

Article



World Christianity and Mission 2020: Ongoing Shift to the Global South

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Abstract

This article marks the thirty-sixth year of including statistical information on World Christianity and mission in the *International Bulletin of Mission Research*. We report on some of the major findings of the new *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 3rd edition (Edinburgh University Press, 2019), including the fall and rise of the world's Christian population, the continued shift of Christianity to the Global South, the decline of religious liberty, and complicating trends in mission.

Keywords

World Christianity, global Christianity, mission, statistics, demography, global studies, regional studies, church

In 1983 sociologist Rodney Stark wrote a review in *Sociological Analysis* of a new book on religion. In it he claimed, "The most extraordinary thing about this volume is that it should exist at all. To have detailed data on the religious affiliations of the populations of 223 separate nations is an immense gift to scholars for generations to come. . . . Frankly, if I did not have this book here on my desk I would not believe in its existence."

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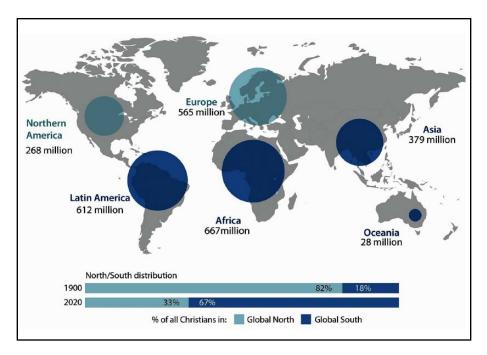
In 1968 David B. Barrett—an aeronautical-engineer-turned-Anglican-priest and missionary to Kenya with a PhD in religion—inherited the *World Christian Handbook* tradition. Its five editions (1949–68) contained limited statistical information on Protestants, sometimes also on Catholics and Orthodox, in select countries around the world.² Barrett, from his geographic location in western Kenya, looked at the *Handbook* and thought, "This can be done better." Over the next thirteen years he pursued global, innovative, and interdisciplinary research. He traveled to 212 of the world's 223 countries in search of the best and most reliable detailed information on Christianity. He spoke with denominational leaders, heads of Christian councils, and long-term missionaries. He gathered and analyzed every possible document from any kind of relevant source. He exchanged letters with in-country contacts seeking data, often waiting several months for responses.³

In 1982 Barrett's research culminated in the first edition of the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, published in Nairobi by Oxford University Press. The *Encyclopedia* was the first attempt to quantify the entire religious and nonreligious worlds; more specifically, it was the first research project to present the world's Christians in a single grouping, including 24 million adherents of previously unquantified African independent churches. Now in its third edition, the *Encyclopedia* represents an important part of research tradition in World Christianity and mission going back over fifty years. The third edition of the *World Christian Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh University Press, 2019) is geographically comprehensive (every country), religiously diverse (eighteen religions), and academically interdisciplinary (history, demography, visual sociology, mission studies).

This article represents the thirty-sixth year of providing annual statistics in the January issue of the *International Bulletin of Mission Research*. It summarizes the most significant global and regional statistics relevant to understanding the current status of global Christianity and mission by drawing on the major findings of the *World Christian Encyclopedia*, third edition.

The fall and rise of global Christianity

The previous two editions of the *World Christian Encyclopedia* reported a gradual decline of Christianity over the twentieth century, even while superficial criticisms of both editions appeared accusing them of being biased and promoting Christianity.⁴ The statistical high point of Christianity was 1900, when 34.5 percent of the world's population was one form of Christian or another.⁵ By 2000 Christians had dropped to 32.4 percent, and then by 2015 had dropped further to a low point of 32.2 percent. Our projections for 2020 show a slight increase, with a larger increase by 2050 to 35.0 percent of the world's population. This increase has a simple explanation. The decline of Christianity in the Global North is now being outpaced by the rise of Christianity in the Global South (i.e., Africa, Asia, Latin America, Oceania). Christians in sub-Saharan Africa generally have high birth rates, and people from other religions continue to convert to Christianity in China, India, Cambodia, Mongolia, and elsewhere throughout Asia.⁶



Map 1. Christians by continent, 2020.

Source: Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo, World Christian Encyclopedia, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 4.

Still shifting to the Global South

The demographic shift in Christianity from the Global North to the Global South is by now common knowledge. First reported by Barrett in 1970 in the *International Review of Mission* and expanded upon in the *Encyclopedia*, ⁷ this shift is poised to continue well into the future. Map 1 above, full color in the "Global Overview" in the *Encyclopedia*, shows that in 1900, only 18 percent of all Christians lived in the Global South, with 82 percent in the Global North. By 2020 fully two-thirds of all Christians were in the Global South, with only one-third in the Global North. By 2050 we anticipate that 77 percent of all Christians will live in the Global South. We were somewhat hesitant about calling this a key finding in the third edition of the *Encyclopedia*, given how widespread this knowledge appears to be, yet we find that many Christians are still unclear on the implications of this shift, especially concerning how it relates to theological education and the training of Christian leaders around the world.

Ongoing exodus of Christians from the Middle East

The story of Christianity at the beginning of the twenty-first century is not all about growth. In 1900 Christians represented 13 percent of the population of the Middle East, but only 4 percent in 2020. Their diminishing presence is troubling when viewed

in light of centuries of relative demographic stability: during the period 1500–1900, Christians consistently made up approximately 15 percent of the region's population. In addition, the Middle East is the historic geographic origin of Christianity, as well as of Judaism and Islam, two other Abrahamic religions. For the first 1,000 years of Christian history, Christians of the Middle East constituted between 25 and 50 percent of all Christians worldwide. By 1900 they were only 2 percent of all Christians, declining to less than 1 percent by the year 2000.8

Over the course of the twentieth century, the Middle East experienced a host of dramatic political and social challenges, including the carving up of the region into nation-states by colonial authorities, the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the emigration of colonial expatriate communities, the power of oppressive political regimes, and the founding of the State of Israel. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, these and other factors continue to encourage the exodus of Christians from the region. The exodus has given rise to another important characteristic of global Christianity today: diaspora communities. Christians from the Middle East are now found in large numbers outside of their homelands, which represents a new reality both for them and for their host countries. How well do Christians welcome these strangers into their midst, brothers and sisters who do not look, speak, or worship like them?

Three trends in religion

The twenty-first century began with three major unexpected trends in relation to the world's religions. First, despite the prognostications of leading academics in the midtwentieth century, the world is becoming increasingly religious. In 2020 the vast majority of people worldwide—88.7 percent—profess to adhere to a religion, up from 80.8 percent in 1970. The pivot event was the collapse of Communism in the late twentieth century and the opening of China to the rest of the world. China, the world's most populous country, has experienced a resurgence of religions of all kinds since the mid-1970s, when the Cultural Revolution ended. Russia has reclaimed its Orthodox heritage, as have other former Soviet republics in eastern Europe. Many other countries have experienced a resurgence of religion in the last twenty years, including Albania (formerly, the world's only official atheistic country), Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Cuba.

Second, the world is becoming more religiously diverse, especially when measured at the national level. This is especially true in Asia, which has always been the most religiously diverse continent, and other areas where immigration has transformed previously homogeneous societies into more diverse communities. Han Chinese, for example, are found in the millions throughout Southeast Asia and the world, including Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the United States, bringing their unique East Asian religions with them. Some of the most profound increases in

Note: Large versions for viewing, PDF versions for printing, and PowerPoint slides of the two maps (in color) and five tables in this article may be viewed in the online version.

religious diversity are in Germany and the United States. Singapore remains the world's most diverse country in 2020, home to seven religions each claiming over 1 percent of the country's population: agnosticism, Buddhism, Chinese folk-religion, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, and New Religions. At the same time, however, some regions are becoming less religiously diverse, such as sub-Saharan Africa, where Christianity and Islam are both growing because of many people abandoning African Traditional Religions.

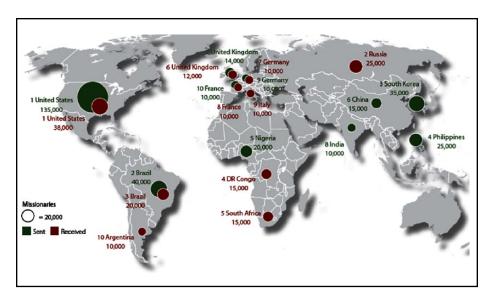
Third, religious liberty is on the decline worldwide, which has raised grave concerns about religious freedom in the twenty-first century. Restrictions against religious groups vary significantly in the world's twenty-five most populous countries. Russia, Egypt, Pakistan, and Nigeria stand out as the countries with the highest levels both of governmental restrictions on religion and of social religious hostilities against certain religious groups. Religious persecution is also gender-specific, with men subject to socioeconomic harassment for their faith and women more likely to experience sexual violence.

In light of changes in religious demographics, it is also significant to note that Christians and Muslims together represented 33 percent of the world's population in 1800. By 2020, however, this figure had risen to 57 percent and is expected to surpass 66 percent sometime after 2050. Consequently, Christian-Muslim relations will increasingly be an important issue in local, national, and international contexts.

Missions North vs. South

The concept of "missionary" has evolved since the beginning of the twentieth century, making it much more difficult to assess how many missionaries there are in the world. The sending of long-term missionaries from the West is on the decline, but since the 1980s and 1990s there has been a dramatic explosion of the number of short-term missionaries, particularly youth, who spend as little as a week outside their own cultural context performing an array of service-oriented projects. As map 2 on the next page illustrates, the United States (135,000) continues to send the bulk of long-term crosscultural missionaries today (with over half coming from North America and Europe), but Brazil (40,000), South Korea (35,000), the Philippines (25,000), and China (15,000) each send large numbers as well. This is partly because of more resources available in the Global North than in the Global South for investment in foreign mission, and because of the longer history of the foreign missionary movement in the West. Brazil, however, is an exception; most of its missionaries are Catholics working in Latin America, Europe, and the United States.

Perhaps one surprising finding is that the countries with the most Christians receive the largest numbers of missionaries. Numerous churches request Christian workers from around the world to help with a variety of ministry activities. Sponsorships are also more likely in places with large Christian populations. Missionaries today are sent from everywhere and are received everywhere; however, there remains quite an imbalance from the standpoint of introducing Christianity to people of other religions. One



Map 2. Largest missionary sending and receiving countries, 2020. Source: Johnson and Zurlo, World Christian Encyclopedia, 3rd ed., 32.

dramatic example is Brazil (a majority Christian country), which receives a total of 20,000 missionaries, whereas Bangladesh (a majority Muslim country), with nearly as many people, receives only 1,000 missionaries.

Conclusion

World Christianity changed dramatically over the course of the twentieth century with the continued shift of adherents from the Global North to the Global South. During this century, Western Christendom waned, and new expressions of Christianity emerged. By 1980 the majority of Christians lived in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Oceania. All around the world, indigenous Christians contextualized Christianity in their own cultures and helped create indigenous Independent Christianity alongside historic Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant churches. By 2050 it is expected that 77 percent of all Christians will live in the Global South. All of this means that the impact of the shift of Christianity to the South documented in the Encyclopedia will continue into the future. Tables 1–5 contain some of the Encyclopedia's data on Global Christianity and provide further subject areas for analysis. Questions concerning the sources of theology, the languages of worship, the schisms of denominations, the role of women in churches, the impact of poverty and economic inequality, the acceptance of LGBTQ people, the visibility of differently abled people, and a host of other issues will be in the hands of emerging Christian leaders in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania and will continue to top the list of concerns in the future.

Table 1. Global Population, Global Cities, and Urban Mission, 1900-2050.

	0061	1970	2000	% p.a.*	mid-2020	2025	2050
Global Population							
Total population	1,619,625,000	3,700,578,000	6,145,007,000	1.20	7,795,482,000	8,185,614,000	9,771,823,000
Adult population (over 15)	1,073,646,000	2,311,829,000	4,295,756,000	1.52	5,807,826,000	6,168,588,000	7,689,005,000
Adults, % literate	27.6	63.8	7.97	0.47	84.2	84.3	88.0
Global Cities and Urban Mission	on						
Urban population (%)	4.4	36.6	46.7	0.93	56.2	58.3	68.4
Urban poor	100 million	650 million	I,400 million	3.10	2,580 million	3,000 million	4,100 million
Slum dwellers	20 million	260 million	700 million	3.38	I,360 million	I,600 million	1,900 million
Global urban population	232,695,000	1,354,213,000	2,868,301,000	2.14	4,379,000,000	4,774,652,000	6,679,764,000
Christian urban population	159,600,000	660,800,000	1,221,824,000	1.58	1,671,723,000	1,749,127,000	2,472,589,000
Cities over I million	20	145	371	2.25	579	653	950
Under 50% Christian	5	9	226	2.11	343	394	200
New non-Christians per day	5,200	51,100	137,000	96.0	166,000	174,000	129,000

I. New non-Christians per day migrating to urban centers.

Sources: World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision (New York: United Nations, 2017); World Urbanization Prospects: The 2018 Revision (New York: United Nations, 2018); UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2005–13); Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo, eds., World Christian Database (Leiden: Brill, accessed July 2019). * Column % p.a. Trend. Average annual rate of change, 2000–2020, as % per year. **IBMR** 44(1)

Table 2. Global Religion, 1900–2050.

	0061	1970	2000	% p.a.*	mid-2020	2025	2050
Global Religion							
Religious diversity ¹	0.27	0.43	0.45	-0.09	0.44	0.44	0.43
Religionists	1,616,370,000	2,991,122,000	5,347,575,000	1.29	6,916,766,000	7,318,714,000	8,922,221,000
Christians	558,346,000	1,229,309,000	1,988,967,000	1.19	2,518,834,000	2,660,574,000	3,421,107,000
Muslims	200,301,000	570,567,000	1,291,280,000	1.93	1,893,345,000	2,061,407,000	2,802,391,000
Hindus	202,976,000	462,982,000	822,397,000	1.29	1,062,595,000	1,101,278,000	1,226,939,000
Buddhists	126,946,000	234,957,000	452,301,000	0.94	545,584,000	569,204,000	591,796,000
Chinese folk-religionists	379,974,000	238,027,000	431,244,000	0.41	468,411,000	491,548,000	415,932,000
Ethnoreligionists	117,313,000	169,417,000	224,055,000	0.93	269,498,000	271,532,000	284,792,000
New religionists	5,986,000	39,557,000	62,943,000	0.20	65,549,000	64,914,000	61,031,000
Sikhs	2,962,000	10,668,000	19,973,000	1.70	28,000,000	29,640,000	34,914,000
Jews	11,725,000	13,902,000	12,881,000	0.69	14,779,000	15,141,000	16,994,000
Nonreligionists	3,255,000	709,456,000	797,432,000	0.49	878,717,000	866,900,000	849,601,000
Agnostics	3,028,000	544,300,000	656,410,000	0.54	731,428,000	723,108,000	701,818,000
Atheists	226,000	165,156,000	141,023,000	0.22	147,288,000	143,792,000	147,784,000

Note: Religions do not add up to the total because smaller religions are not listed.

1. (0-1, 1=most diverse). The Religious Diversity Index methodology is described in Todd M. Johnson and Brian J. Grim, The World's Religions in Figures (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell), chapter 3.

Source: Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo, eds., World Christian Database (Leiden: Brill, accessed July 2019). st Column % p.a. Trend. Average annual rate of change, 2000–2020, as % per year. **IBMR 44(1)**

Table 3. Global Christianity by Tradition, 1900–2050.

	0061	1970	2000	% p.a.*	mid-2020	2025	2050
Total Christians, % of world	34.5	33.2	32.4	-0.01	32.3	32.5	35.0
Affiliated Christians	522,440,000	1,112,655,000	1,889,808,000	1.22	2,406,184,000	2,543,469,000	3,303,112,000
Roman Catholics	265,756,000	658,556,000	1,025,102,000	96.0	1,239,909,000	1,286,883,000	1,551,403,000
Protestants ¹	134,196,000	251,901,000	429,180,000	1.57	585,596,000	624,924,000	895,056,000
Independents	8,859,000	89,480,000	284,439,000	19:1	391,125,000	422,968,000	621,855,000
African	40,000	16,782,000	71,905,000	2.25	112,100,000	124,599,000	208,105,000
Asian	1,906,000	15,370,000	95,866,000	1.19	121,404,000	128,698,000	169,622,000
European	185,000	6,571,000	13,640,000	1.76	19,351,000	21,014,000	31,244,000
Latin American	33,000	8,963,000	27,949,000	2.31	44,114,000	49,391,000	85,552,000
Northern American	6,673,000	41,438,000	74,339,000	1.13	93,048,000	98,057,000	125,469,000
Oceanian	22,000	356,000	740,000	2.04	1,108,000	1,211,000	1,863,000
Orthodox	116,199,000	141,930,000	257,741,000	0.63	292,132,000	296,858,000	312,133,000
Unaffiliated Christians	35,906,000	116,654,000	99,159,000	0.64	112,650,000	117,105,000	117,996,000
Evangelicals ²	80,912,000	111,809,000	270,635,000	08. I	387,026,000	420,870,000	620,963,000
Pentecostals/Charismatics ³	981,000	57,637,000	442,677,000	l.89	644,260,000	703,639,000	1,031,500,000
Denominations	2,000	13,100	31,100	<u>1.84</u>	44,800	49,000	64,000
Congregations	400,000	1,329,000	3,000,000	1.57	4,100,000	6,300,000	9,000,000

Note: Categories below do not add up to affiliated Christians because of double-affiliation (between traditions).

^{1.} Including Anglicans. Past tables have listed Anglicans separately.

^{2.} Churches and individuals who self-identify as Evangelicals by membership in denominations linked to Evangelical alliances (e.g. World Evangelical Alliance) or by self-identification in polls.

^{3.} Church members involved in the Pentecostal/Charismatic/Independent Charismatic renewal in the Holy Spirit, also known collectively as "Renewalists." * Column % p.a. Trend. Average annual rate of change, 2000–2020, as % per year.

Source: Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo, eds., World Christian Database (Leiden: Brill, accessed July 2019). **IBMR 44(1)**

 Table 4. Christian Affiliation by Continent and Christian Mission and Evangelization, 1900–2050.

	1900	1970	2000	% p.a.*	mid-2020	2025	2050
Christian Affiliation by Continent							
Africa (5 regions)	8,458,000	112,636,000	363,736,000	2.86	639,862,000	730,933,000	730,933,000 1,283,481,000
Asia (5 regions)	20,826,000	90,619,000	275,751,000	1.53	373,887,000	401,854,000	566,719,000
Europe (including Russia; 4 regions)	368,796,000	466,479,000	544,098,000	0.00	544,158,000	535,473,000	483,825,000
Latin America (3 regions)	60,026,000	262,794,000	480,747,000	1.15	604,756,000	629,269,000	694,754,000
Northern America (1 region)	60,012,000	165,835,000	204,298,000	0.35	218,893,000	220,286,000	242,957,000
Oceania (4 regions)	4,323,000	14,293,000	21,178,000	0.76	24,628,000	25,655,000	31,376,000
Christian Mission and Evangelization							
National workers (citizens)	2,100,000	4,600,000	10,900,000	0.88	13,000,000	14,000,000	17,000,000
Foreign missionaries	62,000	240,000	420,000	90.0	425,000	550,000	700,000
Foreign mission sending agencies	009	2,200	4,000	19:1	5,500	9,000	7,500
Christian martyrs per 10-years	344,000	3,770,000	1,600,000	-2.84	900,000	900,000	1,000,000
% in Christian countries ²	95.0	76.0	59.1	-0.4	54.4	54.6	48.6
Non-Christians who know a Christian (%)	5.3	13.2	17.3	0.25	18.2	18.5	19.7
Unevangelized population ³	880,122,000	880,122,000 1,650,954,000 1,843,175,000	1,843,175,000	0.89	0.89 2,202,224,000 2,321,273,000 2,739,879,000	2,321,273,000	2,739,879,000
Unevangelized as % of world population	54.3	44.6	30.0	-0.30	28.3	28.4	28.0
World evangelization plans since 30 CE ⁴	250	210	1,500	2.79	2,600	3,000	4,000

[.] Ten-year total for decade ending in the given year. World totals of current long-term trend. See David B. Barrett and Todd M. Johnson, World Christian Trends (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2001), part 4, "Martyrology."

IBMR 44(I)

^{2.} Percentage of all Christians living in countries ≥80% Christian.

^{4.} Grand total of all distinct plans and proposals for accomplishing world evangelization made by Christians since 30 CE. See World Christian Trends, part 27, 3. Defined in World Christian Trends, part 25, "Macroevangelistics." "GeoStrategies."

Source: Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo, eds., World Christian Database (Leiden: Brill, accessed July 2019). * Column % p.a. Trend. Average annual rate of change, 2000–2020, as % per year.

Table 5. Christian Media and Finance, 1900-2050.

	0061	1970	2000	% p.a.*	2000 % p.a.* mid-2020	2025	2050
Christian Media							
Books (titles) about Christianity	300,000	300,000 1,800,000	4,800,000	3.69	9,900,000		11,800,000 14,500,000
Christian periodicals (titles)	3,500	23,000	35,000	4.28	81,000	100,000	100,000 120,000
Bibles printed per year	5 million	25 million	54 million	2.91	95 million	I I 0 million	110 million 135 million
Scriptures (including selections) printed per year	20 million	281 million	281 million 4,600 million		1.07 5,220 million	6,000 million 9,200 million	9,200 million
Bible density (copies in place)	108 million	443 million	08 million 443 million 1,400 million		1.97 2,070 million	2,280 million 2,800 million	2,800 million
Users of radio/TV/Internet	0		750 million 1,840 million	1.17	2,320 million	2,460 million 2,930 million	2,930 million
Christian Finance (in US\$, per year)							
Personal income of Christians	270 billion	4,100 billion	270 billion 4,100 billion 18,000 billion		5.13 49,000 billion 54,000 billion 70,000 billion	54,000 billion 7	70,000 billion
Giving to Christian causes	8 billion	70 billion	320 billion	4.75		809 billion 1,000 billion 2,300 billion	2,300 billion
Churches' income	7 billion	50 billion	130 billion	4.61	320 billion	400 billion	400 billion 900 billion
Parachurch and institutional income	I billion	20 billion	190 billion	4.85	490 billion	600 billion	600 billion 1,400 billion
Ecclesiastical crime ¹	300,000	5,000,000	19 billion	5.29	53 billion	70 billion	170 billion
Income of global foreign missions	200 million	3 billion	18 billion	5.00	47 billion	60 billion	120 billion

I. Amounts embezzled by top custodians of Christian monies (US dollar equivalents, per year). * Column % p.a. Trend. Average annual rate of change, 2000–2020, as % per year.

Source: Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo, eds., World Christian Database (Leiden: Brill, accessed July 2019). IBMR 44(1)

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Notes

- Rodney Stark, "Review of the World Christian Encyclopedia, by David B. Barrett," Sociological Analysis 44, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 70–71.
- Kenneth Grubb, World Christian Handbook (London: World Dominion Press, 1949); E. J. Bingle and Kenneth G. Grubb, eds., World Christian Handbook, 1952 Edition (London: World Dominion Press, 1952); E. J. Bingle and Kenneth G. Grubb, eds., World Christian Handbook, 1957 Edition (London: World Dominion Press, 1957); H. Wakelin Coxill, and Sir Kenneth Grubb, eds., World Christian Handbook, 1962 Edition (London: World Dominion Press, 1962); H. Wakelin Coxill, and Sir Kenneth Grubb, eds., World Christian Handbook, 1968 Edition (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967).
- For more on Barrett's work in compiling the *Encyclopedia*, see Gina A. Zurlo, "A Miracle from Nairobi': David B. Barrett and the Quantification of World Christianity, 1957–1982" (PhD diss., Boston University, 2017).
- 4. See, for example, Jan Jongeneel, "David Barrett's World Christian Encyclopedia," *Exchange* 30, no. 4 (2001): 372–76. Barrett received a critique of an article to this effect and responded as follows: "The triumphalistic attitude you allude to is not one I hold at all, but if my attention to statistics gives the impression I do then I must certainly change some of the emphases. My position is not intended to be a theological or normative one, but a descriptive one—whether we like it or not, it *seems* as though this [the numerical advancement of Christianity in Africa] may happen. What to do about it is the question the paper attempts to raise." Letter from David Barrett to unnamed recipient, May 23, 1969, David B. Barrett Papers, 1957–1985, Center for the Study of Global Christianity, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, MA.
- Quantitative data in this article are reported in the World Christian Encyclopedia, sourced from Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo, eds. World Christian Database (Leiden: Brill, accessed July 2019).
- For information on birth rates by religion, see Conrad Hackett and Marcin Stonawski, "The Changing Global Religious Landscape," *Pew Research Center*, April 5, 2017, https://www.pewforum.org/2017/04/05/the-changing-global-religious-landscape/.
- 7. David B. Barrett, "AD 2000: 350 Million Christians in Africa," *International Review of Mission* 59, no. 233 (January 1970): 39–54.
- 8. See Todd M. Johnson and Gina A. Zurlo, "Ongoing Exodus: Tracking the Emigration of Christians from the Middle East," *Harvard Journal of Middle Eastern Politics and Policy* 3 (2013–14): 39–49.
- See Samirah Majumdar, "A Closer Look at How Religious Restrictions Have Risen around the World," Pew Research Center, Washington, DC, July 15, 2019, https://www.pewforum.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2019/07/Restrictions X WEB 7-15 FULL-VERSION-1.pdf.

Author biographies



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