

# MIDLANDS STATE UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MANAGEMENT

*The impact of religion in shaping the political processes and outcomes in Zimbabwe. The case of Zvishavane, 2008-2015.*

BY

**CALVIN CHAKABVEYO**

Student Number (R125399R)

**SUPERVISOR: MR. MUDE**

*Submitted to Midlands State University in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Bachelor of Science (Honours) Degree in Politics and Public Management*

*Zvishavane, Zimbabwe*

**MAY 2016**

## RELEASE FORM

NAME OF STUDENT: CALVIN CHAKABVEYO

DISSERTATION TITLE: *The impact of religion in shaping the political processes and outcomes in Zimbabwe. The case of Zvishavane, 2008-2015*

DEGREE TITLE: Bachelor of Science Honours Degree in Politics and Public Management

YEAR: 2016

Permission is hereby granted to the Midlands State University Library to produce single copies of this dissertation and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purpose only. The author does reserve other publication, rights and the dissertation nor may extensive extracts from it be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

SIGNED: \_\_\_\_\_

PERMAMENT ADDRESS 5411/2 Mkoba 11 GWERU.

DATE: MAY 2016

## APPROVAL FORM

**TOPIC:** *The impact of religion in shaping the political processes and outcomes in Zimbabwe. A case of Zvishavane, 2008-2015*

1. This dissertation is suitable for submission to the Department of Politics and Public Management. It has been checked for conformity with the department guidelines.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Mr Mude (Supervisor)

Date

2. I certify to the best of my knowledge that the required procedures have been followed and the preparation criteria has been met for the dissertation.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Professor .P. Chigora (Chairman)

Date

## DECLARATION

I, CALVIN CHAKABVEYO (R125399R), do hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigation and research, except to the extent indicated in the acknowledgements, references and comments included in the body of the dissertation, and that it has not been submitted in part or in full for any other degree or to any other university.

---

---

CALVIN CHAKABVEYO (R125399R

Date

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research project to my Sister Venencia.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to give honor to the Lord for taking me this far. I would like to acknowledge my family and friends for their unwavering support during the tenure of my study. I am also indebted to the Department of Politics and Public Management for their input in increasing the light in my mind.

# Table of Contents

RELEASE FORM.....	ii
APPROVAL FORM.....	iii
DECLARATION.....	iv
DEDICATION.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	x
<i>ABSTRACT</i> .....	xii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM.....	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	4
1.3 RESEACH OBJECTIVES.....	4
1.4 RESEACH-QUESTIONS.....	4
1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY.....	5
1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	5
1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	8
Civic republican political theory.....	8
1.8 METHODOLOGY.....	9
1.8.1 Research design.....	9
1.8.2 Phenomenological technique.....	10
1.8.4 Theological approach.....	11
1.8.5 Case study approach.....	11
1.8.6 Justifying the utilization case study approach.....	12
1.8. 7 RESEARCH SUBJECTS.....	12
Research population - Zvishavane town.....	12
1.8.7 Convenient sampling.....	13
1.9 DATA COLLECTION.....	13
SOURCES OF DATA.....	13
1.9.1Primary data.....	13

1.9.3 Secondary data .....	14
1.9.4 Research instruments.....	14
1.9.5 Questionnaires.....	14
1.9.7Interviews .....	15
10. DATA ANALYSIS.....	16
10.1 Research reliability and validity.....	16
11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	17
12 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY .....	17
13 CONTRIBUTIONS TO LITERARTURE.....	17
14 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	18
Conclusion .....	18
CHAPTER TWO: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF POLITICS AND RELIGION IN ZIMBABWE.....	19
2.0 INTRODUCTION.....	19
2.1 The Pre-colonial Religious and Political Relations in Zimbabwe .....	19
2.2 Colonial political-religious relations in Zimbabwe.....	22
2.3 The post-independence religious-political interface .....	30
Conclusion .....	33
CHAPTER THREE: THE GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY NATIONAL POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS RELATIONS .....	35
3.1 INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND RELIGION. ....	35
3.2 POLITICS AND RELIGION IN AFRICA.....	38
3.3 RELIGION AND POLITICS IN ZIMBABWE; CURRENT AFFAIRS (2008-2015).....	40
3.3.1 Religion and political legitimacy.....	40
3.3.2 Religion and lections in Zimbabwe (2008 and 2013).....	41
3.3.3 Religion versus law and policy making.....	43
3.3.4 Religion versus political consultancy .....	44
Conclusion .....	45
CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF RELIGION IN SHAPING THE POLITICAL PROCESSES AND OUTCOMES IN ZVISHAVANE (2008-2015).....	46
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	46
4.2 RESPONSE RATE OF QUESTIONAIRES.....	46
4.2.1 RESPONSE RATE OF THE QUESTIONAIRES .....	46

4.3 THE ECUMENICAL BODIES OR CHURCH ORGANISATIONS AT DISTRICT LEVEL, ZVISHAVANE .....	47
4.4 RESPONDENTS’S POSITION ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICS AND RELIGION IN ZVISHAVANE .....	48
4.4.1 Analysing the power relations as understood by the religious fraternity in zvishavane ..	49
4.5 RELIGION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN ZVISHAVANE .....	50
4.5.1 Factors which affect levels of religious citizenry participation in political processes in Zvishavane .....	51
4.5.2 Miracles versus the ballot .....	51
4.5.3 Violence versus morality .....	52
4.5.4 Human security versus mortality security .....	53
4.6 RELIGION AND PARTISIANSHIP IN ZVISHAVANE .....	54
4.7 RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND POLITICAL OFFICE IN ZVISHAVANE. ....	55
4.8 OBSERVATIONS .....	56
4.9 RELIGION VERSUS POLITICAL CONSULTANCY IN ZVISHAVANE .....	56
Conclusion .....	57
CHAPTER (5) FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS .....	58
5,0 Introduction .....	58
5.1 CONCLUSIONS .....	58
5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS .....	59
5.3 THE FUTURE.....	61
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	62
APPENDIX; Questionnaires.....	68

## ABBREVIATIONS

AACC	All Africa Conference of Churches
ANC	African National Council
AU	African Union
BSAC	British south Africa Company
C.A.	Christian Alliance
CCJP	Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace
EFZ	Evangelical fellowship of Zimbabwe
GNU	Government of National Unity
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MPILA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NDP	National Democratic Party
NGO	Non-governmental organizations
OIC	Organization of Islamic countries
RCC	Rhodesia Council of Churches
RCZ	Reformed Church in Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist church
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

UNITA	National Union for Total Independence for people of Angola
WCC	World Council of Churches
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZCBC	Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference
ZCC	Zimbabwe Council of Churches
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement

## **ABSTRACT**

*The political-theological problem has been a hot air since Ancient Greece philosophy until the modern political philosophers ranging from Weber, Machiavelli, Nietzsche, Marx among others who declared the death of the religion on the public sphere and being buried by modernity and secularism in the private sphere. The philosophers went on to predict the vanishing of religion even in the private sphere at an earlier stage than now. With the religious groups gaining prominence in the public sphere at global, regional and national level in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with modernity and secularism resurrecting it from the private sphere, one wonders where did the great thinkers get it wrong. The bombing of the pentagon tower in Washington DC on September 11 2001 was a spectacular alarm that broadcasted to the world that religion is a powerful surge that is too big to be locked up in a tiny secretive box, the private sphere. Regionally, there is a legacy of champions of pan Africanism like Nkrumah who held high the banner of African Nationalism and preached that the Africans should seek first the political independence and other pertinent issues would follow. One wonders as to whether the African icon was conscious about the imminent menacing of religion in the independent African states which turned the continent into a hotbed of protracted conflicts. Faced with misfiring of the theories and harsh realities due to religion, the study used the premises of the theorist as the point of departure to examine and exhume the concomitances underlying the political and religious relations in Zimbabwe. The study took a form of a case study in a bid to excavate the religious phenomenology in shaping the political processes and outcomes in Zimbabwe. The research offered the researcher an ample time to interact with the theist groupings in Zimbabwe as a drastic measure to decode their religious attitudes, opinions and actions in relation to the political systems in Zimbabwe. The overhaul was that the symbiotic nature of the umbilical cord between religion and politics can not be broken as religion pollutes the tools of self government premised on the individual rights and liberties. The political terrain of Zimbabwe since the Gwelo high school strike in 1947 has been the miniature of the national politics.*

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The study drives at delving on the implications of the interplay between politics and religion in Zvishavane. The literature of the relationship between religion and politics is congested at the national level. This study narrows down the gauge from the national level adjusting it to district level, Zvishavane- Ngezi constituency. The shift in focus from the core to the semi periphery by the researcher was the drastic move designed to examine the degree at which the religious phenomenon has been dispersed from the core, Harare, and influenced the political processes in Zvishavane. The theological political problem where the general citizenry functions with ‘the God shall concept or the law of exodus’ drifted the carrying out of the study to check out its operations in affecting the tools political processes such as individual rights and liberties in Zvishavane. Miracles as the phenomenon, presides the Pentecostalism religious arena of today and has gained footing within the Zimbabwean populace. The study places on the scale the two parallel powers the miracles versus the ballot in solving the needs of the people. Using Zvishavane as the case study, the study displays religion as political moral guide inherited in the old style politicking as well as a political sleeping pill which makes people in Zvishavane comatose of political participation. In this chapter the researcher introduces the study, factoring out the background of the problem and the literatures prior to this study.

## **1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM**

The background of the political-theological problem in Zvishavane dates back to the pre-colonial states where the ancestors of the Zvishavane people lived. The Zvishavane people inherited the values and norms which shapes their societies today. The pre-colonial political set up substantiates the involvement and the role of the religious political guide in the governance of the early states of the Zimbabwean civilizations. The Great Zimbabwe as the early establishment of the Zimbabwean civilization mirrors the crucial role played by religion and at this juncture African Tradition Religion was the solely means in which the people conversed with God. The African Tradition Religion also referred to as African Indigenous Religion (AIR). According to Ekwunife, (1990) AIR refers the traditional religious practices and beliefs that were institutionalized in the ancient cultural and religious civilizations and were transferred from one generation to another by means of oral traditions and sacrosanct institutions which are in

constant modification due contact with the new religious norms and dialectical differences. Thus ATR beliefs were passed to the Zvishavane people by their ancestors.

In the early states, the King was both the political leader and the religious leader. The King had to be ordained by the ancestral spirits and he ruled with the aid of the traditional healer for the spiritual guidance. According to Chigwedere (1991), the Great Zimbabwe architecture was driven by the zeal by the Shona people to be closer to God and the structures also hosted the religious ceremonies. Whenever there aroused the common problem the whole state turned to the ancestral spirits for help. That explains the ceremony of the first fruits as a token to the highest Supreme Being known as Mwari or Umlimo. The religious ceremonies were meant to appease their ancestors. The same role was used in the Mutapa State the successor of the Great Zimbabwe state. The arrival of the missionaries in the Mutapa states in the 1560s ushered in the Christianity religion. Therefore the contact with outside world played an important role in shaping the political and religious systems inherited by people of Zvishavane.

According to Chavhunduka (1999), the Europeans denounced the African medical prescriptions and the medicines that were used by the Traditional healers labelling the medicine as unauthentic. The medicines were instrumental in aiding the health care of Leaders before the missionaries' arrival. The missionaries paved way for creation of the puppet Kings in Mutapa such as Mavhura and Kapararidze. The emergence of powerful Changamire who led to the formation of the Rozvi state after annihilating the Mutapa state army, was a threshold to the role of the AIR in the Rozvi state. The coming in of the of the Ndebele people in the later half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century saw the hostile relation the Ndebele and the Shona people. The role of the AIR was witnessed in the wars fought between the two tribes. The case of Chaminuka is another case and point, the Ndebele were told that he had to be killed by a boy since the efforts to kill him were in vain. Thus the ancestral spirits aided the Shona people in combats hence playing a security role of defending the states. Therefore, the pre-colonial states left a heritage of the African religion and its influence to the political system that was passed from generation to generation of Zvishavane. Thus, showing that the theological-political problem in Zvishavane was inherited from their ancestors.

The second phase of the development of the theological political problem is the colonization of Zimbabwe which depicts how the religious political relations of the forefathers of the

Zvishavane people became diluted by the Christianization process. The Berlin Conference of 1885 was a nascent to the colonization and petition of Africa. Zimbabwe was not immune from this ubiquitous virus, the British were successful in the occupation of Zimbabwe with the help of the missionaries who had converted people. The converted UMFundisi Lotshe convinced and persuaded Lobengula into the signing of the Rudd Concession. The claim that the flag followed the flag followed the cross was drifted by these events. Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2007), the first Chimurenga/ Umvukela war of 1896 was led by the spirit mediums such as Mkwati in Matabeleland and Mbuya Nehanda and Kaguvi in Mashonaland after they had concluded that the natural disasters that had plugged the country was as a result of the strangers who had taken over the land. Westerners were ignorant to embrace the weight in spirituality carried within African religion. The events that transpired at the hanging of Nehanda were a lesion which displayed the powers of the spirits in the AIR realm. Garlake (1982) posits the efforts to hang Mbuya Nehanda were rendered fruitless until an African prisoner notified them to remove from her belt a pouch of tobacco. The heroic acts by Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi are symbolic in the case of Zvishavane as it resonates how their ancestors effectively used religion in the political arena.

The Zvishavane- Ngezi constituency stands as microcosm of the national politics. The road to the Liberation struggle started at Dadaya mission which is demarcated under the Zvishavane-Ngezi constituency as per delamination of 2008. President R. Mugabe operated in the land in 1934 as a primary school teacher at Dadaya mission under the Principality of Garfield Todd. West (1992) argues that just like the railway strike of 1945, the 1947 student strike that was staged at Dadaya Mission was equally a symbolic act that signified the resistance of the black people to be subjugated by the colonial powers. The strike resulted in the ban of Ndabaningi Sithole from the teaching profession in the country after he was accused of instigating the strike. The move signified the institutionalized violence that the colonizers employed to suppress any efforts by the opposition African parties to redress the power structures in the Rhodesian government. Both, Mugabe, Sithole and Todd perused the national political careers with Todd and Mugabe gaining prominence after independence after it all started at Dadaya mission. Garfield Todd was elected as the Prime minister in Rhodesia in 1953 and in 1961 he joined Sithole in African Nationalism and later became the senator of Zimbabwe in 1980. Henceforth, Zvishavane town is portrayed as a miniature of Zimbabwe's national politics with regards to the relations between politics and religion.

According to Sithole (1970), the church was responsible for the introduction of literacy which gave charisma and character to the Nationalists in Zimbabwe. The missionary schools educated the Nationalist leaders such as Mugabe, J Nkomo among others. The mainstream denominations namely the Catholic church, Anglican and UCCZ proved to be an ideal in the liberation struggle since they contributed to literacy development to the freedom fighters which laid foundation to the struggle. Moberg (1962) posited that African nationalistic insurgencies were authored in Christianity. Zvishavane was not spared from receiving the fruits of the missionary education that was quintessential in equipping the revolutionaries to fight against the injustices of the colonial system. According to the Herald (2014), Julia Zvogbo was a Nationalist who served as the Member of parliament in Zvishavane had her primary experience at three primary mission schools before embarking on the teacher's training at Gutu mission. Cephas Msipa, who was born in Shabani in 1931, was also the nationalist who later provided his services to Zvishavane constituency and who had been equipped by the literacy contribution by the missionary schools. Cephas Msipa attended Dadaya Mission in Zvishavane where he was taught by Rev Sithole in 1941. Thus the missionary schools played a salient role of equipping the Nationalist such as Julia Zvogbo and Cephas Msipa who later served and contributed to the development of the mining town, Zvishavane.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The religious beliefs controls the inactions and actions of the people. The beliefs have been influential in contributing to political processes which had been instrumental in shaping the political outcomes in Zimbabwe.

## **1.3 RESEACH OBJECTIVES**

- To analyse the implications of the relationship between religion and politics in Zvishavane, Zimbabwe.
- To examine the influence of religion in Zimbabwean politics with reference to Zvishavane.
- To identify the political culture and ideology produced by religion in Zvishavane.
- To examine the political processes and outcomes from a religious prism in Zvishavane.

## **1.4 RESEACH QUESTIONS**

- How best can you describe the relations between politics and religion in Zvishavane?

- What influence has religion posed on politics in Zvishavane?
- What are the ideological benchmarks laid by religion on politics in Zvishavane?
- What are the political processes (elections, policy making) engaged in and what were the outcomes Zvishavane?

### **1.5 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY**

The demographic census records as per 2012 accounts that about 85% of the Zimbabwean population is Christian and partly syncretic Community, 3% is ATR community and 1% contains islamic community and other religion<sup>1</sup>. The religious statistics placed at 89% population of Zimbabwean citizenry, it is beyond reasonable doubt that the genral populacy is influenced by beliefs. According to Audi (2000), given a scenario where the secular and the religious issues are not accurately balanced, there rises a unique problematic situation where the different social ‘gods’ would be competing to control the society. Those rigid absolute situations degenerate easily in destroying the social institutions and loss of life. This is evident to Nigerian, Central African Republic, Libyan, Sudanese and Egyptian political standings where religion is sitting at the core as the input in the political discourses and outcomes. The study is driven by the zeal to discover how the beliefs has transformed human behaviour towards political arrangements in the country. Therefore the study will enhance the knowledge of politics in the religious domain, substantiate the propositions made by other scholars and using the research as a dectecting machine to map the future of Zimbabwe’s political landscape.

### **1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW**

Religion refers to the system that is unified by the beliefs or dogmas and practices which binds the people who observe them into a morally unified community called a church (Aderibigbe and Ai- yegboyin, 1997). The political background at the world stage has proved that religion in its multifaceted nature is influential in different geographical location. The theological political problem of the separation of the state and the church is not a new idea but rather a well established one and has taken many different forms since its conception. The problem can be traced in the works of ST Augustine in the ancient greece. Augustine seperated the two entities arguing that politics is evil since it involves corruption and deception. He viwed power as the most evil action conducted by man.

In the works The political writings (2002), Thomas Aquinas brought the marriage between politics and religion. He argued that God is the monarchy of the universe and He is the hegemony of all other monarchies on the earth. Nicollo Machivelli came with a different dimension in the conduct between the state and the church in his works the Prince. He argued that the Prince should pursue power. Thus he must possess the character of the a lion and the fox. The fox was meant to be deceptive and cunning. He viewed the religion as a tool the Prince has to use to unite the society. Unlike Confucius he posits that the morals have no place in the decision making of the rulers. His disciple Leo Strauss concluded that the Bible is a collection of historical texts with no divine intervention in them. These theorists prepared the foundation on the of the way the state and the religious institutions should relate with each other at a world stage. The social contractalist theorist Locke and Rousseau came with their protection of the rights of men and religion toleration was placed with some of the bill of rights. The theories gave us the yardstick on what should be the relationship of the government and the church. These classical and medieval theorist gave the overall and overview of the abstract relationship between the state and religion at a world stage and does not give an indepth analysis on what is on ground at the national level in the Zimbabwean setup.

Drawing from the national level, various works has been forwarded in an effort to conceptualise the conduct between the state and the religious institutions. Literature of the political theological problem is awash at national level leaving Zvishavane with scarce literature on this problem. Chigwedere's Pre-colonial histories of Zimbabwe and Africa (1991), a thesis of recovering history gives a clear view of the pre-colonial placement of the African Tradition Religion in the society and its contribution to the political organisation in the early societies of Zimbabwe. He cites the role of the ancestral spirits and the spirit mediums as the funnel that gave the shona Kings direction in times of disaster and in making a life changing policies for the early states. The literature of Chigwedere is very instrumental in depicting the contact between the political systems of the ancestors of the Zvishavane people which they inherited. The literature lays out the foundation of the study but leaves much to be desired in terms of the time factor since the current contact between politics and religion has developed much as compared to the pre-colonial state of affairs.

Moyo (1980) in his book Church and State in Zimbabwe recorded the role of the clergymen such as Muzvorewa and N Sithole elites in the liberation struggle to form a struggle within a struggle. He captures their involvement in the spearheading the unification of the liberation nationalist through their Organisation the African National Council which sought to be the activism constitutional body which represented the rights of the black majority. The ANC was later used by Muzvorewa to forward his personal political goal capitalising on the imprisonment of the nationalists like Nkomo and Mugabe claiming to be forwarding the agenda of the nationalist's desire to attain independence. The Nationalists castigated and dismissed the actions of the clergymen as oppunistinic vandetta insulated by the scriptures. The idea of having a clergyman as the political leader has been debated since time immemorial, the above literature gives an insight about the issue. The literature however addresses the issue at an early stage and at national level which this study is rectifying by focusing on Zvishavane.

Bourdillon (1984 ) in the article, Religious symbols and political change discusses about the role of the spirit mediums during the armed struggle. He postulates their leading role in giving the morale to the guerilla and their aftermath war expectations. He accounts the key play they played in drawing the peasentry to the goals and the action of the armed struggle. The mediums were also regarded as the heroes on the afrmarth of the liberation struggle. The issue of the political control was an aspiration by the mediums which they were deprived of in the new political dispensation. The spirit mediums expected to be incorporated in the bereaucratic structures of the newly founded state. The article posits that the reconciliation approach to government and the rule in the fashion of Europeans by Mugabe was a slap to the mediums since they wanted to do away with the western way of life. As a result they felt like they had been let down by the nationalists. He captures the diffusion of the Zimbabwean masses from the ATR confession to the christianity which left the traditionalist with the bitterness of being left out in the political govervance of their ancestors. The swon in of the presidence was done in a Christianity model signifying the supremacy of the Christianity religion over the fading discipleship of ATR confession. The literature leaves much to be desired in as far as mapping the current standings of the political theological problem in relation to the African religion and politics in Zvishavane.

Darman (2002) in her literature, addressed issues to do with religio-political problem from the post independence era. The thematic concerns of the literature revolves on the role of the Non-

governmental institutions in the church in democratising Zimbabwe. The literature illustrates the role of the CCJP. The CCJP is the arm of Roman Catholic which advocates for the observance of peace and the adherence to the human rights principle. The literature appraises this arm of the Roman Catholic in playing the leading play in the road towards democratisation of Zimbabwe. The role of christian alliance, ZCC and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe is unmasked in the work. These church organisations worked in conjunction with the National constitutional Assembly in the constitution making process in the year 2000. The referendum which was denied by the general citizenry was due to the joint efforts of the non-governmental organisations and managed to help the populace deny the constitution that did not advance and celebrate the individual liberties. The church worked as the watchdog in the 2000 parliamentary elections as well as the 2002 presidential elections. The literature sets the motion of the study in direction of the importance church organisations in Zimbabwe and compels the researcher to focus on the role of church organisations in politics of Zimbabwe.

Chitando (1999) his thesis accounts the role of the church songs in the consoling and comforting the general citizens and giving the hope in times of economic hardships. The literature unearthed the importance of the church songs in giving people perseverance in the times of economic and political hardships, consoling and giving them hope of a better Zimbabwe to come. The literature raises the development of religion to be at par with the development in the secular world, economic hardships, in which the church responded by consoling gospel songs. Thus the literature also gave the insights to the researcher to check on the new developments in religion corresponding to changes in the secular world. The latest phenomenon in pentecostalism, miracles has become the new master in new christian religion and the researcher had to give focus on what influence does miracles have in politics of Zimbabwe.

## **1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **Civic republican political theory**

Theories have been propounded in a bid to explain the interface between the religion and politics. Civic republican political theory, which owes its existence to Alexis de Tocqueville, comes into picture as counter-majoritarian prospects of liberalism theory where there are only two salient players in the political systems, the individual and the state. Tocqueville {2002}

argues that liberalism obscures and turns a blind eye to the other intermediate third players such as churches and civic associations that stand between individual and state that facilitate the political process. The civic political theory goes on to stipulate that third players such as churches, NGOs functions as the mediating institutions. The mediating institutions of religion should and do play a salient important process-oriented roles to facilitate the tools of self-government, rights and liberties. These contributions include promoting the formation of personal identity, supporting the systems of morality upon which self-government depends, instilling democratic values, facilitating individual access to the apparatus of government, and influencing the activities of government by amplifying the collective political will of individual citizens. Thus the theory was employed by the researcher in the Zvishavane- Ngezi constituency to investigate the role of religion in the formation of personal identity, supporting the systems of morality upon which self-government depends, instilling democratic values, facilitating individual access to the apparatus of government, and influencing the activities of government in Zvishavane.

## **1.8 METHODOLOGY**

### **1.8.1 Research design**

Kummar (2011) stresses that research design is a strategic technic employed by the researcher to solve the research problem in an objective, reliable, precise and economic manner. Thus the designing of the research encompasses the whole scheme to merge the diversified elements of the study in a comprehensive and reasonable manner that ensures that the problem is effectively addressed<sup>2</sup>. It brings into being the steps and procedures taken during process of collecting data and analyzing the data hence this study employed both the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. Drawing from the above stipulated definitions, research design encompasses the general operational framework of the project which includes what sort of information to be collected, stipulated techniques to be employed and specified sources of data. Therefore the researcher used the descriptive, evaluative and interpretive approach to collect and present data collected from people of Zvishavane where several instruments of data collection were used which are questionnaires, interviews and observations which falls under qualitative paradigm. Quantitative research was also used in categorizing features, giving them numerical value and form statistical models on what is observed. Phenomenological methodology, historical narrative

techniques and theological method were also used to explain trends, categorize features and describe solutions to the research problem of Zvishavane.

### **1.8.2 Phenomenological technique.**

The phenomenological approach is mainly premised on a qualitative research that avows that reality is a social construct where individuals and collectively are definitions of their state of affairs. Grbich (2007), posited the religious phenomenology is an approach that inquires about the concealed religious fundamental facets and principles that shapes a particular people's behaviors and actions as well as the manner in which they associate or relate with the essence and meanings in their belief. Essences in this context refers to the substances that are non-existential in space and time as a fact, they can be only revealed by intuitive imagination between the subject and the researcher. Henceforth, phenomenology technique centers on the explanation of the causing and effects of things focusing on understanding the firsthand experiences of those involved in this context the religious people in Zvishavane. Thus the researcher depended on the perspectives of the confessional family of Zvishavane concerning religion and its relation to politics. This was achieved using the interviews and questionnaires as data collection methods in Zvishavane.

### **1.8.3 Historical-narrative technique**

The researcher also used the historical-narrative method which focuses with the events that transpired before the researcher decided to carry out the political-theological research in Zvishavane. It entails discovering the truth of particular historical conditions of a group of people prior to the undertaking of the research. Habermas {1989} posited that society acts just in accordance to the arrangement of the trends in their tradition and culture in which the self-articulation of groups in the society is portrayed. The method was employed in displaying the pre-colonial state of affairs, contact between the Africans and missionaries, Christianization process, colonial religious power relations and the post-independence religious perspectives on politics which helped the researcher to uncover the values inherited by people of Zvishavane. The study had to be premised on historical orientations due to the assumption that it could not be comprehended outside the premises of history. The attitude of the religious community in Zvishavane towards political processes is underscored by the cultures and traditions ranging from Christianity, African religion and the Muslim. Theologies, the Bible and Koran provide the

other historical perspectives of the religious communities in Zvishavane towards the political processes. The approach also helped the researcher to investigate on how the religious society managed to shape and reshape itself in relation to the awareness of the change in other players such as the political processes in Zvishavane.

#### **1.8.4 Theological approach**

Crystal (2003) argues that theological technique is the critical processes which seeks to dig into systematically clarified historic lives and beliefs of the religious people which are transferred from one generation to another in relation to the traditional religious culture. Divergent from religion as a science, the purpose of theology is to serve as the investigation tool of the issues and contents of religion using reason. The study interpreted the political processes in Zvishavane from the theological stance focusing on how the religious fraternity's beliefs influence the tools of political process which are pressed on the individual rights and liberties. The religious confession is controlled and premised on the response to certain events experienced by the first believers relying on their presumptions and predispositions. The theological method is based on the bible, Koran and the historical account on African religion. The Christians draw their insights from the Israelites and Jesus Christ while African religion from the experiences of their ancestors and the Muslims from the Islamic traditions inspired by Mohammed as the pioneers in belief. Thus theological approach enabled the researcher to interpret the religious beliefs of people of Zvishavane.

#### **1.8.5 Case study approach**

Woodside (2010) posited that a case study research can be defined as the process which involves the prediction, description, comprehending and having control of an individual. In the words of Yin (2009), a case study encompasses the empirical examination of a phenomenon in reality in an in depth bases in a bid to comprehend the delimitations and boundaries with regards to that particular phenomenon. Inferring from the above definitions a case study is one of the approaches to research in social sciencerelated or even socially associated since it seeks to comprehend a human being within a society in asocial dimension as it interprets the behavior of human beings in a socially arranged community, group situation or occasion. The case study technique to research is mainly fundamental in cases where the context of the conditions of the

events that are being investigated are beyond the control of the researcher pertaining the time of the unfolding of these particular events.

### **1.8.6 Justifying the utilization case study approach**

As posited by Schumacher and McMillan (2001), a the case study is a detailed investigation of a limited framework or a case over a period of time in a study area of interest utilizing numerous and a variety of information sources. All the gathered data is examined to produce the most ideal solutions of the research questions. Therefore, a case study method was employed by researcher because of its viable reasons; it allows the utilization of multiple data collection techniques which provides a variety of participant's perspectives<sup>2</sup>. The case study also gives the researcher room and ample time to ask and decode the experiences and attitudes of the respondents as a move to understand complicated issues surrounding the phenomenon under study. This aided the researcher to exhume the real life contextual situation of the religious fraternity with regards to the political processes in Zvishavane which are lost in quantitative or experimental strategies.

### **1.8. 7 RESEARCH SUBJECTS**

#### **Research population - Zvishavane town**

Kotler (1996) defined population as the total number of the subjects in the delimited area under study. Research population thus refers to the total quantity of cases of one type that are subjects under study in this case Zvishavane. Zishavane is a town formerly known as Shabanie located in Midlands province and falls under chief Mazvihwa chieftainship. The name Shabani is derived from the Ndebele term Shavani meaning finger millet or trading together. Zvishavane name stems from the Shona terms zvikomozvishava which implies the red hills which describes low red hills which surround the town of Zvishavane characterized by the red soil found in the area. The population of the town in 2002 census was at 35 128 and the population gauge increased to 45230 as per 2012 census <sup>3</sup>. The mining town was granted a municipal status in 1968 after starting off as a village in 1920s. The town is the greatest producer of asbestos and it also produces minerals such as platinum, chromite, gold and of late diamond was discovered in Marowa area. The researcher targeted the theist groupings in Zvishavane.

### **1.8.7 Convenient sampling**

In the words of McCreary and Chrisler (2010), the probability sampling technique, convenience sampling, involves the processes of selecting the subjects who are going to participate in the research for the reason of convenience in the sense that those participants are conveniently accessible and can be recruited easily without any intention of purposive sampling. The researcher employed the sampling technique because of its advantageous nature in terms of less time consumption and the easy part of recruiting the participants in a manner that is economic and cheaper divergent from the other sampling techniques.

## **1.9 DATA COLLECTION**

Leary (2004), collection of data is conducted in a manner such that every technique used points to realization of the research goal and they has to be put on a scale to weigh and consider if they are relevant and tally with the disadvantages and the advantages of that method.

## **SOURCES OF DATA**

### **1.9.1 Primary data**

According to Shao, (1999), primary data refers to the process of collecting information for the purposes of the research which is being undertaken. The utilization by the researcher of the source of data, primary data, was due to the fact that it contributes greatly to the problem under study with regards to accuracy and relevancy. By using the primary data, the researcher managed to pry and answer the current questions about the problem. Primary data was applicable, valid and relevant in projecting the problem in a balanced and comprehensive manner. Questionnaires and interviews were utilized by the researcher in a bid to drain the first hand information required to arrive at the solution of the theological-political problem in Zvishavane. The questions intended to bring the solution to the relationship between politics and religion in Zvishavane were generated in the manner that the participants could understand, at the same time making the research less time consuming and addressing the immediate research problem at hand in a comprehensive manner. In this case the researcher was successful to draw out the data relating the phenomenology of religion in relation to political processes in Zimbabwe using a case study of Zvishavane. Nonetheless, the procedure of gathering data through the source of data, primary data is a tiresome exercise that requires a lot of patience and commitment.

### **1.9.3 Secondary data**

Wagner (2007), the source of data, secondary data refers to the information related to the research under study that is existential, ready to be used and had been processed prior to the study by other scholars. Therefore, one should note that secondary data basically is premised on the remnants and ideas of other scholars with regards to the topic or problem under study on the evidence that has been gathered prior to the study, generally by other researchers and agencies. Secondary data has got several of its merits such as; the researcher can easily use it since the data has already been gathered and that the information already exist and ready for use. Accessibility time of secondary data is also relatively short, particularly given a circumstance where the required information is available on the internet. Secondary sources used in this study included, the book reviews of text books, Bible, the internet and the Quran. Secondary data was of great use to the researcher because of its reliability, realistic nature and conventionality in the world of academics. The much less needed effort in the interpretation of secondary data which is already compiled compelled the researcher to use this instrument. Nonetheless, secondary data has its own share of draw backs; usually it does not address the particular problem being investigated since it was compiled for divergent purposes. The accuracy of secondary data leaves much to be desired by the researcher, since research errors are inevitable when collecting and analyzing data.

### **1.9.4 Research instruments**

Research instruments when defined refers to the objects and the tools that the researcher use as means to collect data and information that is required to proffer the solution to the problem under investigation. As indicated earlier, multiple instruments were utilized by the researcher to arrive at providing solution to the problem; interviews, questionnaires, document analysis and observations were employed by the researcher. These several instruments were merged in a complementary manner such that they produce a viable solution to the problem under investigation.

### **1.9.5 Questionnaires**

Questionnaires are one of the research instruments utilized in this research to collect primary data from the participants in the quest to solve the research problem. Conway {1998} posited that questionnaires are pre-planned, concise and designed set of questions made with the

intention to specifically yield information of a particular group(s) in relation to the research problem at hand. Williaman {2005} stipulated that the use of this particular instrument, questionnaires, leads to the establishment of the question(s) and the attainment of the responses from participants without necessarily having a conversation with each and every respondent. Questionnaires, a technique for data collection, was used in such a way that it allows flexibility as a tool; they have been utilized with caution as the quest to achieve the end goal of the research under study. Williaman (2005) argues that the principal characteristic of questionnaires is the uniformity of the questions which are fixed spelling that they do not necessarily change in relation to the changing of the respondent and the way respondents reply them, the remote distant maintained by the designer of the questions and the fact that they are impersonal. In this research the researcher used the open ended as a type of questionnaires in questioning respondents in the quest to draw out every information that the respondents have and opening up some angles that the researcher might have not covered in questions but relevant to the investigation of the research.

The utilization of questionnaires by the researcher facilitated the contact of quiet a number of respondents quickly, simply and efficiently since they give room to the researcher of opting between questionnaire postal or distribution in person to respondents by the researcher. Questionnaires were also fairly fast and simple in terms of creating and programming them. Nonetheless the questionnaires gave the respondents a burden of time consumption in the completion of the questionnaires. Distribution of the questionnaires was also cumbersome since the researcher had to first identify the theist groupings in Zvishavane an area which the researcher was not much familiar with. Dissecting and scrutinizing the complex issues and opinions of the data forwarded by respondents and then processing it to be the relevant, accurate and detailed information that matches the comprehensive nature of relationship between politics and religion in Zvishavane was a challenging exercise the researcher encountered.

### **1.9.7Interviews**

Cohen and Manion (1981) as cited by Tuckman interviewing is a process of unlocking the confines of the contents inside the head of a person with the intention of siphoning the knowledge, opinions and attitudes of that particular person with regards to the research under

study. Interviews involves organized approach to talk and listen to people for the sole purpose of extracting information essential for solving the problem under investigation. It is a qualitative technique that enables transmission of information between the researcher and the respondents such that the interviewer can grasp the opinions, beliefs and emotions of people with regards to a particular aspect of their livelihood. Interviews can be classified into three major distinctions depending on the manner in which they are planned and conducted by the researcher which are structured and unstructured interviews. In this case the researcher opted to employ structured and unstructured interviews as a way to ensure maximum data output from the respondents pertaining the link between political processes and religion in Zvishavane.

The utilization of interviews by the researcher staged an opportunity of addressing the grey areas in terms of the issues or events the respondents were having trouble in comprehending. The undertaking of interviews also allowed further wide-ranging questions to be asked leading to the attainment of broadened information base. Nonetheless the interviewing exercise was time-consuming in terms of programing, carrying out, recording, examining responses and reporting. The conduction of interviews was also costly since different interviewees did not understand some questions and the researcher had to transliterate interviews in different ways which needs extra effort to explain to them.

## **10. DATA ANALYSIS**

Analyzing data is a process of deducing the meaning of what the researcher is observing and what is happening as well as the reports forwarded by the respondents or subjects. There is need of organizing the available data, synthesizing the data and coding the data in a quest to discover frequency, main themes and patterns. The data analysis also known as open coding was carried out after the collection of the data. The sorting out of the questionnaires and the note taking will be done by the researcher. A memoir will be made to record the answers that had been gathered from the research. The compiling of data from the interviews and the questionnaires was undertaken and compiled in the memoir.

### **10.1 Research reliability and validity**

The traditional criteria for ensuring research data credibility and objectivity is through using the viability and reliability. Data reliability involves the scenario of processing the primary data into detailed information that is reliable to the users and is materially immune from bias and error.

The degree at which the skills and knowledge are laid out by the researcher in using the relevant research instruments and presenting and interpreting the findings accentuates raises the gauge of research validity and reliability. O`Donoghue and Punch (2003) asserted that triangulation as a technique has been a viable means of ensuring that the researcher is ascertain of the research reliability and validity. Triangulation is known as an act of information verification by means of comparison and weighing information from sources stemming from different angles in the quest to mitigate irregularities in the research study

### **11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The study was carried out in Zvishavane as the case study technique was employed by the researcher. The case study was not that effective because it might not equate the attitude and views of the general citizens. The targeted respondents, the theist group were in a position to isolate themselves from secular considerations hence did not respond to the researcher's questions and some tended to proffer the socially desirable answers in defense of their faith. Budgeting of the research was another limitation that restrained the researcher to acquire the much desired data to immerse the study since the researcher was forced to narrow the research to 10% of the Zvishavane population to par with the available resources.

### **12 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The case study investigated the religious behaviors of the theists groupings in the town of Zvishavane. The researcher chose the setting as the case study because the city is placed at the heart of the country. The geographical location of the town enhances the mixed feelings and attitude from the people of the different groupings. Moving a bit away from the core, Harare, to the semi-periphery, Zvishavane enables the study to discover the gravity and intensity of the confessional families and capture the theists' groupings that are pervasive and spread with the whole country rather than being centered at the core.

### **13 CONTRIBUTIONS TO LITERATURE**

The research factors out different dimension in exploring the political religious problem. The research is aimed at exhuming the religious actions such as miracles in relation to the democratic responsive participant political culture in Zimbabwe. Using the case study of Zvishavane, implications of the relationship between politics and religion are intensely examined and articulated. The researcher is concerned with factoring out the actions of the confessional family

in shaping the political ideologies and political structures in the Zimbabwean political setup and try to give a different angle divergent from other literatures by presenting religion as a political sleeping pill to the general as well as a political guide.

#### **14 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

The researcher was guided by the ethical procedures when undertaking the research. The researcher observed the voluntary participation of the respondents. Voluntarism in the participation of the research is considered a much grounded ethic that renders the legitimating and success of the research. This spells that the researcher refrained from the use of force in the participation in the research. The researcher also observed the no harm to the participant's friends and the family since the researcher was the custody of the sensitive information that the respondents had entrusted him with. This enshrines the various types of harm which might be physical or psychological harm. The researcher was conscious about the confidentiality as an ethical principle to protect the participants from being harmed. Thus shielding of the identity of the respondents who dished sensitive information was ensured by the researcher.

#### **Conclusion**

The chapter introduces the study highlighting the rationale behind the undertaking of this research and the methods which were employed during the process. It also highlights the literatures found prior to the study, the detailed background of the theological-political problem, the objectives and questions relating to the religious-political problem in Zvishavane.

## **CHAPTER TWO: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF POLITICS AND RELIGION IN ZIMBABWE**

### **2.0 INTRODUCTION**

The interplay between religion and politics took various forms as the Zimbabwean society continuously shaped and reshaped itself since the early civilizations up to the modern day state. The role of religion to the state constantly changed from being a political guide, to be political sleeping pill, mediating and unifying role, legitimating of new governance to hostile citizenry and to be the awakening political voice. The relations between politics and religion have been dynamic ranging from being frosty and hostile, cordial and confrontational as both the politics and religion matured over the years. The politics of the Zimbabwean state matured from the primitive communism by the Khoisan people, to the capitalistic colonial era and to the socialistic post-independence epoch. On the other hand the religion developed from a monistic pre-colonial religious arrangement, to the dual colonial religious society and a post-independence religious syncretistic pluralistic society. The shift in the relations was largely affected by the contact with the outside world which saw the importation and adoption of both new ideas and principles. One has to bear in mind that as the religious and political relations developed at national level, Zvishavane was also encompassed in that evolvment bus.

### **2.1 The Pre-colonial Religious and Political Relations in Zimbabwe**

The introduction of statehood in the Zimbabwean soil around 1250AD was through the erection of the Great Zimbabwe, the religious factor was at the core of governance in this early city state. Huffman (1991), the Bantu people were compelled by the religious factor among other chief factors in constructing the conical tower. African religion refers to the religio-cultural, spiritual practices unique and associated with African people, at this period it was the sole religion of the residents of Great Zimbabwe. The African religion seeks to explain issues that surround human life focusing on the questions that are eternal that ranges from the meaning of life, the plausible and ideal societal relations that can be best achieved by man, powers of the spiritual realm, the meaning of being a human being, the arrangement of the universe and nature in the world. The architectural expertise of the Bantu people was motivated by their zeal to live closer to their Supreme Being, God, known as Mwari in the Shona language. The Ndebele as well as the Shona

religio-culture avows {Mwari- Shona} or {uMlimo-Ndebele} God as the one responsible for creation and sustenance of the whole universe which is squarely equivalent to the Christianity dogma and He is believed to be encompassing in every facet of the livelihood of the people and their political institutions. Ultimate dominion as well as the control over the whole world lies in God's hands and God is for everyone. Chigwedere (1988), the architectural expertise with regards to the altitude setting and vertical magnitude of the tower suggest that the Bantu people were motivated by their zeal to live closer to their Supreme Being, Mwari. The archeological findings of the soap stones curved into birds which resemble the religious symbols, signifies role of religion to the construction of Great Zimbabwe. The monuments were built to serve as the religious center where ceremonies were held to honor the ancestral spirits for the harvest and the availability of the rains. The ancestral spirits (dead ancestors) inreligio-cultural the Shona and Ndebele practice are known as (Shona-midzimu , Ndebele-Amadlozi). God is believed to be the spirit, so are the ancestral spirits hence they co-exist and relate in spiritual form such that the dead ancestors are perceived to possess more power and more insight about life than the living beings. When a serious case in form of a social disaster or problem arises, the people seek divine help and answers from the ancestors through consultations to the spirit mediums.

Kings of the Great Zimbabwe and any other pre-colonial state had the divine right of kings where their power was perceived to be heavenly and spiritually oriented. The spirit mediums were responsible for ordaining the Kings from a dynasty. The spirits mediums are special individuals with the special ability to speak with the dead while they are in an ecstatic condition or possessed by an ancestral spirit. Chavhunduka (1996), senior spirit mediums usually kept a distant from politics and reserved themselves to an advisory role to the political leaders of the state. The mediums took an active role in politics when a political crisis has plagued the Great Zimbabwe in a bid to resolve the problem. The political processes such as wars drew the mediums to take a more active role in political discourses as the mediators to foster dialogue between contesting parties to create a common ground. In the colloquial language the religious personal in the Great Zimbabwe state exercised the political consultancy role. The insulated ties of the religious leaders and the political leaders enhanced the confidence of the subjects, Zvishavane people's forefathers, to their ruler and rendering the absolute power of the king irrevocable.

The pre-colonial state which succeeded the Great Zimbabwe state, the Monomotapa Empire, was founded by the ambitious Nyatsimba Mutota who capitalized on the politico-economical crevices that crippled the survival of the Great Zimbabwe. The Mutapa Empire located in the Dande valley north of the Great Zimbabwe ruins inherited the political and religious relations where the religious factor played a political guide role, a unifying and mediating role at its salient functions. According to Chanaiwa (1972), the relations were thwarted by the contact with the outside world due to the Long distance trade which provided the aliens' access to the Munhumutapa Empire through the Mozambique channels where Sena and Tete trading stations were established along the coastal lines. The 'rumors of Ophir' which was a belief that there was King Solomon's Gold in the land between Limpopo and Zambezi lured the Portuguese to have direct trade with the people in the Monomotapa Kingdom. The agenda of aliens in this case the Portuguese shifted from trade to Christianization of the Monomotapa people. The arrival of the missionaries in the Munhumutapa Kingdom was a threshold for the pollution of the African Religion with the first arrival recorded around 1560s registering the name Father Goncalo Da Silveira.

The presence of the Portuguese descendants in the Munhumutapa Kingdom altered the ties between the African Traditional leaders and the African leaders. The missionaries' primary scheme was to obliterate what they referred as paganism cultural practice alluding to the African religion. Beach (1976) posited that the Portuguese employed religion as the stick or means of pillage of resources from the Mutapa state. Christianity was used by the Portuguese to impose their puppet Mwenemutapa Kings. Kaparidze and Mavura were among the rulers who were used to advance the resource plunder motive by Portuguese. In the later half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Changamire Dombo rose as a powerful political figure with the military strength and tact which was adequate to drive the Portuguese away from the Mutapa state. The Mutapa Kingdom was absorbed into the Rozvi Kingdom. The relations between the African Tradition religions were revamped to place African religion to its role as the political guide or political consulting institution.

The wave of mayhem that swept across the south of Limpopo region termed as the Mfecane around 1820s, diffused in tandem the groups from the Zulu Kingdom Northwards across the Limpopo tributary. Cooper (2006), among the groupings were the Matebele state, Makololo and

the Mafengu groups. Mzilikazi's flee from Shaka proved menacing as he fought and displaced the Tswana and Sotho people. Mzilikazi's flee finally ended with the establishment of the Ndebele state in Inyathi area north of Limpopo after putting the last nail to the Rozvi army which had been weakened by fighting the groups that crossed heading northwards driven by the wave of Mfecane. The Ndebele state became the new state that controlled the levers of power in the in the pre-colonial Zimbabwe amid of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Chigwedere (1988), posits that Ndebele and the Shona religious culture corresponded since they descended from the Bantu people who migrated from the Northern Cameroon Mountains infiltrating southern parts of the African continent. Thus the religious political relationship matched the early Zimbabwean states only to be dichotomized by the dialectical terminology of the rituals and practices of the African religion. Constant warfare between the Shona and Ndebele were recorded due to the Ndebele custom of raiding which the Shona defied. Beach (1974) asserted that the active role of religion in politics in the warfront was accounted in the armed combat staged by the Shona as well as the Ndebele as antagonistic rivalries where the spirit medium known as Chaminuka proved indispensable deterring the Ndebele from vanquishing the Shona people. Chaminuka is believed to have employed the spiritual powers to protect the Shona army and to prevail over the Ndebele combatants. He is believed to have used of mist to shield the Shona army during the armed combat at the same time leading the Ndebele soldiers astray, placing them in vulnerable positions or areas. The failure of the Ndebele to prevail over the Shona was not based on military strategy, strength, military equipment but rather it was premised on the religious prism factoring out the effective use of religion in politics by the ancestors of Zvishavane.

## **2.2 Colonial political-religious relations in Zimbabwe**

Fisher (1981) affirmed that Christianity religion is rooted on the legendary exemplary human side works of a God man who is believed to have lived about 2000 years ago in Jerusalem, Jesus Christ. His works and teachings as well of his forefathers were compiled in a special book known as the Bible. Controversy surrounds the credibility of the Bible and the existence of this superhuman Jewish legendary man. His followers and disciples became distinguished as Christians. Christianity had a stronghold in the western civilization prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The slave trade, colonization and missionaries were the bastion and vehicle of western civilization which retarded and distorted the efforts of African religion's growth in the African continent.

Colonization, an epoch of plunder and pillage as well political and economic rape in Africa stemmed from the Berlin conference of 1885 as a drastic measure to pilfer resources by Europeans all in the guise of spreading Civilization, Christianity and Commerce to the African continent. Zimbabwe was not spared from the colonial scheme of the Europeans. Imperialist were not only successful in draining resources from Africa, they also altered the closely knit relations between the pre-colonial political system and African religion practiced by the ancestors of Zvishavane people.

Garlake (1982) argued that the colonization of Zimbabwe was engineered by Cecil John Rhodes with his British South Africa Company backed by a cabal of Pioneer Column in 1890. The foundation for accessing the Ndebele Kingdom had been laid by Robert Moffat who had befriended Mzilikazi and stayed together for two months during his journey north of the Limpopo River in 1835. Moffat (1886) posits that Moffat visited the Ndebele Kingdom in 1853 where he requested aid from Mzilikazi to search for his son in law David Livingstone who had vanished in the Zambezi Valley on his expeditious mission. The visits by Moffat into the Ndebele Kingdom followed several failed attempts by Moffat to yield Mzilikazi's conviction on ceding a room to establish a mission in Matebeleland. The attempts later produced dividends which saw the setting up of the two missions at Inyathi and Mpandeni in 1859. Mzilikazi was succeeded by Lobengula his heir who established a powerful despotic state that was equally depended on the African religion. Bhebhe (1959) argues that the Christianity religion did not answer the problems and natural disasters the people in the Ndebele state were facing but rather they only found meaning and answers of their livelihood experiences from the African religion which they sought to confide to. Lobengula did not allow the missionaries to teach education in his state hence the missionaries found it difficult to practice their missionary work in Matebeleland such that by 1890 they had little progress in converting the Ndebele people.

According to Chanaiwa (1976), the Grobler Treaty and the Moffat treaty of 1887 which set diplomatic relations between the Transvaal and the Ndebele Kingdom was an ignition key to implement Cecil John Rhodes' aspiration to be the Master of what he believed to be 'barbarians' referring to Africans so that he may help them crawl out of their barbarism state. Cecil John Rhodes' contract that diverted complete power over the Ndebele and the Shona from Lobengula was concluded by the Rhodes' delegation which comprised of Charles Rudd, Thomas Maguire

and C. Helm and Lobengula in 1888 ceding the BSAC the mining rights in Mashonaland. According to Bhebhe (1959), Lobengula was promised 1000 rounds of ammunition, 100 rifles and a gun boat was to be placed in Zambezi River and a military security mechanism against the enemies. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2007), the missionaries had a very quintessential role in turning the negotiations between the Rhodes' delegation and Lobengula into Rhodes's way as Lotshe the trusted Umfundisi persuaded Lobengula to open the doors for the alien settlement in Zimbabwe. Hence showing the power of religion in influencing the decision which affected the fate of Zvishavane people.

The conclusion of the diplomatic agreement, the Rudd Concession, between Lobengula and the diplomatic delegation of Rhodes was a blessing to the missionary community. The missionaries came to Rhodes seeking the authorization to build on a portion of land in the Zimbabwean soil to establish their missions and to practice their Christianization work in Zimbabwe. According to Zvobgo (1991) Rhodes was an atheist but he knew how to use religion as a device to the realization of his dreams by dishing out the land grants to several missionaries around the Globe. The year 1892 saw a declaration of the Order In Council which placed Mashonaland as well as Matebeleland under the protectorates of the British people and the aftermath was the granting of various acres of land to the Missionary societies that came looking for expansion and the spreading of the gospel services in the Zimbabwean soil. The Jesuits established in 1892 a mission in Chishawasha near Harare. Daneel (1971) stipulated that in 1894 Rhodes ceded 12 000 acres of farm land situated at Solusi to the SDA missionaries. In 1891 St Augustine mission was set up in Penhalonga pioneered by Bishop Knight-Bruce of the Anglican Church. The Salvation Army made their entrance in Zimbabwe in 1891 and were granted the land in Mazowe area which is measured 3000 acres. Therefore accounting how the land which belongs to the Zvishavane people was gradually lost to the foreigners as Rhodes used religion to legitimize his reign.

With the influx of the missionaries in Mashonaland and Matebeleland, the Missionary services proved challenging as the Ndebele people did not embrace the new form of culture and belief that the missionaries were fully determined to share with them. The missionaries were not the only ones with the cards derailing their expectations, the white settlers and Rhodes had also failed to locate the second rand that they hoped for in Mashonaland. The Missionaries had been

successful in the Christianization expediences in Mashonaland, failure in Matebeleland frustrated them such that they concluded that the destruction of Ndebele Kingdom was the only alternative for converting the Ndebele people. Bhebhe (1979) posited that by 1890 the London missionary society was convinced that the political structures and system of the Ndebele people had to be annihilated as the door opener for Christianity infiltration in the Ndebele Kingdom. The idea of destruction of the Ndebele squarely corresponded with white settlers' verdict since they assumed that the Ndebele Kingdom was situated in the area saturated with gold. This shows how wars were justified on the religious grounds by the missionaries.

Lobengula and his closely knit religious political system was the walls that were deterring the missionaries and the white settlers' long standing dream. At the same time the presence of the White settlers in Mashonaland retarded the raiding customs by Lobengula in the Mashonaland area. The Gomara and Bere incidents near Fort Victoria (Masvingo) was the sparking stick which set ablaze the hostility between Lobengula and the White settlers ushering in the warfare combat known as the Anglo-Ndebele war of 1893. Shaw (1996) expressed that the main unequivocal fight was battled in 1893, November 1 when a Ndebele camp was defeated on the clear ground close to the Stream, Bembesi, where the Ingubu and Imbezu regiments were situated. The Ndebele were crushed because they had a militarily innovation crevice and strategic flops which compelled Lobengula to escape heading north. Lobengula passed away in 1894 January, in the space of a couple of months the {BSAC} had managed to establish control over Matabeleland region while the white people kept on arriving in Zimbabwe. Therefore, depicting how the forefathers of Zvishavane people became under alien rule with the joint effort of religion in justifying war and the execution by the colonial administrators.

The annihilation of the Ndebele government in Matebeleland and Mashonaland ushered in a new dispensation of the administrative religious relations as Christianity gained supremacy over the African religion and the African political systems being obscured by the Colonial administration. Brown (1996), a history specialist, stipulated that, the Rudd Concession, as a treaty was a salient occasion in the Matabeleland scramble and permanently denoted an indelible political development, the birth of Southern Rhodesia. Zvobgo (1991) stated that the missionaries were happy by the white settlers' dismantling of the Ndebele Kingdom because the Shona and Ndebele people could no longer use Lobengula as the excuse not to convert to Christianity. The

result of the British victory in Zimbabwean soil was the seizing of cattle from the locals as well as confiscation of indigenous people's property. Taxation charges were forced with an end goal to propel Africans to join in pay work in White farms and mines. The general population who neglected the imposed obligation of paying the hut taxes saw the seizing of their cattle. The local people were disheartened by the administrative operation of this kind which was totally inimical to the African political system that they were accustomed to. Henceforth, showing the discontent with regards the new political system which was backed by Christianity by the precursors of Zvishavane town.

After three years of the colonial administration establishment, the local people ascended in the armed combat against the British government a move which signaled the discontentment by the indigenous people towards the colonial government with an end goal to recapture freedom. Ndebele people, in 1896 March rebelled denouncing the hegemony of the BSAC in Zimbabwe, the indigenous people ascended in combat against the Imperialist government with an end goal to recover freedom. In March 1896, the Ndebele rebelled against the power of the British South Africa Company in what is currently celebrated in Zimbabwe as the First Chimurenga also referred to as the First War of independence. According to Zvobgo (1991), Mkwati who had a Ndebele origin was an otherworldly is appraised with inciting a significant part of the resentment that prompted this encounter.

Mkwati persuaded Ndebele people by telling them that the alien settlement in their ancestors' land was the precursor of the natural disasters that plagued the country during that period such as drought, locusts, cattle rinder pest among others. Mkwati's idea of engaging in an armed combat was premeditated since couple of months prior, the BSAC Administrator in Matebeleland region, Starr had sent the majority of the Southern Rhodesia troops and combat hardware in Transvaal region to be engaged in a battle there. This created a situation in the country of military and defensive weakness as well as security dilemma. Shona people in June 1896 were excessively involved in the war, however they remained generally at the edge. The Rhodesian government quickly reacted by sending troops to repress the Ndebele and the Shona. The serenity of the Rhodesian land given the conflicting parties was paid by the numerous loss of life of the black people being the majority. According to Bhebhe (1959) soon after the receiving the news about the demise of Mkwati, with the influence of the S. Frederick an American, C. J. Rhodes

indicated awesome boldness on this occasion as he intensely strolled without arms entering Ndebele fortification which was situated at Matopo and saw him inducing the Ndebele army to set out their military machinery, wrapping the war up in 1896 October. Matabeleland and Mashonaland proceeded on just as regions of the bigger condition of Rhodesia. Therefore showing how the land belonging to the Zvishavane people was lost to aliens.

The most celebrated legends to emerge out of the uprisings of 1896-7 were the legendary two mediums, individuals appraised and regarded by the in Mashonaland as the connection with their tribal spirits. These included Nyakasikana and Gumhoreshumba from the Nehanda and Kguvi cults respectively who assumed the part of preparing the general black population for the battle which was to be staged against the British people and also politicizing the general population. In any case, to the pioneers, Kaguvi and Nehanda were just but perilous troublemakers which saw them being apprehended and in 1898 were executed. These two murenga-agitators or contenders in the eyes of the indigenous people were transformed to become martyrs. According to Frederiske (1982) the guerrilla war that exploded seventy years after was termed the second Chimurenga or impiyenkululeko in Ndebele, the second war of freedom, and it was connected with the 1896-97 Shona and Ndebele uprisings. The word Chimurenga stems from the Shona term, murenga, signifying rebel or fighter. The Shona Zimbabwean individuals rebelled against their white experts as they had been motivated by the aforementioned influential religious figures which propelled the involvement of many people in March 1896.

The revolt was thwarted by the Settlers' innovative and advanced war equipment which compelled the indigenous people to seek refuge in the caves. In 1896 September, the battle of Gwindigwi was registered as one of the notable warfare that claimed the lives of the blacks and others being apprehended as well as being executed thereafter. Be that as it may, the 1896-7 revolt was instrumental as the Colonizers began to treat the Africans with caution such that they reduced some of the tax charges after the uprising. All things considered, the Africans' anger and zeal to drive the aliens from their land was not wiped away by their defeat, the uprisings were recorded in 1900-1903 such as the Maondera uprising. He was additionally vanquished finally and, abused, passed on in prison. The missionaries were by and large uncompromising in denouncing the Ndebele-Shona uprisings of 1896-97. Zvobgo (1991) asserts that the missionaries coined the Anglo-Ndebele war as the war of 'Christianity versus paganism'. By

having land that was detracted from locals, the ministers showed that they were a vital part of the colonization hardware and the missionaries from the Roman Catholic justified the dismantling of the Ndebele Kingdom on the bases of destroying the savages. Giving a picture of how the ancestors of Zvishavane suffered at the hands of the colonial masters.

The colonial government was prominently characterized by the violation of the Black human rights ranging from the first generation and the second generation human rights (political and civil and social and economic rights). These violations amounted to the brutal assaults, forced labor, discrimination from the access of the public services and entities. The missionaries were supportive of the prejudice atrocities that were waged to the Africans by the White Settlers and some missionaries were even perpetrators of violation of human dignity on Africans. With some who later denounced the ill-treatment of the blacks arguing that the blacks had squarely equal rights as those enjoyed by the White people. Missionaries employed education to foster and legitimize the colonial rule and racial supremacy of the whites over the blacks preaching the divine right of the white to be supreme over the Africans. Nonetheless, as Banana accounts (1985) that amid the 1950s African nationalism which was constantly inactive, turned into a noteworthy power, this wave of insurgence by the African people was pushed by their hunger to be the masters of their fate by controlling the pillars of the nation ranging from social, economic and political structures which shook some of the religious fraternity to reconsider their status. Ndabaningi Sithole was one the beneficiaries of the missionary education on American scholarship around 1955 who later became the prominent pioneer of nationalism in Zimbabwe echoing the key play of the missionary in the literacy development of the nationalist. Moberg (1962) posited that African nationalistic insurgencies were authored in Christianity. This certifies the reason why some of the missionary institutions like Mt Selinda were turned into revolutionary hotbed by the nationalist principals such as Ndabaningi Sithole and Herbert Chitepo. At the same time of the missionaries were being double edged like the sword as they sought to please both the Africans and the White settlers.

The road to the conflagration of the liberation struggle preliminarily took off with the formation of the political parties with first party named the African National Council (ANC) registering Joshua Nkomo as president in 1958 and it was banned in 1959. The National Democratic Party (NDP) was formed under the leadership of Mawema and was created in 1960. Following the ban

of the NDP in the year 1961, the (ZAPU) party was also erected the same year. The dissatisfaction of the members within the ZAPU camp led to the development of an independent faction named ZANU 1963 which had a leadership that registered a clergy man Rev Ndabaningi Sithole who drew his inspiration from the other clergymen like Luther King. Sachikonye (2005), the ZANU and ZAPU's antagonistic relations in the struggle was due to desire by each party to claim power and be at a position to negotiate with the white government. Rev Muzvorewa was also output of the missionary contribution of the struggle to armed struggle just like Sithole. The clergyman Sithole was the chief mobilisers of the masses to rise up in arms against the colonial illegitimate government through the military means divergent from Nkomo who preferred negotiations.

Meanwhile, in 1965 Ian Smith declared the Unilateral Declaration of Independence with the constitution rooted in the preservation of Christianity. The Rhodesian council of churches denounced the UDI government on the meeting held in November in 1965 on the bases that the government was morally wrong and the church castigated the social injustices perpetrated by the Smith government. The UDI's stance on derailing the no Independence before majority rule by Britain motivated the Nationalist to employ armed combat as means to self-government. The RCC which is referred as ZCC now was formed in 1962 as the first ecumenical organization. The RCC which comprised of the of the traditional mainline churches with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church which set up its own Catholic Commission on Peace and Justice. The RCC castigated the UDI government avowing that the government was presided in the immorally based operations which saw the relations between the state and the church coming to a collision. According to Martin and Johnson (1981), there was Umtali (Mutare) Catholic Bishop publicly denounced Smith's restrictions of the political parties using guns and dogs in a letter termed the purchased people. The WCC was also determined in assisting the freedom fighters on the bases of the humanitarian grounds of helping the victims of the struggle.

Apart from Christianity, the African religion made a robust bounce into the melting pot of politics during the Liberation struggle. Ranger (1998) stated that the spirit mediums thought that they had been forgotten only to realize their importance when the guerillas consulted them. Lan (1982) posited the indispensable contribution of the spirit medium named Nemhuru who was consulted by the guerillas and helped them to predict the movements of the enemy, advise them

on how to move strategically beyond enemy lines. By so doing the spirit mediums boosted the moral of the soldiers as well of the citizenry to continue fighting against the illegitimate government that had been erected by Ian Smith. The spirit mediums were also backed by the prophetic voice of Mbuya Nehanda which affirmed that my bones shall rise again. The mediums and the peasantry community were completely drawn into the war as they were completely convinced that they were fighting a just war in which their ancestral spirits were vindicating them for their efforts of restoring the land of their forefathers into the hands of the rightful descendants.

### **2.3 The post-independence religious-political interface**

Palmer and Birch (1992), the conflagration that gripped the Zimbabwean country from 1965-1979 was brought to a standstill by the Lancaster House Agreement which brewed a constitution that sought to elevate the woes of the black people and giving them hope that they might celebrate their individual rights and liberties. The 90 years of colonial domination in Zimbabwe was concluded with the conduction of elections in April 1980 which saw the resounding victory of R. G Mugabe as the leader of the newly formed state. A dilemma awaited him in his new office to balance the expectations of the overzealous black majority and the remorseful white minority. Palmer and Birch (1992) Mugabe appeared on the national television on the evening of his election avowing that his government will ensure the security of both the losers and the winners and castigated racism as the anathema of human philosophy which his government was going to shun. Thus the socialist leader adopted the reconciliation policy as the mechanism to manage the wounds of human degradation made by the colonial regime to the Africans and the fearful white minority of the unforeseen fate ahead of them which they contemplated.

The political-religious relations were restored from being frosty to be that of partnership as the both the religious fraternity and the political players were predetermined with reconciling the nation as a panacea of nation building. Chitando (2005) asserted that the various ecumenical organizations began to unite in support of the newly formed government ranging from the ZCC, CA and the ZCBC pre-occupied with the spreading the gospel of unity and reconciliation. Although there were some divisions in the context of the struggle as some of the Organizations such as the Christian Council who backed the Unity government that had been established between Ian Smith and Muzvorewa, the religious fraternity had been urged to unite to advance

the cause of unifying and nation building. Hallencrezt (1998) posited that the ZCBC began to recognize the Patriotic Front as the constitutional government of Zimbabwe with the zeal to redress the atrocities that had been committed by the Smith regime.

The churches feared to be caught in the identity dilemma by the political players while other churches took a compensatory picture in cooperation with the state to alter their former relations with the Rhodesian government. According to Chitaando (2005), thaw relations between the religious fraternity and the political players manifested itself when the Archbishop of Harare diocese Patrick Chakaipa was convened to bless the national flag in April 1980. While the Christian community was whining with the revolutionaries, less attention was given to the ATR society. Bourdillion (1987) argues that although the mediums such Nehanda were celebrated with a hospital named after her, some of the spirit mediums felt that they had been foxed as they were not incorporated bureaucratic structures of the new government. There was great diffusion from the ATR religion to the Christianity religion, explaining why Christianity began to be the prophetic voice in the post-independence Zimbabwe.

The thawed relations between the state and the religious fraternity were once again frozen within a wink as the state was engulfed in a civil war known as the Gukurahundi in 1984. The fifth brigade trained soldiers swept the Matebeleland and part of Midlands in the name of repressing the dissidents under the directive of the Prime Minister as he was determined to transform Zimbabwe into one party state. According to Bhebhe (2000) the CCJP condemned the Gukurahundi by publicizing the abuses that were unleashed against the civilians in Matebeleland as they reported on the article titled 'breaking the silence; building true peace'. At the same time the ZCBC chairman Mike Auret with his colleagues met with the Prime Minister presenting undeniable evidence of abuses and mass killings but the Prime Minister dismissed their claims labeling them as a band of Jeremiahs who sought to destroy and divide the nation. Hill (2005) asserted that the internal strife that claimed the lives of more than 20 000 people was extinguished by the National Accord that saw the Leader of PF ZAPU Joshua Nkomo and ZANU PF leader coming to the negotiating table. The ZCBC and the Minister of religion Banana had facilitated to the dialogue between the hostile parties. The unity government was once again set up in Zimbabwe, the gospel of reconciliation and national healing was reiterated again by both the state and the church while the victims licked their wounds and the perpetrators going

back to business as normal. Zvishavane is part of midlands and some the people in Zvishavane were affected by the civil strife.

The second decade of independence described as the ESAP epoch as well as the age of the wave of democratization in Zimbabwe. Notable political developments during this time occurred, there was a creation of the formidable opposition party which owed its roots to labor unionism led by Tsvangirai in 1999 and the erection of the National Constitutional Assembly pioneered by Lovemore Madhuku in 1997. The NCA was a fabric of the civil society, the students, activist and churches designed to gauge and epitomized to speak against human rights impediments in the country. With the road set for multi-partism, ZCC and the ZCBC were at the forefront of being at the core of the bus of democratization in Zimbabwe. In 2000 the ZCC, ZCBC and the CCJP partnered with the NCA in mobilizing the people to vote against the unorthodox constitution in the referendum. Darman (2000) stipulated that the aforementioned ecumenical bodies continued to support the NCA in clamoring for the home grown constitution. The culture of violence in Zimbabwe is institutionalized such that the coming of the opposition in the political field, violence continued to be a common feature as the means to stifle the power contenders. Chitungwiza recorded the elections related political violence in 2002 elections which the church continued to denounce these actions by incumbent government which turned a deaf ear to them.

The jambaja also known as the resettlement program which was characterized by invasions of the farms belonging to the whites by the war veterans as ZANU PF continued to use violence as the survival strategy. Chikowero (2000), notes that there was the recurrence in the music songs on national media that had a motif of aggression and violence employed as propaganda tool by ZANU PF. During the fast track land reform program the songs such Zimbabwe yakauyanehondo (Zimbabwe came with bloodshed) were reiterated on state media to steer, encourage and justify violence at the expense of the white minority rights. The desire for unequivocal insatiable absolute power is corrosive like cancer such that the great preaches of reconciliation by the President was completely forgotten. The religious fraternity using the voices of the Archbishop of Bulawayo Pius Ncube continued warning and urging the incumbent government to desist from the culture of violence. According to Chitando (2005), President Mugabe realizing that the frosty relations with the confessional family had persisted, he employed the divide and rule policy on the confessional family winning Bishop Kunonga of

Anglican Church and Musindo to his disposal. Kunonga and Msindo appeared on national television, press and functions as the church's voice that portrayed Mugabe as the Moses of Zimbabwe and God's agent denouncing other religious players who criticized the ZANU PF government as western stooges.

In 2003 the confessional family found itself on confrontation with the President Mugabe as the chairman of ZCBC Archbishop Mutume, Trevor Manhanga and the president of EFZ Bakare held a meeting with the president with an end goal to instill in him the idea of peaceful coexistence with his opposition party MDC which he found trivial. Chitando (2005) argues that the local Christian denominations were also encouraged to persevere on bringing the contesting political rivalries into a peaceful ground by the Evangelical Alliance in Africa which had 38 delegates representing the SADC countries. The efforts of the religious groups to stand as the mediating party and bringing peace to the country proved to be an uphill battle with violence escalating and manifesting itself in various forms. Murambatsvina came into picture as another form of institutionalized violence that was defended on the grounds of cleaning the city. According to Chirongoma (2009), those afflicted with HIV and AIDS, the elderly and the young children were left shelter less as the government was pre-occupied with making the state clean. The article 'the Zimbabwe we want' was crafted by the ZCBC lambasting the Murambatsvina obscenities that degraded the human rights. Chitando (1999) argues that in the times of despair due violence and the economic distress, the gospel songs like Anogona Mwari wedu (our God is able) consoled the citizenry and gave them hope of the situational change.

### **Conclusion**

The chapter traces the development of the relations between the religious fraternity and the political officials reverting to the interplay of the pre-colonial era until the modern day state. It is worth noting that while the religion and politics matured at the scene of national level the Zvishavane people were also affected by the development. The pre-colonial set up represents the forefathers of the Zvishavane people who passed the political and religious systems to their descendants. The colonial era reflect how the religious and the political systems of the pre-colonial era were diluted by colonization and the Christianization process which the people of Zvishavane inherited as well. The post independent mirrors the events that people of Zvishavane witnessed and experienced. The chapter explicitly mirrors the interplay of the confessional

family and political players as partners and competitors in different political processes to produce a plethora of political outcomes.

## **CHAPTER THREE: THE GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY NATIONAL POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS RELATIONS**

The chapter examines the political and religious relations at the Global stage, regional as well as the national contemporary relations. The examinations of the global and regional cases of interplay between politics and religion serves as an outside window to measure the operations of the theological-political problem outside the borders of Zimbabwe since she does operate in a system punctuated by other actors who cause external threats and policy changes in her soil.

### **3.1 INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND RELIGION.**

The international relations protruded in 1648 with a Westphalian peace settlement that ushered in the concept of sovereignty which is a central aspect of statehood in international politics. Morgenthau (1959) defines international politics inferring from any other politics as the struggle for power. Power politics in the international politics is premised in a traditional realist prism of explaining the relations of the state actors in the international system. Realism theorists placed power, national interest, state security at the core of the international politics at the same time positioning religion at the shores of international politics. Modernity and secularism were the products of the age enlightenment in Europe that overshadowed religion, burrying it in the private sector. The literature by Nietzsche 'God is dead' was tantamount in ripping off the essence of religion in public sphere championing reason and science as new gods in the industrialisation age. Marx's theory of class struggle that paved way for the communist regime in Russia and China and the Hegelian fascist nationalism in Germany and Italy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century also undermined any form of umbilical cord between religion and politics. The later half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the international political scientists such as Keohane and Nye field also turned their focus to the international political economy as well as the politics of cooperation that was championed by Wilson. It was not until the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 when religion made an impetus insurgency in the international political discipline with the famous literature, clash of civilisations by S. Huntington and end of history by Fukuyama among other literatures.

The Iranian revolution of 1979 which established the Shariah law and rolled back western culture was the awakening political voice for the Islamist which marked the revisitation of religion in global politics as Muslims were determined in advertising their concerns for the world to consider them. Haynes (2006) posited that the unsecularisation of the world by transnational

religious communities was enhanced by the easier communication linkages. Religion in the contemporary international relations equates the globalisation concept in international system. According to Fox (2004), nothing gives man identity regardless of race, tribe other than religion which emphasise the idea of brotherhood. The quran advocates for the spread of islam religion in the world, views islamic religion as the solely true faith and the believers should live in harmony or as a community which is also resonated by the Christianity religion. The fall of the communist regime and the failure of the nationalism wave that gave people some identity, compelled people in the Islamic world to re-identify themselves and religion proved to give them right the answers relating to their identity. Thus religion as a transnational civil society is borderless just as the globalisation concept, the islamist and Christians identified themselves with their colleagues beyond borders. This explains the Crimean crises of 2013 where the people of Crimea yearned to be Russian nationals since their culture is the same. The crises in Syria is also fuelled by the religious factor where the Muslim group called the Islamist state of Irag and the Levent group are drifted by the identity of islam religion in pursuit of what they refer as purification to unite with their associates in Libya and Irag. Henceforth, religion has rose as a factor which erodes the significance of the concept sovernity just as globalisation.

The clash of civilisation prediction by Huntington came to be realised in 2001 with the 9/11 bombing of the Pentagon tower in Washington DC. The international political players were induced to consider the religious facets in the global politics. The western political players thus labelled the Islamist as the fundamentalist and radical associated with terrorism which disturb order in the world. This saw the shift in the International politics focussing of the new security threat of the co-existence in the intarnational system, terrorism. The Bush adminstration was determined to punish the pepertrators of the 9/11 attacks. The invasion of Irag in 2003 was a move by the USA government that sought to repress the spreading and exportation of the Al-quaeda in Kuwait which she percieved as the islamic terrorist group. The intervention of in Somalia was another move by US which was also designed to supress the al shabaab Islamic group. According to fox et al (2004) the interference of the western countries in the islamic world on the justification of human rights preservation had been viewed by the Islamic world as the scheme by the westerns to dominate and spread their civilisation which is deemed immoral and selfish by Arabic countries. Meisheimer and Walt (2006), argues that the USA foreign policy on Israel is rooted in christianity religion as stipulated in the bible in revelations, the greater

Israel. The injustices in addressing the human rights issues between the states as Israel is believed by the Arabic countries to be exempted from the human rights call has compelled the Islamic states to defend their identity from the perceived danger of the USA scheme to dominate the world. Besides the western Arabic clashes in the international relations due to religion, the war for Kosovo in 1999 between the Serbs and the Albanians, Kargil war between Indonesia and Pakistan, war over Lebanon between Israel and Syria in 1982 and the Gulf War among others are some of the interstate conflicts that were generated by religion.

Apart from being the underlying factor behind the security dilemma in the international politics, religion has shared horizons with the idealism concept of peace and advancement of morality between states in the international system. The international law outlaws the use of force as per UN Charter Article 2 (4) in the international system and Article 33 reinforces the use of peaceful methods in conflict resolution which was echoed by the religious icons such as Gandhi as the principle of non-violence. The religious fraternity in the world has managed to enhance transnational connections between people of the same religious background who sometimes fight each other as the case of Iran and Iraq in 1980-88. The Organisation of Islamic Conference has emerged as a regional body that is aimed at enhancing unity, development and cooperation tantamount to human security among the Islamic nations. The Christian NGOs also referred to as the transnational civil society like the Catholic arm CADEC has been instrumental in the advancement of the welfare of the people in the world. It has been quintessential in helping the vulnerable people in the society, the disaster-stricken and the casualties in the armed struggles around the world.

The Catholic Church has been playing a crucial role in Latin America and Africa in spreading democracy and being the watchdog of the human rights in the civil society as endorsed by the Second Vatican Council of 1962 where the Pope publicly backed human rights call henceforth making great strides towards peace in the world since democracy is believed to foster peace. The religious fraternity has been used to advance national interest, a case in point in the words of Haynes (2001), the Church of Christ missionaries were found in the Bush helping UNITA to fight communist MPLA soldiers in 1987 in Angola. Pope John Paul the Second led the Solidarity movement which was instrumental in fighting communism in Eastern Europe through ethical verbal fighting with communist and Catholicising countries like Poland in 1980. The World

Council of Churches has contributed in participating in the main UN conference on development and environment as in Copenhagen in 1995 and has been a transnational civil society fighting against racism, human rights among other things.

### **3.2 POLITICS AND RELIGION IN AFRICA**

African countries crawled out of the colonial yoke in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century with the banners of nationalism and self-government raised high. The pioneers of the Pan Africanism were calling for the unity of African states as well as decolonisation of Africa. Among the chief Pan Africanist was Kwameh Nkrumah who reiterated the significance of African Countries to seek the political Kingdom first and other pertinent issues would follow. One wonders if the African icon was conscious of the identity crises that followed after the flame of nationalism had bursted out premised on ethnicity and religious grounds. The artifial borders that had been erected by the colonial adminstrations in Africa obscured the cultural, ethnical and religious devide among the African people. According to Weitt (1991), twenty four of the thirty two democratic nations who were liberated since 1973 belong to the Catholic Confession among them are African states Benin, Togo, Congo Brazaville and the DRC. The Islamic community has also its own grip in the Northern parts of Africa clearly dissecting Africa along the confessional lines.

The African Union formed in 2002 succeeding the Organisation of African Unity stands as the regional body that communicates and advances the aspirations of the african people as a unified people. The body has been rendered dsyfunctional as it has failed to accomplish its mandate of promoting peace, security and protection of human rights as stipulated in the constitutive act of AU. Religion among other factors has been a stumbling block towards regionalism and Pan Africanism. The Arabic spring that swept across Middle East and the Northern of Africa region in countries such as Libya, Egypt and Tunisia underscored the importance of religion as Transnational factor just like Globalisation which connets people to act as a congruent. According to Brown (2012), Egypt united the MENA region under the idea of the Arab nationalism which the country shared and the MENA's political identity started by Egypt's importation of the legal codes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century from the west. Thus Egypt became theatre of polical change in the MENA region via democratic revolutions. Prior to 2011 Egypt's religious and political interplay was characterised by the cohesion and co-option of religion by government institutions, a situation which religion is employed as a tool for identity and

resistance. The AU was hesitant to act and intervene in the Libyan crises in 2011 due to the fact of the multiple membership of the countries to a number of the regional bodies. Libya as the Arabic nation it has also ties with the Islamic countries in Blocs such as OIC based on the religious ground. Thus the AU was hesitant because of the religious and cultural divide between the African countries.

Religion has also been instrumental in fighting against authoritarian regimes, enhancing the human rights call as well as facilitating the socio-economic development in the African continent. Sarro and Blanes (2009) stipulated that the emergence and implantation of the Brazilian originated churches known as the Sourthern Atlantic churches in Angola after its independence in 1975 developed the south-south economic connections such that the churches have become the political accomplices of the political affairs in Angola. Thus the church in Angola has become the major link of the business activities between Angola and Brazil cementing the idea of Lusophony as well as promoting the normal diplomatic relations between the states which a major stride toward peace preservation in the international system and the region. The religious fraternity has also been credited in fighting against the communist regime during the civil war in Angola. Haynes (2001) stipulates that the Church of christ missionaries were found in the Bush helping UNITA to fight communist MPILA soliders in 1987. In the 1992 elections in Angola resonating the third wave democratisation in Africa saw the religious fraternity partaking in the political process playing the overseeing role.

The religious factor has been the causal factor of the protracted conflicts that has gripped Africa since the later half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and has degenerated Africa to be the hotbed of conflicts in the world. The desire by the Middle east Arabs to form a caliphate with the Arabs in African countries has faciliated the religious based conflicts in Africa. Fox (2001) asserted that both Saudi Arabia and Iran use religion to pursue their National interests. Saudi Arabia has been responsible for the financial support to the Eritrian government when it engaged in the armed combat against the Christian Ethopian government in 2000. On the other hand the Iranian government has also been financing the Nigerian Arabs to rise against the government. The boko haram Islam group has been manacing in Nigerian creating the human security dilema in the recent years. The disintergration of Sudan into North and South Sudan was rooted in the religious crevices. The libyan government under Guaddaffi sponsored the Muslims groups in the northen Chad to rise

against the Christian government in in 1986. The Durfur region was engulfed with mayhem as the Arabs wanted to control the country and suppress the christians in the country. In 1992 the USA and France supported the coup d' etat in Algeria following the civil war where the radical Muslims wanted to take control of the government governing apparatus.

The humanism or Ubuntu ideology championed by Mwalimu, Julius Nyerere and Kaunda that propagates the respect of human beings and the communalism among the Africans has its roots in the African religion. Tutu (1999) argues that the ubuntu ideology offers a sacrosanct gift to the world since it is premised on humanism which create a room of common good and coopreation in the world. The humanism ideology has been instrumental in advancing the cause of the solidarity and socio-econoimic betterment of the African people. The ideology has compelled the African leaders to join hands to promote the human respect in terms of political social and economic issues. The ubuntu ideology facilitated the African leaders to stand and defend their culture against the western culture erosion or soft power. The legalising of punitive measures on homosexuality by Musovereni of Uganda certifies the role of Ubuntu an offshoot of African religion in regional and international politics as the move froze the relations of Uganda and the West. The erection of the regional bodies such as Southern Africa Development community as a regional bloc to combat against the political, social and economic security dilemma which undermine the human dignity degenerate from the ideology of Ubuntu. SADC created the Free Trade Areas, Common markets and the removal of tariffs as a drastic measure to combat against the south-north economic gap and poverty which undermine the ubuntu ideology of human respect.

### **3.3 RELIGION AND POLITICS IN ZIMBABWE; CURRENT AFFAIRS (2008-2015)**

#### **3.3.1 Religion and political legitimacy**

The ZANU PF led by Robert Mugabe government that assumed power since 36 years ago has been dreadfully employing all devices at their disposal to retain the power. Makumbe commented that the ZANU PF has been into music, soccer and of late into clothing as surviving mechanisms (Newsday 2011). Over the years religion has not been spared from being used a stick or tool by the incumbent government to legitimise its hook and crook hegemony in Zimbabwe. Schmitt (2003), stated that for a political system to survive more than a generation it

does not have to depend only on the techniques which are naked of holding power, authority needs ethics. ZANU PF leaders has managed to lure other church leaders such as Johannes Ndanga the leader of the Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe. Prophecy a religious phenomenon which dates back to the events in the Bible as a mechanism to describe a case where a person is possessed by the holy spirit which enables him to intercede between people and God or a diety. The new pentecostal churches of today in the country have their bases on charismatic prophecy or exorcism and the gospel of prosperity which the traditional churches like the Roman Catholic eschewed.

The new christianity has drawn much following in the recent years which has seen the political players trying to incline to the denominations as strategy to garner support from the congregants. Prophet Makandiwa, leader of the United Family International church, one of the flamboyant prophets has been accused of being ZANU PF centric as he took part in the anti-sanctions campain, (Newday 2011). Prophet Magaya has also been criticised for proclaiming that R. Mugabe is God sent to rule Zimbabwe and the Zimbabweans should give their alligiance to him. The first lady G. Mugabe and the Vice Presidents visited the turnaround church conference at Prophet Magaya's church in a move that was believed to garner political support. (Newsday november 2015). According to Newsday (2011), Makumbe alluded to the fact that even though people in Zimbabwe are free to go to any church, the moves by ZANU PF officials smacked a sinister motive. The ZANU PF has also won the hearts of the Apostolic sects denominations where the President even attended a church services of Marange sect. Even in the recent times of factionalism gripping ZANU PF party, the Apostolic sects have poked their noses into the party divisions. Newsday 2015 posited that Ndanga urged the officials in ZANU PF to accept their fate as they can not question the President and urged his members to continue to support the Holy spirit given Mugabe amid factionalism in Zanu pf. Thus the religious fraternity has played a role in endorsing or legitimising Mugabe's power, given Him a ground to garner support and to also given him the complacence to continue.

### **3.3.2 Religion and lections in Zimbabwe (2008 and 2013)**

The untamed beast, violence, that had characterised the Zimbabwean politics matured as the ZANU PF corroded in power and turned the state into a vempire state which devours on its citizens. The flame of the nationalist heroism was fast being obliterated by the wretched poverty

that faced the citizenry since the second decade of the introduction of the socialist state. The messianic voice of Mugabe that preached forgiveness and reconciliation attracting the spotlight of the international system had been made faint by the mist of the allegations human rights violation. According to Chitando and Togarasei (2008), the 2002 elections were largely disputed by the opposition MDC on fraudulent grounds such that the ZANU PF wanted to clear legitimacy in an election. Following the 2008 harmonised elections on 29 March where the ZANU PF miscalculated in trying to level the ground in the electoral campaigns. The MDC started appearing on television making their campaigns and the police restrictions on their rallies was relaxed which was a fatalistic move by ZANU PF as Tsvangirai's well co-ordinated message proved relevant to the ailing condition in Zimbabwe. (Sappa-associated press 16 May 2008), Elections results were delayed to be announced arousing electoral fraud suspicions, Tsvangirai prevailed over Mugabe with more vote but failed to garner the required majoritarian 50% and above, electoral system by the constitution. The elections re-run or run off came as the initiative to make the decisive criteria of clearing the stalemate. All hell broke loose leading to political paralysis as the ZANU PF resorted to electoral violence to restore lost public footing. Mugwini (2009) explicitly depicted the sudden twist of the political environment as ZANU PF started designing songs that orchestrated violence. The war veterans, youth militias, central intelligence officers and the military personnel were unleashed in rural areas to dish out the sacrosanct reward of physical affliction, torture and intimidation to the MDC electorates. Thus electoral twins, electoral violence and fraud, characterised the political decay in 2008 placing the religious community on a dilemma.

(WCC/AACC report 6 May 2008), the religious confessional family maintained its stance against the political violence and violation of human rights despite the villainous political environment as the church organisations such the WCC and AACC maintained the traditional role of observing the elections and deduced the foul play in form intimidation towards the polls of 2008. Ruzivo (2010) stipulated that the local churches in the cases of the ZCBC, ZCC and the EFZ continued to be the mouth piece against the political violence testified with their issuing of the pastoral letter that was titled the '2008 elections ; only when power stands under God's blessing can it be trusted' which condemned the political violence. The church organisations continued to show profound concern for the human security in Zimbabwe by providing food and accommodation to the victims of the reign of terror. According to Chitando and Togarasei (2011),

the state literally declared war to its citizen and the church was on the other of end had to proffer the humanitarian assistance to the survivors of predatory nature of the state as the families were displaced and others lost their lives in the process. Following the erection of GNU, an amalgamation of ZANU PF and the opposition MDC the church had a task of national healing of the state and to direct the people towards the economic recovery and development since the economy of the country had reached its ebb of performance in 2001 manifested by the closure of industries, exodus of skilled personnel from the country and sky rocketin inflation.

The violence of 2008 led to the breeding of the fear among the Zimbabwean citizenry. The Zimbabweans had not forgotten and had leant seeing nothing evil, hearing nothing evil and speaking nothing evil strategy in contact with their state. The GNU gave the ZANU PF time to strategise the scheme that kept them on the game while the MDC officials found the government offices too comfortable to forget that the GNU arrangement was temporary arrangement. The church partnered with the state in fostering the economic recovery and aiding in its welfarism provision in schools and hospitals. (Mail and Guadian 02 Augusst 2013), Following the 2013 elections which were regarded peaceful, fair and free by Obasango who headed the AU delegation on the election monitoring with the ZANU PF party registering a land slide victory. Chitando (2011) argues that the religious fraternity engaged in the prayer sessions for the peaceful elections in 2013. The government which had institutionalised violence and depended on it for its survival, Mugabe preached the gospel of peace throughout the campains, the ZANU PF had a better plan to dessert their traditional device, violence. The religious fraternity maintained its monitoring and observance of the elections with some of the churches continued to display their allegiance to the revolutionary party.

### **3.3.3 Religion versus law and policy making**

Madhuku (2010) argues that the purpose of law in any country is to enforce justice and justice is a component of morality. Thus religion and law share the same horizon of ensuring morality in a state. Schmitt (2003) posited that there is no legal system that can address all political contingencies, legal systems are incapable of resolving political crises. Therefore religion can work hand in hand with the legal system in fostering morality. The legal system in Zimbabwe under the constitution sanctions the existence of the dual legal system in Zimbabwe namely the general law and the African customary law. The African customary law is derived from the african

customs which are shaped by the African religion and culture. The constitution of Zimbabwe provides for the freedom of religious operations in the country as the right celebrated by Zimbabweans. The constitution, however, does not specify the contact between the state and the religious fraternity. Religion in Zimbabwe has sought to undermine the women and children rights in Zimbabwe. Some churches in the Apostolic sect like Marange sect propagates the patriarchal nature of society where the masculine individuals dominates in both private and public spheres of the society.

The church members believe in the practice of polygamy. The traditional set up of the marriage in the Marange apostolic church has undermined the reproductive and sexual rights as the women are pruned of their power and autonomy over their own bodies. The church impedes the rights of the children to education as the church is a breeding ground for the early marriages which degenerates to the high rates of poverty levels in Africa. The pregnancy termination act chapter 15:10 provides for the condition where the pregnancy can be terminated such as when it endangers the life of the mother. Religion dogma is against the idea of abortion in whatever circumstances. The religious beliefs has been the underlying factor compelling the religious fraternity to waver their rights. The copac constitution making in 2012 following the referendum in 2013 was a great stride by the Zimbabweans in the road towards a democratic dispensation. The religious fraternity shaped the the outcome of the constitution of Zimbabwe. The burning issues such as the gay rights were eschewed from being enshrined in the constitution due to the majoritarian religious family. Henceforth, the constitution of Zimbabwe as the supreme law of the land has been largely shaped by the religious community.

#### **3.3.4 Religion versus political consultancy**

The political guide role that has been played by the African religion in the pre-colonial state seems to have a permanent grip in Zimbabwean politics since it continues to resurface in the political current affairs in the Zimbabwe's political terrain. According to (Newsday 7 October 2013), the leader of the opposition party MDC, Morgan Tsvangirai, visited the Synagogue Church of all Nations christian denomination in Nigeria led by the famous prophet T. B. Joshua. The newspaper affirmed that the party leader's visit was drifted by the agenda to seek for the divine intervention following his electoral loss to his political rivalry Mugabe in the 2013 elections. The Zimbabwean newspaper March 2015, posited that during the ZANU PF congress

of 2014, President R.G. Mugabe accused the former Vice President Mujuru of hiring the N'angas (traditional healers) to put a death spell on him so that he can leave office for her to assume office. One wonders the source of Mugabe's allegations proving that they feed from the same plate. Thus religion given such events, still dominates the public sphere in the Zimbabwean political playing field as it is believed to be useful as a device to outwit the political opposition. In this regard it can be equated to the political consultancy activity which serves as the advisory machinery to the political parties.

### **Conclusion**

The chapter examined the relationship between religion and politics at the world political stage exhuming religion as the source of conflict, device which shapes foreign policies and national interest, enhancing democracy and development and acting as the moral guide. The regional political-religious relations are unravelled in this chapter where Africa has been mirrored as a hotbed of protracted conflicts and religion being the underlying factor of disturbing possibilities of a peaceful environment as well as regional security. The exploration of the world and regional political-religious relations by the researcher was a move designed to use the cases beyond borders as the yardstick to gauge the relations to Zimbabwe's standpoint since she does not operate as an isolation. The contemporary religious and political relations in Zimbabwe were also articulated in this chapter.

# CHAPTER FOUR: THE IMPACT OF RELIGION IN SHAPING THE POLITICAL PROCESSES AND OUTCOMES IN ZVISHAVANE (2008-2015)

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter presents, interprets and analysis the findings of the attitudes, opinions and experiences of thepeople of Zvishavane with regards to the relationship between politics and religion. The data was collected from the target population which are the religious confessional families that are found in Zvishavane. The collected data by the means of questionnaires and interviews was presented in disciptive and statistical form to ehnhance the understanding of the nature of the problem as articulated by the respondents. The chapter also unmaskes the interpretation and analysis of the data using the theological approach technique and the theories that explains the phenomenology of religion.

## 4.2 RESPONSE RATE OF QUESTIONAIRES

The researcher collected data from the church leaders and members of denominations namely the Roman catholic, United CCZ, Methodist, SDA, Anglican, Reformed Church in Zimbabwe, Evangelical lutheran in Zimbabwe, Salvation Army, AFM (pentecostal), Johanne Marange, Johanne Masowe, Mwazha and AFM (Apostolic sect), Jehova’s Witness, Family of God, UFI, Christ Embassy and ZAOGA. The tables below illustrates the statistics of response rate of the questionares and the distribution of the targeted population.The researcher distrubuted 50 questionnaires targetting 10% sample size of Zvishavane population. The researcher targeted 60 interveiws in Zvishavane.

### 4.2.1 RESPONSE RATE OF THE QUESTIONAIRES

Fig 1.1

RELIGION		Number of questionnaires distributed		Number of questionnaires responded to	% of the response rate
Christianity	Mainline churches	13	35	32	91

	<b>Apostolic sects</b>	<b>10</b>		
	<b>Pentecostal churches</b>	<b>12</b>		
<b>Islam</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>African religion</b>		<b>9</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>89</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>50</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>90</b>

#### **4.3 THE ECUMENICAL BODIES OR CHURCH ORGANISATIONS AT DISTRICT LEVEL, ZVISHAVANE**

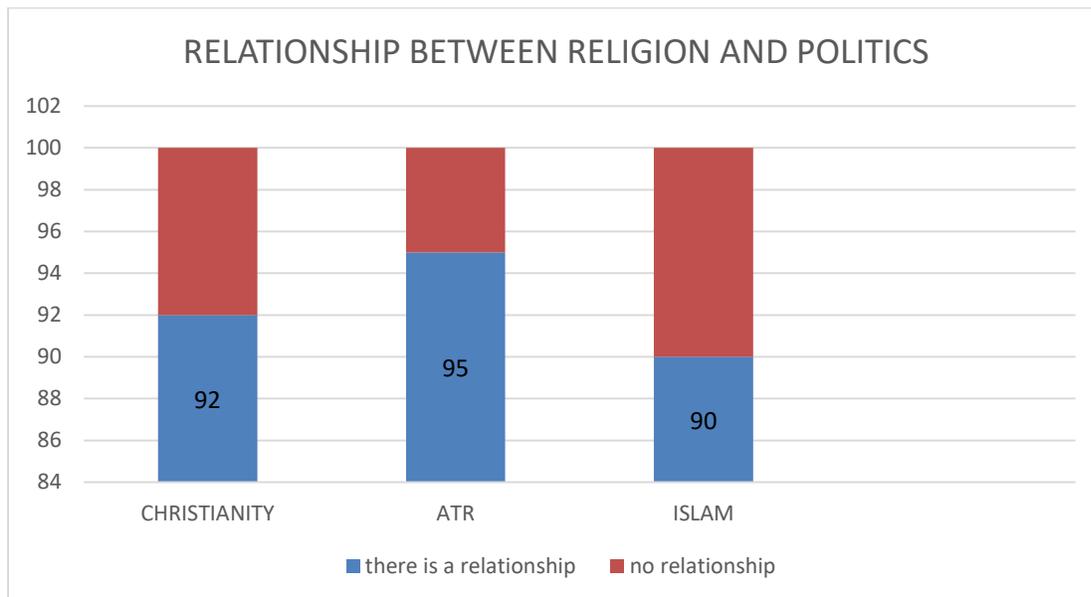
ZCC, that is a coalition of the mainline traditional churches, has managed to difuse its cause to be the prophetic voice across the country of Zimbabwe. The organisation registered its existence in the constituency for quite a long period. At the present moment the body is being led by Rev Mtata of the Evangelical Lutheran of Zvishavane. Methodist Pastor argued that although the room is limited, his church through the ZCC body has mantained its mandate for being the mouth peace of the people against government ills as well as concentising the people about the importance of the human rights awareness. According to the leader of the RCZ, Pastor Mutemererwa, ZCC body conducted the constitutional awareness in 2012, which was aimed at educating the religious family about the importance of participating in the constitution making process that took place in 2012. Father Chipeneti of Anglican church further cemented the idea of ZCC's role in advancing the peaceful coexistence in Zvishane by alluding to the fact that the body took representetives from the churches to monitor the elections in 2013. The body is elated for conducting the periodic workshops that are aimed at enhancing the human rights awareness to its community. African Christianity Council of Zimbabwe which was headed by Mr Chikozho is also another church organisation that is found in Zvishavane. The body just like in the national politics is denounced as the extension of ZANU PF, this explains why Mr Mudekwa of Johanne Marange won the ward 13, Mandava. The EFZ is also recorded in the map of Zvishavane and is chaired by Pastor Mazhambe of FOG but its operations in Zvishavane are at minimum level and the group had been regarded as disgrantled. It this case the church organisations in Zvishavane

are a replica of national politics where some are partisan and they help people to vote for the ruling party.

#### 4.4 RESPONDENTS'S POSITION ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICS AND RELIGION IN ZVISHAVANE

The respondents recorded the frosty relations between the church and the incumbent government during the 2008 crises. The church leaders corresponded in accounting that their congregations were affected by the violent nature of the political environment which punctuated the 2008 elections. Methodist leader testified that the 2008 political environment placed the white collar job at dilemma, as the leader had to be a mediator between the two political antagonists and church mates to find a common ground. However, the church leaders and their members described the thaw relations between the politics and religion from the period of the GNU up to the present moment. The leaders from the various confessions mentioned above applauded the government for giving them the ground and peaceful environment to carryout their confessional operations. The graph below potrays the views of respondents on if there is a relationship between politics and government.

**Fig 1.2**



#### 4.4.1 Analysing the power relations as understood by the religious fraternity in zvishavane

According to Easton [1953] Politics is authoritative allocation of resources in the society. The term authoritative implies the legitimate use of power within a society. The exercise of power becomes an instrumental art of politicking in any given society as a means and an end. Distribution of power is the outcome of the political processes such elections, wars among others. Power can be defined as the ability to influence behavior and control of resources. The power equation;

$$P = (C+M+E) + (S+W)$$

Where C.....critical mass [literacy of the population]

M..... military advancement (numerical value and equipment advancement)

E.....economic weight (the level of industrialization of a country)

S..... strategic purpose

W.....Will

The religious fraternity in Zvishavane presented the power relations inferring from to the power relations in the Bible and the Quran. The researcher arrived at this equation as explained by the religious family.

Inferring from the above equation:  $P = Y(C+M+E)+Y(S+W)$

Where Y ..... the spirit of GOD

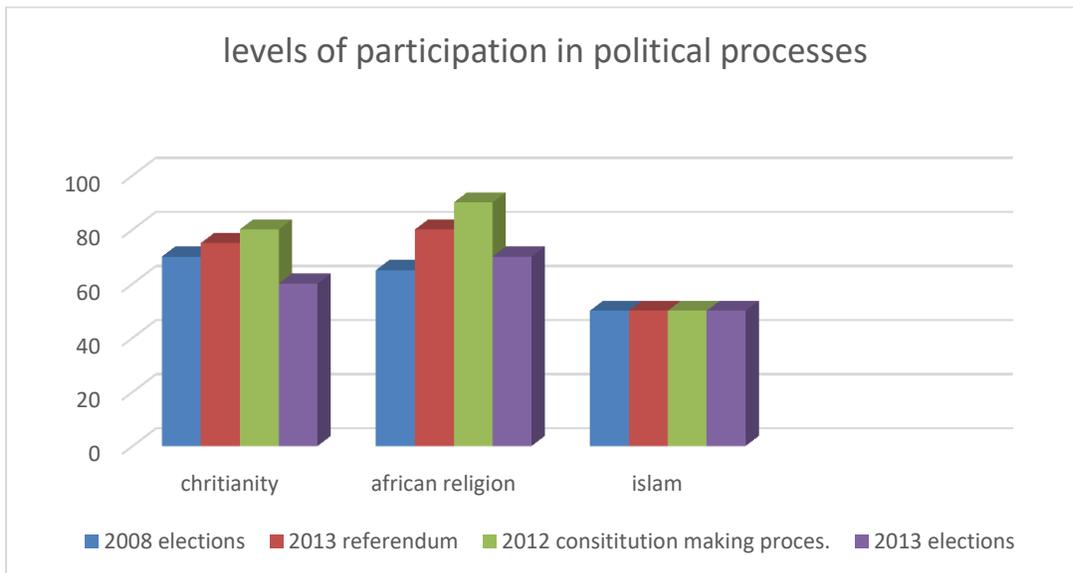
The value of Y in the equation is the coefficient or the constant number which affects the values in the bracket with it remaining constant. This spells that the in the religious domain the every facet of power has to backed by God's spirit. In christianity, God's spirit is called Holy spirit while in the African religion they are refered as the ancestral spirits. Thus the theist group in Zvishavane believes that from the military capability, economic weight, critical mass, strategy and will has to be regarded as powerful it has to be backed by the spirit of God. Mr Nyamaya in an interview reinforced the central role of religion in every sphere of the lives of the people in Zvishavane as he alleged that when the Shabanie mine was still operating, mysterious deaths

occurred which resulted in the summoning of the Chiefs and the Traditional healers to carry out rituals at the mine to curb the catastrophes. Hence showing the involvement of the religious factor in Zvishavane’s political economy proving that God is intergral in every facet of the people of Zvishavane.

#### 4.5 RELIGION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN ZVISHAVANE

The issue of political participation by the confessional family varied from one religious denomination to another in Zvishavane. The Moslems and the ATR affiliates affirmed that they had no problem with the political participation in relation to their faith. However, the members of Christian denominations of Jehovah’s Witness and the SDA showed that political participation and political involvement is a taboo in their denominational beliefs. On the other hand some churches welcomed the idea as encompassing to their belief. However on personal grounds some church leaders find it trivial to participate in the political processes and some are governed by church laws. The graph below shows the levels of participation by the religious family in the elections of 2008 and 2013, it also shows participation pattern by the religious family in the referendum of 2012.

**Fig 1.3 shows the levels of participation in Zvishavane**



#### **4.5.1 Factors which affect levels of religious citizenry participation in political processes in Zvishavane**

#### **4.5.2 Miracles versus the ballot**

Using the reference from the questionnaire findings as illustrated in fig 1.4 as well as the interviews, the levels of participation by the religious community is far from being convincing. One of the respondents, S. Sibanda a resident in Mandava, in answering the reason behind their relegation from the public policy involvement alluded that their isolation from public participation was due to their gradual loss in confidence in the ballot. The respondent further alluded to the fact that the ballot system in Zimbabwe is transparent such that the results are premeditated. Thus the ballot had dismally failed to cater for the problems of people in Zvishavane which they believed that the ballot had the power to transform their lives and to be empowered by it. Respondents made reference to the 2008 elections and described the processes as the apogee of the manifestation of the reduced essence and meaning of the ballot system as means of democratic norms. The electoral fraud and the electoral violence pushed the religious community to the shores of public participation. This accentuates the low levels of voter turn out as presented in fig 1.4 in the 2013 elections. The researcher from the observations then concluded the shift in the religious community in the referent object of their trust and hope to new christianity which offers miracles in Zvishavane. Thus preferring the “power” of God than that of man.

Fr Chipeneti of Anglican church noted that he participated in the 2013 elections through prayer. Chitando (2011) posited the engagement of the christian communities in prayer session as mechanism to foster peace during the 2013 elections. This explains the idea of the African politics in failing to master the democratic institutions where violence has characterised the political processes, hence the shift of focus to the divine aid to foster peace. Therefore the ballot became the bearer of dissatisfaction, affliction, torture and abject poverty instead of bringing security, service delivery and human integrity. The allegiance of the religious community turned towards the new christianity, which masquerades miracles as the new religious phenomenon in search for the health, food, shelter and employment among other needs the ballot failed to offer. Thus religion becomes a political sleeping pill which forces people to be comatose

to the political processes and shapes political subject culture as a political outcome in Zvishavane.

#### **4.5.3 Violence versus morality**

The flag of morality is waved high by all the religious denominations in Zvishavane since they testified their passion to aid the vulnerable. Churches like RCZ, RCC, SDA, Anglican among others testified helping orphans at Bethany, gave food to Zvishavane prison inmates and helped with facilities at Jairos Jiri. This advances the idea of religion in promoting morality in the community. The church leaders credited themselves from removing other youths from the streets and encouraged them to abide in moral practises. According to Masunungure (2004) the nature of the African politics is punctuated by the political violence and intimidation of the opposition inherited from the colonial administration. This characteristics of politics compels the religious community to draw a distinctive line between politics and religion. The ZANU PF government invested in the youth militias in the 2008 electoral violence hence the church had to come in and fight against the culture of youth hooliganism perpetrated by ZANU PF in Zvishavane. By so doing religion can be credited in making the peaceful environment that characterised the 2013 elections in Zvishavane.

Mr Hwata, a Maglas resident and Jehohova's witness member gave reference to the scriptures in the book of Romans 12.2 which stipulates that the christians should not conform to pattern this world but they should be transformed by renewing their minds in support of his church's disengagement in politics. This has resulted in the subject political culture by some religious denominations as they regard politics as the dirty and immoral activity in which they have to distance themselves from. According to Matiki (2009) following the organised violence orchestrated by the incumbent government, ZANU PF, the religious fraternity developed a policy of seeing nothing evil, speaking nothing evil and doing nothing evil against the government compelling them to adapt and justify that subject political culture. The religious groups in Zvishavane thus are operating on the 'God shall principle or the law of the exodus' where they hope God will deliver them from the shackles of violence under the hand of ZANU PF just like he did to the israelites delivering them from Pharaoh. This resonates the idea of non violence that was championed by the theorists such as Ghandi and Martin Luther King.

Henceforth, political violence affects the political participation of people in Zvishavane which in turn affects the political trends and outcomes such election results in Zvishavane.

#### **4.5.4 Human security versus mortality security**

The human security according to the United Nations Development Program of (1994) denotes that a human being should have freedom from fear, risk and want. The idea of human security can be achieved by providing and ensuring the existentiality of human rights and development which ensures that all the needs and wants that a human can desire are catered for. However, the concept of human security according to the theist groupings Zvishavane is far from complete with regards to the above postulations of human security. According to Pastor Rukuni of SDA only God can give a person complete security ranging food security, health, environmental, protection of human rights among others. Therefore, the idea of forming a government that protect and give people security on the bases of social contract as agitated by Locke and Hobbes does not conform to some of the religious people in Zvishavane. Thus there are in a social contract with a sovereign, God, rather than man hence leading them not to utilise the right to vote an important tool of political process in Zvishavane.

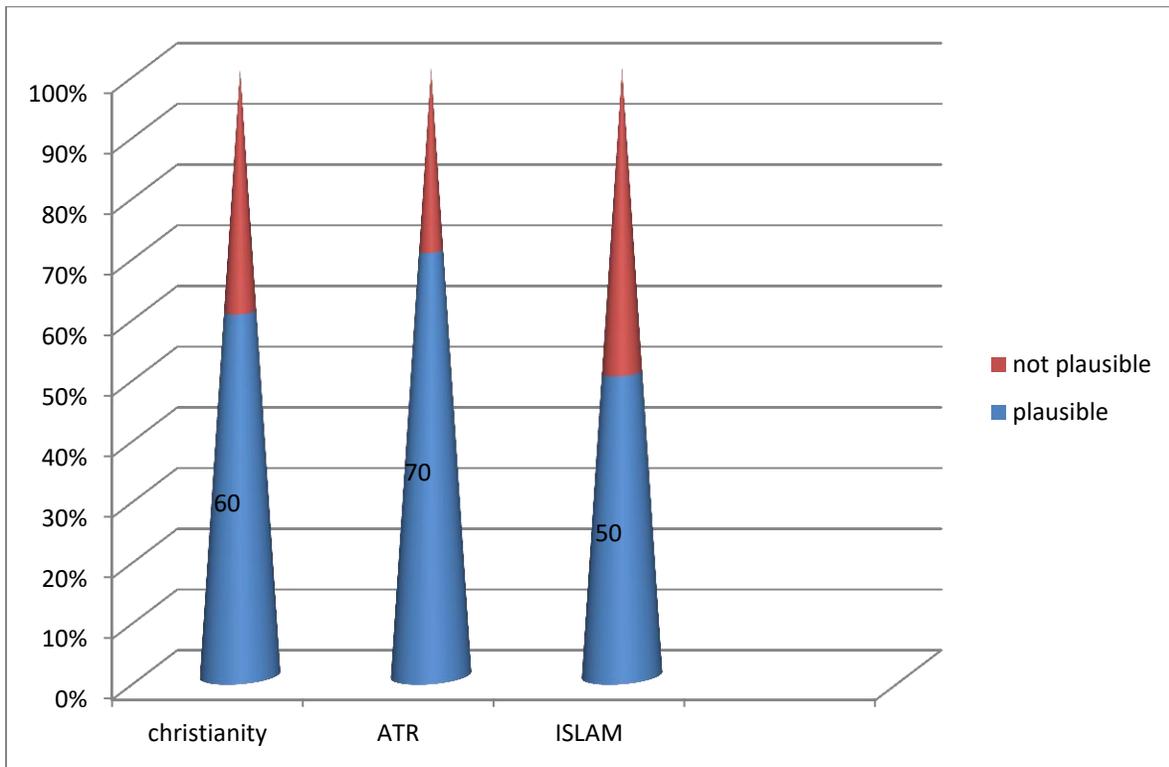
The understanding of human security by the religious community proceeds the structural and cultural conditions that fuel inequality as stipulated in the UNDP. The human security as stipulated by the theist family in Zvishavane is extended to what they believe as life after death. Tafadzwa from Christ embassy quoted the scripture John 2:25 which posits that Jesus promised them everlasting life in justifying his non-participant culture. Tafara a Moslem and Kandodo resident also certified that the Quran validates the idea that man was not created to be destroyed by death but rather to be transferred to another world. This bolsters the centrality of the human security as some of the religious family waver their rights to be involved in the public policy making in the name of sacrificing this current life for the next life to come. Besides mortal security, the religious have more threats of security divergent to the UNDP postulations. Shoko (2011) argues that the african religion and Christianity believes in the devilish work like witchcraft that threatens the right to life and even right to property. Therefore the religious family entered into a social contract with God for the extended human security against mortality and devilish works which drifts them to be reluctant about the social contract with man.

#### **4.6 RELIGION AND PARTISIANSHIP IN ZVISHAVANE**

The researcher conducted an interview with the MDC councillor of ward 8 Maglass Miss I. Pasira who alleged that the cases of the religious family being partisan are existential at minimum levels in Zvishavane's political terrain. She accounted one incident in the 2013 elections where the Councillor Mudakwe of ward 13 known as Mandava ferried his church members (Johane Marange) with his transport services to go and vote for him which saw him winning the elections in that particular ward. This accentuates the idea of religion playing an important role in shaping the political processes and outcomes in Zvishavane. Fr Chipeneti of the Anglican church accounted the numerous visits that he experienced since his arrival at his church from the ruling party officials asking about where his allegiance lies. He further alleged that the controversy of Bishop Kunonga did put him on that spotlight by the political parties which he is not comfortable with. This shows that some churches have maintained their grounds of being apolitical in the language of political parties at the same time showing the insatiable hunger in party politics as exhibited by Zanu pf which by all means tries to exploit as well as diverting the church mandate to capitalise and maximize their personal gains in Zvishavane. The ATR member posited that the ZANU PF party is the party for the Zimbabweans which is preoccupied by defending the land which belongs to the ancestors of this land. Mr Mandiwana a Maglas resident and member of Apostolic Mission in Zimbabwe (apostolic church) said that he only recognises ZANU PF as a party in Zimbabwe. Therefore religion and partisanship in Zvishavane has shaped the political processes and outcomes in the mining town.

#### 4.7 RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND POLITICAL OFFICE IN ZVISHAVANE.

Fig 1.4 illustrating the views of the respondents on a clegyman in political office.



The Councillor Pedzisai suggested that the idea of a clergyman holding a public office is not a plausible idea since politics and religion are like oil and water which can not be mixed. She contended that the religious people had to invest more in prayers meant to ask for peace from God. Methodist Pastor noted that a religious leader taking a public office is a good platform to affect policy making and implementation since the spirituality of the leaders is a matter of concern to the public and to the life of the church. Fr Chipeneti noted that although the idea of having the religious personel holding a public office, at times it drifts these church leaders to compromise their faith. Other leaders like Rev Mtata, the RCZ leader, Father Musendeki of Roman Catholic posited that the idea was not a welcome one. Luther King (1967) posited that the idea was plausible given a situation where the leader is well vest with the scriptures.

#### **4.8 OBSERVATIONS**

Some of the respondents were scared to share their thoughts and experiences a factor which shows the dirty image of politics by the religious community. The researcher discovered that there is an educational gap between the church leaders with their congregants. The church leaders the researcher contacted are graduates from different colleges in the field of theology which empowers them to weigh religion and faith. The members in some denominations are still lagging behind which in turn affect their policies against the political processes in Zvishavane. The lack of knowledge by the members of the various denominations have a bearing in the levels of participation in the political processes in Zvishavane. There was the insurgence of the new brand of Christianity in Zimbabwe which rose and gained popularity in the later half of the first decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century referred as the New Christianity. The churches emerge just like the business enterprises developing from the grassroots, with new spiritual resources, and ideals, throw up new leaders constantly and capture new opportunities. These churches draw unregulated energies of a number of men and women, who often act and unaccountably taking advantage of the low start up costs. The churches are exempted from the draconian legislation such as POSA and the government registration which is tantamount to the restrictions of the assembly of people without the consent of the police officers. The unregulated operations and the ability of the churches to raise funds can be capitalised by the opportunist to engage in the political discourses as well as engaging in the immorally activities such as arms trafficking which tantamount to national and human security in Zvishavane.

#### **4.9 RELIGION VERSUS POLITICAL CONSULTANCY IN ZVISHAVANE**

The researcher undertook an interview with Councillor, Miss Pasira, of ward 8, Maglas, who prevailed in the 2013 elections. The councillor affirmed that religion was discarded from being one of the winning strategies that she employed to garner for the support of her fellow residents in Maglas since she is not religiously attached or devoted. She alluded that as the resident who grew up among the people of Maglass she had the right message which corresponded to the day to day problems of the people. On answering why MDC lost the parliament seat of Zvishavane – Ngezi constituency, she testified the miscalculation of the party which imposed the leaders to the constituency which people are not familiar with. Mr Mandiwana a Maglas resident argued that ZANU PF has been dominant in the constituency due to its message which matches with the

local people's culture and agrarian mode of economy. This resonates the idea that politics at district and ward level which is pronounced by leaders who are locally based, who come from and among the community and who are acquainted of the everyday problems that the local people face. Thus relegating religion to the shores of political consultancy in Zvishavane.

### **Conclusion**

The chapter unmasked the operations and doctrines that are posed by the major religions to the people in Zvishavane in relation to the political processes. Religion as a social force that controls the attitudes, opinions and actions, the chapter had to unravel them and saw their presentation from the findings on questionnaires, observations and interviews as a drastic measure to make it easier to untie the knot of linking religion to the political power norms, tools of political processes such as right vote, freedom of speech, association as well as all forms of participation. Interpretation and analysis of the values and actions of the theist family in Zvishavane was also unearthed in this chapter using the theological techniques, and the theoretical frameworks as yardsticks to solve the religious-political problem.

## **CHAPTER (5) FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS**

### **5,0 Introduction**

The chapter concludes the problem under study at the same time proffering the proposed recommendations to the theological-political problem.

### **5.1 CONCLUSIONS**

The introductory chapter outlined the study problem's background, the literatures prior to the study, the theoretical frameworks that were employed in the study and the various methods that were used to make the study a success. The second chapter gave a recap of the political and religious relations in Zimbabwe as a move designed to trace and link the development of the political culture of the people of Zvishavane with regards to the theological-political problem. The third chapter outlines the relations of politics and religion at a global stage as well at the regional level. The chapter serves as an outside window to picture the implications of the interplay between religion and politics thereof using the case studies beyond the borders to weigh the standpoint of the theological religious problem in Zimbabwe. The fourth chapter dishes out the findings and their analysis as well as interpretations of the problem under study as it mirrors the impact of religion in shaping the political processes and outcomes in Zvishavane

The political-theological problem has been a hot air since Ancient Greece philosophy until the modern political philosophers ranging from Weber, Machiavelli, Nietzsche, Marx among others declared the death of the religion leaving the public sphere and being buried by modernity and secularism in the private sphere. The philosophers went on to predict the vanishing of religion even in the private sphere at an earlier stage than now. With the religious groups gaining prominence in the public sphere at global, regional and national level in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with modernity and secularism resurrecting it from the private sphere, one wonders where did the great thinkers get it wrong. Thus the study uses the premise of the theorists' as the point of departure to examine and exhume the concomitances underlying the political and religious relations in Zvishavane, Zimbabwe. The study took a form of a case study in a bid to excavate the religious phenomenology in shaping the political processes and outcomes in Zvishavane. The research offered the researcher an ample time to interact with the theist groupings in Zvishavane as a drastic measure to decode their religious attitudes, emotions, opinions and actions in relation

to the political systems in Zimbabwe. From the outset, there is no doubt that there is an umbilical cord between the religious doctrines and operations in relation to the political power relations, tools of political processes such the rights and liberties which are tantamount to the principle of self government.

Zvishavane town's political terrain has manifested itself to be a miniature of the national politics since the 1947 student strike at Dadaya mission which signified the black resistance to the colonial capitalism. The Dadaya mission as the church institution of Zvishavane has remained the breeding space for nationalist and set the first paddling motions for the Liberation struggle. The constituency just like in the national politics has been dominated by the ZANU PF party since the attainment of independence in 1980 and the church is still visible in the public sphere just like in old days. The church organisations in Zvishavane has helped in shaping the political processes through conscientising the public on the importance of the tools of political process such as the right to vote. The partisan nature of some religious sector has also pervaded across the country to the semi periphery as religion continues to claim its prominence in the public sphere.

## **5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS**

There is need for the theological training for the religious fraternity ranging from the children to the elders as a drastic measure to equip them with the skills to strike a balance the changing times with their religious norms. Thus diverging from the traditional belief where the thological training is reserved for the Pastors and priests. As the study has illustrated that the religious elites are educationally priviledged than their congregants though some churches in the apostolic sect the educational bar is level. The education of the religious family wili empower everyone to approach their religion with a critical mind that can balance their faith and secularism.

There is need to reconcile and specify the relationship between the political players and the religious community in a legal framework in a bid to avoid the cases of either of the players overlapping its stipulated roles. The constitution of Zimbabwe does not stipulate the demacation line it just provides for the fredom of practise of any culture in section 63 of the constitution. Thus there is ned for the revisit of the legal framework and specify the boundaries that are there between politics and religion.

Religion as the third party political players that can work alongside with the courts in pursuing a moral society, special powers can be granted to religious bodies as the third party player that mediates between salient players in the political systems, the state and the individual. The church has been the mediating institution between the state and the individuals when crises gripped the country. The church in order to be effective in the intervention in the crises in Zimbabwe, it has to be backed by a legal framework that gives it the powers to be listened by the political players.

The government to accentuate the importance of education to the religious community through media since education equips individuals with the critical knowledge to balance reason and faith. Some churches are impeding the rights of the children such as the right to education which empowers the children with a critical mind that can balance the spiritual needs and the physical needs. The impediment of the rights of children degenerates into early marriages which are more often not planned and in turn breeds a cycle of early marriages and impediment of right to education.

The government to register and monitor the operations of the religious denominations since religion can be exploited by the drug traffickers, human traffickers and the terrorist groups which is a threat to national and individual security. The politicians as the study has shown that they are ready to conceal their motives under the carpet of religion, therefore they are not the only ones who might have the agenda of exploiting religion for personal grounds. These can come in form of drug traffickers, arms smugglers among other criminal activities.

The government and churches should create a platform for the provision of workshops with the church leaders explaining the importance of human rights and human development so that they might encourage their congregants to invest in their physical and psychological needs rather than investing too much in the spiritual needs. The religious community has to be continuously conscientised about the importance of human rights. In as much as it good to be apolitical, it is still a form of participation because politicians can always capitalise on that gap. The human being is made up of the spirit, the soul and the mental thus the physical and the psychological needs have to be balanced with the spiritual needs too.

The government needs to improve its social, political and economic responsibility as the the partner of citizens, facilitator and regulator of the human security needs since the historical

vampiristic nature of the state led to the theists' retirement from public participation. Politics had been perceived by the religious community as a dirty game and the bearer of the bad news to people. The gospel is the only bearer of good news to the religious people, the introduction of good corporate governance practices and mastering the use of democratic institutions in a peaceful way can transform African politics to be the bearer of good news just like the gospel with the religious community ready to embrace it.

### **5.3 THE FUTURE**

History has a syndrome of repeating itself, the long political structures in Zimbabwe are shaped by the religious facets as inputs in the political processes to produce the various political outcomes. Religion evolved and matured with the ticking of the clock to square with the development in the secular world. Thus religion is not a static phenomenon but rather it is full of kinesis which is largely affected by the world in which it operates in, taking with it various forms and principality. The facets of religion are going to be witnessed in the operationalisation of the concept of the nation state. Religion as the identity conveyor in the age where the surges nationalism ideology are diminishing, religion is emerging as the factor that invokes political mobilisation and accentuate it as a permanent threat to the national and individual security at a Global and regional levels. There is the assurance that religion is bound to maintain its traditional moral guide status to the world and in the nations and continue to profer welfarism of the people and to be the intermediate mediator between the state and the individuals.

Religion as the conveyor of identity is bound to diffuse the future political processes and outcomes of the nation alluding to the fact that the political parties in the future are going to be punctuated around the religious lines. Religion as the bastion of the patriarchal settlement in any society, the feminist efforts to reassert the political structures and replace them with the feminine saturated ones seems to be an endless uphill battle. This implies that the prospects of the 2018 elections are largely going to be affected by the religious facets as men are going continue to dominate their female counterparts. Religion has been traditionally used in the context of the carrot-stick scenerios, thus opportunist will continue to capitalise the religious phenomenology to their selfish unqueachable desires.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Aderibigbe, S, and Aiyegboyin, D, (1997) Religion: Study and PracticeIjebu-Ode; Alamsek Press,
- Audi, R. (2000) Religious commitment and secular reason; Lincoln ; university Nabraska
- Bakare, S.(1993),My Right to Land, in the Bible and in Zimbabwe. Harare: Zimbabwe Council of Churches,
- Banana, C.S.(1991) Church and State in Southern Africa SAPEM, 4,11,
- Bhebhe, N. (1979) Christianity and Traditional religion in western Zimbbabwe, London, Longman group Ltd
- Bosch, D.J. (1992)Transforming Mission - Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission, New York: Orbis Books,
- Bourdillon.M, (1990), Religion and Society: A Text for Africa, Gweru: Mambo Press
- Brown. P(1996) Aspects on the scramble of Matabeleland,Manchester press Ltd.
- Brown,N.J. (2012) Contention in religion and state in post revolutionary Egypt, social research
- Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (1997); Breaking the Silence; Building True Peace, Harare : CCJP Press
- Crystal, D. (2003)The Cambridge Encyclopaedia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
- Chavhunduka. G, (2001). Dialogues among civilizations Religion today
- Chigwedere A S. (1988), Pre-colonial histories of Zimbabwe and Africa, essay review
- Chikowero, M. (2011) The third Chimurenga , land and song in Zimbabwe; Ultra Nationalist state ideology.
- Chitando, E. (2002)Down with the Devil, Forward with Christ: A Study of the Interface Between Religious and Political Discourses in Zimbabwe”, African Sociological Review, p6.
- Chitando, E. (2011) Prayers, Politics and Peace: the Church’s Role in Zimbabwe’s Crisis, in Zimbabwe at the Crossroads, Openspace, Issue 1, pp.43-48.

Chitando, E. and Togarasei, (2010) L. June 2008, Verse 27; The Church and the 2008 Zimbabwean Political Crisis, African Identities, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp.151-162.

Chirongoma, S. (2009) An Exploration of the Impact of Operation Murambatsvina Especially on those Affected by HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe, in Chitando, E. and Hadebe, N. (eds), Compassionate Circles: African Women Theologians Facing HIV, Geneva: WCC Publications,

Chrisler, J. C. and McCreary, D. R. (2010) Handbook of gender research in psychology. New York: Springer sciences+ Business Media.

Daneel, M. (1971) Old and new in Southern Shona independent churches, Vol 1, Background and rise of the major movements, the Hague, Morton

Easton, D. Political system, An Inquiry into state of political science, Newyork; Alfred –A Knopf.

Chitando. E.(1999) Complementing approaches to the study of religion. An application to a study of gospel music in Zimbabwe

Dorman, Sara Rich. (2002) "Rocking the Boat? Church-NGOs and Democratization in Zimbabwe" African Affairs, issue 101

Ekwunife, O. (1990) Conservations in Igbo Traditional Religion. Enugu; Snaap Press Limited

Fox, J (2003) A world survey of religion and state, Newyork; Cambridge university

Frederiske, J. (1982) None But Ourselves: Masses vs. Media in the Making of Zimbabwe, Harare: Anvil Press,.

Grbich, C. (2007) Qualitative Data Analysis: An Introduction, London: Sage Publications Ltd,

Habermas, J. (1989) The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society, Cambridge, MIT Press,

Kumar, V and Aaker, D, A (1999) Constructing Questions for Interviews and Questionnaires: Essential for Marketing

- Lan, D. (1985) Guns & Rain: Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe, Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House
- Luther King, M. (1967) Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community? New York: Harper & Row Publishers
- Machiavelli, N. (1988), The Prince, ed. Q. Skinner and R. Price Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Moberg, D.O. (1962), The Church as a Social Institute, Englewood: Prentice Hall,
- Madhuku, L (2010) An Introduction to Zimbabwean law; Harare; Weaver press.
- Masunungure, E (2004) Travails, of Opposition Politics in Zimbabwe since independence in Harold-Barry, D.(ed) Zimbabwe: The Past is the Future, Harare: Weaver Press,
- Moffat, J. S.(1886)The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat, London: T. Fischer Unwin,
- Moyo, A. (1988): Religion and Political Thought in Independent Zimbabwe, in C. Hallencreutz and A. Moyo. Church and State in Zimbabwe. Gweru: Mambo Press,
- Mungwini, P. (2009) Jambanja: Moral Paralysis and Postcolonial Politics in Zimbabwe, Lwati: Journal of Contemporary Research, 6 (1), pp. 32-46.
- Nkomo, J. (2001)The Story of My Life, Harare: Sapes Books,.
- O'Leary, Z. (2004) The essential: Guide to doing research. 1st Pub. London: SAGE Publication ltd.
- Palmer, R. and Birch, (1992) Zimbabwe: A Land Divided, Oxford: Oxfam
- Ranger, T.O.(2005)Rule by Historiography: The Struggle Over the Past in Contemporary Zimbabwe, in Muponde, R. And Primorac, R. (eds), Versions of Zimbabwe: New Approaches to Literature and Culture, Harare: Weaver Press,
- Ruzivo, M. (2010) The Catholic, Church and the Democratization Process in Zimbabwe; Harare:
- Sarro, N.J and Blanes, R, (2009) Prophetic diasporas, moving religion across the Lusophone Atlanta, African diaspora.
- Schmitt, D (2003) The concept of the political, Princeton, Princeton university Press
- St Augustine of Hippo, (1998) The City of God Against the Pagans, ed. R. W. Dyson Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

St Thomas Aquinas St Thomas Aquinas, (2002): Political Writings, ed. R. W. Dyson Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Shaw M.R. (1996) The kingdom of God in Africa, A short history of African Christianity, grand rapids

Sigauke, O. (2010) Re-Interpreting the Political Career of an Unsung Hero: The case of Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, Bachelor's Degree Dissertation, History Department, University of Zimbabwe, August

Sithole N. (1970) Obedmutezolonon: oxford university press

Sithole ,P (1973) Mission work Gazaland, The national archives

Tutu, D. (1999) No future without forgiveness; A personal overview of South Africa's Truth and reconciliation commission; Double day publishers.

Zvobgo, C.J. (1991) An overview of the Methodist church in CS Bana a century of Methodist in Zimbabwe, Gweru, mambo press.

Williaman, N. (2005) Your research project. 2nd Ed. London: Sage Publications

Weit, S (1991) On politics, religion and society, Oxford, Oxford University press.

Woodside, A. G. (2010) Case study research theory, methods and practice. 1st Ed. Bingley: Emerald group publishing.

## **INTERNET SOURCES AND FOOT NOTES**

1. <http://relzim.org/major-religions-zimbabwe/>
2. <http://libguides.usc.edu/content>
3. <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/zimbabwe.aspx>

## **JOURNALS**

Beach, D.N, (1976) The journal of African history; volume 17; no// 2

Beach, D.N (1974) Ndebele raiders and Shona Power; The journal of African history; volume 15; issue 4.

Huffman, T.N (1991) Debating Great Zimbabwe; Southern African journal on African history; volume 66; issue 193

Chanaiwa, D (1972) Politics and Long distance trade in the Mwenemutapa Empire during the sixteenth century; the journal of African studies, Vol 5, issue 3

Chanaiwa, D (1976) The army and politics in the pre-industrial Africa; The Ndebele nation, 1822- 1893 vol 19; issue 2

Chitando, E (2005) In the beginning there was land; The appropriation of religious themes in political discourses in Zimbabwe; Journal of African Institute, Vol 75, issue 2

Cobbing, J (1977) The absent priesthood; Another look at the Rhodesian risings of 1896-97; The Journal of African History; vol 18; issue 1

Cooper, J. P (2006) Has Mfecane has a future? A response to Cobbing's critique Journal on Southern Africa

Fisher, E.J (1981) The roots of Christianity; Hebrew studies; Vol 22

Garlake, P.S (1982) Pre-history and ideology in Zimbabwe: Africa; Journal of the international African institute; Past and Present in Zimbabwe; Cambridge University Press.

Ndlovu- Gatsheni, S. (2007) Rethinking the colonial encounter in Zimbabwe in the early twentieth Century; Journal of Southern African studies; vol 33, issue 1

Shoko, T. (2011) Shona Traditional Religion and Medical Practices: Methodological Approaches to Religious Phenomena, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, Vol, 37, No. 2,

## **NEWSPAPERS**

Chronicle 7 November 2014; Magaya, President God-given, accessed on 28 February 2016

Daily News 19 November 2015; Grace VPs, visit Magaya turnaround night, accessed 25 February 2016

Herald 19 July 2014; Cde Julia: Zvobgo, Devoted cadre, woman of virtue; accessed 24 March 2016

Mail and Guardian 02 August 2013; AU gives cautionary thump up; accessed 03 March 2016

Newsday 3 March 2011; ZANU PF swallows Makandiwa; accessed 07 March 2016

Newsday 7 October 2013; Tsvangirai seeks divine intervention. Accessed 23 March 2016

Newsday 7 October 2015; Ndanga wades into ZANU PF fights. Accessed 11 March 2016

The Zimbabwean 7 March 2015; Mugabe consults N'angas; Gumbo; accessed 25 March 2016

Sappa-associated press; Zimbabwe run off set for 27 June; accessed 04 March 2016

**Michael O. West (1992) Ndabaningi Sithole, Garfield Todd and the Dadaya School Strike of 1947; Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 2 , pp. 297-316**

## **LEGAL FRAMEWORKS**

AU constitutive act of 2000

Customary Law and local courts Act chapter 7; 05

The amendment bill number 19 enacted in 2012

The UN Charter of 1948

## **THEOLOGIES**

The Bible

The Quran

APPENDIX; Questionnaires

**Sex**

Male.....

Female.....

Name of religion.....

Are you a leader or member? .....

Level of educational qualification.....

Is there a relationship between your religion and the government?.....

.....

How best can u describe the relationship of your religion and the government?.....

.....

What do you think is the most ideal or plausible relationship between your religion and the government?.....

.....

What influence does your religion have on politics of Zvishavane? .....

.....

Are elections of any significance to you and your religion?.....

.....

Did you participate in the elections of 2008 and 2013?.....

.....

Did you participate in the referendum of 2012?.....

.....

What impact did the 2008 electoral violence had on you and your religion?.....

.....  
Is the government satisfying your needs as a religion?.....

.....  
What are your expectations as a religion from the Government? .....

.....  
What is the position of your religion in promoting human rights? .....

.....  
What is your view on having the clergyman or a religious leader as a political leader? .....