Christian Crusades in Nairobi: An Analysis of Socio-Religious Factors Underlying Their Upsurge
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1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Problem

From the time of its inception in Kenya, Christianity has taken various forms. Initially, there were efforts by pioneering missionaries to establish the Christian faith among different African Communities in Kenya. These efforts were characterised most by Western Christian missions. Efforts of this kind saw the gradual evolvement of such missions into churches within this country (Nthamburi 1991, 1995). The planting of missionary oriented churches was generally followed by another phase. This was the phenomenon of the proliferation of African initiated churches. These African instituted churches remain to date an elaborate illustration of the diverse and at the same time, profound response of Africans to Christianity.

The closing years of the Twentieth Century can be said to be experiencing an upsurge of, what within Christian circles, are commonly known as crusades. Evangelistic or proselytic in emphasis, these crusades are an important development in the history of the Church in Kenya. They have become a major expression of Christian activity, demonstrating its vitality. Evidently, the phenomenon of crusades is suffusing many urban areas, with considerably high frequency in some places. In Nairobi, for instance, Uhuru Park, Kamukunji grounds as well as residential estates such as Dandora, Githurai, Huruma, Kibera and Umoja are among the most frequent venues of crusaders. Almost daily, a crusade is taking place somewhere in Nairobi.

Most of the previous studies on Christianity in Kenya have focused on socio-religious, economic, cultural, and political factors underlying the mainstream and indigenous churches within the same country. But, the upsurge of crusades as an aspect of Christianity has not hitherto been subjected to thorough scholarly investigation.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Crusades are conspicuously pervading Nairobi. They apparently attract a lot of people. Participants in these crusades vary in their degree of involvement in terms of age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status, religious affiliation and academic levels. Crusades themselves range from local to international in category.

According to Sigei [Oral Interview (O.I.) 03/03/1997], a government public-meeting-licensing officer, in 1995, for instance, there were about 4 international crusades in Nairobi. And in 1996, there were well over 6 of such category of crusades in Nairobi, Sigei (O.I. 28/07/1997) further observed that there was so far an increase in the number of those seeking official permits from the government in order to hold crusades within Nairobi. According to him, by the end of 1996, there were at average two to three crusaders seeking from his office such permits each week. But the frequency had risen to levels of five to six each week by end of June 1997. Of course, there should be some crusaders who have been carrying out their activities, especially on a small-scale basis without necessarily procuring permits. A number of other crusaders have increasingly been opening up offices within Nairobi to facilitate their crusade-related activities. Cases in point include Reinhard Bonnke's Christ For All Nations (Cfan), Morris Celullo's World Evangelism-Kenya, David Younggi Cho's Yoido Ministry, Evangelist Teresa Wairimu's Faith Evangelistic
Ministry (FEM). Posters mounted, pasted or stuck in different crusade publicity and promotion strategies. These have become a common scenario at advertising points in Nairobi.

The aforementioned are but some of the impressionistic evidence of the growing fervour for crusades in Kenya generally and Nairobi in particular. Crucial questions emerge in this respect. For example, what is the general attitude towards crusades in the society? Who is/are behind these crusades? Who and what social needs are the crusades serving? The fervour for crusades is obviously appreciated by some sections of Kenyans. Otherwise crusades would not be there in the first place. However, the fervour is a source of unease to others. To some observers, crusades are a mere social euphoria that will gradually fade away. According to such observers, the crusades will not withstand the test of time. But to other analysts, crusades are a present formidable social phenomenon, which has far reaching implications to individuals and the society at large. The phenomenon of crusades, therefore, seems to have social dynamics that invite a thorough analysis. As a matter of fact, in spite of the aforementioned explicit fervour for crusades, little is known about socio-religious reasons that draw people to crusades. Also, not much is known about the growth of the crusades themselves. Could this apparently growing phenomenon be a social disruption? Might it be that intense involvement in these crusades by crusaders and crusadees alike is diverting them from attending to other more gainful socio-economic concerns? No careful analyses exist that have addressed some of these salient issues by documenting the factors responsible for the apparent increase of the crusades. These issues constitute the research problem under investigation in the present study.

1.3. Purpose and Objectives of the Study

Need arose for scholarly investigation into the phenomenon of crusades to bring to the fore the socio-religious role of crusades as perceived by crusaders and crusadees. The present study looks into this problem with a view to documenting the socio-religious undertones of the said phenomenon. Besides, the research provides possible suggestions for policy implementation. Concerns that form the objectives of this study, therefore, include:

a. Examining socio-religious reasons for the apparently growing fervour for crusades.

b. Investigating the social-religious needs and realities crusades are addressing

c. Making recommendations about crusades for implementation by crusadees, crusaders and any other concerned people.

1.4. Hypotheses of the Research

a. That increased socio-economic problems in society cause a gap which crusades attempt to fill.

b. That women are attracted to crusades more than men.

c. That people of low socio-economic status are more inclined to crusades than those of a high socio-economic status.
d. That attraction to crusades is a function of the perceived power and efficacy of the evangelist.

1.5. Significance of the Study

Not many thorough sociological-oriented studies are available on the phenomenon of crusades. By exploring the embedded socio-religious dynamics and the implications crusades carry for or against the society, this present scholarly step becomes an important literature and a source of reference on the said phenomenon. Results will inform and serve as a useful guide and resource to those involved in various dimensions of Christian mission and social work. It assists in evaluating strategies, identifying and tapping of existing resources and addressing contemporary needs or realities in society.

Amongst some people, crusades are perceived suspiciously. Such suspicion has occasionally been expressed publicly, for instance, through press media. Some critics see in crusades, fanaticism, fundamentalism, sectarianism, thirst and clamour for power, neo-colonialism and soul-winning at the expense of meeting human needs. Our research into the phenomenon comes up with findings that are a more objective basis of assessing the contributions and the dangers of crusades to the society.

Rapid urbanisation and complexities resulting from it are considerably becoming a great challenge to individuals, governments, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as well. Great efforts are required to confront the challenges of urbanisation. Here in Kenya, it is proving increasingly difficult to formulate comprehensive agenda for development in our urban centres. As a matter of uttermost urgency and priority, the Church must seriously reflect and take a more pragmatic approach towards urban ministry. The urban community, its realities and implications will definitely remain an indispensable life stream that the Church cannot ignore and still claim to profoundly affect urban Kenyans. This is especially so as we closely march towards the twenty-first century. Given its urban setting, this study looks at some of these urban contextual realities in so far as they impinge on the residents of Nairobi. In this was, the study contributes towards Urban Theology and Development Theology. Policy-makers, planners, churches and other NGOs are amongst the immediate beneficiaries of findings from the present study.

1.6. Theoretical Framework

The present research study employs sociological theories on religion from two classics, namely, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. This is in consideration of the fact that the theories are viewed to be of immediate relevance to the study. Primary concern in these theories is on the contributions of religion towards the prerequisites and/or basic needs in the human society. Such needs include social cohesion, value consensus, harmony and integration of diverse parts. Applied in our case, interest would, for example, be directed towards examining contributions of crusades as an aspect of the Christian religion to the said prerequisites and basic needs in the Kenyan society at large and Nairobi community in Particular. To what extent do crusades work towards social integration within this social framework?

Durkheim (1991 cf. Abraham 1992, 72-104; Haralambos and Heald 1991, 455-457) is best known for his theory which emphasises a functionalist perspective. In this approach, he
underlines the instrumentality of shared societal values and moral beliefs as a basis for ‘collective conscience’. Without this collective conscience, societal order, control, solidarity and cooperation are, on the basis of this viewpoint, beyond human realisation. Religion enhances collective conscience by according the same, sacredness and in this way, provides it with greater potentiality to direct human action and destiny. The awesome attitude towards the sacred is the same attitude bestowed upon social duties and obligations. In revering society, people are, in effect, appreciating the significance of the social group and their reliance upon it. The social group comes together in religious rituals infused with drama and reverence. Corporately, members of the group demonstrate in such ritual gatherings their faith in common values and beliefs. Through intensified liturgical atmosphere, the integration of society is realised. Members of society comprehend, revere, express, and communicate the moral bonds which seem to unite them.

Durkheim's ideas could relevantly be applied to the phenomenon of crusades. It is noted that crusades are a corporate feat that brings various people together. The diversity that often characterises most crusade fora has already been pointed out earlier in the statement of the problem with regard to attendance. To be sure, research findings confirmed that attendance in crusades more or less comprise people of various faiths though largely within the Christian fold but always open to those outside it. These people are of varied ages and educational backgrounds, socio-economic and marital status, both female and male. Nairobi's population affords a plurality of rural and urban, elite and non-elite as well as ethnic and political background. Often, in practical terms, such plurality has taken ugly and volatile dimensions, even on the national level; especially with regard to politics and ethnicity. Notwithstanding, once more, their aforementioned diversity, crusades are amongst the rare mass assemblies that have so far conducted their activities without sparking off volatility that is explicitly often characteristic of other similar forms of assemblage in Nairobi and countrywide.

Of interest here as well is whether crusades promote social solidarity and reinforce social values. If so, what kind of solidarity unfolds? Which people are embraced in this solidarity? What values emerge and are enhanced in these fora? These are important questions addressed within this study. This is particularly relevant in a polycultural context of urban Nairobi.

The fact that people of a diversity similar to the one of the aforementioned discussion attend a crusade together should not alone, however, necessarily be misconstrued to mean that they are in total harmony. To be sure, responses from the questionnaires showed that participants in crusades hold divergent opinions even regarding various aspects of crusades. Nevertheless, the differences in responses had more to do with aspects pertaining to practices or methods associated with crusades rather than doctrines prevalent and advanced in crusades. Otherwise, respondents concurred on many aspects especially those related to doctrines. This could be explained by the fact that most of the crusaders and crusadees are actually Christians, and in this sense especially of Pentecostal and Evangelical persuasion. It means, crusades promote to a higher degree social solidarity and social values espoused by Pentecostal or Pentecostal-related traditions.

Max Weber intimates that although religious behaviour may be largely shaped by economic forces, the reverse may also transpire. That is, religious beliefs may also shape or be a major
influence on economic behaviour. In pursuit of his argument, Weber (1958 cf. Haralambos and Heald 1991, 465-467) examines the relationship between the rise of certain expressions of Protestantism and the evolvement of Western industrial capitalism. Of course Weber is fully cognisant of other contributory factors that were at play in the construction of capitalism. But the focus in Weber's theory that relates to our study is the one that highlights the role that Protestantism played. In Weber's view, the practice of the Protestant ethic was imbued with the 'spirit of capitalism'. Though Protestantism in itself was not a root cause of capitalism, it gave it a characteristic direction.

To prove his case, Weber looks at the set of ideas, ethics and values, duties and functions embedded particularly, in ascetic Protestantism. One needed a call and a respectable career in life that s/he could pursue diligently. Viewed as divinely ordained, work was emphasised. There was need for extensively gaining and saving everything possible to acquire wealth so that one would grow rich. The Protestants encouraged thrift spending. Extravagance and ostentatious lifestyle were loathed and viewed as being inconsistent with glorifying God. Time wasting, laziness, idle gossip, too much sleep and sexual pleasures outside marriage were condemned. So was sport and recreation, which were unrelated to improving physical fitness and health. Impulsive fun and enjoyment of the pub, dance hall, theatre and gaming house were to be shunned by ascetic Protestants. Most notable here is the link between maximising creation of wealth and minimising spending through an ascetic lifestyle. It is this ascetic Protestantism with there emphases that saw, according to Weber, the emergence and evolvement of capitalism in western Europe.

The present study investigates whether Weber's thesis can be sustained regarding the phenomenon of crusades. From the pilot survey and the actual field research that we conducted, it is already evident that certain teachings or values are underlined in crusade fora. But can such teachings and values, however, be said to be influencing significantly the crusaders' or crusadees' attitude or behaviour and performance in society?

Crusades themselves are becoming a distinct aspect of society with particular social rubrics and patterns. Though not exclusively to Christian crusades, there are now certain mannerisms in terms of language, dressing, liturgy, lifestyle and worldviews that can easily be identified with crusaders and crusadees. Elegant dressing of the preacher-evangelist stand as a model, the ideal or the epitome of success and prosperity in society. The preacher-evangelist is a representative reality of the gospel being preached. In this way, crusades are setting in place precedents, lifestyles, and patterns that should be expected to be a replica within the liturgies of the participants.

In spite of the varied background of crusaders, it was evident from our participant observation of crusade sessions that there were socio-religious values generally underscored. The crusades form of evangelism in Nairobi, as said already, was found to be exclusively Protestant, Evangelical or Pentecostal in orientation. Twelve of our eighty crusadee respondents (15%) were from the Roman Catholic Church (RCC). But we did not come across any crusade organised by Kenya's RCC. The respondents from the RCC all conceded that their church was not given to crusades as a key strategy of evangelisation. Once more, it would be right, therefore, to argue that socio-religious values that flourish within crusade fora are representative of Protestantism, but more so of the Evangelical and Pentecostal inclination.
From our checklist and analysis of sermons by crusade evangelists-preachers, some of the emphases by Protestants as noted by Weber do indeed emerge within the crusades studies. The following Table 1 carries a comparison of some of these. Some were gathered from sixty-five preachers-evangelists, sermons. Others were from twenty questionnaires completed by the preachers-evangelists.

Table 1: Some Emphases by Crusade Preachers vs Weber's Theory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Emphasis</th>
<th>Evangelists' Sermons</th>
<th>Evangelists' Questionnaires</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. =65</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No. =20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoking/drugs</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>63.08</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>69.23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual infidelity</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>73.85</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Acumen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16.92</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African traditions</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>32.31</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other faiths</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29.23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faithfulness</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>47.69</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that Weber's theory very much applies here on the preachers-evangelists with regard to sexual pleasures outside marital precincts eg. prostitution, fornication, adultery; impulsive fun such as drinking-related activities. And we also see the discomfort associated with smoking and drug abuse. It is noted, however, that the crusade preachers-evangelists did not with the same latitude inspire crusadees towards lucrative business enterprises and investments. Thus, economic prosperity was not an explicit emphasis. It in fact amounted to only 15.96%, comparing lamentably with other emphases. Negativism towards African culture (33.66), and relation with other faiths (29.62%) emerged. Further, aspects such as 'anti-corruption' stance (22.51%) and being faithful and responsible servants or masters are also given place (46.35%). Succinctly, such emphases repeatedly enacted in such fora could encourage crusadees to be more adept to working hard. It is noted, however, that in an attempt to be more in keeping with a life of faith, total reliance on God as emphasised by preachers-evangelists is often not put in a way that could help or cultivate in most crusadees, the need to work hard and to be more economically enterprising.
On the whole, therefore, the extent to which the crusades affect the crusadees' economic performance as a result of participating in crusades cannot be sufficiently proved here. In fact, it was observed that there were no deliberate attempts on the part of crusaders to help participants in adequately grasping socio-economic forces at work, affecting the crusaders' as well as crusadees' destinies on a daily basis in their contextual realities. Often, references would sporadically be made, for example, on globalisation, Structural Adjustment Program (SAPs), retrenchment, unemployment, world Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), among others. It cannot be said, however, to have been in a way to challenge the audience to profoundly understand socio-economic issues confronting them. Accordingly, the crusadees are also not significantly assisted to see socio-economic alternatives to their problems.

A more recent approach, transactional analysis, is more in keeping with the approach of Malinowski, and assumes that institutions survive because they serve the needs of individuals (Bourdillon 1990,116). This perspective emphasises the fact that society is made up of individuals and social units depending on individual decisions of particular actors. A particular pattern of behaviour, therefore, becomes a social institution and is maintained as such because a large number of individuals see that such behaviour is to their personal advantage. Despite the apparent aforementioned flaws, crusades are seen by crusadees and crusaders alike as an advantageous service. Given their natural propensity to attract huge crowds and wide variety of audience, crusades could be used to foster other socio-economic values which, by dint of our observation, so far seem to have been relegated to the periphery. This will form the discussion in Chapter Four and Five. But preceding that discussion is a literature review and an examination of the research methodology that was used in the present study.

**2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

William James' work (1982) is a classical study of conversion from a psychological perspective. It is followed by Star-buck and other pioneering authorities. The focus of psychological study of conversion has been on how conversion as an experience is often preceded by conflict, guilt and other such complexities and may be resolved by an intense, sudden transformation. Whereas some studies view conversion as normal and healthy, others are critical of its extreme levels. The latter consider it as destructive. Indeed, they wonder if there is overt pathology among particular kinds of converts.

Conversion is explicitly a dominant theme in the crusades we have studied. Terms used in reference to this theme by respondents included salvation, being born again, revival, renewal, spiritual experience or, knowing Jesus. In this present research, we readily encountered accounts, experiences and interpretations revolving around conversion. They were prevalent in crusades and had links with some of the aforementioned psychological considerations. Such accounts, experiences and interpretations are related to the converts' socialisation process, even within the framework of a crusade. For some of the crusadees, for instance, experiences and realities of conversion through a crusade was believed to be of help in harmonising their otherwise perceived or felt state of alienation. Whereas the genuineness or in-genuineness of the claims to such conversion experiences are difficult to ascertain, the frequency of the claims within crusade
precincts and contexts was found to be rather explicitly high. So much so that the phenomenon of conversion cannot be dismissed entirely and simplistically without depriving crusades an indispensable aspect. Responses from the questionnaires alone, for example, highlight the premium attached to this aspect. Sixteen (53.3%) of the church leaders, fifteen (75%) of the evangelists-preachers, eighteen (72%) of the crusade planners and thirty-nine (48.75%) of the crusadees mentioned conversion as an important reason attracting people to crusades. The social-religious significance of this is examined in Chapter Four of this work. Though we did not have the means to assess psychologically the experiences of conversion, it is clear that conversion remains an important aspect that leads both crusaders and crusadees into crusade activities.

Tucker (1987, 73-89) argues for a much greater feminine involvement in strategising and decision-making within a Christian mission enterprise otherwise seen by her as masculine-dominated. In particular, she points out areas concerning women's work, cross-cultural communication, literature, education, urban ministries and mission specialisation. Findings from an initial pilot survey and the actual field research generally portrayed women as major active participants in crusades. It is, therefore, not untenable to argue that crusades become an open social field enlisting the participation of women as well. The present study has attempted to identify and account for specific roles women play in crusades to identify and account for specific roles women play in crusades in Nairobi. A more in-depth discussion on this is in Chapter Four. All the same, a few observations suffice here. The majority of the women in crusades were crusadees. This is not to be taken to mean that they were docile or indicative. Even then, their roles were not confined to the level of crusadees. A number of them were found to be crusaders. Indeed, apart from being planners or organisers of some crusades, some of them were evangelists. This is noteworthy given the immensity with which feminine issues are currently prioritised in global perspective.

Tollefson (1987, 31-55) prescribes a comprehensive approach to evangelism. Such approach integrates the physical with the spiritual, the idealistic with the realistic, the individual with the communal. A model of this kind readily commends itself as a relevant frame of reference in analysing crusades in Nairobi. For instance, besides emphasising the spiritual, it was important to establish whether or not crusaders get involved in socio-economic and political human issues. In our data findings and analysis, some of these socio-economic and political needs are identified and discussed. Attempt is made to discuss how and to what extent crusaders address some of these challenges. For instance, to what extent are the crusades shaping or being shaped by manifestations of globalisation today?

Waruta (1993, 108-131) and Mugambi (1991a, 1991b) refer to the role education has in the evangelisation enterprise. Secularism, urbanisation, high technology, for instance, electronics, are amongst the new frontiers to be included in this enterprise. A study by Shorter and Onyancha (1997) more closely focuses on the frontier of secularism in Africa with Nairobi as a case study. This particular study examines the infiltration as well as the implications of secularistic trends in the society in general and the Church in particular. These said frontier are contemporary realities Christian mission must pragmatically and seriously grapple with. It is evident from the present study on crusades that secularism, urbanisation and modern technology present in part a challenge to Christianity. To some considerable degree, crusades are as a matter of fact a response to these perceived challenges. Yet, in so responding, crusaders have not failed to use
some of the advantages of modern technology such as electronic, satellite, and print media. Use of print media and audio-visual devices, for example, were found to be common in crusade activities. Their social aspects, in particular, are highlighted in the present study.

Omulokoli (1982, 61-73) underlines the indispensability of pastoral care in Christian mission. He singles out guidance and counselling as profoundly crucial in this respect. With specific attention to crusades, the study which is undertaken establishes whether or not educational and pastoral obligations are integral parts in the crusaders' perception and practice of Christian mission. Could it be that crusadees throng crusade groups expecting to benefit from guidance and counselling services? And do such services eventually profoundly meet their expectations? This was worth investigating given the many crisis incidents, be they personal, cultural, socio-religious, economic or political that confront people of all walks of life in the society, especially in urban contexts. What socio-religious implications do they carry?

A Summary of the Nairobi Church Survey (1989) notes a rise in the number of churches within Nairobi city. This rise, particularly of Evangelical and Pentecostal churches is seemingly indicative of intensified evangelistic efforts. The survey recommends a more focused evangelism by churches on the youth, women, new residents, refugees and expatriates as specific categories of Nairobi's population. One notes that the aforementioned categories of people often face various acute socio-economic, cultural, political and psychological challenges. These are even compounded especially by the urban setting they are in. The study that was carried out explored to some extent the degree to which evangelistic efforts of crusades in Nairobi respond to the recommendation by the aforementioned survey.

Christian mission especially in an urban environment has its peculiar challenges. In a work edited by Kyle (1988), various authors address complex issues and challenges of evangelisation in some of the major cities of the world. Some of such issues and challenges cited in the said work are a reality in Nairobi too. The city of Nairobi has problems such as unemployment, pollution, overcrowding as well as inadequate education, housing, transportation and health services. How are these challenges faced in crusades especially, within Nairobi, the fastest growing Kenyan city? Our attention, however in this case, is on the socio-religious dimension.

Limiting itself to the 1991 Nairobi Crusade, a detailed work by Gifford (1992, 157-187; cf. 1994, 13-17) examines the German evangelist Reinhard Bonnke's theology and its socio-political implications in Africa today. According to this author, Bonnke is a successful crowd-puller, not because he really addresses people's needs. Rather, it is because he merely takes advantage of the crusadees' problems such as unemployment, sickness, fear of witchcraft, loneliness and prostitution without necessarily analysing the socio-economic and political factors at work in society. Consequently, Gifford views the approach of Bonnke and his likes to providing solutions as piecemeal, and inadequate for contemporary Africans. Such approach, Gifford continues to lament, militates against Africans' development. It prevents them from coming to grips with their political, economic and social realities, hindering them as well from taking charge of the malignant forces that confront them. These apparently very critical opinions required further research on crusades to understand their nature and basis. Are such standpoints a fair presentation or an over-simplification of Bonnke and evangelistic endeavours? If Gifford is right, why then do different kinds of people throng to crusades of Bonnke's type? Of what socio-
religious implication is this? These are some of the concerns addressed in this research undertaking.

In *Sects: New Religious Movements* (1995) are reasons for the rapid spread, recruitment, training and indoctrination strategies as well as challenges of new religious movements. The document outlines the general socio-economic and political crises within the society as constituting conducive thriving environment for such sects. From the tone of this document, the phenomenon of crusades would easily fall under the religious movements impacting society which is beriddled with crises in ways almost similar to those of the movements discussed. But, there was need for a systematic analysis to ascertain some issues. Are, for example, the reasons for the rapid spread, recruitment, training and indoctrination strategies as well as challenges of the said new religious movements applicable to the phenomenon of crusades under investigation?

Ezekiel (1994) addresses the phenomenon of open-air meetings in parts of Nairobi city. This is an aspect that readily fits into the present study contributes immensely to the areas that are not addressed in the study by Ezekiel.

Finally, there has been reaction towards crusades even from the general public. Indeed, printed media have reports on certain elements of crusades in Kenya. Examples include Kenya times, the Standard, Daily Nation, and Step (see references). Most of these reports have, in fact, concentrated on crusades within Nairobi. However, the majority of the reports are too general and lack substantiation and empirical reliability. The present study, taking a socio-economic analytical approach, is a more in-depth and scholarly exploration of crusades. It has come up with comprehensive findings, and analyses.

In conclusion, three categories of literature have been reviewed in this section. First, are works featuring psychological theories on conversion. Second, are general works on Christian mission on evangelism and third, those directly linked with the crusades in Kenya. The review confirms existence of a lot of literature on Christian mission, its nature, conceptual considerations and barriers. Literature on crusades themselves is, however, limited. And any that is available is not detailed in so far as socio-religious issues are concerned. An analysis of the rationale and socio-religious overtones of crusades in Nairobi is lacking hence, leaving some gaps. More research, as the one undertaken, guided by the objectives already outlined was, therefore, necessary. It is hoped that its findings have significantly contributed towards filling these gaps.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Data Sources

Sources of data included the following:

1. Records and statistics held at the branches/offices of crusaders. Research interest in these offices was to establish, in particular, crusade activities undertaken, their work-plan, and strategies used. Examples of the offices consulted include
a. Africa Evangelistic Enterprise (AEE): It mainly deals with mission, training, aid and development as well as training personnel for church/mission work. Focused crusades are part of AEE's evangelistic endeavours. For instance, it sponsored a crusade specifically for the youth at Uhuru Park, 31 August 1996.

b. Christ For All Nations (CFAN): Regional Office of Reinhard Bonnke Ministries. The CFAN has over years held big crusades in major urban centres in Kenya. In Nairobi, besides Mathare (Gifford 1992, 157-187; cf. 1994, 13-17), other crusade sites have been Uhuru Park and some open ground next to Kibera-Lang'ata estates. No crusade was, however, held by CFAN within Nairobi during our time of field research. Its focus then was on a crusade which was going on outside Kenya in addition to carrying out an evaluation of the last crusade which was held in Mombassa, Kenya (O.I. Joan Akinyi, staff CFAN 24.07.1997).

c. Githurai Interdenominational Pastors' Fellowship (GIPF): A fellowship, still in its formative stages, comprising about twenty pastors of Pentecostal, Evangelical, Protestant churches within the sprawling residential estates of Githurai 44, Githurai 45, and Githurai Kimbo whose residents are predominantly low and middle income earners. The fellowship is primarily evangelistic.

d. Interdenominational Ministry (IDEM): An independent evangelistic ministry that closely networks with churches in organising for crusades. It is very much evangelistic-oriented in approach.

e. Morris Cerullo World Evangelism-Kenya: Its activities in Nairobi focus on equipping Christians with skills for evangelism especially person to person or door to door evangelism. Occasionally, it conducts, for example, seminars (using audio-visual devices), in churches with the aim of facilitating individual Christian growth, challenging each one of them into personal evangelism. The organisation also holds crusades, especially when requested by or in liaison with churches (O.I. Peter Karanja, 25.08.1997, Staff). Even then, this is meant to supplement person to person evangelism within the very churches. Thus, crusades *per se* are not its priority.

2. Records at churches eg. with pastors: Ten of the churches whose leaders completed our questionnaires were visited and had their records on crusades examined. Many did not seem to maintain neat, clear and updated records. A few of them, however, had very detailed records of crusades held, when, and thorough follow-up strategy long after the crusade. In particular were, Amazing Discoveries Seventh Day Adventist Church which meets in Kenya National Library Services premises, Ngong Road; Kenyatta University Christian Union; Main Campus, University of Nairobi Christian Union and Nairobi Pentecostal Church, Valley Road. In part, this is because for the university students, details due to their residence, etc. are easier to manage at campus. For the said churches, they dealt most with adherents who seemed to be of middle and relatively high class, living in easily identifiable residential estates, or places of work. Consequently, the adherents could be easily contacted even by telephone. This is, however, an arduous exercise in slum areas or estates where crusadees are not on telephone. They are not readily contactable after a crusade; they stay in estates where streets, house or door numbers are not formally organised,
hence very hard to trace. And such residents are highly mobile, hardly staying in the same house or residential estate for long, always in search for jobs or cheaper houses.

3. Government of Kenya's Licensing Department: This office, situated on Nyayo House, Sixth Floor was consulted for details on permit issuance. The office deals with permits/licences for all those seeking to hold public meetings, a Government of Kenya legal requirement (Public Order Act Cap. 56 Section 5 of the Laws of Kenya). Though the officer we found was very co-operative, it was unfortunate that no neat annual records are kept in terms of categories of meetings held or where. Statistical/Record management is thus not maintained formally hence could not be determined.

4. Secondary and primary sources: Given that these were major sources of data, it is prudent to devote a more detailed discussion on them as is provided in the next section.

**3.2. Acquisition of Data Through Secondary and Primary Sources**

Data was acquired through library research for secondary sources. Pilot survey and field research helped in gathering primary data.

**i. Library Research**

Published and unpublished documents, especially on socio-religious and economic trends, Christian enterprise in general and crusades in particular have been reviewed. Included as well are periodicals and local dailies. This came as a result of visiting public libraries and offices of evangelistic teams. Sources on some crusades, especially those of the international category were accessed from video recordings. Such secondary data forms that bulk of our Chapter Two on literature review apart from reinforcing our arguments in the course of our discussions elsewhere in this work.

**ii. Pilot Survey**

The initial pilot survey was a vital introduction to some of the salient realities of the research undertaking. Crusade scenes, patterns and frequencies were identified in randomly selected rural and urban settings. After this survey, an assessment of the magnitude and feasibility of the research was made. Based on it, the area of study was limited to Nairobi. The undertaking proved useful in formulating sampling procedures and designing a research checklist/observation schedules and questionnaires for use in the field research (cf. Appendices A and B). The latter were tested on randomly selected respondents and crusade scenes first. They were then reconstructed and used in field-work more effectively. There were other notable observations from the pilot survey. Included are the following:

a. Crucial Respondents: The survey helped determine which respondents to rely on for gathering data. These were found to be first, church leaders eg. Pastors, Priest, officers. Second, were crusaders, that is, those majority involved in organising and running the crusades. Third, there were crusade preachers-evangelists. Finally, we had crusadees, namely, those targeted by crusaders.
b. Crusade strata: There were 4 of these in Nairobi.

i. Crusades highlighting international preachers. There were, however, found to be rare. In 1995, for instance, out of an estimated annual cumulative total of about 200 crusades, international ones were about four in total.

ii. Crusades which are organised by local churches themselves.

iii. Crusades by evangelistic teams not attached to a particular church.

iv. Crusades which are evangelistic endeavours by individuals. These are most evident during lunch and evening hours, eg. On streets, in parks, construction sites, near markets or bus stops within the city.

c. Crusade activities and themes: There are common socio-religious activities and dominant themes in crusades.

iii. Field Research

For a period of four to five months, a field research was conducted to gather data. Interviews and participant observation in crusades were the main focus of this process.

a. Observation

Making use of advertisements on posters, we visited and observed various activities in crusade points. Access to crusade schedules or programmes was often made well in advance. This proved quite helpful with regard to what to expect, for example, about preachers, venue, singers, and level of attendance. A Stratified Random Sampling (Bernard 1995) was used for the crusades sessions themselves (cf. Table 2 below). Observations from the pilot survey in the foregoing discussion helped in this stratification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stratum</th>
<th>Targeted Frequency</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Size</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the already four aforementioned crusade strata, we participated in sixty-five sessions. Five of the sessions were from the first stratum, ten from the third, and twenty-five each for the second and fourth strata. More sessions were planned for the second and fourth strata because of their higher likelihood of occurrence than the first and third strata. A checklist and observation schedules were prepared to assist in focusing on central aspects of investigation for each crusade session. These sessions were documented by taking notes and tape recording.

Going by the estimation of six to seven crusades per week (cf. O.I. Sigei 28.7.1997), this total of sixty-five sessions for a period of four-month-field-research is quite adequate.

Attempt was made to vary the attendance in as different parts of Nairobi as there were crusades available during the time of the field research. Some areas recorded very low crusade frequency during this time. Still, it was possible to get a reasonable sample from northern, southern, eastern and western parts of Nairobi, besides the central area of Nairobi itself (Appendix C. IV).

Crusades seem to be concentrated in generally slum and low-class estates. All the same, there were some in middle class estates but very few in high-class estates. Middle and high class estates in our case included Buruburu, Donholm, Highridge, Jamhuri, Kahawa Sukari, Kenyatta University, Kileleshwa, Lang'ata, Madaraka, Magiwa, Muthaiga, Ngumba, South B, South C, and Suna (Appendix C. II-IV). Crusaders do not spare any place. Our respondent Sigei (O.I. 28.07.1997) confirmed that crusaders indeed seek permits to hold crusades in the so called posh areas/estates. Granted, there would be perhaps more frequent crusades in such areas. Nevertheless, usually crusaders are denied permits to hold crusades in such places. Part of the reason for this is their blaring musical instruments which could easily be a source of discomfort to the residents in such areas who are used to a more or less noisy-free environment.

From the foregoing, it can be argued that the interest of crusaders is on crowds. As such, they will hold crusades where they can find such crowds. This explains why most crusades are concentrated in the kind of residential estates or public parks/grounds mentioned earlier. Even when crusades are held in apparently posh areas, exact crusade points end up being near shopping centres, or crowded-pulling sites. It may be difficult to reach or address the rich through this medium. Vary few would come to such places.

The findings from the field research indicates that variations are more likely in crusade strata than in crusade sites. Even then, the variations were not elaborately significant.

b. Interviews

A questionnaire was administered to respondents as indicated below.

i. Sampling

First, are pastors/priests/leaders from churches (cf. Table 3 below).
Table 3: Sampling for Pastors/Priests/Church Leaders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pastors/Priests/Church leaders</th>
<th>E T P</th>
<th>S S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Crusade `friendly' churches</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Crusade `unfriendly' churches</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. RCC</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Non-RCC</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of an Estimated Target Population (ETP) of two hundred for churches, a Sample Size (SS) of twenty-four from such respondents was drawn from crusade `friendly' churches, meaning, churches known to be keen on the crusade form of evangelism. As a control SS, six respondents were randomly selected from an ETP of ninety churches which do not stress crusades. From the latter group, two respondents came from the RCC and four from non-RCCs.

Second, are evangelists, that is, those who preach or have preached in a crusade. The third category constitute planners, namely, those individuals or committees responsible for organising and running a crusade.

Finally, is the category of the audience. This generally comprises listeners or participants in crusades. "Seekers", that is, those who demonstrate explicit keen responses to the message of crusade preachers-evangelists belong to this category. This is through availing themselves to be prayed for during a crusade session.

There are also those who participate as session leaders. These preside over some sessions of a crusade. Examples include, leading the programme, conducting a prayer or a song, giving a testimony, ushering and counselling.

Usually, the category of the audience is the largest in a crusade. But, given its fluctuations, getting the ETP is even more difficult. However, an ETP of about one thousand was felt to constitute an average representative crusade population, calling for a SS of one hundred. Thus, a SS of eighty that we managed to get is adequately representative for the four months of field research. Table 4 below giving both the ETP and SS of preachers, planners and the audience, is a summary on this.
As a concluding remark on sampling, Nairobi population is very large. There was need to pick a sample that is representative to generate required data. That is why a Stratified Random Sampling was required. The sampling was sensitive to significant dimensions of the study. Efforts were made to draw these respondents from different parts of Nairobi. The respondents themselves were of varied gender, age, education, socio-economic as well as denominational contexts. Churches were selected from North, South, East, West and Central parts of Nairobi. Some of these churches were selected from low-income areas and others from high income areas. This was expected to have a bearing on the findings in relation to the research hypotheses.

The total sample size for preachers-evangelists, planners and audience was one hundred and twenty-five. Given a period of four-month-field-research, this sample frame is quite sufficiently representative of the varied opinions on crusades.

ii. Contacting Respondents

Two research assistants, Anne Wairimu Kamande and Jane Wairimu Njenga facilitated the research activity, especially in the collection of primary data. They were university graduates trained and experienced in field research. They had good grounding in Nairobi experience and the area under investigation. However, as the principal researcher, I still had to orientate and train them on specificity of this particular research.

**Church leaders:** These were contacted in churches. Using *The 1997 Nairobi Networker*, a directory with names and contacts for churches and Christian organisations, we were able to draw up a list of churches to be contacted in the five areas of our concern, namely, northern, southern, eastern, western and central parts of Nairobi.

**Preachers-evangelists and planners:** These were usually approached after a crusade and requested to fill a questionnaire there and then. Or, on completion, they had the option to either
post it through our stamped and self-addressed envelope or specify when and how it could be conveniently collected by us. A few of the evangelists were also contacted through visiting churches. We would then request the pastors to introduce us to those who within their church had served as evangelists in order for us to either interview or administer a questionnaire to them.

Participants: Half the participants were approached in crusades. We used purposive random approach. We would choose one main exit/entry point in a crusade. We would then pick, in every crusade, either the fifth person to enter the crusade ground or every third person to leave the crusade after the preacher finishing the sermon. Such persons would be requested to take a questionnaire for completion. Modalities that seemed most convenient to both the respondent and researcher/research field assistant for collecting the completed questionnaire were arranged there and then. Some of them preferred short interviews to taking the questionnaires on site or on appointment later.

The other forty were got through churches with the help of church leaders, especially pastors/priests.

Visits to churches that fell in our area of interest were usually conducted on Sundays and occasionally on Saturdays. We would approach the church leader eg. Pastor who would introduce us/recommend to us church members who had at least attended a crusade, got healed or, got converted through a crusade. Some session leaders in crusades were got through this method which proved very effective.

With the help of the research assistants, data was collected and recorded through taking short notes in interview sessions and, through tape recording for transcription later.

3.3. Processing and Analysis of Data

Some of the data gathered was in Kiswahili hence needed transcription and translation into English. Responses from the research observation schedules and the interview guides were collected. These cumulative data from both primary and secondary sources were then at that stage synthesised. Data was categorised thematically regarding research objectives and hypotheses. Thereafter, they were keyed to form the present chapters, especially four and five. Simple statistics, description, comparison, contrast and interpretation as methods of analytical discussion, conclusions from our data were made in respective stages. From such conclusions proceeded recommendations and suggestions for further research.

4. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Contemporary African Scenery as Background to Nairobi

There exist many depersonalising structures within contemporary Africa. Being a component of globalisation and largely a product of the West, the structures are gradually getting entrenched in and widely pervading the rest of the world, Kenya included. These create multiple crisis situations on the individual and on the societal levels. The present study readily has identified some of these crisis situations in Nairobi. They are manifestations of various political, economic
and socio-religious needs, aspirations, and questions. In turn, they call for profoundly pragmatic responses. Crusades are seen from this general context as they purport to address the crises. This is on both the affective and cognitive levels, often responding to the needs and aspirations of the crusaders as well as crusadees.

That Africa is experiencing political, economic, and social turmoil and in some places collapse is not merely being alarmist. It is a reality that can hardly be strongly emphasised enough here (Kinoti 1994; Aseka 1996; Ellis 1996). In part, this stems from the historical fact that Africa's modern socio-economic and political systems were set up by colonising powers and agencies. The systems were to serve the colonisers' interests rather than those of Africans. In post-independence era, it is becoming abundantly evident that, unfortunately, many of the socio-economic and political structures were not reformed. They merely adapted to continue serving their own interests and those of the new elites who replaced the department colonial powers. In so doing, people's dreams thwarted. The excitement that characterised the post-independence era has subsided into profound pessimism, despondence and almost an explicit despair. A deep sense of insecurity and frustration at the smashing of genuine yearnings of people keeps on threatening. El-Kenz (1996, 51) rightly observes the:

... process of regression ... hitting hard whole countries ... regions ... social and ethnic groups, disrupting fragile equilibrium of institutions and traditions, creating new injustices, new social tensions which in turn cause new tragedies. Everywhere, almost, violence is the mode of response to problems that inadequate political institutions and outdated codes of behaviour have proved incapable of solving ... the historical situation itself is nothing more than the product of a constellation of diverse, economic demographic, social and cultural factors, which together from an explosive mix that explains the emergence and subsequent expansion of violence as a principle mode of action.

There has been limited participation and involvement for the majority of the population in the affairs that are of great concern to the nation. If the recent and current socio-economic and political-related activities in Africa are anything to go by, then it can be argued that the state is often experienced by many people as oppressive, exploitative and unrepresentative. Nothing could be more telling than the spontaneity of the ethnic clashes, political discontents, emergence and resurgencies of military regimes all over the continent even years after independence from colonialism.

Widespread economic disorder is signified by swelling figures of unemployment and underemployment besides oppressive burden or escalating external national debts. Together with the manipulation of commodity prices, these have perennially crippled the continent (Kinoti 1994, Aseka 1996). The SAPs have relegated the continent even further away from the fulfilment of the dream of a greater Africa. The following tables 5 - 7 (UNDP 1992, 127-9, 176-7) highlight the issues statistically.
Table 5. Profile of Human Development-Selected Indicators on Human Development (Regional Aggregate Data)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sub-Saharan Africa</th>
<th>Latin America &amp; the Caribbean</th>
<th>Advanced Industrial Societies</th>
<th>World Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Life Expectancy</td>
<td>51.80</td>
<td>67.40</td>
<td>74.50</td>
<td>64.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to Health Services</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to Safe Water</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>79.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to Sanitation</td>
<td>30.00</td>
<td>65.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calorie Supply (% of Reg.)</td>
<td>89.00</td>
<td>116.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Literacy Rate (Total)</td>
<td>51.00</td>
<td>84.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Literacy Rate (Female)</td>
<td>46.00</td>
<td>84.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Literacy Rate (US$)</td>
<td>475 (US$)</td>
<td>1.962</td>
<td>17.017</td>
<td>4.836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary &amp; Secondary Enrolment</td>
<td>1.187</td>
<td>4,514</td>
<td>15.043</td>
<td>4.622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GNP per capita</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real GDP per capita</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Human Capital Formation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sub-Saharan Africa</th>
<th>Latin America &amp; the Caribbean</th>
<th>Advanced Industrial Societies</th>
<th>World Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult Literacy Rate: Total</td>
<td>51.00</td>
<td>84.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Literacy Rate: Female</td>
<td>62.00</td>
<td>86.00</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Literacy Rate: Male</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean Years of Schooling:</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.20</td>
<td>29.60</td>
<td>4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientists &amp; Technicians</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research &amp; Development</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.00</td>
<td>29.00</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary Graduates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science Graduates</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Widening Global South-North Human Gaps (Expressed as percentage of North Average)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sub-Saharan Africa</th>
<th>Latin America &amp; The Caribbean</th>
<th>Advanced Industrial Societies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Real GDP per capita:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>37.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>7.00</td>
<td>22.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP per capita:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>17.00</td>
<td>48.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Years of Schooling:</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Population per Nurse</td>
<td>Population per Doctor</td>
<td>Radios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>33.00</td>
<td>37.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>21.00</td>
<td>33.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>18.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** UNDP 1992:176-7, 127-9

These are hardly impressive records with regard to Africa's performance be it economically, politically or socially. Statistics for life expectancy, child mortality, health, education, GNP in Africa compare miserably with other developing areas of the world.

Africa is struggling with not-easily-manageable wars, refugees, droughts, famines, diseases and rapid urbanisation. Another worrying trend is that of the almost-invincible demographic burst, unfortunately, accompanied by unprecedented economic crisis (Aseka 1996; Ellis 1996). Traditional support mechanisms are finding it increasingly difficult to cope with these complexities. This has enormous and far-reaching implications. Echoing this pessimistic tone, Buijtenhuijs and Rijnierse (1993, 46) foresee that:

Black Africa's main characteristic at the dawn of the third millennium is the total and overwhelming bankruptcy of its formal economy.

Apparently, it is utterly beyond the power of people to seriously challenge or change any of these dehumanising structures and to competently confront the causes of their problems in the immediate *hic et nunc*, here and now.

Kenya as a sub-Saharan country has not really liberated itself from this general quagmire that typifies this part of Africa. What has been said generally about Africa readily obtains in Kenya too. Nowhere perhaps has this hit more directly and painfully than in urban contexts. For practical purpose, we have chosen to focus on Nairobi.

Crisis situations are experienced at multifaceted levels. Socially, they include housing, loneliness, identity crisis. There are environmental crises. They comprise piling of uncollected garbage in many of the places, poor drainage, dust, mud, air pollution and noise pollution (Samita 1996a and 1996b). Political crises include multiparty politics, constitutional reforms, strained ethnic relations culminating into the infamous clashes in the Rift Valley and right now,
in the coastal areas of Kenya. They leave people scared of a looming ethnic volatility anywhere, any time. Nairobi is no exception in this possibility.

Economic crises are biting hard too. The hard-pressing effects of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and rapidly growing urban population vis-à-vis, once more, poor infrastructure, poor status of roads, housing, health, unemployment, are among the myriad of problems and challenges facing Nairobi. Further, the instability and depreciating trends of the Kenya shilling against most foreign currencies, escalating fares and commodity prices, *matatu* harassment are but some of the most immediate examples. These have far reaching implications. They provide very dismal hopes for economic recovery or performance. This leads to general vulnerability which may reveal and/or produce within the majority of the people, needs and aspirations that become basic motivation for turning to any socio-religious, economic and political mechanisms or systems perceived to be hope-promising or hope-providing.

Sociologists explain the contexts that provide proliferation and thriving of some religious assemblies similar to the crusades under study. All around, structures and systems are collapsing, including the all-encompassing religious or belief systems that gave means and convictions and provided explanations to immediate and ultimate concerns.

These conditions provide fertile ground for the germination and growth of such assemblage. Need arises to join a new and promising group. The new community thus joined is expected to provide the members with a much more free social space. In the very community, they can find shelter, a haven, so to speak, psychological tranquillity, security and solidarity.

Equipped with this kind of new association, the new sprouting group somewhat creates a new world, a new world order, as it were. This functions like a new existence for the members themselves. It helps to install in them a feeling of being away from the harsh and brutalising realities of their former and present existence. In this way, they can forge a new notion of self. They can begin to make personal discoveries. In the small areas such group members end up marking for themselves, they can be free agents and responsible beings in their own terms. The members can develop a sense of their own importance, shedding their passivity and assuming certain goals and ambitions. Even some find opportunities for leadership and responsibility. And they develop a whole support mechanism to reinforce their new values, self-perception, self-growth and self-development. More specifically now, let us see how these serve as explanations for the upsurge of the phenomenon of crusades on the basis of the research that we carried out.

**4.2. Reasons for the Upsurge and Spread of Crusades**

Having had this overview of Africa as a continent and Kenya as a nation, we can now see how these affect Nairobi. These needs and aspirations within individuals must be confronted. Seemingly, they are not all and well tackled in both the wider society and mainline churches. Then, crusades, whether succinctly or not, attempt to respond to the needs and aspirations. Crusadees are in need of participation in human systems and realisation of life dreams and/or goals on all the levels of human existence and experience.
These crusades appeal to the cognitive and affective levels of the participants. The levels are inter-relational in character. The interrelationship is centred upon `self` in comparison first, with the `other` person(s), hence serving a social dimension. Second, they relate with the existential past, present and future heritage within the society, that is, cultural existentialism. Third, they relate to the transcendent, namely the religious. It cannot be emphasised strongly again that these levels or dimensions are interrelated.

It is, therefore, at the aforementioned interrelated cognitive and affective levels that crusades address the needs of those involved. Needs can be grouped under various categories. Often, the categories overlap. It is also important that we examine what practices, techniques in the phenomenon of crusades from a magnetic effect otherwise viewed by some as aggressive proselytising. Following now is a discussion of some of these needs and aspirations which were identified in the areas we studied within Nairobi.

**Need for Community Belonging Expressed in Crusades**

Crusades make so many attempts to meet the human quest for truth and meaning. Crusadees are in dire need for those constitutive human or life values which at certain times in collective as well as individual history seem to be hidden, elusive, broken, or very costly. This is especially in the case of people who are upset by rapid change, acute stress and fear which are prevalent in contemporary society. The fabric of many communities has been destroyed. Traditional lifestyles have with time undergone transformation, most of them disrupted. Families and homes are broken up due to the ongoing socio-cultural, economic, religious and political forces. People feel uprooted and lonely. They are yearning and craving for new alliances and social support networks. Obviously then, there is need to belong or be identified with another person, another group, some society, or ideology that seems satisfying or successful.

Aware of these aspirations, crusaders attempt to offer human warmth, care and support in small and close-knit communities; they promote sharing of purposes and fellowship, attention for the individual, they create a sense of protection and security especially in crisis situations. Also enhanced is re-socialisation of the marginalised individuals in the society. These are the youth, including street children or dwellers, women, the divorced, immigrants, uneducated, etc.

The attention of the preacher-evangelist, who is a focal point amongst crusaders in a crusade session, is usually on the individual. Though addressing the crowd, s/he makes reference to the individual. Whether such reference to an individual is genuine or in-genuine, practical or superficial and emotional, merely at the spur of the moment is difficult to always ascertain. But it is considerably appealing to the majority of those that flock to the crusades. In part, it is the reason for their attendance of crusades. Terms which were used by respondents in questionnaires and oral interviews to express this aspect of belonging include love, community, communication, warmth, concern, care, support, friendship, affection, fraternity, help, solidarity, dialogue, consolation, acceptance, understanding, togetherness, sharing, closeness, fellowship, shelter, security, protection, and safety.
Search for Solutions

Complexity and confusion confronting people in their daily life experiences compel them to look for solutions for ultimate meaning. Crusaders apparently provide the answers for this particular need as well. Some of these may appear to be simplistic and easily-arrived-at answers to complicated questions and situations. Following are a sample of the many of such answers and responses to difficult situations we came across in crusade sessions during the field research. For instance, 'Are you scared, discouraged, unemployed" Are you sick/a person with AIDS? Are you in a financial need/crisis?' To all such questions, answers from the crusade preachers-evangelists would be something like, 'Repent your sins ... Come and I/We will pray for/with you... Come to Jesus ... Only believe in him and everything will be well'.

It is true that these often appear to be simplified, partial and piecemeal versions of traditional truths and values. This is especially in the context of very perturbing situations people find themselves in socially or economically. But they are at same time, from the crusaders' and crusadees' perspective, a pragmatic theology, theology of success, prosperity and victorious Christ. Or it may be considered as new truth to people who often have little of the 'old' truth. This is perceived as a solution in their search for ultimate meaning. Indeed, owing to the apparently wide response that usually accompany calls of this nature, such theology cannot be merely dismissed.

Quest for integral life

As was seen in the literature review, Tollefson (1987, 31-55) prescribes a comprehensive, holistic or integral approach to evangelism. Such approach harmonises the physical with the spiritual, the idealistic with the realistic, the individual with the communal. We have established from our study on crusades that there are expressions of the human search for wholeness and an all-encompassing, all-embracing harmony in life. The majority of individuals are alienated from themselves, from others, from their cultures, and from the environment. They feel isolated, and in an abandoned state of anonymity. They are harassed, hurt and upset with the state, social institutions, systems and structures such as transport, education, health, post office among many other public and to some extent private service sectors. They are betrayed and disappointed by their parents or children, teachers or pupils/students, spouses, lovers or loved ones, the Church and society at large. Cases of the rising number of the unemployed and poor yet ideally always treated to empty promises of a better future by leaders considerably point to this complex. Some are not fulfilled in their dreams about career and professional prospects.

This has created a yearn for a system, order that can integrate and bring meaning to their distorted worldview, a religious view that can harmonise everything and everybody, every day. Asked to identify the major problems plaguing those who come to crusades, the respondents gave the following in summary:
Table 8: Respondents' View of Problems Facing Crusadees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Church leaders</th>
<th>Preachers</th>
<th>Planners</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 30 % 100</td>
<td>No. 20 % 100</td>
<td>No. 25 % 100</td>
<td>No. 80 % 100</td>
<td>% 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family-related</td>
<td>16.00 53.3</td>
<td>9.00 45.0</td>
<td>18.00 72.0</td>
<td>46.00 57.5</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fees</td>
<td>3.00 10.0</td>
<td>2.00 10.0</td>
<td>5.00 20.0</td>
<td>18.00 22.5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>11.00 36.7</td>
<td>6.00 30.0</td>
<td>10.00 40.0</td>
<td>11.00 13.8</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing/Accommodation</td>
<td>8.00 26.7</td>
<td>5.00 25.0</td>
<td>6.00 24.0</td>
<td>38.00 47.5</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppression</td>
<td>6.00 20.0</td>
<td>4.00 20.0</td>
<td>5.00 20.0</td>
<td>28.00 35.0</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>21.00 70.0</td>
<td>13.00 65.0</td>
<td>17.00 68.0</td>
<td>51.00 63.8</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sickness</td>
<td>18.00 60.0</td>
<td>11.00 55.0</td>
<td>13.00 52.0</td>
<td>42.00 52.5</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin</td>
<td>13.00 43.3</td>
<td>15.00 75.0</td>
<td>14.00 56.0</td>
<td>22.00 27.5</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stress</td>
<td>5.00 16.7</td>
<td>8.00 40.0</td>
<td>3.00 12.0</td>
<td>26.00 32.5</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>12.00 40.0</td>
<td>10.00 50.0</td>
<td>12.00 48.0</td>
<td>43.00 53.8</td>
<td>47.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Their problems, in a descending order, were poverty (66.7%), family-related (57%), sickness (54.9%), sin (50.5%), unemployment (47.9%), housing/accommodation (30.8%), food (30.1%), stress (25.3%), oppression (23.8%) and fees (15.6%). Desired is a religious system or worship which creates room for body and soul, for participation, spontaneity and creativity. They want healing of the soul, of the mind, of the spirit, including bodily healing (Muhlen 1978, 113-120). Responses from our interviewees included terms such as healing, inner peace or peace of mind, wholeness, integration, harmony, reconciliation creativity, involvement and participation. There are unfulfilled hopes and dreams among many regarding judicial systems, public service, polls, parliament and politicians, viewed by many as key agencies of better society.

Crusades have the peculiarities of taking seriously and integratively, for instance, the youth and women in public ministries. Many seekers feel need of an integrated vision in the present world and towards the future. They also want to participate in decision-making in placing and in realising. Crusades offer a concrete mission for a better world, a call for total dedication, participation in most levels of all willing people in Christian ministries.

Crusaders provide an integrating religion especially in cases such as being saved, converted or born again. It is noted that these are viewed by crusadees as profound, though to some people and sometimes, largely momentous religious experience. This experience may usher them into
joining a new group or set of activities and routine within a church context. Cases in point include Bible Study fellowship or an evangelistic team.

Crusades provide room for feelings and emotional outlets. This serves an important therapeutical role to those involved, helping to express rather than repress corked tensions within people confronted with a plethora of complexities. It is achievable through spontaneity, for instance, in actively participating in religious celebrations such as dancing, clapping of hands, shouting and music in a crusade. Table 9 below shows that music or singing is a very powerful attraction to crusades.

Table 9: the role of Music in Attracting Crusadees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Church leaders</th>
<th>Preachers</th>
<th>Planners</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 30</td>
<td>% 100</td>
<td>No. 20</td>
<td>% 100</td>
<td>No. 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Crusades also help with drug, dancing, sexual problems as expressed through morality and ethical emphases. Disillusioned and disintegrated in life, some people take to alternatives that involve drug abuse, leisure abuse, misuse of sexual energies or moral laxity.

Aspirations for Cultural Identity

Rampant disassociation, alienation from traditional, cultural, social and religious values is quite evident, particularly in modern urban settings. Given the pressure exerted on limited housing facilities in Nairobi, it is common to find mother, father, sister, brother, relative pluralised in one room. Even for the middle class, it is typical to find the majority of the families sharing what would under normal circumstances in their indigenous cultural setting inadequate space in terms of room and housing. Extremely very few can afford decent house living and generosity that characterise indigenous lifestyle. Nairobi itself is a market of various cultures. But most of them are foreign hence, do not address people's inner being.

Consequently, many people are placed in a cultural identity crisis. Crusaders appear to offer something in this respect. There is plenty of room for traditional, cultural, religious heritage, creativity, spontaneity closer to the cultural traits and aspirations of the people. Crusadees easily find this workshop to have authentic African elements that are so effective to the worshippers. Often unintentionally they provide continuity with the crusaders' ethnic religious traditions, though explicitly they occasionally deny this. It is ironic that crusaders are often, through their public utterences, abashed at their links or associations with African traditional roots. This could be a reflection of the extent to which westernisation is entrenched in their minds.

Need for a Vision

Today's world reflects an interdependence of hostility and conflict, violence and fear of destruction. People are worried of the future. Despair, helplessness, hopelessness and
powerlessness characterise most of the people's attitudes and responses to life. For Nairobi residents, the matatu can be an ever-present nightmare (Shorter and Onyancha 1997, 86-99). The economy, possibility of retrenchment at work due to SAPs, insecurity, and unemployment are always a threat. People are looking for signs of hope, outlets for a better world. This is expressed in words such as vision, opportunities, openings, new dawn, reforms, awakening, commitment, newness, a new order and hope.

Crusades offer something in this aspect too. A 'new vision' of oneself, of humanity, of history, of the cosmos is emphasised. They promise a new beginning of a new age or a new era to crusadees. This should be understood from the disillusionments they have encountered many times from empty political promises of some panacea that never is or does not carry much indication of fulfilment. Counselling sessions after a crusade are meant to encourage those who have come with the hope of finding emotional, spiritual, psychological solace as a result of hardships in life. We attended some of these sessions during the field research. Overwhelmed by such hardships in their individual, family, or general social life, some people consider suicide as an option. Others become depressed, as many of them resort to, divorce, immorality, drugs and drunkenness. A good number of them revert to soothsayers, perceived traditional alternatives to solutions and experts as some fall prey to various kinds of religious sects. Crusades stand as an alternative, ushering the crusadees into another approach or worldview to life.

The individual, though powerless to confront the harsh socio-religious and political structures of the society, is enabled at least to develop another vision in life. S/he is encouraged to do something and reach a certain level: to take charge of her/his own private life, the narrow world of personal behaviours. Into this narrow sphere, an individual can bring control, order and dignity. In this way, within the group, the individual is offered hope and the possibility of betterment and advancement. This may explain the emphasis often placed on morals as is common in crusades. One comes across claims to moral superiority with well-defined demarcation, boundaries or dualism. Evident too are clear cut directives. Crusadees are encouraged to be morally upright, honest, faithful, avoiding corruption no matter how deep the society around them sinks into moral degeneration. This should not be underrated especially within the context of a world with falling moral standards. But this alone, to a large extent, is the furthest they can go. Both crusaders and crusadees cannot realistically deal with bigger and more formidable forces or issues in society. Such invincible forces and issues are generally schemed at the national level in alliance especially with the forces of globalisation that are largely responsible.

**The Search for Recognition, Appreciation, Being Special**

As already noted, there are many depersonalising trends today. It is common to see people as numbers, groups. Yet people feel the need to rise out of anonymity, to build an identity, to feel in some way special and not just a faceless number within a group, crowd, or mass.

Lack of employment, professionalism and general inaccessibility to the basics of life relegates them to the fringes of society, denying them full incorporation into salient areas of life. They remain marginalised in society. Some of them have come from the rural areas that are considerably communitarian in outlook due to strong family, clan, or ethnic links. They find
themselves in social deserts in urban Nairobi. Impaired socialisation leads to very limited meaningful social alternatives. They have to reckon with the realities and possibilities such as of not marrying or getting married with due dignity in a society that still cherishes marriage. Some end up in 'irregular', that is, out-of church marriages. This leads one to break with the church and join a new group.

Most of the institutional churches crave for large parishes and congregations. They are administration-oriented, bureaucratic and clerical structured. Very little room remains there for approving every person individually. They cannot easily appropriate themselves in people's life situations. In any case, they lack the means to adequately cultivate each member's self esteem, talents, participation within the existing church structures which are usually patterned after the pioneering conservative western Christianity. This kind of Christianity easily lends itself more to individualism than to the familiar communitarian tendencies in African indigenous lifestyles.

Bottlenecks abound regarding accessibility to the church pulpit, usually a reserve of the clergy. One would have to go first through theological training, among other stringent requirements unlike in the crusades where there seems to be relaxed conditions and an atmosphere of free entry and free exit. Such atmosphere that does not place so much demands and a great sense of responsibility on people usually becomes very appealing to the crusadees in a society that bogs them with down demands and responsibility. Upward mobility towards high echelons in spirituality is not easy since each church has a specific and rather conservative prescriptions about formation.

Crusades have an advantage over such churches in the sense that they seem to have concern for the individual. There is a wide spectrum of opportunities for ministry and leadership there and then rather than mere treatment to conceptual 'future leadership'. Openings exist for participation, witnessing and expressing oneself. Crusadees' talents find social space for acknowledgement. This is, for example, through giving a testimony, praying, singing or leading a song; carrying, setting, or playing some musical instruments, among others. Crusades also offer some chances for the awakening of one's won potentials such as organising, ushering, offering, counselling, interceding, both onstage and offstage. By the end of the crusade, therefore, very many people rather one person in a way feel attached to the 'success' story of crusade. The crusade becomes not just the monopoly of the religious elite, namely, the clergy but also the laity. This enables many to be part of or easily relate with the religious or spiritual elite group as brother and sister, in spite of gender, socio-economic, age realities. There is interaction on same levels more freely with professionals and non-professionals within crusades.

**The Search for Transcendence**

Through crusades, participants express a deeply spiritual need, a God-inspired motivation to seek something beyond the obvious, the immediate, the familiar, the controllable, and the material. They attempt to find an answer to the ultimate questions of life and to believe in something that can significantly and profoundly change one's life. It reveals a sense of mystery, the unveiling of the unknown. There is concern about what is to come, the *eschatos*. This is best served by the obvious interest in messianism and prophecy in crusade fora. People concerned are sometimes
unaware that their church can offer the same. They are put off by what they consider to be a one-sided emphasis on church structure or monarchy by the institutional aspects of the Church.

Alternatively, crusades seem to have openness towards the spiritual dimension. This is important because most Nairobians whether Christian or otherwise come from a background that deeply recognises religion. Indeed, the greatest percentage of Nairobi comprises those who have migrated from the rural areas. Or, they are in touch directly or indirectly with realities of religion. Yet, they are also placed in an urban context that is gradually and openly embracing forms of secularism, putting many into a dilemma. Crusades underline Bible education, biblical alternatives to life, a reality of salvation, gifts of the Holy Spirit, meditation and spiritual achievement, or `arrival'. They cultivate interest to explore and express ultimate concerns within a `safe' social context. They provide a language and concepts with which to do so. Their presentation of the gospel portrays a clear, relatively unambiguous set of answers, simplistic though they may be.

Crusades are an option to the usually much clericalised church, standing as a simple and less structured institution. Here, humour and creativity are still welcome, honour is not reserved to the VIP (Very Important Persons) of the society, the tycoons or the clergy. To many of them, the Church often resembles political and economic structures which lend credence only to those who muster a political and economic clout in the society.

Proofs for `supernatural' elements such as glossolalia, that is speaking in strange tongues, worship, holy dance, prophecies, trance, anointed message of the preacher-evangelist are also important aspects that answer to the search for transcendence in crusades.

Give the fact that the women are major participants in crusades especially in terms of numbers, it seems appropriate to devote a little bit more attention to them in the next section.

4.3. Crusades and Women

Existing studies from different perspectives on women continue to highlight the multi-faceted disadvantaged positions women are subjected to in society. This is, however, not the focus of the present study. But our interest is directed towards aspects that attract women in crusades. Many researchers have commented that women comprise a majority of the adherents of the churches they studies (Barrett 1968, 148; Sundkler 1976, 79; Jules-Rosette 1979, 127; Hoehler-Fatton 1996,99). Generalisation drawn from my participant observations in crusade sessions, would give women a representation of at least over 50% of the participants in any crusade session. Views from church leaders and crusade planners who completed the questionnaires express the same feeling. Asked to comment on the participants' attendance in terms of women and men, their views were as shown in the following Table 10.
Table 10: Respondents Views on Crusade Attendance by Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Church Leaders</th>
<th>Planners</th>
<th>Overall Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 30</td>
<td>% 100</td>
<td>No. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very many</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very few</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very many</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very few</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before concentrating on attraction points of crusades to women, we need an overview of the situation of women in society. Many studies identify women as a highly risked and vulnerable group in society during disasters such as wars, famines, AIDS, and aspects of globalisation like SAPs, among others. So many African women have no steady source of income. Others are in deteriorating social conditions. It is hard for those with children to feed, clothe and educate. They find life quite difficult. Some have very minimal chances of marriage partners hence are single mothers. A general look at some trends on women's working situation may be more enlightening.

From time immemorial, women have made immense contributions to society as a labour force. This has been through, for example, agriculture-livestock related activities, military, war or defence, commercial enterprises and external economic contributions. This is besides their numerous roles in family circles in terms of the series of their household chores. In socio-economic ratings, these are enormous inputs to integral human development. But most of these activities evade official recognition, documentation or acknowledgement by society.

According to Chege (1995, 9), twelve to fourteen hours a day per year form the working slot for the majority of women in Kenya. Often, this leads to stress for most of them, as a result of overworking. There are a number of difficulties this category of workers face in job accessibility and recruitment. In general, there is gender discrimination, harassment, and disparity apart from cultural hurdles they must confront in their strive for socio-economic and political empowerment.

Though they generally constitute a higher population ratio compared to men, fewer of them enrol for education and proceed to relatively significant levels. Table 11 on the following page
(Ayiemba & Oucho 1994, 25) gives an overview of the matter. The situation today is hardly any significantly at variance with the time framework represented in the table.

Consequently, most of those employed are unskilled or semi-skilled, in auxiliary positions. Small percentages are professionals, executives and in managerial positions. These realities have adverse implications to their political and economic empowerment.

Table 11: Secondary School Enrolment

**Male/Female 1986-1990.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Male/female ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Africa</td>
<td>5/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>17/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>27/19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>20/18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>6/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>53/53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>7/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>9/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>13/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>5/4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>16/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>25/14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>49/42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>31/36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
<td>21/31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The distribution of our female respondents in so far as questionnaires are concerned is indicated in the following Table.

**Table 12: Crusade Respondents in Terms of Sex**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Leaders</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusade Evangelists</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crusadees/Participants</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>61.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Church leadership is still male dominated. Our female respondents in that category were lamentably underrepresented (6.7%) in comparison with a staggering (93.3%) of male leaders. Women preachers-evangelists were slightly higher in numbers (30%) but still less than male (70%). But women crusadees were more than men.

Crusades effect important change where they turn men away from drink and general irresponsibility to being responsible to their women and children or family. They are also significant in transforming the position and status of women by creating opportunities for participation. In this way, these crusades cause a positive social transformation in women's existence. This is a role which many mainline churches have not shown themselves so adept at playing. In such personal and family areas, this group has been able to make some achievements.

Though not economic empowerment, women find much social space in crusades. Some of the women in crusades were preachers-evangelists. Indeed, a few had their own evangelistic ministries. Examples of these included, Teresia Wairimu, a renowned evangelist holding great crowd-pulling crusades in Uhuru Park every month; Juddy Njeri (Mama Nancy, the mother of Nancy) and Mama Mwai (the mother of Mwai). Many of the women in crusades, however, had roles that well fitted with the level of crusadees. Table 13 below gives an overview of the roles female crusadees were indicated to be playing in crusades they attended.

**Table 13: Analysis of Female Participation in Crusades**

*(On the Basis of Questionnaires).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Involvement</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counselling</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>55.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Follow up | 22 | 44.91
Planning | 8 | 16.33
Prayer | 33 | 67.35
Observers | 11 | 22.45
Singing | 36 | 73.47
Ushering | 21 | 42.86

Involvement in more elaborate responsibilities included singing, ushering, counselling within the crusades and follow-up after a crusade. To be sure, some of these aspects of involvement do not readily place them in public limelight. But they are not to be despised. They carry with them spiritual merits and recognition within ecclesiastical circles.

The greatest percentage, 73.47% following by 63.35% were involved in singing and prayer respectively. Singing and praying, for instance, are extremely important aspects of religious expressions. The considerably lengthy time allocated to singing is indicative of the important role it plays in the whole crusade process. Short choruses, rather than songs from hymnals characterise the selection that constitute singing in a crusade. These are fast-paced melodies that easily lend themselves to dancing. They are initiated by a cantor(s) who sings one or a few lines in unison before the congregation responds in repetition. Their repetitive nature builds into spiritual exuberancy that may take various forms. Glossolalia utterances, prophecy and ecstasy are usual end-results of such exuberancy in worship (Samita 1992, 180-192; Hoehler-Fatton 1996, 101-102). Except for occasional instances of glossolalia expressions we witnessed in a few crusades, the rest were rare. This is generally because the worshipping community, because of the open forum, is sensitive to the many strangers in their meeting. This may render glossolalia in-appropriate for the occasion (cf. 1 Corinthians 14:6-19, 22-23). All in all, the crucial point here is the agency of women in this aspect of religiosity. Women make their impact felt through such singing given that well executed singing is believed to be instrumental in facilitating an encounter of crusadees with spiritual faculties. This is amongst the most direct way women exercise spiritual control on a crusade congregation.

Table 13 further shows that 55.1% and 44.91% of the women were involved in counselling and follow-up activities respectively. Like in prayer, they contribute in fostering spiritual formation and protection of the young believers. These indispensable services are generally carried out ‘behind the scenes' or on the fringes of the public crusade sessions. This is, however, not because they are performed by women. In any case, the same functions are open to men too under similar conditions. It is that the very nature of those services in a crusade are conducted in such form. At least no women respondent recorded dissatisfaction on this in the questionnaire. They, therefore, still could enact religious innovation and exercise charismatic authority within these roles. To a large extent, without ascribing insignificance to them, women's roles identified in the crusades studied are of ceremonial leadership.
4.4. Crusades and the Youth

Generally speaking, the youth nationally in Kenya constitute the fastest growing component of population. More recent, most update and reliable statistics on the population of the youth in Kenya are not available. Statistics from the 1989 Census (Republic of Kenya 1989) give us some directions. Yet, at best the census remains controversial. According to that census, the youth comprised 60% of the population, 34% of them being within 10-24 years. A more recent survey estimates Kenya's population at thirty million, the youth constituting 50% (Republic of Kenya 1993). This figure is likely to have significantly gone up. From our general participation observations in crusades sessions, the youth are definitely major participants in crusades. It, therefore, became necessary to focus on them in this study.

Problems and actual situations facing the youth are quite challenging. Due to homelessness, some, for instance, street urchins have been pushed to the streets. Others are living in the slums, crowded in or sharing a room, a whole family.

Discotheques, video, cinema and other leisure outlets or centres have sometimes been a major attraction to some of the youth, getting them into wrong company or habits. These include crime gangs or groups, misdirected or misused sexual energies expressed through prostitution or flesh peddling and resulting into Sexual Transmitted Diseases (STDs), AIDS, unplanned pregnancies. These trends are a high risk to the youth's life and future prospects. This renders the youth high vulnerability to any adverse socio-economic and political realities in society. El-Kenz (1996, 42-57) locates the problems of tobacco, alcohol or delinquency, drugs that range from mild to extremely lethal, crime and general violence among the youth to the aforementioned realities in Africa.

A good number of them are in various institutions of learning. Yet, the number of drop-outs in primary and secondary schools and now, the university is alarmingly rising. Educational bottlenecks compound this already stark reality. There are far too many youth jostling for too few admission opportunities at secondary and university levels, among the other educational institutions (Muya, Daily Nation, 3.1.1997, pp. 1, 2, 6; editorial, Daily Nation 27.9.1997, p. 6).

Unemployment is amongst the greatest challenges that confront this cross-section of the population. Side by side the problem of unemployment is that of working children. Throughout the history of humanity, child labour has been an area of great concern. Contemporary Africa is increasingly witnessing a proliferation of young and child workers eg. In support networks, especially to the working middle and high classes.

The general trend of sub-Saharan population of almost 50% is constituted by youth below 15 years (El-Kenz 1996, 49). This exerts an intolerable pressure on the working population. It is no surprise that the minors have to tighten their belts and start working at a considerably very early age. Yet this is before they reach good educational or professional attainments. Most of them, therefore, naturally drop out of school anyway. Their parents could never afford good education for them. Others are pushed out of the education life-stream due to political crises which culminate into ethnic clashes on a widespread national level.
Most common forms of child labour within Nairobi are casual in nature, carried out in industry, and household related chores (Tessier 1983, 5-7; Ndegwa 1987; Chege 1994, 11-13). In urban areas, they are involved in modest commercial enterprises such as mechanics, car washing, directing parking of vehicles, garbage collection, shoe shining, street hawking or vending and touting. Some are porters, working as basket carriers, truck loaders, mkokoteni or luggage-cart pushers/pullers. In domestic circles, there are some who work as maids, house-boys, shambaboys, that is on the family farm. Some are guards for business premises among others. Others are in clothing and construction industries, hotels, restaurants and kiosks. There are also those at great risk, involved in drug trafficking rackets and commercial sex.

A number of features characterise this segment of labour force. Most of them are in the age frame of between 5-15 years. An extremely minimal number is skilled, the bulk of them being unskilled. Owing to their generally poor education background, they are hired mainly as unskilled labourers. Basically, their works are physically exhausting. This has long term adverse effects on their physical health. In most cases, they are exposed to public mistrust. They generally serve under unspecified, fluctuating, demeaning and biased-negotiated terms of service, often on contracts. Worse, their mainly auxiliary type of service is offered under very greatly risky circumstances. Due to their poor bargaining power resulting from their lack of professionalism, they have no option. They are found in almost all sectors of the economy. Thus, they perform all possible kinds of jobs in economic, social, education, religious and political organisations or institutions. This category of the population is confronted with inaccessibility to good transport, accommodation or housing scheme, diet, and most basics of life. They also lack an organisational structure to press for their welfare. Hardly any effective government policy exists to cater for or monitor their education. The UNDP's (1993) estimates that 20% of the children in Africa work in very poor conditions. This would be properly representative of their situation in Nairobi as well.

The youth, therefore, constitute the most explicit, rapidly growing and major category of the workforce. Yet, most are usually casual labourers basically, hence in reality under employed! All systems, structures, commercial, mass media are targeting the youth. The Church is no exception. Our interest is particularly directed towards what opportunities crusades offer to this segment of population. What doors are open for the youth in the Church? According to Rev. Fr. Paulino Twesigye (O.I. 14 October 1996), about 18 % of the youth are professing Christians. Twelve percent of them are serious church going Christians. But a whole 70% do not even go to churches. Confronted with insecurity, restlessness and anxiety, the youth are very easily susceptible to persuasion of any promises in their search for solution.

**What Crusades Offer to the Youth**

A practical case for consideration is that of the youth arriving in Nairobi from the rural area for the first time. It could be for purposes of further studies, career advancement or seeking for a job. Indeed, such cases are generously on the increase. The youth, who may be a girl or boy, away from home, is probably not physically attractive, not rich or well-connected. S/He may easily find herself/himself in a state of alienation. Entry into a crusade life-stream brings to the youth a different social level or plane. Her/His social relationships can easily be transformed. S/He can relate to young men/women on a totally different basis, as a sister/brother who is accepted,
respected, supported and treated with equality and real affirmation, perhaps for the first time. The youth gains a new social family, new companions. In addition, are available new leisure activities and an emotional life far more meaningful sometimes than in the previous youth's life in the traditional, mainstream or usual local church. Thus, the security and companionship that accrue from such relationship albeit the problems and the personal growth and transformation that often ensues cannot totally be ignored.

Crusades are good, as was seen earlier, in providing a wide range of opportunities for putting to demonstration skills and ambitions to leadership and responsibilities of crusades. This is more applicable to the youth. At least 41% of our respondents who were crusadees alluded to this in their questionnaire responses. It is to be noted that ordinarily, in many African countries, business openings are limited to those with strong capital foundation. Not many youth have built a firm economic base at that stage of life. Political leadership requires partly membership and all the rubrics it entails. Ironically, the youth are frequently referred to with the clarion ‘future leaders', once more, without adequately being prepared for the same. Mainline churches as mentioned already are generally not consciously very keen in prerequisites that could provide serious leadership positions to the youth in churches. Indeed, to raise to the high leadership ranks of most of the churches, one needs many years in seminary or theological, college, or Bible School training. Alternatively, one must undergo long apprenticeship as a church member before s/he can exercise any recognisable leadership. Most of the youth that get into ministries within the church hardly escape the paternalistic and surveillant attitude of their church leadership.

In contrast, leadership opportunities in crusade fora are many and largely informal, often calling for very minimal demanding requirements, especially in way of formal training. There are readily available opportunities to, among others, crusaders, especially evangelisers and crusadees. One can rise to authority be accepted and respected for her/his own talents, abilities and achievements. The importance of these should be underlined in a society where opportunities to exercise authority are so limited. As stated earlier, the Church and government have not been good role models in power sharing, participatory leadership and power distribution.

As long as crusades continue guaranteeing open doors for youth participation, this fast-increasing segment of population will continue identifying itself in throngs with the phenomenon. And in this way, crusades remain assured of continuity in a turbulent stricken society as members of society will still view them as offering solutions to them. The following section focuses on socio-economic aspects in crusade attendance.

4.5. Crusades and Socio-Economic Prosperity

We saw that most of the crusades tend to concentrate in places considered to be for the poor. The following table 14 shows the views of church leaders and crusade planners about crusade attendance in terms of socio-economic standing.
The leaders' and planners' estimation that the poor are dominant, followed by the middle class and finally the rich is a realistic picture conforming to our general observations during the crusades. If anything, the poor constitute the bulk of the population in Kenya as is characteristic of most sub-Saharan counties. According to the United Nations Population Fund's State of World Population Report, *Popline* (1996,4), three quarters of Nairobi's population reside in low-income areas and more than 40% live below the poverty line. We discussed the generally deteriorating conditions in Nairobi regarding water, health, sanitation, drainage, garbage collection, road status and networks (cf. Samita 1996a, 1996b) early in this chapter. Obviously, this is far much worse in low-income areas where the bulk of the poor population share and experience relatively an extreme poor standard of living. Are crusades an option for the poor? The poor feel at home in these crusades. In spite of their negative tendencies such as promoting anonymity, mass gatherings also offer a small community and family atmosphere at times functioning as a surrogate family, an adaptive mechanism for migrants deprived of their own extended family community roots (Shorter and Onyancha 1997, 67). This is especially when one gets into the follow-up networks that follow a crusade session.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Church Leaders</th>
<th>Planners</th>
<th>Overall Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 30</td>
<td>% 100</td>
<td>No. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Poor:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very many</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very few</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Middle Class:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very many</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Few</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The rich:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very many</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Respondents Views on Crusade Attendance by Status
Forms of worship, type of songs, dancing and spontaneity that go with the crusades easily appeal to crusadees. This is not limited to crusades. One is reminded of other fora in society that normally have a crowd-pulling effect, for example, discotheques, music extravaganza, sports, etc. They appeal to various human realms of experience.

The crusade purport to offer solutions to the not only enormously variant health but also wealth needs of the poor. This through the gospel of prosperity in which crusadees are apt to enjoy good wealth and health if they adhere to the biblical way of life and vice versa (Cf. Deuteronomy 28, Matthew 6:24-34). Ensnared by materialism to enjoy modern comfort, they crave for positions of privilege that education and society create in and promise them. Of course, in many cases, it still remains a dream to be fulfilled for most of them.

4.6. The Role of the Preacher-Evangelist in Crusades

It is indisputable that religion played an indispensable role in African communities. In any case, it is commonly agreed among scholars of African Traditional Religion that religion was an integral component of the whole individual and communal life as seen both in the belief systems and praxis. It is true that secularism is gradually creeping into and competing to have a dominant reality in contemporary Africa, especially in the urban areas (Shorter and Onyancha 1997). Still, it can be safely said that secularism has not yet profoundly minimised the role of religion among the majority of Africans, regardless of their religious subscription.

One striking element in African religiosity is the important place given to traditional orators, storytellers and sages or wise people of the African society. Together with those in professions such as priesthood, prophethood, divining, mediumship, and all related offices, these are the guardians of wisdom that serve to function society. There is no doubt that these specialists commanded immense respect in society as a result of their great religious services to their communities. But their sphere of influence was not confined to religion. Given that religion was inter-fused with all aspects of life realities and expressions, their roles were multi-purpose.

Westernisation in its various formidable expressions, for example, through slavery, colonisation, education, religion, industrialisation and urbanisation has not left these traditional institutions intactly unaffected. With time, westernisation has permeated the indigenous African societies, presenting challenging competition to the aforementioned institutions. Among such competitors today include government administrators and the Member of Parliament (MP) in politics, the doctor in health, the teacher, lecturer and professor in education, the catechist and pastor/priest in religion. These have corporately undermined the holistic role of the indigenous experts in matters pertaining to social control. But none of these modern experts alone can adequately fit into the holistic role of the traditional experts especially as the society becomes more complex. It is our observation that in the figure of the crusade preacher-evangelist people see a role reminiscent of the holistic roles of the aforementioned indigenous offices. Thus, people see or expect from that figure, mystery, aspects of divination, mediumship, priesthood, prophecy, wisdom, healing and social direction. These are what convince the crusadees of the divine authenticity of the preacher-evangelist. Let us first look at the following Table 14 showing what the respondents considered to be preacher-evangelist attractions to crusades.
Table 15: Attraction Related to Preacher-Evangelists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Church leaders</th>
<th>Preachers</th>
<th>Planners</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. 30</td>
<td>% 100</td>
<td>No. 20</td>
<td>% 100</td>
<td>No. 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preacher</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preaching / the word</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miracles</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer for needs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses above show that averagely, the personality, fame and popularity of a preacher-evangelist constituted 39.2% of those who throng crusades. Such attraction to personality has to do with some peculiarities associated with the evangelist. It is important to remind ourselves that the vast majority of the crusadees are Christians, belonging to some denomination (see list of respondents). It means that they are treated to sermons in their respective churches by their pastors, priests, catechists, etc. Attending a crusade organised by another church, and this was found to be quite common, implies that they believe the crusade preacher-evangelist has something new, something extra that is believed to be considerably supplementary to what they are used to in their churches.

Miracles scored highest in this respect as an attraction (57.7%). Given that healing, that is, faith healing, is often considered as miraculous, this percentage is higher. Much higher even when one includes prayer for needs, some of them believed to occur only through divine intervention. Faith healing itself has always been a major aspect of many religions. Previous researches in this area (Sundkler 1961, 122-137; Turner 1967, 2: 90; Peel 1968, 211-215; Daneel 1970; 1971a, 1971b; Jules-Rosette 1975, 70; Hackett 1989, 352; Samita 1992, 228-244) identify miracles and especially, faith healing as a powerful recruitment strategy and attraction in independent churches or prophetic movements.

Many diseases plague Africa. Indeed, Africa suffers greatest from the most devastation world diseases (Kinoti 1994, 17-18; Shorter and Onyancha 1997, 107-108). The ordinary poor who constitute the bulk of the population in Africa continue to experience general inaccessibility to the very modest medical provisions. Faith healing becomes so natural in such circumstances. But
even for the financially able, when scientific explanations to disease and illness fail, a good number of them look to faith healing as a last resort. This is already provided for in their indigenous backgrounds.

Lack of parental and leadership models amongst many crusadees' experiences in society is quite devastative. Already there are many street children. Actually, we now have a generation that can genuinely claim to be street families. Thus, those conceived, born, raised/living, married and eventually may die on the streets. They have to reckon with lack of leadership role models, patience and personal commitment on the part of church leaders and the educated. There is, therefore, general lack of leadership models in families, churches and society as a whole. Family kinship ties are grossly threatened by the rapid changes in modern society, affecting the role of parents, elders and general leadership.

Crusades appear to be instructive in this aspect by providing guidance and orientation through strong charismatic leadership, for instance, crusaders and fiery preachers-evangelists. Lack of role models leads to disorientation among many in society, especially the youth. The person of the master, leader, guru, or sharma plays an important role in the bonding of the adherents. In the case of crusades, the preacher-evangelists accomplish this role. Occasionally, however, this evolves into uncritical submission, apart from emotional surrender and even an almost hysterical devotion to a strong spiritual leader, the apostle, the prophet, mighty preacher/servant of God, miracle worker, etc. Crusadees take seriously what their crusade role models say. But Paulino (O.I. 14 October 1996) laments over the behind-the-curtain morality, pattern, model of the preacher-evangelist. S/He is often far removed from the reality of the crusadees, appearing more on the par excellence, or supra spiritual level rather than `one of us'. Crusadees miss access to the ordinary or real lifestyle of the preacher other than that portrayed on the platform especially through the act, dress and speech. These create false impressions on the part of crusadees. Undue elevation of such figures to infallibility easily leads to hero worship and lack of clear reflection and evaluation of their acts and words vis-à-vis their relevance within spatio-temporal contexts.

Some general remarks are important in concluding this chapter. People need to belong, to be known, accepted and appreciated. To matter, to contribute, to play a part, to have a role, to exercise responsibilities is very important for them. They need to have answers and meaning, even to the very complex ultimate questions in order for them to make sense of their lives. They expect to see significance in what baffles them, especially crises. People yearn to find spiritual meaning in the existence. They do not have to discard the reality of religion especially in Africa given the profound African indigenous heritage that forms their context as they strive through socio-economic and political turbulence.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, most of the African states could meet few of their needs. The states have stiffled through all empowering political party control, most civil channels that have attempted to address the said needs and aspirations. Most were alienating or sidelining their people, making them more lost and bewildered.

Mainline churches were ill equipped to meet many of these needs. Most churches were closely identified with government, or had patterned their way of operating on the government. They were just too big, impersonal, unresponsive and rigidly was happening around them. In such
circumstances, crusades as a phenomenon are often perfectly tailored to play a very positive role. In these crusades, basic human psychological and social needs are met.

Usually people go to or join the crusades culture for good, and not for evil reasons, hence crusades attract good people and good motivation in those people. Crusades succeed best when they step in places or gaps society and the church have failed to fill or tap this good motivation. One could belong, be important, exercise responsibility and find purpose and spiritual significance in the midst of Africa's plethora of challenging problems.

Nevertheless alone and single-handedly, crusades cannot adequately salvage the situation in the society. Such approach leaving the real socio-economic, political, ecological questions which face the continent unanswered or unattended. Yet the spiritual is still a very crucial aspect in Africa.

5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This study set out to investigate into the phenomenon of crusades in order to bring to the fore the socio-religious role of crusades as perceived by crusaders and crusadees. The present study looks into this problem with a view to documenting the socio-religious undertones of the said phenomenon. Concerns that form the objectives of this study, therefore, included first, examining socio-religious reasons for the apparently growing fervour for cursades. Second, it was to investigate social-religious needs and realities crusades address.

To carry out the objectives, we laid down some research assumptions. First, that increased socio-economic problems in society cause a gap which crusades attempt to fill. Second, that women are attracted to crusades more than men. Third, that people of low socio-economic status are more inclined to crusades than those of a high socio-economic status. Finally, that attraction to crusades is a function of the perceived power and efficacy of the evangelist.

These have been discussed within the work. The following are concluding remarks.

5.2. Summary and Concluding Remarks

It is from the discussed context of crisis situations that crusades have been viewed. Crusades are particularly good in cashing on or meeting needs and aspirations produced by the said austere situations. It is within their ability to meet such needs, in Africa's contemporary situation, that we looked for their upsurge, their appeal and the secret of their apparent success.

Crusaders represent pragmatism, living by and acting out religious faith with a powerful, often magnetic, profound conviction and devotion. With such zeal, and in a gradually becoming secular environment, they go our of their way along the apostolic tradition to meet people where they are, warmly, personally, directly even on non-Sunday days, out of church precincts but in sites and places that are usual and familiar to those they target. They use attractive techniques such as posters, music, etc. In a crowed context is seen public celebration that incorporates
exuberant worship that captures the instrumentality of song in the African society. Worship involves mental, physical and spiritual aspects of crusadees, allowing for the expression of their repressed inner world.

Crusades put individuals out of anonymity, and promote commitment, participation, responsibility and spontaneity. Most crusaders practise an intensive follow-up, or quasi-follow-up. These include series of contacts, home visits, continuing support networks and guidance aimed at spiritual formation. They help reinterpret one's experience, reassuring one's values. They also address ultimate issues holistically. But they do not strictly follow the personal details of their clientele. Thus, crusaders are often not adequately equipped to follow them to their personal, family, offices or communal background etc. They accept their clientele just as they are.

The convincing usage of the word especially in the person of the preacher-evangelist is explicit in crusades. Besides, crusades underline health and wealth issues. They present themselves with the answers. Sometimes they claim to have all the answers. But we cannot be the know-it-all or even can-it-all. I emphasise here that problems facing Nairobi and the society as a whole are many and serious. They require holistic and multi-faceted approaches. Crusades as part of the Church have a role to play and must intensify their efforts in working out honest solutions. But they cannot make it alone.

5.3. Recommendations

Use of mass media communication, for instance, literature, video, radio, television and films is an appropriate reaching-out strategy to people at a personal level. By virtue of their high social standing, the rich and highly placed persons in society are uncomfortable being in crusades. Need arises for a renewed effective pastoral approach to this category of people.

Youth ministry must be focused, encompassing specific effective channels of participatory evangelism. There is need for new crusade models to provoke and provide as well creativity and dynamism that can appropriately gain from the youth's often unused talents, related to their realities. From the past, most of the existing Church structures have, unfortunately, had everything revolving around buildings and the clergy. Outreach schemes and alternatives which can challenge and appeal to the youth are rare. The youth can be involved in communally based projects and activities that provide room for youth initiatives and obligations. They also could be involved as evangelisers in anti-rape, anti-corruption, anti-land grabbing, anti-drugs/smoking, anti-AIDS, anti-pollution and anti-early pregnancies campaigns as crucial concerns. Some are in dire need of legal services. Crusaders must promote in their fora civic education on issues of holistic life. Judicial-legal, environmental, political and economic education should be stressed.

There are facilities that include social halls, schools, cinema halls, play grounds, parks, recreation or leisure sites. Along with sites used for crusades, these are reminiscent of the few social spaces still available, given the high rate of land grabbing. All these could be used for discussions, theatrical expressions such as song, play, drama or skits and dances. They thrill and pass on messages more effectively, especially to the youth. The present study cited the spiritual role of the song, particularly among the youth and women.
Such programmes and activities are unique, addressing too their spirituality. Formation can be integrated with such programmes and activities. Education integrated with life can be quite effective. The education so far provided in our society is not fully integrated with life situation. Crusaders must transcend this. Particularly, preachers-evangelists should excel as public educators and formators in and outside crusade contexts.

People need to express rather than repress people's deep-seated emotions. As well, they have real thirst and interest in spiritual values experienced in their innermost being. Many critics of religious fundamentalism fear its coercive, subjective, monolithic approaches in advancing religious faith. Crusaders need more practical approaches which naturally and objectively appeal to people. The approaches should allow faith to commend itself profoundly to the people at all human faculties with a long-lasting impact due to their relevance.

Crusadees, and particularly the youth, look to guidance and counselling services, besides rehabilitation centres and strategies. Some require crisis or career counselling to cop with the plethora of challenges facing them. A good number of them lack basic life necessities. They are unemployed, are Persons with AIDS (PWAs), are school drop-outs, have unplanned pregnancies, fragile and betrayed relationships or single parents. Crusaders should closely work with churches, support groups, NGOs, individuals and relevant government sectors in designing more mechanisms and reliable structures for follow-up. Need arises for more focused training of crusade counselling that can pragmatically and profoundly support the crusadees having the said needs.

Training opportunities that are sensitive to labour market demands, for example, through seminars, or focused workshops would address some of their areas of concern. Unemployed, many are seeking for employment. Education reforms should offer training opportunities for acquisition of gainful employment. Income-generating projects would also be appropriate to them. Crusadees need entrepreneurial skills to improve their financial horizons and career prospects. Interest should also be developed in curriculum issues. The Church in Kenya, for example, recently succeeded pressing against the government's inclination for sex education in the Kenya's school curriculum. It should use such prowess to call for more meaningful and liberating education reforms to the society.

Above all, a more pragmatic theology is desirable to address practical issues facing crusadees especially in their urban contexts, the obvious one being poverty. Poverty is aggravated by the exploitation of some nations, communities or individuals by the powerful ones, perennially escalating foreign debts, poor terms of trade, poor market conditions, poor climatic conditions, corruption and mismanagement of public funds, among other factors (Hancock 1989; Kinoti 1994; Aseka 1996; Ellis 1996). Crusaders must also seriously address these conditions for their evangelistic efforts to significantly impact on people's living standards.

As already mentioned, the vast majority of the world population live below the poverty line, languishing in abject poverty. They lack basic human needs such as food, shelter, clothing, education, land, water and health services and are kept on the periphery of decision-making processes or systems of the government. The few rich live in ostentatious luxury, controlling more than half the nation's resources. This is not God's will and purpose for creation. We also
established that the poor are many in crusades. If the gospel does not focus on the poor, the down trodden, the wretched of the earth, the oppressed and the neglected, then its mission ceases being authentic. Dorr (1991) urged the Church and all good-willed Christians to opt for the poor. With candour that should always characterise the Church of Christ, crusaders have to pragmatically and creatively respond to the problem of poverty in their societies. To adequately address poverty, exploitative social, economic, political and cultural structures responsible for these conditions have to be changed if not totally eradicated by all people, employing all means. In their place, crusades must help design and develop models for realistic human development. Such models should be more environmentally sensitive, people-participatory-centred, community-oriented and self-sustaining. However, for the approaches to be effective, the Church ought to liaise with development planners and policy implementers.

Crusaders have for years been emphasising spiritual salvation. This is quite in order given that it is the indispensable message of the Church. However, this should go along with integral human development. Churches have to underscore social welfare and related activities as supplementary to spiritual development. In this way would be presented a historical Christ who is amidst societies, with the poor, the land-less, jobless, the urban slum dwellers, the street children, and the sick who are harassed by multi-faceted socio-economic, environmental, and political woes. This is based on the fact that poverty is a social sin, a scandalous inhuman condition.

Having established that they are a great attraction to people, crusades are among the best placed social institutions to initiate development. The Church has very resourceful capital and personnel. As the custodian of ethics it can also serve people irrespective of creed, race, ethnicity, colour, socio-economic status or political affiliation. The clergy and crusaders must, therefore, go beyond rhetoric, being more than preachers of the word. Plausibly, Christians shall be judged not just by attendance of church services or crusades. Perhaps more important, judgement shall be based on the sins of commission and omission, that is, what they did or failed to do to others (cf. Matthew 25:31-46). Crusades can help rekindle the obligation of society to the poor and underprivileged.

To initiate authentic development, crusaders and the clergy require adequate training to handle development as an integral component of their evangelistic mission. Theology of authentic development should thus be incorporated into their formation process, for instance, in their theological institutions with a view to enhancing development education among the clergy and crusade planners. Byrne (1983, n.d.) observes that pastoral work unrelated to people's life situation is valueless. If not fully conversant with the theology of integral human development, the crusaders and clergy are prone to supporting and advancing the less relevant popular sense and materialistic-oriented type of development. They can realistically address, or even condemn injustices by having a clear understanding of global, socio-economic forces networking with those within their local contexts to breed crisis situations. But this is impractical if the crusaders and clergy themselves live, crave or uncritically support and bless corrupt systems and individuals, and those in exorbitant luxury. Condemnation of forces of corruption and social injustice must be followed, as said already, by constructing scaffolds towards their systematic eradication.
It means that apart from identifying external and internal enemies who are the root cause of society's socio-economic paralysis, crusaders must lead crusadees into holistic self-liberating alternatives at their disposal. Rather than be made to pity themselves as innocent victims of injustice, corruption, exploitation and natural calamities, they must be taught on how to redraft their destinies within austere conditions. Together with their clientele, the crusadees, crusaders must be on the forefront in equipping the society with tools to seek solutions towards a common and better society. Otherwise, as Magesa (1991) argues, Christianity will remain an irrelevant set of superstitions accepted only by the fearful. In view of the poor socio-economic conditions plaguing the majority of the world population, people continue to face a bleak future. Since crusaders are within the Church which is part and parcel of this material world, their mission embraces all forms of liberation and development be they political, social, cultural or economic. Buhlmann (1976) rightly intimates that evangelisation, should be the media for development or else risk being rejected by the majority. Crusaders should thus realise that laying a foundation based on social ethics, economic justice and love for humanity is a prerequisite to sound Christian evangelistic efforts.

The present study also recommends a more focused evangelism by crusades on the youth, men, new residents, refugees and expatriates as specific categories of Nairobi's population. One notes that these categories of people often face various acute socio-economic, cultural, political and psychological challenges. These are even compounded especially by their urban setting. As a response to this call, crusaders should search for ways to care for refugees, help orphans and street children, put up schools and health centres, seek solutions to disasters such as the AIDS pandemic. The empowerment of the weak and vulnerable e.g. children, women and the aged in society must be demonstrated. Pioneering missionaries initiated development activities alongside evangelisation partly with a view to combating poverty. Nonetheless, the missionaries left gaps that the present Church that includes the crusaders must fill in society. Crusaders must underline the holistic salvific mission of Jesus Christ to humanity.

We noted poor management of statistics by the government offices, churches and even evangelistic teams on crusades, among other gatherings. This needs improvement for purposes of regular evaluation, without which realising goals and objectives becomes difficult to determine.

In the context of rampant moral bankruptcy in our society, need is there for reclaiming public morality especially in the government, the public sector but more so in the family and churches. Focus should be on good parent education. A good family is the most effective unit in reforming society. We need a society with adults serving as good reference points in life. They have to be adults who can give more than speeches or lecture. They must be examples in life of simple and honest people, hardworking and available for consultation. Such adults spending their wisdom and time through experience and understanding of their past and present worlds can help bridge the generation gap. Among others, we also need legal frameworks that are supportive of this vision. The law should not be lenient as to allow into public offices, as is now the case, leaders with an obviously tainted public moral image and corrupt records.
References


Appendices

A. Participant Observation Checklist for Crusades

1. Crusade place/site: name, notable convenient features.

2. Period -season/weather, day, month, time, special event.

3. Advertisement - modes and scope/magnitude, rationale.

4. Organisers - category, sponsorship.

5. Pre-requisites - before actual crusades session.

6. Resources - media devices - eg. Audio-visual, electronic equipment; printed and audio-visual material; target groups: Socio-economic, religious implications.


8. Overall impression about participants - class/status, approximate number, age, gender, and participation level.

9. Major socio-religious themes eg. Culture, morals, non-Christians, miracles eg. Healing, the Bible, response to and analyses of varied contextual issues eg. Urbanisation, unemployment, SAPs, AIDS, street Children, environmental degradation, politics, economics, democratisation, drug abuse, hawking. How do the themes pervade the crusade session?

10. Post-preaching programme - counselling, follow-up, integration into body of believers, the Church or, the community at large. How intensive is it?

B. RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRES FOR CRUSADES

I. Church pastors/priests/officers/leaders

I am Zacharia Samita, carrying out a research to investigate socio-religious factors explaining the apparent great interest towards crusades in Nairobi as well as reasons for their seemingly rapid growth. Your views as a church leader would be of great assistance in the research undertaking. Therefore, kindly respond as accurately as to this questionnaire by circling/filling the provided spaces as is appropriate. I guarantee the confidentiality of your responses and their use mainly for academic research purpose. Thank you in advance for your assistance.
1.  
a) Name (Optional):

b) Age (years):
   i. <10  
   ii. 11-19
   iii. 20-29
   iv. 30-39
   v. 40-49
   vi. >50

c) Sex:
   i. Male
   ii. Female

d) Name of church/denomination:

e) Place:

f) Highest educational level:
   i. University
   ii. College
   iii. Secondary
   iv. Primary

v. Other (specify) ____________________

g) Any other occupation/profession you hold
   i. 
   ii. 
   iii. 

2.  
a) Your church has about ___ number of members.

b) About what proportion of this membership could be attributed to crusade efforts?

3.  
a) Have you ever attended an evangelistic crusade?
   i. Yes
   ii. No

b) Explain your answer in 4a

4.  
a) Have you ever organised/been involved in organising a crusade?
   i. Yes
   ii. No.

b) If yes, explain (eg. How regular, big when, where and why).

c) If No, give reason
5. Why do you think crusades are organised?
   a)
   b)
   c)

6. Why do you think people attend crusades?
   a)
   b)
   c)

7. A. Comment on people's attendance of crusades under:
   Age:
   a. Children i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few
   b. Youth: i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few
   c. Middle Age i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few
   d. Age i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few

8. What do you think explains the above trend?
   Age:
   a. Children
   b. Youth
   c. Middle Aged
   d. Aged
   Sex:
   a. Female
   b. Male
Socio-economic level:

a. The poor
b. Middle class
c. The rich

Religious affiliation

a. Christians
b. Participants of other faiths

9. A) Cite any positive socio-religious and economic contributions of crusades in the present society.
   i. 
   ii. 
   iii. 

B) Pinpoint any negative socio-religious and economic elements of crusades in the contemporary society.
   i. 
   ii. 
   iii. 

10. A) Suggest areas of improvement for crusades to be more appropriate to society.
    i. 
    ii. 
    iii. 

B) Recommend ways the improvement can be effected.
   i. 
   ii. 
11. Any other comments

a. 

b. 

c. 

II Preachers/evangelists in crusades

I am Zacharia Samita, carrying out a research to investigate socio-religious factors explaining the apparent great interest towards crusades in Nairobi as well as reasons for their seemingly rapid growth. Your views as a preacher-evangelist in a crusade would be of great assistance in the research undertaking. Kindly, therefore, respond as accurately as possible to this questionnaire by circling/filling the provided spaces as is appropriate. I guarantee the confidentiality of all responses and their use mainly for academic research purpose. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

1. a. Name (optional):

c. Age (Yrs.):

   i. < 10 ii. 11-19 iii. 20-29 iv. 30-39 v. 40-49 vi. >50

d. Marital Status:

e. Place of crusade:

f. Name of your church/evangelistic group:

g. Highest theological education:

h. Highest academic attainment:

   i. Degree ii. Diploma iii. Certificate iv. Other (specify) ______

   i. Contact address/Telephone (Optional):

j. Any other occupation

2. a. You preach in such crusades:

   i. Regularly ii. Sometimes iii. Rarely iv. Never before
c. Explain your answer in 2a (If your answer is i, ii or iii show eg. How often, big when where why etc.)

3. a. Are you affiliated to/ sponsored by any church/organisation?
   i. Yes ii. No

d. If yes:
   i. give details eg. Name, location, sponsorship etc.
   ii. show how you are answerable to it.
   iii. Show how it is involved in your crusade campaigns.

4. a. What problems/ needs do you see as major among participants in crusades?
   i.
   ii.
   iii.

e. What do you view as root causes of the needs/problems?
   i.
   ii.
   iii.

f. Is your evangelistic campaign adequately prepared to solve these needs/problems?
   i. Yes ii. No

  g. Explain why you think so

5. Name specific duties you have towards the participants:
   a. Before a crusade:
      i.
b. During a crusade:
   i.
   ii.

c. After a crusade:
   i.
   ii.

6. a. If so, what would justify that obligation?
   b. If not, what would justify your lack of obligation?

7. a. Mention the importance of crusades to participants.
   i.
   ii.
   iii.
   b. Mention shortcomings of crusades in the society.
   i.
   ii.
   iii.

8. Suggest ways crusades could be improved to benefit society the more:
   a.
   b.
   c.

9. Any other comments:
   a.
III. Planners/organisers of crusades

I am Zacharia Samita, carrying out a research to investigate socio-religious factors explaining the apparent great interest towards crusades in Nairobi as well as reasons for their seemingly rapid growth. Your views as an organizer of crusade would be of great assistance in the research undertaking. Kindly, therefore, respond as accurately as possible to this questionnaire by circling/filling the provided spaces as is appropriate. I guarantee the confidentiality of your responses appropriate. I guarantee the confidentiality of your responses and their use mainly for academic research purpose. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

1. a. i. Name of the church/organisation:

   ii. Name of your church (If different from i)

b. Place of crusade: ____________________

c. Crusade date (s): ____________________

2. Who form the membership of this crusade planning/organising committee?

3. For how long have you existed as a crusade planning committee?

4. a. How long has it taken you to plan for this crusade?

    b. Give reason for that, if any

      i.

      ii.

5. a. What key stages did you follow to plan for this crusade?

    b. Show the significance of these stages in your planning.

6. a. Which people were involved in the planning exercise?

      i.

      ii.

      iii.
b. In which ways were they involved?
   
   i.
   
   ii.
   
   iii.

c. What was considered before involving them:
   
   i.
   
   ii.
   
   iii.

d. What considerations would you rate as important in the planning of a crusade?
   
   i.
   
   ii.
   
   iii.

7. a. About how much money did this crusade require?

   b. What was/were your sources of money?
      
      i.
      
      ii.

   c. What methods did you use to get the money?
      
      i.
      
      ii.

   d. On what specific areas did you spend the money?
      
      i.
      
      ii.
      
      iii.
8.  
a. Who chose the day(s) and the site for this crusade?

b. What were the reasons for the choice of the site?
   
i. 
   
ii. 
   
iii. 

9.  
a. About how often do you hold crusades?
   
i. weekly ii. Monthly iii. Other (specify) ____________

10.  
a. What objectives do/did/will your crusades meet?
   
i. 
   
ii. 
   
iii. 

b. Explain the significance of these objectives.
   
i. 
   
ii. 
   
iii. 

11.  
a. Assess the need for crusades in our society today.
   
i. very useful ii. Fairly useful
   
iii. Not useful iv. Not sure

12.  
What do you think attracts people to crusades?
   
a. 
   
b. 
   
c. 

13.  
Comment on people's attendance of crusades in terms of:
Age:
   a. Children i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few
   b. Youth: i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few
   c. Middle age i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few
   d. Age i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few

Sex:
   a. Female: i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few
   b. Male: i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few

Socio-economic level:
   a. The poor: i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few
   b. Middle class: i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few
   c. The rich: i. Very many ii. Average iii. Very few

Religious Affiliation:
   a. Christians outnumber those of other faiths (Specify).
   b. Those of other faiths outnumber Christians (Specify).

14. What do you think explains the trend above in 13?

Age:
   a. Children
   b. Youth:
   c. Middle age
   d. Age

Sex:
   a. Female:
b. Male:

Socio-economic level:

a. The poor:

b. Middle class:

c. The rich:

Religious Affiliation:

c. Christians

d. Participants of other faiths:

15. What do you do with those who answer to the preacher's call for salvation, healing or prayer for some need?

a.

b.

c.

16. Mention what you see as major contributions of crusades to the audience/participants and to the general public/community of people in Nairobi:

a. c.

b. d.

17. Identify feature you view as shortcomings of crusades to the audience/participants and to the general public/community of people in Nairobi:

a. c.

b. d.

18. a. What major activities, if any, usually follow the end of a crusade session/evangelistic campaign?

i.

ii.
iii.

b. If there are, spell out their significance.

i.

ii.

iii.

19. Any other comments:

a.

b.

c.

IV. Participants in crusades

I am Zacharia Samita, carrying out a research to investigate socio-religious factors explaining the apparent great interest towards crusades in Nairobi as well as reasons for their seemingly rapid growth. Your views as participant in crusade would be of great assistance in the research undertaking. Kindly, therefore, respond as accurately as possible to this questionnaire by circling/filling the provided spaces as is appropriate. I guarantee the confidentiality of your responses appropriate. I guarantee the confidentiality of your responses and their use mainly for academic research purpose. Thank you in advance for your assistance.

1. a. Name:

b. Age:

i. < 10 ii. 11-19 iii. 20-29 iv. 30-39 v. 40-49 vi. >50

c. Religion/church/denomination: _____________________

d. Occupation: ________________________

e. Sex i. Female ii. Male

f. Role/Status in Religion/church

g. Highest educational level:

i. University ii. College iii. Secondary iv. Primary
h. Place of crusade: _________________

i. Crusade date(s): _________________

2.  a. Do you usually attend crusades? i. Yes ii. No.

b. If yes, how often?

i. Weekly ii. Monthly iii. Other (specify) ______________

c. If no, why?

3. Had you planned to attend this crusade? i. Yes ii. No

4. You knew of this crusade through:

   i. A friend   ii. A poster/handbill  iii. Crusade music
   iv. Church notice v. Other (specify) ______________

5.  a. From your residence, this crusade site is about:

   i. < 10 kms (approximately ___ kms.) ii. 11- 20 kms.
   iii. 21- 30 kms iv. >30 kms (approximately ___ kms)

   b. From your working place/occupation point (if applicable) this is about:

   i. < 10 kms (approximately ___ kms.) ii. 11- 20 kms.
   iii. 21- 30 kms iv. >30 kms (approximately ___ kms)

6. You come to this crusade by:

   i. on foot ii. Personal car iii. Public transport iv. Other (specify)__________

7.  a. What socio-religious reasons lead people to crusades?

   i.  
   ii.  
   iii.  

   e. What do/did you expect from this particular crusade?
f. Would you say the expectations are being/were met?
   i. Yes ii. No.

8. Apart from attending, mention any other role you have played/are playing/could play in this crusade (If more than one, rank in order of importance).
   i. Observers ii. Ushering iii. Singing iv. Counselling

9. What appeals/appealed to you most in this crusade?
   a.
   b.
   c.

10. Comment Briefly on the crusade session about:
    a. Singing e. Offering
    b. Prayer f. Salvation
    c. Testimonies g. Healing
    d. Preaching h. Any other (specify)

11. Name negative socio-religious and economic elements of crusades in society.
    a.
    b.
    c.

12. Suggest ways of improving crusades for wider relevance to participants/ society.
    a.
C. LIST OF RESPONDENTS

I. Church Leaders/Pastors/Priests/Officers

[Name, unless opted out by respondent; sex; Age Church location in Nairobi]

1. Antony (Fr.), Male, 61 years, Coptic Church, Valley Rd.

2. Anyango Joseph O., Male, 29 years, New Life Mission Church, Rongai.

3. Esilaba Frank, Male, 41 years, Church of God in East Africa, Kangemi.

4. Githere Jeremiah, Male, 30 years, KAG, Gitaru

5. Isoka John, Male, 37 years, KAG, Kileleshwa.

6. Kaimatheri Peter M., Male, 39 years, Methodist, Ziwani.

7. Kamau Joe M., Male, 40 years, Nairobi Pentecostal Church, Valley Rd.

8. Mbandu Martin N., Male, 39 years, Nairobi Pentecostal Church, Valley Rd.


10. Mulinge Joshua, Male, Adult, Gospel Outreach Church, Ngara.

11. Mutau N.K., Male, 34 Years, African Brotherhood Church, Starehe.

12. Mwangi Michael, Male, 37 years, International Christian Fellowship Church, Dagoreti Corner.

13. Mwaura Peter, Male, Adult, Full Gospel Church, Mathare.

15. Nyansera Job B., Male, 36 years, Apostolic Church, Githurai 44.

16. Olubuyi Robert, Male, 35 years, Deliverance Church, Kiwanja.

17. Twesigye Paulino, Male, Adult, Catholic Church, Kasarani.

18. __________, Female, 25 years, Catholic Church, KU.

19. __________, Female, 24 years, Christian Union, Kenyatta University.

20. Ogutu Mathayo, Male, 33 years, Legio Maria, Kibera.

21. Jesse, David, Male, 34 years, Victory Church of Christ, Githurai.

22. __________, Male, 35 years, Church of Province of Kenya, Riruta.

23. Njoroge, Silas, Male, 35 years, Victory Faith, Kasarani.

24. __________, Male, 35 years, Deliverance Church, Nong.

25. __________, Male, 25 years, KAG, ______.

26. __________, Male, 35 years, NYM Friends/Quakers, Ofafa.

27. __________, Male, 40 years, Compassionate Church, Githurai.

28. __________, Male, 41 years, Salvation Army, Quarry Road.

29. __________, Male, 29 years, Redeemed Gospel Church, Dagoreti.

30. __________, Male, 25 years, Full Gospel Church, Kawangware.

II Preachers/Evangelists

[Name, unless opted out by respondent; Name of church/crusade team; sex; age; Church; Crusade site/ * office in Nairobi]

1. Akwemba Silas, Gospel Revival, Male, 36 yrs, Buruburu.

2. Alukaya Agnetta, Chrisco, Female, Adult, Kamukunji.


5. Maina Ben, Gospel Heralds, Male, 45 yrs, Kenyatta University.


7. Mutua Ezekiel, Deliverance Church, Male, 28 yrs, Kenyatta University.

8. Mwangi Alex G., Christian Centre, Male, 27yrs, Bahati.

9. Mwangi Juddy, Deliverance Church, Female, Adult, Githurai.

10. Ng'ang'a Lucy, Redeemed Gospel Church, Female, 30 yrs, Kibera.

11. Ngendo Faith, Pentecostal Assemblies Church of Christ, Female, Adult, Dagoreti Corner.

12. Obonyo J., Redeemed Gospel Church, Male, Adult, Maringo.


14. Wepundi B. Nandasaba, Jesus Christ the Saviour Ministry, Male, 24 yrs, Rongai.

15. ______, Deliverence Church, Male, 46 yrs, Westlands.

16. ______, Faith Interdenominational Fellowship, Female, 28 yrs, Uhuru Park.

17. ______, Gospel Outreach, Male, 25 yrs, Kayole.


19. ______, Male, 46 yrs, Uhuru Estate.

20. ______, Hope Ministries, Male, 29 yrs, Komorock Estate.

III Planners Organisers

[Name of person/church/crusade team unless opted out by respondent; Location/crusades site/ * office in Nairobi].

1. African Brotherhood Church (ABC), Kibera.


3. Apostolic Faith Church, Githurai 44.

4. Christ the Saviour Evangelistic Ministry, Rongai.

5. * Christ For All Nations (CFAN), bishops Gardens Towers, Bishop Rd., 2nd Floor.
6. Compassionate Mission Church, Githurai 44.
7. Deliverance Church (Githurai), Githurai (Kwa Ngala)
8. Fellowship of Nairobi Christian Churches' Ministries.
9. Githurai Interdenominational Pastors' Fellowship (GIPF).
11. International Fellowship Church, Buruburu.
12. Interdenominational Ministry (IDEM), Githurai 44.
16. Kenyatta University Christian Union (KUCU), Kenyatta University.
17. Maximum Miracle Centre, Nairobi Centre.
18. Main Campus Christian Union, University of Nairobi.
20. Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA), Neema Project Kangemi.
21. Redeemed Gospel Church (RGC), Plainsview, South B.
22. Salvation Army, Quarry Road.
23. Seventh Day Adventist Church, Uhuru Park.
24. Uhuru Ministries, Uhuru.
25. Universal Evangelistic Fellowship, Huruma.

**IV Crusade Participants**

[Name, Unless opted out by respondent; Age; Sex; church; Location of crusade Attending/last attended].

1. Agoi Beatrice, Adult, Female, Baptist, Githurai 44.
2. Annah, 27 yrs, Female, RGC, Githurai Kimbo.
3. Aringo Margaret (Sr.), 41 yrs, Female, Catholic Church, Westland.
5. Brengan, Nueller IBVM, 49 yrs, Female, Catholic Church, Westland.
7. Dorcas, 28 yrs, Female, Catholic, Uhuru Park.
8. Githinji Winnie, 46 yrs, Female, ICF, Race Course.
9. Iddah Irene, 26 yrs, Female, Catholic, Githurai.
10. Ikamati Isaiah, 26 yrs, Male, MCK, uhuru Park.
11. Kariuki Jane, 31 years, Female, CPK, Kamukunji.
14. Kinyanjui Oliver, Male, 19 yrs, PCEA, Dagoreti.
15. Kiruki Margaret, 29 yrs, Female, Full Gospel Church (Githurai), Kasarani (Njiru).
17. Liampawe, Peris, 25 yrs, Female, KAG 44, Githurai.
18. Maigua, Peter K., Mid 20s, Male, AIC, Uhuru Park.
19. Masheti Blantine, 29 yrs, Female, Roman Catholic, Kariokor.
22. Mbuthia Faith, 36 yrs, Female, PAG, Rual.
23. Midamba Azaria Ayieko, 27 yrs, Male, FGCK, Uhuru Estate.
24. Mogi Andrea Marko, 32 yrs, Male, Pentecostal, Westlands.
25. Muatine V. Benjamin, 31 yrs, Male, PAG, Kasarani.
27. Mukono Alice, 32 yrs, Female, Deliverance Church, Race Course.
28. Mulemi Benson, 28 yrs, Male, Salvation Army, Waithaka.
30. Muthoni Sarah, 26 yrs, Female, CPK, Dandora.
31. Mwangi, J. 26 yrs, Male, Deliverance Church, Uhuru Park.
32. Mwiranga, Gideon 26 yrs, Male, Gospel Tabernacle, Githurai.
33. Mwiti Anne, 29 yrs, Female, Kenya Local Believers (Branhamite), Karen.
34. Ndisi, Mary, 29 yrs, Female, Redeemed Gospel Church, Donholm.
36. Njagih Patrick, 26 yrs, Male, Roman Catholic, Uhuru Park.
37. Nyikuri Mary, 25 yrs, Female, Maximum Miracle Centre, Githurai.
39. Nyokabi Joyce, 32 yrs, Female, Catholic, Makongeni.
40. Odock Pauline, 32 yrs, Female, Catholic, Ongata Rongai.
42. Omare Marie Annette, Female, 19 yrs, Catholic, Karen.
43. Omondi Charles, 20 yrs, Male, International Christian Fellowship Church, Race Course.
44. Otieno, Bob, 28 yrs, Male, Salvation Army, Githurai.
45. Senelwa, Henry, 24 yrs, Male, Salvation Army, Githurai.
46. Shisia Susan 26 yrs, Female, Deliverance Church, Githurai 45.
47. Singa Benedictus M., 28 yrs, Male, AIC, Githurai 45.
48. Triza Anne, 24 yrs, Female, Catholic, Gachie.
49. Wachira Rose Kirigo, 23 yrs, Female, PCEA, Uhuru Park.
50. Wanjiku Anne, 25 yrs, Female, ACC&S, Kayole.
51. Waithaka, Ruth W., 25 yrs, Female, Restoration Church, Uhuru Park.
52. Waithaka, Tabitha Njeri, Adult, Female, Nairobi Calvary Temple, Uhuru Park.
53. Wambui Nancy, 27 yrs, Female, Deliverance Church, Kibera.
54. ______, 41 yrs, Female, IFC, South C.
55. ______, 36 yrs, Male, All Nations -PEFA, Langata.
56. ______, 28 yrs, Male, Full Gospel, Kawangware.
57. ______, 23 yrs, Female, Catholic Church, Kariokor.
58. ______, 35 yrs, Female, PAG, Uhuru Park.
59. ______, 24 yrs, Female, Deliverance Church, Kenyatta University.
60. ______, 26 yrs, Female, Church on the Rock, Madaraka.
61. ______, 25 yrs, Male, CMF, Pangani.
62. ______, 35 yrs, Male, Methodist, Golf Course.
63. ______, 27 yrs, Female, Gospel Outreach, Buruburu.
64. ______, 27 yrs, Female, Catholic, Kangundu.
65. ______, 20 yrs, Female ADC, Korogocho.
66. ______, 32 yrs, Female, PAG, Githurai 44.
67. ______, 37 yrs, Male, KAG, Suna.
68. ______, Adult, Female, Salvation Army, Ngong.
69. ______, 41 yrs, Female, Jerusalem Church, Kawangware.
70. ______, __ yrs, Female, CPK, Ngumba Estate.
71. ______, 20 yrs, Female, Apostolic Faith, Ngumba.

72. ______, 20-29 yrs, Female, Church of Miracle Centre, Between National Bank & Deacons Shop (Harambee).

73. ______, Youth, Female, CHRISCO, Uthiru.

74. ______, 21 yrs, Male, PAG, Buruburu.

75. ______, 25 yrs, Female, African Brotherhood Church, Ngoing.

76. ______, 20 yrs, Female, Apostolic Church, Dondora.

77. ______, 25 yrs, Female, Church of Miracle Centre, Kinoo.

78. ______, 19 yrs, Male, Baptist Church, Magiwa.

79. ______, 21 yrs, Female, PAG, Satellite.

80. ______, 35 yrs, Male, African Israel Church, Nineveh, Kangemi.

1 The conditionality of obtaining a government permit prior to holding a public meeting will soon be completely obsolete, superceded by the ongoing constitutional reforms when fully implemented after their discussion in parliament.

2 These are minibuses or coaches, which constitute public mode of transport. These passenger/public service vehicles are usually privately owned. Despite their positive role in alleviating transport problems, they are notorious for various forms of harassment of passengers.