations of Political Corruption in Ghana," 34.

³⁸ Kaunain Rahman, "Overview of Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Ghana," U4 Helpdesk Answer (Chr. Michelsen Institute, 2018), 5.

³⁹ Andoh, "Theoretical Perspectives and Explanations of Political Corruption in Ghana," 34; Rahman, "Overview of Corruption and Anti-Corruption in Ghana," 6.

⁴⁰ Tolulope Victoria Gbadamosi & Olamide Olutoke Ajogbeje, "Causes and Effects of Political Corruption in Nigeria: Implication for Social Studies Education," *Nigerian Journal of Social Studies*, vol. XXI (1) (2018); 69-85.

⁴¹ "Nigeria's Dasuki 'arrested over \$2bn arms fraud' (Dec 2015); https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-34973872.

former Minister of Petroleum Resources, in extensive corruption allegations involving billions of dollars.⁴² Alison-Madueke allegedly awarded lucrative oil contracts without proper oversight and reportedly siphoned off funds intended for Nigeria's oil revenue.

Although the examples above are drawn from Ghana and Nigeria, these observations are applicable to many other African countries. Nkansah-Obrempong aptly notes that politics is one of the major causes of the societal evils plaguing Africa, including "wars, ethnic conflicts, the abusive use of power and authority, nepotism, the mismanagement of natural, human, and economic resources, poverty, lack of basic infrastructure, and many others."⁴³ Generally speaking, politicians are known for diabolical practices in order to be protected, become famous, and win elections.⁴⁴ It is so bad that some people not only try to excuse politicians' moral bankruptcy but also validate it as necessary in politics.⁴⁵ The foregoing is summed up by Nkansah-Obrempong as follows:

Politicians in Africa are known for telling lies, leaders who lack integrity and are egoistic. They do not keep their promises and they use people as a means to their political ends. They are greedy and selfish and only think about themselves and how they can amass wealth and property and hold on to power so they can enrich themselves. The bottom line is that most of our present day politicians lack character, which is the engine that drives morality. They have acquired the vices that they were taught to avoid in life. They are known to be the most corrupt people in society. Their behaviors and lifestyles have affected many in society and corruption has become a virus in many African countries.⁴⁶

This partly explains why people hardly trust politicians and also why many Christians shrink back from partisan politics.⁴⁷ The widespread mistrust of politicians and the corruption that often accompanies political activities makes political activities unattractive to some Christians. As Haruna notes, this distrust has led many Christians to withdraw from active involvement in political processes.⁴⁸

Furthermore, partisan electioneering, which includes both intra-party politics and general elections, is frequently marred by unethical practices such as property destruction, violence, and even the loss of life. These practices are not uncommon in both Nigeria and Ghana and create a hostile and dangerous environment for those who wish to engage in political processes. Iordaah highlights that these actions, which often accompany elections, create a climate of fear and demotivate Christians from becoming involved in partisan politics.⁴⁹

The attitude of the broader community towards Christians who partake in partisan politics also contributes to discouraging those who might consider engaging in politics. Christians who do venture into the political arena often face intense criticism and judgment from their fellow believers, which further demotivates them from participating. This social pressure creates an environment where those who attempt to serve in politics are frequently marginalized or condemned, making it harder for Christians to confidently enter the political sphere. As Falaye observes, this social stigma makes it difficult for Christians to navigate the political landscape, particularly when they are criticized for aligning themselves with political parties that may not reflect their ethical or moral beliefs.⁵⁰

⁴² Nkechi Ogbonna, Nigeria's ex-oil minister Diezani Alison-Madueke charged with bribery in the UK (August 2023), https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-66582585.

⁴³ Nkansah-Obrempong, Foundations for African Theological Ethics, 137.

⁴⁴ Birgit Meyer, "The Power of Money: Politics, Occult Forces, and Pentecostalism in Ghana," *Afr. Stud. Rev.* (2014); 15-37, 27.

⁴⁵ Coady, Politics and the Problem of Dirty Hands, 374.

⁴⁶ Nkansah-Obrempong, Foundations for African Theological Ethics, 137.

⁴⁷ Andrew Haruna, "The Church and Politics," *Being a paper presented at the Seminar by the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), Maiduguri Metropolis. National Evangelical Mission, Wulari, Maiduguri (2009); 6.*

⁴⁸ Haruna. "The Church and Politics," 6.

⁴⁹ Rose Yangu Iordaah, "The Moral Justification of Christian Clerics' Participation in Politics," *Noun Sch* (2022); 201-222, 203.

⁵⁰ Falaye, "Christianity and Politics: The Experience from Nigeria," 3.

This situation is exacerbated by the fact that, as Closson points out, partisan politics often requires party members to accept the party's entire platform, which may include support for policies that contradict Christian teachings or an unwillingness to speak out against corruption and injustice.⁵¹ The ethical dilemma that Christians face in these contexts is clear: they are forced to choose between supporting a political party, despite its moral failings, or remaining silent in the face of electoral malpractice, corruption, and unethical leadership. For many Christians, this creates a difficult choice between endorsing a party despite its moral shortcomings or remaining silent in the face of electoral malpractice and unethical leadership. Such tensions are particularly acute for Christians striving to remain faithful to their values while navigating a political system that frequently contradicts those very principles.

6.0 TOWARD A CHRISTOCENTRIC POLITICAL THEOLOGY

A Christocentric worldview is a way of understanding and interpreting life through the lens of Christ's teachings, values, and example. Closson opines that a Christocentric worldview "recognizes that every area of life must be included in the 'good works' of believers, especially politics, an area with massive implications for Christian evangelism, missions, and the freedom to preach the gospel."⁵² At its core, it seeks to place Christ at the centre of every area of human experience—spiritual, moral, social, economic and political. This perspective emphasizes the belief that Jesus' life and teachings are not just relevant for personal salvation, but for addressing the broader concerns of justice, mercy, and truth in the world. It may be understood as an effort to clarify essential aspects of the gospel to prepare the church for its mission in the world. A Christocentric worldview brings the gospel to bear on all aspects of human life and addresses the existential needs of the church in its mission in the world.

In the context of this work, a Christocentric worldview seeks to apply the truths of the Christian faith to partisan political participation in Nigeria and Ghana, especially in light of the ethical dilemma of partisan politics in both countries. Iordaah, after establishing reasons for Christians' participation in partisan politics and even providing evidences of clergy participation in Nigerian politics over the decades, believes that the question is not whether clergy should participate in partisan politics "but 'how should the clergy morally engage in politics in Nigeria'?"⁵³ This paper rephrases this question by asking "how should Christians in Nigeria and Ghana morally engage in partisan politics?" The answer to this question is simply that partisan politics should be seen as a service, first and foremost to God, and in the interest of fellow human beings.

6.1 Partisan Politics as a Service under Jesus Christ's Lordship

To start with, a Christocentric worldview affirms that politics is subsumed under Jesus Christ's sovereignty. This perspective maintains that Christ's sovereignty extends beyond individual salvation and spiritual matters to include the social, economic, and political dimensions of human life as well. In this view, politics is not a secular or separate domain, but an area in which believers are called to reflect Christ's values of justice, mercy, and truth. In all this, the sovereignty of God needs to be emphasized. Therefore, Christians are to participate in politics with the understanding that God's sovereignty, providence, and influence, encompass politics.⁵⁴ Paul Marshall, arguing from a Reformed perspective, asserts that: "Political authority is not an area apart from the gospel, but can be an area of ministry just as much as any office in the church. This authority is not a thing separate from the reign of Jesus Christ but is itself a manifestation of the authority of the 'King of Kings.'"⁵⁵ This authority is not a thing separate from the reign of Jesus Christ but is itself a manifestation of the authority of the 'King of Kings.''⁵⁶ This authority of the

⁵¹ Closson, *Biblical Principles for Political Engagement*, 13.

⁵² Closson, Biblical Principles for Political Engagement, 6.

⁵³ Iordaah, "The Moral Justification of Christian Clerics' Participation in Politics." 217.

⁵⁴ Elleh, "Gospel Ministers, The Church in Partisan Politics," 141.

⁵⁵ Marshall, *Thine Is the Kingdom*. 46.

'King of Kings.'" He adds, "The state is what God through Jesus Christ has set up to maintain justice. Its officers are as much ministers of God as are prophets and priests."⁵⁶

Partisan politics, when undertaken with God's sovereignty becomes a means by which we bring the world under the authority of God. In such an encounter, political activities undertaken from a Christocentric viewpoint is expected to bring about transformation. Christians' partisan political participation is, therefore, a means to "bring the power of the gospel into confrontation with the everincreasing abuse of power and corruption exemplified by the political regimes."⁵⁷ Through political engagement, Christians have a unique chance to work toward societal transformation, embodying values of justice, compassion, and righteousness that align with God's purposes for humanity. Christians in politics are to model biblical justice and righteousness for others with the intention to make the nation better and ultimately to glorify Jesus Christ as Lord of their lives. They also need to help other politicians and leaders to know that there is a greater authority under whose sovereignty they serve and to whom they are accountable. This goes a long way in having a better nation.

6.2 Partisan Politics as a Service for the Common Good

In an earlier section, it was pointed out that Christians need to participate in partisan politics so as to acquire state power and authority whereby they can boost the total well-being and flourishing of others, thereby expressing their love for others. A Christocentric worldview thinks of politics as a medium through which the gospel message is appropriated for the benefits of fellow human beings.⁵⁸ This perspective conceives of partisan politics as a means to resolve political challenges in the society. In the political realm, each individual and every sector of society plays a role in advancing the common good. This collaborative effort involves the battle against issues like poverty, sickness, ignorance, corruption, and moral decline to foster a community of harmony, cooperation, and brotherhood. A Christocentric worldview demands that political leaders prioritize the welfare of citizens, providing basic needs such as clean water, healthcare, education, sanitation, and infrastructure like roads and electricity. For Busia, the true measure of political success lies in the well-being and dignity of the citizenry. He argued that society's progress should be evaluated based on "the quality of the individual, by his knowledge, his skills, his behaviour as a member of the society, the standards of living he is able to enjoy and by the degree of freedom and justice in the society."⁵⁹ The purpose of political power, therefore, is to empower every citizen to lead an improved life in freedom. In his words, politics should "give every individual the opportunity to be the best he can as a human being and as a member of a community."60

There are lots of social evils and societal ills in Nigeria and Ghana both within the political arena and every other aspect of lives. Both countries are plagued with poverty, lack of basic social amenities, lack of access to quality education and healthcare, corruption, unemployment, underemployment, insecurity, exploitation, violence, denial of human rights, among many other problems. The truth is that a good number of these problems can be addressed through political power. Christians, through partisan politics, can sponsor bills, promote agendas, and inspire others, to solve these problems. This means that Christians involved in partisan politics should address "pressing moral concerns" irrespective of what their party stands for and convince their "party leaders and policy makers of the merits of their ideas."⁶¹

⁵⁸ This is same as the "social action(s)" aspect of evangelism which spells out "the social implications of the biblical Gospel" Donald G. Bloesch, *Essentials of Evangelical Theology: God, Authority, and Salvation*, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), 19.

⁵⁶ Marshall, *Thine Is the Kingdom*. 46.

⁵⁷ Bernard Boyo, *The Church and Politics: A Theological Refection* (Carlisle, Cumbria: HippoBooks, 2021), 172.

⁵⁹ Kofi A. Busia, Africa in Search of Democracy (New York: Praeger, 1967), 72.

⁶⁰ Busia cited in Nana A. Anane-Agyei, *Ghana's Brong-Ahafo Region: Story of an African Society in the Heart of the World* (Accra: Abibrem Publishers, 2012), 37.

⁶¹ Closson, Biblical Principles for Political Engagement. 13.

In Nigeria and Ghana, for example, political apathy is traceable to the problem of rigging during elections such that many Christians think that their votes do not count and so they stay away completely from voting. This is worsened by the seeming partiality and untrustworthiness of the electoral umpires and the post-election petition tribunals and courts. However, Christians can help to address this problem when they belong to political parties and monitor votes and the onward transmission of polling results to the appropriate quarters faithfully. Christians can serve as polling unit agents for political parties at various levels in order to ensure that rigging is minimized if not totally eradicated. This will restore people's confidence in the electoral process as they realize that their votes actually count. Furthermore, a Christocentric worldview inspires Christians in partian politics to be selfless such that they steer clear of electoral malpractices and political violence on the one hand and "imbibe the spirit of sportsmanship" on the other hand.⁶² This means that Christians, even when their party or preferred candidate(s) is losing an election, will uphold the interests of others and respect their choice by not interfering in the process in anyway.

Partisan politics, when pursued with a focus on serving the common good, necessarily requires collaboration with individuals from diverse religious backgrounds and beliefs. Political parties inherently consist of people from various faiths and convictions, and for Christians involved in politics, meaningful political impact depends on engaging in open dialogue and forming alliances that transcend religious lines. Such collaboration is crucial for leveraging political power effectively to address national challenges and promote the holistic well-being of all citizens, especially those most vulnerable.⁶³ While Christians may encounter anti-Christian actions or attitudes within the political arena, this should not deter their participation. Boaheng emphasizes that anti-Christian influences are present across all areas of society, including business, education, and entertainment, yet Christians continue to engage in these fields.⁶⁴ By the same logic, Christians should not avoid politics due to the presence of anti-Christian activities, especially given the profound influence that political decisions have on society and the lives of individuals.

Christian involvement in partisan politics can serve as a positive example and counter the perception of politics as merely a "do-or-die" pursuit for personal or party gain.⁶⁵ By prioritizing the well-being of citizens over personal or partisan interests, Christians in politics can embody values of integrity and service, potentially shifting political culture toward one of cooperation and concern for the common good. When Christians focus on ethical governance and policies that support justice and equity, they also contribute to addressing the pressing needs of society, from economic challenges to social inequalities. In this way, they affirm that political participation is not merely about winning or exerting power but is a meaningful avenue to advance societal welfare, which aligns with the Christian mandate to serve and uplift others.

7.0 CONCLUSION

This study investigated the ethical dilemma that attends partisan political involvement in Nigeria and Ghana and it established the fact that this dilemma is manifested in various vices and unethical practices that boil down to uncritical party support and the endorsement and/or discounting of moral bankruptcy of leaders and of electoral malpractices. This study demonstrated how Christians can navigate this ethical landmine when they possess and live by a Christocentric worldview. It is believed that a Christocentric worldview will make Christians in Nigeria and Ghana to think of politics as a service done under Jesus Christ's lordship and in the interests of others. This mindset will certainly

⁶² Ituma, "Religion and Partisan Politics in Nigeria," 34.

⁶³ Isaac Boaheng. "A Contextual Political Theology for the Ghanaian Society and Its Implications for Human

Flourishing" (PhD diss., University of Pretoria, 2023), 175.

⁶⁴ Boaheng. "A Contextual Political Theology for the Ghanaian Society and Its Implications for Human Flourishing," 176.

⁶⁵ Boaheng. "A Contextual Political Theology for the Ghanaian Society and Its Implications for Human Flourishing," 176.

motivate them not to shy away from partisan politics but rather be more invested in it since it is part of their Christian ministry to the world. This means that rather than shy away from partisan politics, Christians in Ghana should become more involved in it. When Christians in both countries become more involved in partisan politics, they are able to influence the primary electoral process that produces candidates for the general elections. In this case, they are guided by a Christocentric worldview to support and campaign for candidates who will serve under the lordship of Christ and in the interest of the people. Christians as members of political parties can also serve in various political offices, either by election or appointment, and they can use their offices to develop their constituencies and improve the living conditions of the people.

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