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Charismatic Pentecostalism: An Urban Religious Response to Zimbabwe's Political and Economic meltdown. The Case of United Family International Church (U.F.I.C), Harare Metropolitan province.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this research is the product of my own industrious and original efforts the work of which has not been presented elsewhere either for purposes of academia or any other conceivable purposes. The views of others used to clarify issues have duly been acknowledged.

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Abstract

The study was carried out in Harare Metropolitan Province focusing particularly on the United Family International Church (UFIC). The study sought to understand, with particular reference to U.F.I.C, the rise of Charismatic Pentecostalism in the face of harsh political and economic conditions facing Zimbabwe.

The study made use of mixed method research a methodology which includes the integration of the qualitative and quantitative research methods as the main research methodology. The findings suggest that there is an interconnection between the emergence of charismatic Pentecostalism and Zimbabwe's economic and political meltdown as evidenced by the emergence of this phenomenon during a political and economic unstable environment. Further, the study has also established that charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe seems to be serving the interest of those at the top of the social ladder and thus becoming an instrument of capitalism.

The study hence projects a decline of charismatic Pentecostalism in case of Zimbabwe's economic and political fortunes. The secularization theory has also been used to further exemplify how religion can simply lose its significance at the advancement of science, rationality and technology. As such, the study has established that Charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe is a passing phase.

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to my wife, Elizabeth Yesaya, my little princess, Ariella Mazvita Yesaya and my mother Moreblessing Dzinomwa.

Abbreviations

AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
UFIC	United Family International Church
PG	Prosperity Gospel
P.H.D	Prophetic, Healing and Deliverance
ZANU P.F	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZUM	Zimbabwe Unity Movement
MDC	Movement for democratic Change
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly

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Chapter 1

Introducing the Study

1.1 Background to the study.

The Pentecostal Movement was birthed out of the Holiness Revival of the second half of the nineteenth century (Akoko, 2007). This revival was an expression of both social and theological discontent among the nation's lower and middle-class groups. Holiness followers disapproved of the godlessness in mainline denominations, as well as the growing wealth and lack of simplicity of their churches (Bettenson, 1956). Not content to remain in mainline churches, they formed new religious communities committed to seeking perfection in Christ.

Dunn (1977) asserts that these former members of mainline churches were experiencing a renewed outpouring of the Holy Spirit much like the Early Church experienced in the book of Acts. The Holiness Revival produced a hunger for the baptism of the Holy Spirit (a divine empowerment of believers) and for other spiritual gifts promised to the New Testament church such as, speaking in tongues (glossalalia), healing, deliverance and prophecy.

As the large popular Protestant denominations became the churches of the upper-middle class and the rich, people of limited means began to feel out of place and un-accommodated in the church, (Green, 1998). They yearned to return to a “heart religion” that would satisfy their spiritual desires and their emotional, psychological, and physical needs, a religion that is relevant to their day to day challenges. Pentecostalism, like its precursor, the Holiness movement (based on the belief that a second work of grace following conversion would “sanctify” Christians and remove the desire to sin), fulfilled these needs for churchgoers. Hence, Pentecostalism, though open to all levels of society, spoke to the special needs of the disaffected and oppressed (Akoko, 2007).

In recent decades, Pentecostal Christianity has moved from an initially peripheral position to become a force to be reckoned with within Africa’s religious landscape. Kahl (2007) maintains that Pentecostal or charismatic Christianity responds to social and cultural concerns of Africans, and hence, its growth and increasingly assertive presence in public life have facilitated new kinds of social positioning and claims

to political power. The involvement of Pentecostal or charismatic Christianity in Africa has been felt at all levels of African civil life, including economics, education and politics.

In continuity with the African religious paradigm, Pentecostal or charismatic Christianity has proven successful in Africa because of its openness to the supernatural and through its interventionist and oral theological forms that resonate with traditional African piety (Dunn, 1977). This is even more so in Africa where religion is a survival strategy and where spirit-possession, with its emphasis on direct divine communication, intervention in crises and religious mediation, are central to religious experiences.

Buordillon (1993) maintains that Africans generally have unbreakable belief in witchcraft (*kuroiwa*), demons, diseases or ancestral curses in form of misfortunes (*minyama* or *mamhepo*) such as poverty, unemployment and barrenness. So when they feel threatened with any of these at any time they hunt for spiritual intervention. The ministries of healing and deliverance have thus become some of the most important expressions of Christianity in African Pentecostalism. Much of the worldviews underlying the practice of healing and deliverance, especially the belief in mystical causality, resonate with African philosophical thoughts (Kahl, 2007).

The impact of Pentecostalism has also been felt in Zimbabwe. Marongwe (2003) maintains that Zimbabwe was once regarded as one of the most prosperous countries in Africa hence the expression 'the bread basket of Africa.' After its Independence in 1980, Zimbabwe had one of the strongest economies in the world. However, a decade after independence, the country began to face an escalating rate of poverty.

The economy showed signs of recovery between the period of 2009 and 2012 after the introduction of the unity government; which was the collaboration of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANUPF) and the Movement for Democratic change (MDC). This however, was short lived as it followed the end of Unity government. The hopes of the economy to recover were shattered when the ZANU PF won the elections in 2013. Currently the cost of living in Zimbabwe and unemployment rate is ever rising with households unable to improve their living standards (Atkinson, 1987).

Such unstable political environment coupled with economic difficulties Zimbabwe is facing have also fuelled the growth of Charismatic Pentecostal churches as the leaders claim to have the solutions to the suffering and misery of Zimbabweans. In Zimbabwe, this new brand of Christianity is mostly found in urban areas where economic disaster has resulted in unemployment, corruption, inflation and poverty. Pentecostal Churches like the Spirit Embassy, Prophetic Healing and deliverance ministry (P.H.D), United Family International Church (U.F.I.C), Heartfelt Ministries and Christ Embassy, among others, have rapidly grown in an ailing economic environment.

The emergence of Charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe and the huge emphasis on the gospel of prosperity and wealth in a politically and economically unstable environment, characterized by unemployment, poverty and corruption has thus prompted the researcher to carry out a research in this field, in an effort to examine the extent to which the current political and economic instability in Zimbabwe can be held responsible for the mushrooming and proliferation of Charismatic Pentecostalism and the gospel of prosperity.

While this study is aware that scholars like Maxwell (2006) prefer the term “Neo Pentecostalism” to define the new wave of Pentecostalism that has spread over the past decades. This study will stick to the ‘traditional’ term “Charismatic Pentecostalism” as it seems to capture key areas which are of interest to this study. Charismatic movement is an interdenominational Christian renewal movement and is one of the most popular and fastest- growing forces within the Christian world today. The movement takes its name from the Greek word *charis* which when translated to English means “grace” and *mata* which is the Greek word meaning “gifts”. *Charismata*, therefore denotes “grace gifts”. This study will make use of this definition.

1.2 Statement of the problem.

Since the intense economic meltdown which began in 1998 due to the imposed economic sanctions and unstable political environment, Charismatic Pentecostalism emphasizing on the gospel of prosperity has made considerable inroads into the Zimbabwean public space. This new brand of Christianity thus, has its origins and growth in an unfriendly and harsh economic and political environment. It is this interconnectedness between Charismatic Pentecostalism and economic instability that has prompted the researcher to venture into this study, and analyze to what extent can the current economic environment

in Zimbabwe, be held responsible for the birth, growth and proliferation of Charismatic Pentecostal churches particularly the United Family International Church (U.F.I.C).

On the other hand, many a time leaders of these mega churches stand accused of taking advantage of people who already are battling to earn a living, with the poor being ripped off of their already meager assets or earnings in the name of “seeding” to the man of God, so as to harvest a double portion. They too stand accused of trying to pacify people from revolting against corrupt leadership in order to correct the situation, with some prophets giving people hopes for a better Zimbabwe which seem not to be coming. It is such issues that this research is also interested in, probing the veracity of these accusations.

1.3 Aim and Objectives.

1.3.1 Aim

The aim of this research is to understand, with particular reference to U.F.I.C, the rise of Charismatic Pentecostalism in the face of harsh economic conditions facing Zimbabwe.

1.3.2 Objectives.

The objectives of this study are:

- ❖ To establish the economic and political environment in Zimbabwe from the late 1990s up to the present moment.
- ❖ To analyze the rise and growth of charismatic Pentecostal Churches and in particular U.F.I.C., its interconnectedness with economic and political instability and its relevancy in the Zimbabwean soil.
- ❖ To project the future of charismatic Pentecostalism and gospel of prosperity in the event of a turn-around of the economic fortunes of Zimbabwe.

1.4 Methodology.

1.4.1 Mixed methods research

This is a research methodology used for conducting research that encompasses collecting, analyzing and integrating quantitative data and qualitative data research. This research approach is used when this integration provides a better understanding of the research problem than either of each alone.

Quantitative data includes close-ended information such as that found to measure attitudes. The analysis of this type of data consists of statistically analyzing scores collected on instruments (for example questionnaires) or checklists to answer research questions or to test hypotheses.

While on the other hand, qualitative data consists of open-ended information that the researcher usually gathers through interviews, focus groups and observations. The analysis of the qualitative data (in the form of words, text or behaviors) typically follows the path of aggregating it into categories of information and presenting the diversity of ideas gathered during data collection.

By mixing both quantitative and qualitative research and data, this research will gain an in breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration, while offsetting the weaknesses inherent to using each approach by itself. One of the most advantageous characteristics of conducting mixed methods research is the possibility of triangulation in examining the same phenomenon. This triangulation allows one to identify aspects of a phenomenon more accurately by approaching it from different angles using different methods and techniques.

This method is going to be useful in this study as it will help the researcher to put together all the findings gathered in order to come up with best results. Information that is going to be gathered through qualitative means will be used side by side with that gathered through quantitative means.

1.4.2 Phenomenological Method.

This research is also going to make use of the phenomenological method. Generally, this method is a way of pointing to the phenomena as they give themselves. The word phenomenology like phenomenon, is derived from the Greek word *phainomeno* meaning ‘that which shows itself’ or that which appears’ Some key principles of this method include *epoche* which means bracketing out or suspension of value

judgments, empathy, interpolation, non-reduction; upholding or endorsing the believer's point of view and other.

Additionally, this approach is mainly used as an attitude of tolerance of other people's valued material that one will be studying. It encourages a researcher to make evaluations after properly examining all the information received. The believer's testimony and experience are always upheld, resulting in the building of a relationship based on trust. The phenomenological method is going to be used in chapter two.

1.5 Data collecting techniques.

Barret (1982) defines data collecting techniques as the tools that the researcher is going to use in undertaking the research. In order to get the requisite data for the study, personal observation, and analysis of the movement within the area under study will be conducted. The methods to be used are participant observation, questionnaires and interviews.

1.5.1 Participant Observation.

Osteen (2004) refers to participant observation as a form of sociological research methodology in which the researcher takes a role in the social situation under observation. The researcher immerses himself in the social setting under study. The aim being that of experiencing events in the manner in which the subjects under study also experience these things.

Furthermore, Barret (1982) asserts that, researchers who employ participant observation as a research tool aim at discovering the nature of social reality by understanding the actor's perception, understanding and interpretation of that social world. So ideally the researcher will become a member of the U.F.I.C congregation for a while, learning and seeing the way people do things, identifying their basic beliefs, hopes and expectations. To better understand the proceedings, there shall be need for the researcher to attend some of the Church gatherings like the "judgment night".

Not only that, participant observation will be advantageous as it will provide the researcher with a guide on the subsequent methods of collecting data. This helps the researcher to come up with questions to be paused during the interviews. Additionally, participant observation helps the researcher to identify some

of the things that the informants cannot feel comfortable to expose, for instance the nature of the services and how certain miracles take place.

1.5.2 Questionnaires.

A questionnaire is a data collecting instrument. Barrett (1982) defines a questionnaire as a document containing questions designed to get information appropriate for analysis. Questionnaires were found suitable because they are relatively cheap and effective for quick collection of information. The respondents in this case will be assumed to be sufficiently literate. Not only that, questionnaires, if properly constructed and administered, save as the most useful and appropriate data gathering instrument in a research. But be that as it may, questionnaires have some flaws as well. Osteen (2004) maintains that questionnaires maybe disadvantageous if the respondent answers before understanding the question properly and to cater for this, the researcher will try to simplify the questions in a way that the respondents can simply understand. A set of six questions aimed at eliciting facts from the interviewees is going to be constructed.

1.5.3 Interviews.

Barrett (1982) defines an interview as a conversation between two or more people, where questions are asked by the interviewer to elicit facts or statements from the interviewee. Bettenson (1956) added that interviews can be used where respondents struggle in responding to the questionnaire. Interviewing stems from the desire to know more about the people around us and better understand how the people around us view things.

The researcher chose oral interviews because they provide first-hand information from the exact people. Additionally, interviews help to explain and put together what the researcher will be seeing and experiencing. More so interviews help to discover how individuals think and feel about the topic under study, they are useful to obtain detailed information about personal feelings, perceptions, and opinions. The sampling method to be use in this research is random sampling.

1.6 Justification.

The first reason why the researcher had to undertake this study is that, Charismatic Pentecostalism and the gospel of prosperity is a new brand of Christianity in the Zimbabwean religious space. The desire to

understand this new brand of Christianity has been the factor prompting the researcher to undertake this study.

While, this research appreciates the fact that other scholars have written about Charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe, the research will discuss the phenomena in relation to the current economic and political instability in Zimbabwe to see if the phenomenon is not taking advantage of the already suffering people. Additionally, the location of these Charismatic Pentecostal churches has also driven the researcher to carry out an investigation in this area. This research will analyze why Charismatic Pentecostal churches make their presence in urban areas only.

Also, Charismatic Pentecostal church leaders have widely been criticized for being opportunists, as they seem to be taking advantage of citizens who are desperately struggling to survive in this unstable economic and political environment. This research thus, will establish facts surrounding Charismatic Pentecostalism and analyze if the criticism leveled against these churches is really true.

This study hopes to add into the existing body of literature on the emergence, growth and spread of Charismatic Pentecostalism and prosperity gospel, and also seeks to bring a perspective that has been missing in the Zimbabwean religious sphere.

1.7 Scope.

The researcher acknowledges substantial contributions that have been made by scholars in this area. For example, Togarasei, L (2005) wrote about Modern or charismatic Pentecostalism as a form of ‘religious’ secularization in Africa. While, Akoko, R (2007) wrote about the public role of Pentecostalism in African Christianity. Karl, W. (2007) also wrote about “Fire from Heaven”: in which he talks of the Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century.

These scholars indeed wrote about charismatic Pentecostalism in Africa and in the USA. This study therefore, will not repeat what has been discussed already on this topic, but will bring a flavor that has been missing which is the interconnectedness of charismatic Pentecostalism and political- economic instability in Zimbabwe and further projects the future of this phenomena in case of Zimbabwe political and economic fortunes.

The geographical coverage of the research is limited mainly to Harare metropolitan province and to the United Family International Church; however, because of the nature of the topic, some other charismatic Pentecostal churches and other major cities where prosperity gospel has made inroads may be mentioned as examples.

In terms of religious studies, the research is limited to charismatic Pentecostalism and the gospel of prosperity.

The study will also give reference to the current unstable economic and political environment in Zimbabwe.

1.8 Literature Review.

Akoko (2007) maintains that the Pentecostal Movement was birthed out of the Holiness revival of the second half of the nineteenth century. This revival was an expression of both social and theological discontent among the nation's lower and middle-class groups. Holiness followers disapproved of the godlessness in mainline denominations, as well as the growing wealth and lack of simplicity of their churches.

Not content to remain in mainline churches, they formed new religious communities committed to seeking perfection in Christ. Since the 1950s, Pentecostal and Evangelical movements of North American origin have spread their influence throughout the globe including much of Africa. The literature of Akoko (2007) in this study will be used for giving the genesis, expansion and proliferation of charismatic Pentecostalism. This becomes a foundation upon which this study is going to build on.

Robbins (2004) noted that the manifestations of this movement have occurred under conditions of economic, political and social hardships wherever they have occurred, especially in poorer communities. The work of Robbins (2004) will be used in this study because of its relationship with the nature of the problem that this research seeks to address.

Walker (1993) asserts that it is important to note that this charismatic millennial movement soon won a large following in Asia Minor. Its beliefs were strengthened by the fact that the region had recently been struck by earthquakes and famines which were considered to be signs marking the second coming of

Christ in the last days. As a global religious movement, Pentecostal-charismatic Christianity has succeeded in reaching many cultures of the world.

It has reached many people across the class divide mostly in urban areas, and among both the middle classes and the poor, thereby becoming a religious power to be reckoned with. It is now considered to be the “fourth force” alongside Catholicism, Protestantism and Orthodoxy, and the fastest growing religion in the world. The literature by Walker (1993) becomes relevant in this study as it provides the background environment within which charismatic Pentecostalism has emerged and grown, however this study will look at this Christian brand from a Zimbabwean angle.

Furthermore, the successes of Pentecostal-charismatic Christianity are attributed to the appeal of its ritual life. Dunn (1977) has it that those who have advanced this view hold that one of the greatest appeals of the new Pentecostal groups is their manner of worship. The spontaneity of the services, and the experiential and exuberant manner in which they are held appeal to many people. Their services are full of great expectations of the extraordinary, as people wait to see what the Spirit will do. Pentecostal worship is characterized by a spirit of acquisitiveness which, in turn, compels people to attend services, revivals and other ritualized gatherings as they look relentlessly to the next experience. Dunn’s literature is going to be reviewed in this study because it unveils the nature of worship by charismatic Pentecostalism and this explains why charismatic Pentecostalism has grown rapidly in Zimbabwe.

The new Pentecostals espouse specific doctrines that mark them out among other groups of Christians. Togarasei (2005) asserts that they believe they constitute a special people of God who alone are saved and the rest of humanity is doomed to perdition. Theologically, a person is saved if he or she is “born again” and is regenerated or sanctified by an inward feeling of holiness. Sanctification purifies a believer from sin and all forms of pollution. Of special importance is the teaching on the baptism of the Holy Spirit and external manifestation of speaking in tongues, this is both a spiritual and social marker, setting members apart as God’s elected people.

This new message promise individuals a comprehensive solution to all their worries on condition that they become born again and give generously to the religious leader in exchange for material and spiritual blessings in the form of healing, wealth, abundant life, success and earthly promotion (Kahl, 2007). This new gospel is known by a variety of names: Prosperity Christianity, Health and Wealth

Gospel; The Faith Movement; Name-it- and Claim it among other names. This history will help the researcher to understand the teachings of charismatic Pentecostalism which have probably attracted and convinced Zimbabweans to follow this new christen brand.

In Zimbabwe, this context has been marked by poverty and unemployment, particularly in the urban centers like Harare, Chitungwiza, Bulawayo, Mutare and Gweru, where there has been a proliferation of Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches of various “prosperity gospel” strands. During the time of uncontrollable hyperinflation that eroded the country’s currency, firms shut down their businesses, international firms and corporations relocated to other countries, with supermarket shelves running empty (Marongwe, 2003).

The level of unemployment was estimated to be more than eighty percent with many people having to make a living by selling goods and services on the streets. Zimbabwe’s unemployment rate accelerated from twenty one percent in 1990 to seventy five percent in 2008. Between May 1999 and April 2000, close to 135 000 employees were retrenched in the formal sector; this figure was ten percent of all formal sector employees. In May 2000, unemployment in other industries like manufacturing, mining, tourism, and agriculture was estimated to be at 800 000 people (UN, 2014).

The private sector followed suite as it cut fifteen percent of its labour force as the economic and political crisis took its toll in the country, bringing the unemployment rate to more than eighty percent. The unemployment and hyperinflation in Zimbabwe pushed citizens to illegally stay in neighboring countries. This is important in this study as it provides a background of Zimbabwe’s economic instability which this research is going to build on as the main cause behind the mushrooming of modern Pentecostalism.

Additionally, Gifford (1994) has it that, among the most characteristics of African Christianity in the last decade has been the proliferation of new autonomous Pentecostal churches. The word “charismatic” is used to describe this new Pentecostal flavour, in order to distinguish it from the churches of established Pentecostal denominations like the Assemblies of God. This Literature becomes useful as it unpacks the concept of charismatic Pentecostalism which is central to this research.

In furtherance, Maxwell (2002) examines the relationship between Pentecostalism and politics in post-colonial Zimbabwe and uses the Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA) which is one of the largest Pentecostal movements. The study displays a shift in the church state relations from the colonial to the post colonial era. This literature by Maxwell is critical to this study as it provides a foundation on the relationship of the church and the state, which this research is also interested in.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the background to the study, the statement of the problem, literature review and other background issues. The next chapter seeks to establish the economic and political environment in Zimbabwe from the late 1990s up to the present moment.

Chapter 2

Zimbabwe's economic and political environment: late 1990s up to 2017

2.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to examine the economic and political environment in Zimbabwe. The chapter starts with the picture of Zimbabwe soon after independence up to the period when Zimbabwean economy started to suffocate.

2.1 A Snapshot of Economic Performance since Independence.

The 18th of April 1980, saw the birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe from the former British colony of Rhodesia. The transition from minority white rule to majority black rule resulted in a newly elected democratic government whose task was to integrate and build up an already sophisticated and advanced economy (Mlambo, 1997:29).

It was this economic development that made Zimbabwe to be regarded as one of the most prosperous countries in Africa, and hence the expression 'the bread basket of Africa'. After its independence in 1980, Zimbabwe had one of the strongest economies in the world. Consequently, the Zimbabwean Dollar was compared to the British Pound and the United States dollar (Coltart, 1992). The economic boom, however, soon ended and got replaced by severe poverty such that by the late 80s it became evident and clearly visible that the economy was not performing well and therefore needed some form of revamping. It was hoped that such revamping would revive the depressed investment, streamline labour regulations, create employment, and stimulate export growth, among other objectives (Marongwe, 2003).

From the challenges that the Zimbabwean government had faced between 1980 to 1990, it became evident that there was need for government to come up with a progressive policy of economic reconstruction for the country in order to promote economic stability and growth. In an attempt to address economic challenges that the Zimbabwean government had been facing in its first decade of independence the government came up with the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme popularly known as ESAP in 1991. United Nations (2014) asserts that, Zimbabwe's adjustment program contained

the usual collection of Bank-inspired reforms - trade and currency de-regulation, devaluation of the Zimbabwe dollar, movement towards high real interest rates, the lifting of price controls, chopping of "social spending" and removal of consumer subsidies. However, the response of the economy was erratic and, overall sluggish, United Nations 2014).

Mlambo (1997:29) states that, in 1992 doctors and nurses began referring to "ESAP deaths", described as deaths caused by the failure of patients to pay for the minimal length of time in the hospital, or for prescription medicine. The then Minister of Health, Dr. Timothy Stamps has acknowledged that only one in ten Zimbabweans could afford to pay for their own health care. Yet fees remained in place, largely at the insistence of ESAP policy makers. Meanwhile, records from rural clinics and hospitals have urgently witnessed the near collapse of Health Care Services under the weight of cutbacks and imposed self-reliance.

In furtherance, professional morale and service delivery within the public health system wilted. Many doctors, nurses and technicians were tempted into the higher-paying, better equipped local private sector, or have gone out of country in search of greener pastures. Indeed it can be said that, by 1995 Zimbabwe was undergoing what essentially amounted to a counter revolution to the gains and developments made in the first decade of independence in the education and health sectors as all these were being eroded by ESAP. The situation was made worse by the severe drought that hit the country in 1992 and again in 1995 due to reliance on uncertain rainfall patterns (Addison, 2003).

Additionally, the impact of ESAP was also felt in the education sector where the same contradictions between cost savings and rising social need have emerged and so threatened the country's celebrated post-independence advances in primary and secondary education. Mlambo (1997) highlighted that, the government's imposition of user fees effectively barred easy access to education for hundreds of thousands of students from poorer households. To further elaborate on the consequences of ESAP on health and Education, Mlambo (ibid) states that ESAP provided harmful results to Zimbabwe's educational and health care reforms.

In light of the impact of ESAP on society and the economy it must be noted that this was a process that contributed to the decline of the Zimbabwean economy, it was not sudden but one event led to the other

and ultimately affected the Zimbabwean economy. It was not until 1997 that all hell chains broke loose (Mambondiani, 2007)). It was Friday 14 November 1997 that the Zimbabwean dollar collapsed, a day referred by many as “The Black Friday”, when the Zimbabwe dollar lost 72% of its value against the United States dollar (Makumbe, 2010). Mambondiani further noted that, the stock market subsequently crashed, wiping away 46% from the value of shares as investors scrambled out of the Zimbabwe dollar, debates are inconclusive on the real cause of “the Black Friday”.

However, according to Professor John Makumbe a political scientist “Black Friday” was as a result of the suspension of the War Veteran Compensation Fund, because of this the war veterans marched and physically confronted President Mugabe at State House and demanded payment for their contribution in the war.

They argued that it has almost been two decades and they have nothing to their name and yet they fought and liberated the country. The police and army soldiers could not stop them because most of them were largely war veterans themselves so they were not stopped and demanded payment (Rageh Omaar interview, 2010). The President had no option but to pay them Z\$50 000 as compensation for the war and Z\$2000 dollars a month. Makumbe argued that, this had never been done before and to make matters worse it was unbudgeted for and the impact on the economy was hard that it collapsed.

2.2 Zimbabwe’s economic meltdown.

When Zimbabwe gained independence ZW\$1 was equal to US\$1.50, during that time the highest note in currency circulation was ZW\$20 note (Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, 2011). However, the Zimbabwean economy and currency started to deteriorate with the passage of time and 2008 presented dark days in the Zimbabwean economy. Robinson (2007:4) noted that, Zimbabwe’s hyperinflation reached more than a million percent in 2008; this was a time where prices would change for more than 10 times a day at a rate of more than 500 percent. Hyperinflation is an extraordinary rapid inflation where prices of goods rise sharply within a short period of time and money becomes worthless as it ceases its job of becoming the medium of exchange, (Kinsey, 1998).

Early in 2009 the reserve bank of Zimbabwe issued a one hundred trillion bill which was the highest ever to be issued by any country in the world. A month later after introducing a one trillion note the

Government through the Central bank introduced a new bill, with 12 zeros removed from old bills. In these new bills 1 trillion old dollars were equal to one new dollar (Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, 2011). Although having ZW\$500 note as the highest note circulating in the economy after removing twelve zeros, it became a sign that the government was failing to control the hyperinflation hence the public and firms had lost confidence in the local currency. The Zimbabwean dollar was finally abandoned in favor of foreign currencies namely the U.S. dollar and the South African Rand as the primary currencies to be used in the country.

During the time of uncontrollable hyperinflation that eroded the country's currency firms shut down their business, some industries collapsed, international firms and corporations relocated to other countries, with supermarket shelves running empty. The level of unemployment was estimated to be more than 80 percent with many people having to make a living by selling goods and services on the streets.

Those who managed to go outside Zimbabwe took it upon themselves to help their loved ones who were left back home in the land of suffering. Marks of recovery on the Zimbabwean economy were experienced between the period of 2009 and 2012 after the introduction of a unity government, which was the collaboration of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the two opposition parties, the Movement for Democratic Change, led by Mr Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC .T.) and the other MDC (M) faction led by Mr Mutambara.

This resulted in positive economic changes. The new government introduced the use of the American dollar and this revived the economy. The use of multi-currency after the formation of an inclusive government between the ruling party and the opposition party brought some changes to the economy. The change brought some stability in the economy and many Zimbabweans who had gone outside the country came back hoping that the change would last longer, this however, was a short lived life of economic stability, which followed the end of the unity government. The hopes of the economy to recover were shattered when the ZANU PF won the elections in 2013.

2.3 Zimbabwe's current economic performance.

Currently, the country is regarded among those with the highest rate of poverty with poor infrastructure, poor living standards and it currently has no currency as the country started to use multi currencies. The rising rate of inflation, unemployment and the political instability in the country have given birth to multi dimensions of poverty as the country finds it difficult to finance developmental projects in line with the millennium development goals among which include poverty alleviation (UN, 2014). This development unfolds against a background of serious economic hardships that have left a few untouched and has retarded economic progress significantly.

The nation has gone through rampant economic hardships which have seen a very high inflation rate which resulted in the abandonment of the local currency and the dollarization of the economy or the adoption of the United States currency and the South African Rand. The crisis has exacerbated poverty, misery, unemployment, fear, doubt and uncertainty among Zimbabweans. Banks have been facing a lot of liquidity problems and some have been liquidated like the Kingdom Bank , Allied Bank and Genesis bank just to mention a few. The state is faced with difficulties of paying her employees especially those in the civil service, such that pay dates for those in the civil service and their annual bonuses are constantly shifting.

Many cash machines have run dry with people queuing for days outside banks to withdraw their money. The authorities have responded by imposing withdrawal limits, sometimes as little as \$20 per day. In reaction to the cash crisis, the government has introduced bond notes, which initially were not a welcome by the majority out of the fear that the days of hyperinflation are bound to return. Unfortunately, the introduction of bond notes has not managed to solve cash crisis in the country, in fact the situation has become worst, with a good number of people sleeping in bank queues in order to withdraw their money.



Figure: 1 Show pictures of Zimbabweans struggling to withdraw their money from the bank, with some sleeping at the bank. Some banks have imposed withdrawal limits as little as \$20 per day. Picture by Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi. Newsday 24 January 2017.



Figure: 2 Show pictures of Zimbabweans patiently waiting in a queue to withdraw their money from the bank, with some sleeping at the bank. Some banks have imposed withdrawal limits as little as \$20 per day. Picture by Tsvangirayi Mukwazhi. Newsday 24 January 2017.

In addition to this, public and private institutions have retrenched some of their personnel, and some continue to do so. Companies like Shabanie mine, Cold storage Company (CSC), the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) among many others have grabbed headlines for retrenching their employees.

This situation has been worsened as the recruitment of new workers has been drastically reduced and most people are surviving through the informal sector. This has led many to venture into illegal gold

mining and cross boarder trading in trying to make ends meet. More so, salaries have been slashed and this has inflicted innumerable hardships and increased social insecurity. Many young and economically active persons have resorted to migrating to the West or to neighbouring countries like South Africa commonly called the “Diaspora” in a bid to seek greener pastures.

2.4 A summary of Zimbabwe’s political environment since Independence.

Marongwe (2003) asserts that, Zimbabwe’s humanitarian and economic crises are strongly rooted in politics. It is worthy therefore, for this study to give a look into Zimbabwe’s political environment since independence and see how it contributed to economic downfall.

2.5 A post independence takeoff (*Gukurahundi*)

With independence in 1980, there was a change of authoritarian political power from the white minority rule to the black majority rule under the ZANU PF. This is clearly evidenced by what soon transpired. For instance, the new government marginalized and deliberately began to exclude those who it perceived to be its opponents (Addison, 2003). It speedily established a de facto one party state through a campaign which has been known as the Gukurahundi massacres.

The campaign was justified by its implementers as an attempt to stamp out dissident and terrorist activities which were allegedly being spearheaded by the main opposition party the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo. ZAPU’s members were mainly people of the Ndebele origin, which lends credence to the viewpoint that Gukurahundi was an ethnic cleansing process by the ruling party (Addison: Ibid). Having succumbed to pressure and a growing concern for the loss of innocent life, ZAPU conceded to the ruling party’s proposition for the formation of a government of national unity.

In 1987, a Unity Accord was signed between the two main political parties ZANU (PF) and ZAPU, who merged into one political establishment called ZANU (PF). This effectively created a de facto one party state (Marongwe, 2003). Nevertheless, this de facto one party state was not to last, as disgruntlement grew and political parties such as Zimbabwe Unity Movement and ZANU- *Ndonga* a splinter party emerged as voices that diverged from those of the establishment. Although recognized legally as

democratic institutions, these parties received high handed treatment from the government that victimized their membership and closed spaces for political campaigning and participation (Marongwe, Ibid). Meanwhile, the ruling party and government had been losing popularity owing to their mismanagement of the economy, mass unemployment, growing poverty levels, corruption and the repression of dissenting voices.

In 1999, a new political movement, known as the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed. Also in that same year, the government commissioned an inquiry to write a new constitution. Civil society, led mainly by the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) and MDC, led a campaign against the government's proposed new constitution, saying that it gave excessive power to the executive and was merely designed to extend Robert Mugabe's term of office, as he had already ruled the country for two decades. In 2000 the government sponsored Constitutional Commission's draft constitution which received a no vote in the national referendum. That defeat did not go down well with the ZANU PF government, as it perceived the rejection of its proposed constitution as a rejection of the party itself.

This scenario sparked a series of reprisals against the opposition and against anyone who dared to dissent openly from the ruling party's leadership criteria. During this period ZANU PF influenced war veterans and peasants to violently occupy land belonging to mainly white farmers. This action incensed Britain, America and other Western states that owned land and other economic interests in Zimbabwe. They responded by imposing sanctions which deepened the conflict and gave birth to a host of socio economic and political problems in the state that have generally been referred to as the Zimbabwe crisis (Kinsey, 1998).

From independence ZANU PF managed to attract a great deal of following as indigenous people of Zimbabwe felt they finally have one of their own as their leader and indeed ZANU PF brought a new picture in the political landscape, hence the party was highly respected for having introduced effective political policies in Zimbabwe, the party managed to do away with racial discrimination which was the order of the day during the colonial regime.

However, with the passage of time most Zimbabweans began to question if ZANUPF was really able to maintain and develop the economy. This feeling was birthed out of the realization that few years after attaining independence, Zimbabwe's economy started to show symptoms of suffering. The situation got worse and finally landed the country into serious poverty, economic hardships and political instability.

But one might want to know the factors involved in this economic downfall? Who or rather what is to blame for the inflation that ultimately destroyed the Zimbabwean Dollar that was once compared to the British Pound and the United States dollar? What then caused this promising nation formally known as the breadbasket of Africa to de-industrialize? These are some of the questions that are widely asked and in an attempt to respond to the above questions this paper shall look into political factors that are often cited as responsible for economic downfall.

2.6 The Fast tracked Land Reform programme (*Hondo yeminda*).

Marongwe (2003) asserts that, the politics of land redistribution process has been widely considered as one of the major reasons responsible for the rise and growth of extreme poverty in Zimbabwe. Marongwe (ibid) further argues that, poverty in Zimbabwe is closely linked to landlessness as the highest number of the population lives in the rural areas with low rain.

The government of Zimbabwe in an effort to reduce white dominance in farms who owned the most fertile lands, started reviewing the land reform policy together with the conservative led government of Britain. All this changed in 1997 when the Labour Party took office and refused to engage in talks about land with the Zimbabwean government which tried several times but to no avail (Bond and Manyanga, 2003). The failure to engage in talks about land crisis by the British government caused the Zimbabwean government to propose a constitutional referendum in 1999 (Addison, 2003). As crises were already looming and reaching climax, war veterans demanded land redistribution, the newly formed opposition party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) gained more support and ground from the citizens as elections approached in year 2000. The government of Zimbabwe had no choice but to fast track the land redistribution process for it to win elections (Mupandawana, 2013).

2.7 Results of the fast tracked Land Reform Programme

The Zimbabwe land redistribution caused a massive job loss in the agricultural sector as white farmers were evicted from farms. Agriculture was the back bone of the country employing over half a million people. New commercial farmers who were allocated the land, lacked skills, finances and farming knowledge as they struggled to produce required agricultural products to sustain the economy and to provide employment in the agricultural sector.

In most farming provinces, children could not attend school due to hunger and lack of fees as their parents lost their jobs when farms were taken from white farmers. The lack of employment by farm workers resulted in a massive migration to cities in search of employment, but this could not happen as the economy was already ailing with many companies retrenching their workers, leaving the former farm workers with no other option than to earn a living through selling goods and services on the streets. The migration of unemployed farm workers to cities and town caused urban overcrowding as there were not enough houses in towns to accommodate more people. The situation caused children to go on streets to try and supplement family incomes (Addison, 2003).

2.8 The Operation *Murambatsvina* (remove dirty).

Closely tied to the fast tracked Land Reform Programme is the Operation Murambatsvina (remove dirty). When most farm workers lost their jobs because of land reform, they migrated to cities. The situation gave rise to urban overcrowding and forced these people to build temporary structures as shelter. The ZANU PF government responded by demolishing these illegal structures under Operation Murambatsvina.

Addison (2003) contends that, Zimbabwe just like in most countries in the world has majority of its urban dwellers living in high density suburbs. In Zimbabwe, most popular high density suburbs are found in major cities like Harare, Bulawayo and Gweru where more than one family can rent a 2 bed-roomed house. In places like Mbare in Harare and Makhokhoba in Bulawayo, some families rent seating rooms while others live on streets (Kinsey, 1998).

In 2004 when the ZANU PF introduced operation *murambatsvina* ‘operation remove dirty’, most high density suburb people got their houses destroyed and were left homeless, because the government said

they were built or extended without the approval of the city councils. However scholars like Addison (2003) believe that, Operation *Murambatsvina* was set to eliminate and get rid of most high density dwellers who appeared to have been strong supporters of the MDC. Having been left homeless most of these former farm workers had no choice than to relocate to rural areas making the mission a success for ZANU PF. Operation *Murambatsvina* was thus, not only just a move to destroy houses that were built or extended without the approval by the City Authorities but a political way by the government to reduce MDC support in urban areas (Marongwe, 2003)

2.9 Results of Operation Murambatsvina.

The government did not provide enough houses for the affected people but it also encouraged those affected to go back to their villages and live there (Mupandawana, 2013). The high rate of unemployment and the high rate of urban migration therefore increased the rate of poverty as it resulted in house shortages and increased urban unemployment. This is the main reason why there are so many people who are involved in street vending trying to make ends meet through selling goods like vegetables, airtime, newspapers and pirated videos (UN, 2014).



Figure: 3 shows Zimbabweans resorting to illegal vending because of unemployment hitting the country. Picture from the Newsday 24 January 2017.

Addison (2003) noted that, during rainy seasons, urban dwellers mostly in high density suburbs are involved in farming just like the rural people. They farm in any place where they can, even along roads,

dumping sites and open spaces, where they grow maize and vegetables. When they get excess harvest they sell it to earn money to pay rent and supplement food.

The land reform program is thus, widely criticized for giving birth to the escalating rate of poverty, unemployment and the political instability in the country, resulting in Zimbabwe shifting from being the “bread basket of Africa” into “a begging country” (Addison,2003) .

2.10 Poverty in Zimbabwe.

Eradication of poverty is one of the eight Millennium development goals that the World leaders from all countries around the world agreed on reducing by 2015 (United Nations, 2014). It however, never came to exist in Zimbabwe; on the contrary, the rate of poverty has always gone up every year from year 2000 till date. Most people in cities, towns and villages in Zimbabwe live in extreme poverty as a result of factors such as unemployment, drought, political challenges, inflation and economic instability in the country.

Soon after Zimbabwe’s independence, poverty levels began to decline as many people found employment when the new government took office. Things began to change gradually during the 1990s. In 1991 the number of households who lived below the poverty line was 26 percent then it increased to 35 per cent in 1997. It rose to 63 per cent by 2003 and it rapidly increased to 88 per cent by 2008 (UN 2012). The rate of Poverty in Zimbabwe has been growing exponentially in the past decades which have led to many developed countries criticizing the government of Zimbabwe and calling the President (Robert Mugabe) to step down and pave way for new ideas, Mupandawana (2013).

To shed more light, it is essential to define the term poverty itself. The World Bank has defined Poverty as “a pronounced deprivation in wellbeing where well-being can be measured by an individual’s possession of income, health, nutrition, education, assets, housing, and certain rights in a society such as freedom of speech” (United Nations, 2014). Poverty can also be defined as one’s lack of opportunities, powerlessness, and vulnerability. It is one’s inability, struggle and failure to purchase basic needs (UN, 2012). This research is going to use this last definition of poverty. Poverty is highly correlated with

social exclusion, marginalization, vulnerability, powerlessness, isolation and other economic, political, social and cultural dimensions of deprivation.

Poverty has negative effects to the society and therefore, being poor is not good and nobody wants a part of it, because it limits one's freedom, stifles opportunities, and breeds anger and fear. Poverty entails fear and stress and translates to a thousand petty humiliations and hardship. As Robinson (2007:4) rightly puts it, the poor's access to essential services is very limited, because they cannot pay for it. The poor are powerless, which leads to them being oppressed by those who have power.

For millions of people, poverty is unlikable, frustrating and disappointing and these have caused people to give up and consequently in most cases and places, the children of the poor also become poor and the gruesome cycle goes on. In furtherance, poverty is more than just not being able to pay the bills on time but results in lack of education and jobs, poor and nonexistent health care and sanitation, vulnerability to disease, hunger and death (Kinsley, 1998).

The main cause of the ever rising poverty levels in Zimbabwe was mostly because of the Zimbabwean currency losing its purchasing power, the fast tracked land reform programme which saw many Zimbabweans losing their jobs and the introduction of ESAP among other causes. In 1990, the government introduced a Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) to try and boost the economy by restructuring it to meet the current challenges of unemployment and privatizing state owned enterprises (UN, 2012). The program made little impact to the economy as unemployment and poverty rates continued to rise significantly, hence the standards of living also deteriorated in the country year after year.

Currently the Zimbabwean economy and political environment has become the order of the day, with most companies including the government itself retrenching her employees because of failure to pay them. Most Zimbabweans are living in extreme poverty manifesting in the form of unemployment, corruption and social injustice (The consumer council of Zimbabwe, 2015). The situation has created a people who are economically desperate and hence prepared to succumb to any form of hope for survival.

It is in the midst of such a political and economically unstable environment that Charismatic Pentecostalism began to emerge and flourish in Zimbabwe. The leaders of these Churches promise people prosperity and victory despite economic environment, on condition that people seed to the ‘Man of God.’ It is striking to note that though an element of “prosperity Gospel” has always existed in Pentecostal preaching, charismatic Pentecostalism has over emphasized it and made it a clear distinguishing factor. This however, has been accepted with mixed feelings by scholars, with some bringing to question the sincerity of this phenomenon as it seems the ‘Men of God’ are taking advantage of people who are in a suffering and ailing economic environment, while others on the other hand give a thumbs up to this phenomenon as it stands as the only source of hope for the people liberating them from political and economic disappointments.

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter has displayed Zimbabwe’s economic and political environment from 1980 up to 2017. The next chapter therefore, is going to analyze the birth and growth of charismatic Pentecostal Churches in Zimbabwe, with particular reference to U.F.I.C. and its interconnectedness with economic and political instability.

Chapter 3

The birth and growth of charismatic Pentecostal Churches in Zimbabwe

3.0 Introduction.

This chapter seeks to establish the rise and growth of charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe. The chapter shall also examine whether there is an inter connection between the rise of this phenomena and Zimbabwe's economic and political instability.

3.1 Brief Background of the Birth of Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe

The history of the AFM in Zimbabwe began in South Africa where a group of missionaries led by John G. Lake arrived from the USA on 14 May 1908 (Maxwell 2006, 52). Within a year, and taking advantage of members of the Zionist movement and the 'Pentecostal' revival that had shaken the Dutch Reformed Church, a strong Pentecostal church was established in Johannesburg (Maxwell 2006, 39-41). With its characteristic of being a 'religion made to travel' or what Maxwell (ibid) calls 'trans nationalism' in describing Pentecostal expansion, it was not long before the religion started spreading beyond South Africa. One advantage of South Africa was that, because of the mining activities there, the country attracted a number of migrant workers from the southern African region who, on their return to their native countries, would carry back what they had learnt, acquired and experienced in South Africa. Such included the religion that the migrants would have adopted.

The work of the AFM in Zimbabwe is said to have begun in 1915 in *Gwanda* through the preaching of Zacharias Manamela, a convert of the AFM of South Africa (Maxwell, 2006). Although the early history of Pentecostal Christianity was characterized by resistance both from the state and from other established churches, by the late 1940s it had spread to many parts of the country. AFM sources show that by this time the church had members in Harare, Masvingo, Kadoma, Mutare, Zvimba, Domboshawa and many other areas.

The Apostolic Faith Mission in Zimbabwe (AFM) is thus widely considered to be the mother of Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe. AFM presents one of the fastest growing and the biggest Pentecostal Church in Zimbabwe.

One of its major achievements is that the denomination has managed to stand the test of time, with its recent celebration of over 100 years in the country. In April 2015, the church held centennial celebrations at its Rufaro National Conference Centre celebrating its 100th anniversary of its establishment in the country. However, in the past years this church has faced an exodus of young pastors who broke away and formed new ministries. Of particular interest to this study is Emmanuel Makandiwa, who left AFM and founded the U.F.I.C. and many others such as Ezekiel Guti, Vutabwashe among others.

3.2 Defining Pentecostalism.

According to Gifford (1994) the key to the definition of Pentecostalism is Acts 2:38. In that passage, Peter explains the process of incorporation into Christ as requiring repentance from sin, and baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ culminating in a forgiven life. Following this initial step, Peter assured the enquirers: "you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit". Adult "baptism by immersion" is generally presumed to be what was being referred to here, and so is widely regarded by Pentecostals as the proper symbolic way of receiving the born again into the church.

It is striking to note that, the term "Pentecostal" defies easy definition and categorization; various groups and shades of diverse faith have been loosely defined as Pentecostals. Among the Pentecostals themselves there are various shades. Some place emphasis on healing, some speaking in tongues, while others emphasise on "demonstration of power" which sometimes take on board controversial miracles and still others on prophecy.

Most of these spiritual movements have heavily been influenced to varying levels by African religious traditions. Thus to a greater extent African initiated churches and other spirit 'churches' have also been defined as Pentecostals leaving readers of religion very confused about those who really are Pentecostal and those who are not. This therefore has necessitated the definition of what exactly are Pentecostals in the context of this research.

3.2.1 Pentecostalism in the context of this study.

In earlier times anyone who believed in the gifts and experience of the Holy Spirit as espoused in the New Testament was considered to be a Pentecostal. Barrett (1982) defines Pentecostals as those who believed that the 'Bible pattern' of baptism in the spirit was an experience subsequent to salvation and evidenced by the ability to speak in tongues as enumerated in Paul's letter to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 12:1ff). A compelling aura of God's presence in worship, liturgy, personal lives and a hunger to win souls to Christ became the defining marks setting Pentecostals at par with the main line churches. This definition thus, becomes a working definition in this study.

As highlighted above that there are various strands of Pentecostalism and of particular interest to this study is the "Charismatic Pentecostalism". It is therefore, essential to underline the visible differences that distinctively set marks between original Pentecostal flavor and the new wave of Pentecostalism known as charismatic Pentecostalism.

3.3 Pentecostalism and Charismatic.

In the twentieth century a new rise of Christianity came in the form of Pentecostal and Charismatic groupings affirmed the rediscovery and re-appropriation of the power of God as evident in the New Testament (McGrath, 1994). Etymologically the term charismatic comes from the Greek word Charismata meaning gifts and particularly Spiritual gifts (Mc Grath ibid).

The friction between Mainline churches and Pentecostals has always been open secrets to all, on one hand Mainline Churches accuse the Pentecostals for being unorthodox in beliefs and practice. On the other hand Pentecostals accuse main line churches for failing to embrace spiritual gifts as displayed by the Bible. This long standing strained relationship between mainline churches and Pentecostals has temporarily shifted. Recently all the Christian attention has been placed on the new brand of Christianity known as "charismatic Pentecostalism". This new flavor of Christianity has been criticized by both the Pentecostals and Mainline Churches who have joined hands and accused it for being an extreme abuse of spiritual gifts.

3.4 Emergence of Charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe

Since the intense economic crisis began in 2000, Charismatic Pentecostalism has made considerable inroads into the Zimbabwean public space. This new form of Christianity characterized by a gospel of faith, healing and prosperity has become a mainstream phenomenon.

Charismatic Pentecostalism hinges on the desire to liberate people from poverty and sickness. This brand of Christianity maintains that, Christians must be wealthy, healthy and successful, and that a believer has the right to all these through the positive confession of faith. This brand of Christianity has emerged and proliferated within the contexts of the decline of Zimbabwe's economy.

The Church in Zimbabwe, as in other parts of Africa, stands among social and historical institutions that carry the greatest influence in the lives of people, determining societal trends of the day and attracting the attention of all people from different walks of life. The Church captures the young and old, male and female, poor and rich, educated and uneducated.

However, the Zimbabwean situation of Neo Pentecostalism has provoked debate among the people sparking questions such as: What are the attractive factors that fan the growth of this brand of Christianity? Is the flocking of Zimbabweans to these churches really driven by a genuine faith or it is rather an economic response to the movement's promises? In response to such important points it is essential at this juncture to look into the manifestation of Charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe.

3.5 The Nature of Charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe.

The Zimbabwean situation has recently seen the massive growth of Charismatic Pentecostalism. The phenomenon has spread like uncontrollable veldfire on the shoulders of the "Gospel of prosperity". The Neo Pentecostal family espouses specific doctrines and teachings that mark them out among other groups of Christians, (Togarasei, 2005) and it is essential to take note of these distinctive marks between Pentecostal movement and other Christian groups like mainline churches.

Charismatic Pentecostalism is a newer brand of Christianity that gives huge emphasis on the gospel of prosperity and health. This newer version of Christianity asserts that, God wants people to be healthy, wealthy and prosperous, with money occupying a special place in one's life. Adherents of charismatic Pentecostalism believe that wealth is a sign of God's blessings, and is compensation for prayer and

giving beyond the tithe level, while on the other hand poverty and suffering are viewed as curses that can be driven out, through giving generously to the ‘man of God.’ The logical extension of Neo Pentecostalism according to Moyibi (1997) is that the poor are poor because of lack of faith, so poverty is the result of the poor themselves.

Charismatic gospel preachers interpret the New Testament as portraying Jesus to be a relatively rich figure who used his wealth to feed the masses on several occasions and to finance what they argue to have been a fairly lucrative ministry (Moyibi, *ibid*). As such, Charismatic Pentecostal preachers encourage that Christians should model their lives after Jesus’ by living lavishly, which is in stark contrast to orthodox interpretations of the gospel that regard poverty as an ideal Christian model in following with the example of a poor Messiah. Togarasei (2005) noted that this new gospel is known by a variety of names namely, prosperity Christianity, Health and Wealth Gospel; the Faith Movement; Name it and Claim it among other names.

3.6 Visible Markers distinguishing charismatic Pentecostalism and orthodox Christian teaching.

3.6.1 The chosen ones.

It is important to understand classical Pentecostalism in order to have a better understanding of Neo-Pentecostalism. According to Maxwell (2006), classical Pentecostalism refers to a movement that believes in salvation through confession. Classical Pentecostalism believes in the baptism in the Holy Spirit followed by the gifts of the Holy Spirit, especially the gift of speaking in tongues. The Holy Spirit baptized person will live a holy life. The saved person is patiently waiting for the second coming of Jesus. As such, the gospel of classical Pentecostalism is a full gospel.

As opposed to classical Pentecostalism, Maxwell (2006) says that, Neo-Pentecostalism idolizes the miraculous, healing, deliverance; success and the enactment of bizarre church performances often performed by charismatic and highly influential spiritual leaders. As such the movement creates a people who are dorsal and believe every instruction given by their leaders popularly known as “papa”. This has seen the unusual practices such as eating of grass, eating of snakes, drinking of petrol and spraying of Doom on the congregants within some Neo-Pentecostal (Maxwell, *ibid*) Neo-Pentecostals

are 'new' Pentecostal in orientation because they are said to be trans-denominational (not bound by denomination), socially relevant, unorthodox, non-dogmatic and cosmopolitan- as compared to their Classical Pentecostal forerunners. Neo-Pentecostalism reflects a popularized rendition of Christianity that provides for the disgruntled third world peoples through provision of psychological and practical aids. The movement helps people survive both socially and psychologically.

One of the clear handwritings on the face of Neo Pentecostal believers distinguishing them from other Christian groups is the belief that they constitute a special people of God modeled on Christ's life and the rest of humanity is doomed to perdition. Theologically, a person is saved by being "born again" which means "starting one's life afresh, on a new chapter" and is regenerated or sanctified by an inward feeling of holiness and purity.

Great emphasis and teaching is placed on the importance of the Holy Spirit and external manifestation of speaking in tongues. This is both a spiritual and social marker, setting members apart as God's elected people. This new message promises individuals a comprehensive solution to all their worries on condition that they become born again and give generously to the religious leader in exchange for material and spiritual blessings in the form of healing, wealth, abundant life, success and earthly promotion, (Togarasei,2005)

3.6.2 Huge emphasis on seeding

People are encouraged to pay "seed money" to the church as a means of generating wealth. As the slogan goes, "you prosper by planting a financial seed in faith, the return on which will meet all your financial needs." Togarasei (ibid), who conducted an in-depth study of the New Pentecostal-charismatic churches in Zimbabwe, has also indicated that, using the analogy of sowing and reaping, the new churches teach that in the Kingdom of God money is the seed to be sown and that all who want to be prosperous must give money to God, that is, the church. Giving is taken as an investment, and the more one gives, the more one reaps at the end.

According to Moyibi (2007), during offerings people are graded on the basis of how much they are prepared to give. Those who give large sums of money come first, and those giving little come last, the giving scale ranges from platinum to bronze, with platinum being the highest (probably, the rich), while bronze represents the poor. Moyibi (ibid) has observed that the poor in these churches see themselves as

upwardly mobile. The theology of prosperity makes them feel that they are in the process of transformation to a higher status in life, and they are convinced that Jesus Christ will deliver them from poverty.

The notion of seeding is thus central among charismatic Pentecostal churches. Leaders of these churches convince their followers to believe that prosperity, healing and deliverance resides in one's ability to give generously to the man of God, who can then in turn shower the believer with blessings.

3.6.3 Emphasis on healing.

Manyawu (2008) pointed out that another important feature of these churches is the emphasis on faith healing. In African cultural worldview, religion and healing are inextricably linked. An important function of religion is to bring restoration in the face of brokenness or damage to a man's body, misfortunes in the form of *minyama* or *mamhepo*, relationships, social and spiritual networks. Deliverance is therefore, another critical component of prosperity gospel, hence is called "Wealth and Health Gospel". Maxwell (2006) asserts that, deliverance remains central in South African Neo-Pentecostalism; the importance of tongues diminishes in comparison to the ministry of deliverance. Neo-Pentecostalism fits well with the traditional practice of seeing material objects infused with spiritual power, particularly the power to protect and heal. Healing is conceived as a comprehensive restoration of a believer to super abundant health or status accruing to him or her as a result of what Jesus Christ has wrought on the Cross. Healing is not restricted to diseases alone but to other situations of morbidity or disability physical, material, mental, financial or spiritual.

The pastors of these new churches believe that they have been endowed by God to bring physical healing to their followers as a proof of the validity of their preaching. Strongly tied to the notion of healing is the belief that there is no disease that is incurable. Togarasei (2005) holds that, New Pentecostal pastors claim to heal medically confirmed chronic illness like HIV and AIDS, Cancer, diabetic among others. Healing and deliverance hence form an essential strand of Pentecostalism that has endeared itself to a large segment of the African population. Manyawu (2010), claims and rightly so, that this feature of Pentecostalism which makes it an alternative of the mission churches, partly accounts for "widespread conversion to Pentecostalism".

3.7 Emergency of the UFIC

UFIC is the abbreviation for United Family International Church which is one of the earliest New Pentecostal Church in Zimbabwe, UFIC was founded and established by Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa between 2008 -2010.

Originally he was an AFM pastor who founded a new movement between 2008 and 2010. His controversial public healing sessions and prophecies have won him both supporters and critics. In early August 2011, for unclear reasons, there were some controversies over his spiritual airtime, where he miraculously produced airtime for his congregants to recharge in their phones.

The prophet further grabbed headlines for having caused miracle gold to shower everyone in the church in 2013 (Herald, 13 March 2016). He was also seen repeating a controversial miracle known as “the miracle baby”, where he caused a baby to be born before the known nine month period required for a woman to give birth, the baby also could speak and walk within 3 months, an incident which brought to question the source of his spiritual powers by a number of Zimbabweans.

Makandiwa (also known as Shingirai Chirume), was born in December 1977 in a family that practiced small scale farming. His parents were elders in the AFM church in Muzarabani (Mashonaland central). Makandiwa, while he was young, he used to carry out crusades with the late pastor “Mukwaira” and also is said to be the spiritual son of the late legendary evangelist PD Chiweshe an evangelist who made remarkable contributions towards the growth of AFM.

Makandiwa enrolled with the Living Waters Theological Seminary in 2002 and after ordination he was given an Assembly in the Shangani area and in 2004 was transferred to Hebron Assembly in Chitungwiza. While in Chitungwiza, United Family Interdenominational Ministry (UFIC), a religious community led by Makandiwa was launched in August 2008 as a lunch hour fellowship at the Anglican Cathedral in Harare. The fellowship grew in a week’s time and moved to the State Lotteries Hall and then to the City Sports Centre.

Growing tension between AFM leadership and Makandiwa led to him choosing between UFIC and AFM to which he chose to breakaway and to form UFIM which comprises the UFIC. There are also

those who claim that Makandiwa was expelled from the AFM Church because of serious differences over the source of his healing powers while others (like pastors), accused him of stealing their membership. Makandiwa is one of the founding members who brought New Pentecostalism into the Zimbabwean soil, making this study in the UFIC significant.

3.8 The Nature of UFIC

The researcher attended a number of services conducted by the UFIC especially at the City Sports Centre and most of the findings are below:

3.8.1 Outreach Strategies.

The manner in which the UFIC carries out its crusades and church activities has some urban elitist features. The church has a well defined evangelistic pattern. They advertise their events on radio, television and they have some banners hung on street poles and posted on walls and at other strategic points in the city centre. Some banners are stuck on commuter omnibuses and private cars of some of the church members and at times, they use bumper stickers to advertise their events. Sometimes T-shirts are printed and they carry the pictures of the man of God and his wife.

The adverts are as attractive as any other commercial advertisement. People are promised solutions to their problems of unemployment, sicknesses and diseases and salvation. An example may be one service that was held by the UFIC during the 2017 Easter holiday which was termed the Judgment Night and the theme read “Your enemies are going to die”. At such gatherings there is a large turn out with people having to stand in long queues at the National Sports Stadium in order to be afforded the chance to get their enemies killed. Usually at such gatherings, the man himself, Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa, is the main speaker.

3.8.2 Leadership Structure of the Church.

The church’s structure also manifests an urban character. When one looks at the leadership structure, one can mistake it for any successful business enterprise. At the top of the structure, are the Prophet and his wife, who act as CEOs or directors of the company. They are followed by associate pastors and then personnel assistants. They also employ some qualified managers and account personnel who deal with administrative and finance issues. The prophet makes all key decisions in the running of the church and through his prophecies; he comes up with annual themes.

3.8.3 The youth ministry.

The church considers as belonging to the youth; all between the ages of 12 and 35 years of age. So the youth make up more than 50% of the church's membership. It is common knowledge that the youth still have a future to look forward to. They want employment, success, healthy marriages and a good life. Most of their hearts' desires are quenched at the UFIC through prosperity theology, so they are mostly the ones abandoning former churches to join the UFIC.

The economic and political unstable environment in Zimbabwe has hugely affected the youths, who after graduating with good degrees from university struggle to find their way into a meaningful career opportunity. Having realized that the economists and politicians seem to have failed to address their needs most Zimbabwean youths have come to rest their trust in the newly charismatic Pentecostal preachers, who often shower them with messages of hope. Consequently, an abundant number of youths attending UFIC services have even led the church to conduct two services every Sunday; a morning service for the adults, and an afternoon service for the youths.

3.8.4 Music in the church.

Music plays a central role in nearly all the Christian churches. In Africa according to Manyawu (2008), it is one way through which people express their theology. UFIC takes the same stance and goes further to use music in a way which reflects the church's character and modernity. There is a great use of modern musical instruments, of course the mainline churches have been using them for years, but have largely remained confined to the traditional hymns.

UFIC has moved into the high cost musical instruments. *The Zimbabwean Metro* of the 9th of April 2012, reports that Makandiwa purchased a sixty two piece Italian made PA system worth of a hundred thousand (\$100 000) US dollars. Music is also played throughout the worship services. It opens and closes the services. Instruments are played during prayers and even when the preacher is preaching. It seems the church realizes the power of music to move emotions and thereby carry people into the spiritual realm.

Another thing that is appealing to the congregants about music at UFIC is its incorporation of various forms of urban music and dance in the form of *Kwasa-kwasa, ndombolo, soukous or rumba*.

The church's praise and worship team also plays songs from other international groups like the American Hill song, Celebration Choir or Joyous Celebration Choir with hit songs like "My God is good". Unlike the traditional hymns, these songs have various musical genres and can accommodate several dancing styles.

3.8.5 Church Doctrine.

The central message of UFIC is prosperity gospel (PG) as I quote Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa on his DVD and on the talk show "*Ticharova prosperity gospel kusvika mapfuma chete*" (we shall preach on prosperity until people are prosperous). The message of prosperity appeals to those already successful or seeking success and wellbeing. It makes the rich and upward moving feel at home.

UFIC considers poverty to be a curse; a sign of evil spirit possession and believers need to be delivered from it. The born again should be successful in life since he or she has been delivered from the spirit of poverty. It appears as if all they see in the Bible is prosperity.

This is seen in their slogan on their church calendars, "*Tiri vana veminana, tinodya minana, tichigara neminana, tichifamba neminana, kuvaka kwacho minana, church yacho ndeye minana, zvose minana*" (we are miraculous people and we lead a miraculous life).

I quote from one of the prophets' messages "Blessings and curses"; he read from 2 Corinthians (8:9) "Jesus was made poor for our sake, that through his poverty we might be rich". This is indeed in contrast with the orthodox teaching which emphasise that Christians should not store up treasure in this world, but rather seek heavenly pleasures, Charismatic Pentecostal preachers wants Christians to be rich here and now. So in an urban environment, where there is an economic crisis and rampant unemployment, this gospel is no doubt enticing.

In UFIC, the question to ask is, 'How does PG work to make the UFIC filthy rich?' The man of God teaches that all who want to prosper have to give to God first, that is to the founder of the ministry. The giving is an investment into the kingdom of God and so, the more one gives or seed, the more they will harvest.

According to *The Zimbabwean Metro* (April 2012) "Makandiwa preaches what is a prosperity gospel", he claims that prosperity is the will of God.

It is said in one service, he boasted that when his Mercedes Benz s320 crushed, he quickly replaced it with a brand-new 2600. The paper also contends that in 2011, Makandiwa showered a waterfalls couple, and one of the Mahendere brothers' gospel singers with a house and a Mercedes Benz vehicle as a gift for their wedding. This wealth concept has tapped into a society with a high rate of unemployment levels and poverty in the country and as such thousands of followers rush to join his church in case they can also receive such showers of blessings.

3.9 Anti- Charismatic tendencies

A sample of ten individuals was selected at random and was asked questions pertaining to the emergence of charismatic Pentecostalism and the wide emphasis on the gospel of wealth as the major emphasis at the UFIC. The findings from this sample seemed to capture the general opinion in the purpose of this study. So their responses were representative of the opinion of the general public.

What came out was that, it appeared the majority of people who got interviewed by the researcher were not in support of Charismatic Pentecostalism and in particular UFIC's theology as most of them referred to it as a "passing phase". Many of them were of the general view that the essence of the gospel message is the salvation of souls and not of material wealth. Matthew 6:33 was widely quoted as reference, "But seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things will be added unto you" (John Chikwatu, Kuwadzana, 18July 2017) argued that even though the world may be dynamic, but the word of God is not dynamic, because Jesus is the same yesterday, today and forever. Christianity cannot be changed to match secular economic standards as Jesus taught that the earth and the heavens will pass, but the word of God will live forever. He further pointed out that, if wealth alone was a sign of spirituality, then drug traffickers, crime bosses or armed robbers could have been spiritual giants. Christians therefore need much more than physical possessions to show they are Christ like.

People who are always running from one church to another are not seeking for salvation but material wealth. Those who really seek the Lord can find Him anywhere and not at a specific church, lamented Chikwatu. If people are in need of wealth, they just need to work hard as the bible states in Proverbs 6: 6 which states, "Go to the ant, you sluggard; consider its ways and be wise!" (NIV)

A former member of the UFIC lamented that she never got the opportunity to taste the benefits of being a faithful UFIC partner. Having left the Catholic Church looking for spiritual and economic enrichment at the UFIC, she testified that all she remembers are the huge sums of money she contributed as seed to the church, but never got to harvest as promised. By the time of this interview she showed the researcher her empty lounge room, pointing out that she gave all her dining suit as a seed to the church expecting to harvest, but three years down the line nothing came her way. (Chipo Chipindu, Dzivaresekwa, 18 July 2017) Chipo lamented that this new brand of Christianity is meant to enrich the church founders who capitalize on Zimbabwe's economic instability.

Mangena in his article, "When PG becomes the gold spell", asserts that Zimbabweans today are living in times of great crisis emanating from both the carnal and spiritual world. Zimbabwe's economic downfall has also left people vulnerable to any form of abuse as such; the Christian community has not been an exception. He pointed out that, many preachers adopt some cunning ways to circumvent virtues in order to fast track their way to the top using superlatives and phrases that justify their get-rich quickly mentality and equate wealth to levels of faith. He further accused Charismatic Pentecostal preachers for cashing on the stressed Zimbabwe's economy.

There has been a drift from the orthodox biblical teaching, where earthly treasure is not really the focus of Jesus teaching. Luke 18:22-25 presents such an example, "sell all that you have and distribute to the poor and you will have a treasure in heaven, and come follow me". Jesus teaching displays that it is difficult for a believer to serve Jesus alongside riches, "it is easy for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven" he taught. But this teaching has been turned the other way round and instead being wealthy is actually a mark for today's believers. One preacher once said that many people would want to enjoy the benefits that go with being a Christian, but a lot of them do not want to follow and endure the principles and values that make one to enjoy those benefits. (Unknown informant, Masasa Park, Harare, 18 July 2017)

3.10 Pro Charismatic adherents

Responses on the criticism against the man of God Emmanuel Makandiwa showed that about 60% of the respondents are of the belief that a high level of anointing attracts greater persecution, they derive examples from the Bible where highly anointed people like Paul, Peter and even Jesus himself got a high

level of resistance and persecution from the community of their time. Such an understanding rests upon the teaching of Jesus where he taught his disciples that they were going to be persecuted for Christ's sake. Criticism thus shows that Emmanuel Makandiwa is a true prophet sent from God.

On the question of Makandiwa's teachings which are money centered; 70% of the respondents were in agreement with the statement and they commented that the Bible itself has many scriptures which give information about wealth and even God Himself claims that all the wealth in the world is His. So with this, they argue that the teachings are not Makandiwa's teachings, but teachings of the Bible. About 30% are of the view that the message of the man of God is not money centered, but is the total package of salvation covering all the areas of human needs from physical suffering of the body to the salvation of souls. (Sam Mudowe, Hatcliffe, 20 July 2017) maintains that Makandiwa is the Moses of this generation, called by God to preach an essential flavor of the gospel which has been missing for years. Prosperity gospel is thus, the manifestation of the gospel in its totality.

The concept of seed faith seems to be understood deeply by most of the members. 80% of the respondents believed that if there is anything that they want from God, they needed to give. Examples were given of people like Abraham who gave his son to become the father of many nations. Isaac in Genesis 26 planted seeds during the drought and harvested one hundred fold. This then stands to explain why Zimbabweans should not look at the economic environment but rather concentrate on seeding despite the climatic condition and like Isaac they will harvest even when the environment is not conducive.

Some went to the extent of saying that even when the man of God is preaching, one can tap into the anointing by going to put money at his feet, just as people went with money and put at the apostles' feet in Acts 5. So, due to this concept of seed faith, the man of God has had a variety of gifts coming as seeds and they range from cars, generators, suits and groceries.

In Matthew 11:5, in the popular Nazareth "manifesto", Jesus mentioned that one of his purposes on earth was to accomplish his mission through the preaching of the gospel to the poor. This scripture should be interpreted to mean the poor are the ones who need the gospel because it has the power to bring them out of their poverty through the death of Jesus Christ on the cross.

In fact Jesus was made poor so that Christians may be made rich (II Corinthians 8: 9). Furthermore, the apostle John in 3 John 2 wished that Gaius would prosper and be in good health as his soul prospered. This is said to reflect the mind of God upon his church. He wishes a holistic and complete spiritual and physical salvation for his followers. (Pastor Prime Kufa, UFIC spokesperson, City sports centre: 30 July 2017)

3.11 General view of UFIC membership.

Out of the sample size of thirty, all questionnaires were completed. The general view is that most of the respondents did not fully understand what (prosperity gospel) PG is, because most of them thought of money only, thus most of them could not give a sound definition of PG.

It was however interesting to note that about 60 % of the respondents were not full time members of the UFIC, for most of them argued they had their own churches which they attended regularly because they cited that the UFIC was just an interdenominational ministry for spiritual empowerment. 10 % of the respondents were not even members; neither did they have any religious affiliation, they argued they went to the UFIC for economic reasons. Most youths wanted an anointing to get a job in this harsh economic environment where unemployment has become the chorus of the day. Among those who had their own churches and were coming to UFIC for spiritual empowerment included people from AFM, Methodist Church in Zimbabwe, ZAOGA, Church of Christ in Zimbabwe and Christ Embassy.

3.12 Conclusion.

The findings in this study have pointed out to a direct positive relationship between socio-economic crisis in Zimbabwe and the emergence of charismatic Pentecostalism. It is clearly evident that difficult social and economic situations provide a fertile ground for charismatic Pentecostalism as it addresses the challenges in the day to day lives of people. The study found out that charismatic Pentecostalism seems to resonate well with those who are on a success hunt. The challenges of today, especially in urban areas have led many people to toil up and down in search of success; and this is exactly what PG promises to them. The next chapter is going to project the future of charismatic Pentecostalism in case of an economic turnaround.

Chapter 4

The future of charismatic Pentecostalism and gospel of prosperity

4.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at projecting the status and condition of charismatic Pentecostalism in case of economic shift in Zimbabwe. The chapter seeks to answer such vital questions as: will charismatic Pentecostalism stand the test of time as did the mainline churches or it is a passing phase which will probably die a natural death in case of economic shift? The chapter shall first unpack the theory of secularization and further display Karl Marx's view of religion and then look into the historical background of secularization and how Christianity was heavily affected and then use those lenses in projecting the Zimbabwean situation.

4.1 Secularization Theory.

According to (Norris 2004), secularization can be easily understood as a process by which religious institutions, actions, and consciousness, lose their social significance in the society at the advancement of science and technology.

It is a sociological theory which asserts that as society advances in modernity, religion retreats and becomes increasingly less significant (Norris, *ibid*). The emergence of science in the 17th century saw sociological commentators who realized that religion was heading towards its permanent decline, and some have proposed that science and intelligence, both rooted in the enlightenment, are a threat to the survival of religious faith.

Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Durkheim (1857-1917), the popular founders of sociology have noted the unavoidable decline coming towards religion. To have a better appreciation of Karl Marx's view of secularisation, it is essential to highlight his views and interpretation of Religion.

Karl Marx is famously known for his claim that religion is the “opium of the masses” According to Karl Marx; society is built up of two classes namely the rich and the poor. It was his belief that the social class structure of the time was set up to allow the wealthy to control all elements of production and to become wealthier off the labour of the working class.

One theory believed by Karl Marx was that, the capitalist system created a feeling of alienation for the workers (a feeling of powerlessness) and thus religion would be a means for workers to accept their plight in life. Religion would also be used by the wealthy to unconsciously control the masses, or the ordinary people (Guiso, 2003). Karl Marx believed that religion was a way for the poor to accept their poverty and for the wealthy to control the poor. Religion thus, gives a reason for the poor to accept their plight in life.

The basis of Marx’s argument is that humans should be led by reason and that religion was masking the truth and misguiding the masses by giving people false hopes, which made them to be dorsal and succumb to their suffering (Martin, 1989). Karl Marx believed that when one views society and life through the lens of religion, they are blinded to the realities of their life. Religion, then, was a false hope and comfort for the poor. Marx saw that the poor used their religion as a means to find comfort in their circumstances, thus aiding in the process of alienation.

Marx believed that religion, like an opiate, gave a sense of security and salvation of something yet to come. However, he claimed this was all an illusion. He felt that religion taught individuals to focus on otherworldly concerns and not on the immediate poverty they were suffering. To quote Marx: “Religion is a protest against real suffering”. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people” (Marx cited in Kong, 2010).

Martin (1989) asserts that, Marx thought religion was a fantasy designed by the rich to make life bearable for the poor. But opium, as he knew very well, was not just a drug that dulled the senses and made people sleepy. It was, and is, a powerful hallucinogenic that sent them into a world of the imagination that was far more exciting and fulfilling than the one they really inhabited.

Furthermore, in Marx's day, people did not have the same suspicion and disapproval of recreational drug use. Opium was also used in medicine as a sedative and painkiller. It was, on the whole, socially acceptable and generally useful, the role of religion was thus perceived to be the same as that of the

drugs of his day, which clouded people into seeing things far from the realities of their day, (Guiso, 2003). Having been totally convinced that religion is the “opium of the masses” and the “sigh of an oppressed creature, Karl Marx projected that religion would die a natural death through the advancement of science and technology (Secularization)

Martin (1989) asserts that, the secularization theory further holds that, intellectual and scientific developments have undermined and diluted the spiritual, supernatural, superstitious and paranormal ideas on which religion relies for its legitimacy. Moreover, the differentiation of modern life into different compartments (i.e. workplace, politics, society, education and knowledge, home-time, entertainment) which have relegated religion to merely one part of life, rather than an all-pervading narrative. As this continues, religion becomes more and more shallow, surviving for a while on empty until loss of active membership forces it into obscurity, (Kong, 2010).

4.2 Historical Development of Secularization.

The secularization theory has its roots in the French Revolution. Martin (1989) has it that, the secularization thesis maintains that secularization is an inevitable feature of the rise of industrial society and the modernization of culture. It is argued that modern science has made traditional belief less plausible; the pluralization of life-worlds has broken the monopoly of religious symbols.

The urbanization of society has created a world which is individualistic and anomic. The erosion of family life through social media has really driven away the quality time a traditional family used to have and this has made religious institutions less relevant. More so, technology has given people greater control over their environment, making the idea of an omnipotent God less relevant or plausible. In this sense, secularization is used as a measure of what Max Weber meant by the rationalization of society, (Norris, 2004), where the society interprets everything within the context of reasoning.

4.3 The Enlightenment Period (1771 – 1815)

Kong (2010) asserts that, enlightenment is a term used to designate that period in European history from the end of the 17th Century to the end of the 18th Century in which new horizons of thought were attained characterized by freedom of thought and intellectual discovery. Thinkers became independent of the Church and the traditional philosophy it propounded. Some became opponents of the church and

its beliefs. The new philosophy and the attitudes it engendered culminated in the French Revolution which brought a shock to the ecclesiastical and civil establishments' monarchical governments.

This ushered a new era of democracy and freedom from the control over society of those older institutions. Guiso (2003) has it that, the reason why the Christian church felt a victim was that before, it used to be too powerful and influential in civil organizations. When the proponents of enlightenment ideas realized that the church was resistant, they multiplied their efforts to destroy it. However despite these efforts to destroy the church, the church purified itself and at the end of this period the church had regained its place in the society. The enlightenment, however, was more threatening than the reformation.

According to Norris (2004) the genesis of enlightenment lies in rationalism which was initiated by Rene Descartes who around 1650 made a famous statement *Cogito ergo sum* 'I think therefore I am.' The power of individualism and thinking were now highlighted. Proponents of enlightenment ideas set a pattern which characterized the enlightenment but at this period there was also a parallel movement which was concerned with the material world. This movement was the one responsible for scientific discovery began by Columbus, Galileo Galilei and others. Francis Bacon went beyond Galilei by saying that science is not only a means of understanding the world but a means to rule the world. The period of enlightenment firmly supported the notion of secularization.

The enlightenment protested against the status quo by taking two major directions, interest in the capability of the human mind and interest plus curiosity of the material world. The emergency of enlightenment was among many other reasons brought about by the fact that People in Europe were fed up with the religious wars which ensued from the reformation and as highlighted above, enlightenment got closely tied to the notion of secularization.

Consequently, the society shifted its total dependence on religion and started to rely on science and rationality, this saw quite a number of people under the influence of science leaving the church and so became atheists. Most churches in America were closed, while some got sold and converted to pubs.

4.4 The signs of Secularization in Zimbabwe

Recently Zimbabwe has recently witnessed the emergency of secularization tendencies. Religion in Zimbabwe has been challenged by science, philosophy and technology. What used to be essential

religious time in families has been substituted by social media like face book and twitter among others. Families now face a hard time to gather together and worship God, as some family members will be busy on the social media.

Not only that, some church members have been found participating on the social media while in church, when the pastor is on fire preaching, some church members will be communicating with friends on social media. This shows an inevitable penetration of secularization in Zimbabwe.

Additionally, early 2017, Zimbabwe's Christian community was caught unaware by the introduction of a New Education Curriculum under the Ministry of Primary and Secondary education. This new curriculum challenged Christianity's long time comfort which the religion enjoyed at the expense of other religions. Zimbabwe's education system before and after independence has widely been Christian dominated, since missionaries used schools for evangelism. However this became a thing of the past as Minister of education Lazarus Dokora introduced a multi- religious curriculum, set to allow various religious teachings to find their way into the Zimbabwe's education curriculum. This could make students exposed to different religions.

At universities students of religion are exposed to the use of philosophy in their study of religion. Philosophy has therefore been used as an important pillar in the study of religion. This branch of religion brings to question religious beliefs and practices to see whether these do tally with reasoning and science. This has been a major blow to religion as it leaves religious practices exposed to scrutiny and in most cases these practices have been found wanting for being primitive and irrelevant, hence the need to follow reasoning.

4.5 Projection of the future of Charismatic Pentecostalism in case of Zimbabwe's economic turnaround

Having discovered how religion nearly collapsed in Europe through the advancement of science, technology and rationality, and having seen foot prints of secularization in Zimbabwe, this study projects the possibility of a similar situation in Zimbabwe. Charismatic Pentecostalism seems to be thriving because the economic environment in Zimbabwe is ailing, a shift or a turn-around of the

economic fortunes of Zimbabwe will see a different story. This study projects a decrease of membership in the charismatic Pentecostal churches, with some probably shutting down.

(Marry Munoda, Brian Choga and Naume Siziba: Glenview 1, July 28 2017) highlighted that, that quite a good number of people who attend UFIC services and functions are not necessarily members of this ministry but are rather people from other churches.

Additionally, Munoda and her friends being youths testified to the researcher that they were not necessarily members of the UFIC. They highlighted that, they were looking for jobs and so believe through the prophet's prayers coupled with their seeding and loyalty to the gospel they will one day make it and get employed in this harsh economy.

Economic and political challenges in Zimbabwe have been noted by this research to be the factors driving people to these newly established charismatic Pentecostal churches like the UFIC. Zimbabweans are desperately in need of economic empowerment and as such they are prepared to pay the price for getting formally employed, owning houses, driving nice cars and be able to have a better meal on their tables. These desires are promised to be quenched at the UFIC as the leader Emmanuel Makandiwa claims to have been anointed to take people out of poverty.

In December 2016, Makandiwa claimed to have been commanded by God to sell "miracle bricks"; these bricks were being sold at \$10 each. The followers were told to adhere to this command from God and the belief was that the more bricks one buys the more houses one would build before the year ends.

The church members crowded to buy these bricks with some buying as many as 50, believing that they would build 50 houses before the year ended. However, an (unknown informant, Belvedere, 28 July 2017) told the researcher that, this did not come to happen to herself and her friends. They expressed regrets for having impulsively spent their \$10 note which for most Zimbabwean's lower and middle class is quite a huge amount. An adherence of charismatic Pentecostalism maintains that, most people who do not experience miracles at UFIC are people without faith. The miracles are believed to be experienced in response to one's faith.

This study has thus established the fact that charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe breeds on the economic and political instability, any shift and economic development would entail the end of this new

brand of Christianity which has taken Zimbabwe by a storm. As Zimbabweans will be able to get employed and start vibrant businesses, such economically independent people will use rational and science for success rather than depending on a prophet or charismatic ministry, because then, everyone will be able to afford whatever they desire, bringing the gospel of prosperity to a natural death.

Mangena in Chitando (2013) asserts that, since economic meltdown which reached its climax in the 2000, Zimbabwe has witnessed an unprecedented siege of Christian preachers calling themselves prophets or “man of God”. Characteristically, these prophets claim to work out miracles, especially those that violate nature. This has earned them a bunch of both supporters and critics.

It is interesting to note that both the sympathizers of this new Christian brand and the skeptics cite the Bible to justify whether this new brand of Christianity is Biblical or not. These prophets like Emmanuel Makandiwa perform stage miracles to justify God’s call on them. Some of these miracles include miracle money, miracle weight loss, telling their congregants their phone number, National Identity number, car registration number among other things. People flock from as far as South Africa, Zambia and Malawi among other countries in order to get ministered to by Makandiwa.

Some people suspect that Makandiwa could be making use of African magic acquired from either Ghana or Nigeria where such magic shrines are common. This is further caused by the fact that Makandiwa claims to have a “spiritual father” named Victor Boetang in Ghana, whom he constantly visits for spiritual enrichment. Essentially it is important to note that, Makandiwa’s prophetic activities have not only attracted the poor but also influential people such as politicians, economists among others, who consult him to hear what the future holds for them.

As highlighted above, the leaders of these charismatic Pentecostal denominations like Emmanuel Makandiwa have widely received a high level of criticism from the secular world and other religious groups. They have been accused for being opportunistic and taking advantage of people who already are struggling for survival. Mangena in Chitando (2003) calls this new brand of Christianity “gosprenuership” which has cashed on the stressed Zimbabwe’s economy.

More so, another major critique leveled against this new Christian brand is that UFIC has largely been associated with urban environs and the church shuns rural areas as if there are no people in need of this new wave of Christianity. The general and obvious reason for this is that people in rural areas struggle to

find money and this automatically disqualifies rural people from accessing this gospel of wealthy. This indeed seems to be a departure from Jesus who could accommodate that poor widow who brought few coins as offering (Luke 21:1-4).

Upon asking this question (Pastor Prime Kufa, City sports centre, 30 July 2017) argued that even when the Early Church started, it started in Jerusalem which was a city and so every transformative church should make its presence in town for that is where policies are crafted. This has however not been accepted by most scholars like Mangena (ibid) who question the sincerity of this new Christian brand and accuse it for being an instrument of capitalism (gosprenuership).

However, scholars like Biri (2016) argue that charismatic Pentecostalism is not an opportunistic Christian brand, but rather a relevant theological flavor desperately needed for Zimbabweans. According to Biri (ibid), charismatic Pentecostalism has plays a critical role in encouraging Zimbabweans to have hope for a better future. The economic and political environment in Zimbabwe has become discouraging for quite a number of people and so people do not see any bright future for Zimbabwe. Fortunately at such a desperate time where politicians seem not to have solutions, charismatic Pentecostal leaders claim to have brought solutions for Zimbabweans and so the phenomenon becomes a giver of hope.

Biri (2016) further notes that, one of the appeals of the Pentecostal-charismatic movement is its ability to respond to the existential and pragmatic needs faced by the modern urban societies; these include domestic and socioeconomic problems. Their emergence in most parts of Africa has occurred under conditions of economic, political and social hardship. These hardships were accompanied by economic reforms, low wages and quality of life, the absence of social services, and the withdrawals of the welfare frontiers of the state. Economic stability between 1980 and the 1990s saw limited activity by way of new churches. However, after 2000, new churches began to emerge, mostly in response to the deepening socio-economic crisis. For Biri, the emergence of charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe in an economically and politically unstable environment has been a source of hope for Zimbabweans.

On the other hand, it is striking to note that, some have criticized this new Christian brand and accused the church leaders as serving the interests of those at the top of the social ladder. This belief hangs on Karl Marx's view that religion is the "opium of the masses and a protest against real suffering", For

Marx; religion was created by the rich and those in power to control the poor making them dorsal and accept their social status.

This is symptomatically true in the Zimbabwean situation, as Emmanuel Makandiwa was seen participating at the anti sanction campaign, which shows his political connection with those at the top. Additionally, Makandiwa in his recent prophecies has warned Zimbabweans not to participate in the demonstrations against economic instability in Zimbabwe, citing that this would result in “blood bath” (massive death of people). This has made people to shun addressing real economic and political instability facing the country out of the fear that Makandiwa’ s prophecy would come true.

Charismatic Pentecostalism is thus widely believed to be serving the interests of those in power and the phenomena makes Zimbabweans dorsal, shifting their attention from addressing real problems affecting the country to focusing on unfilled spiritual promises showered by the leaders. For example, in January 2017, Makandiwa prophesied that there is going to be abundance in Zimbabwe, with gold, diamond and other minerals reviving the economy.

It is exactly this reason that makes Zimbabweans to accept whatever is happening in this country economically and politically, believing that as prophesied by Makandiwa abundance will one day come. This pacifies people and makes them loyal, instead of setting a revolt against the situation, and address the high volume of corruption, social injustice, economic instability and unemployment among other social ills. Life for ordinary Zimbabweans is getting extremely difficult with households failing to afford a meal and some living on the streets. Such a situation calls for action, unfortunately charismatic Pentecostalism seems to be pacifying a good number of Zimbabweans, making Marx’s view of religion as “opium of the masses” to be true.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has established the fact that religion and in particular charismatic Pentecostalism cannot withstand the advancement of modernity, science and rationality. As highlighted in this chapter, history has proven that religious influence has been watered down through the effects of secularization and as

such the Zimbabwean situation cannot be an exception. The situation becomes true especially putting into cognizance the fact that charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe breeds and feeds on the wings of economic instability. The study has hence projected an end of this religious movement in Zimbabwe in the case of economic and political turn around, where the economy will allow people to acquire the prosperity they have always desire. The next chapter seeks to present a summary of this study and concluding remarks.

Chapter 5

Summary and concluding remarks

5.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to present a summary of the research findings of the study and the conclusions drawn from these findings.

5.1 Summary

The study set out to investigate if there was any correlation between PG and the Zimbabwean economic crisis. Chapter 1 has displayed the background to the study and the reasons that prompted the researcher to carry out this study. The chapter also gave a background of the birth of Pentecostalism in America, how this new brand rapidly spread into Africa and finally how it emerged in Zimbabwe. The study was largely prompted by the emergency and proliferation of charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe amidst unstable and ailing economic and political environment.

Chapter 2 examined the economic and political environment in Zimbabwe. The chapter started with the picture of Zimbabwe soon after independence up to the time when Zimbabwean economy started to melt down. The chapter has noted quite a number of factors that contributed to economic decline, some of which include, the introduction of Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP). The fast tracked land reform program (*Hondo yeminda*) which led to urban over population leading to operation *murambatsvina* (remove dirty). Also, the war veteran's compensation fund which was not budgeted for resulted in the "Black Friday" when Zimbabwean dollar lost 72% of its value against the United States dollar. The chapter has traced some of the factors which contributed to Zimbabwe's economic downfall. Chapter 3 has analyzed the birth and growth of Charismatic Pentecostal churches in Zimbabwe, paying particular attention to the UFIC. It was also the work of this chapter to examine the interconnectedness of charismatic Pentecostalism and economic meltdown.

Chapter 4 has projected the future of charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe in case of an economic and political turn around. The chapter has looked into the rise and effects of secularization in America where religious beliefs and practices were watered down at the advancement of science and technology. The study thus used this as a reference of the possibility of similar events in Zimbabwe in case of economic fortunes.

Chapter 5 has presented a summary of the research findings, as well as concluding remarks.

A sample of thirty members from the UFIC was used. Also a poly- methodical approach to the study using interviews, questionnaire methods and participant observation were employed. The study was largely prompted by the emergency and proliferation of charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe amidst unstable and ailing economic and political environment.

It was not easy to carry out the study because most of the respondents were reluctant to co-operate as they thought such studies would eventually be used to criticize their church. It was also not possible to carry out an interview with the founding father of the church prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa as his officials claimed he had a busy schedule. His aides however provided the researcher with a DVD on a talk show of the man of God on Prosperity theology. This material was so helpful in answering some of the questions the researcher had concerning his teaching on charismatic Pentecostalism.

In spite of these constraints, interesting findings and observations were made and the following conclusions were made:

5.2 Concluding Remarks

The study was guided by the following questions:

- What are the attractive factors that grow this brand of Christianity? Is the flocking of Zimbabweans to these churches really driven by a genuine faith or it is rather an economic response to the movement's promises?
- How far can the Zimbabwe's economic and political instability be held responsible for the birth and proliferation of charismatic Pentecostalism?
- Can charismatic Pentecostalism and prosperity theology stand the test of time in case of Zimbabwe's economic turnaround?

The study has established that there is a high interconnection between charismatic Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe and political economic meltdown facing the country. Zimbabwe, like other African nations, has the liberty to religious affiliation, or freedom of worship. The nation has gone through rampant economic hardships which have seen a very high inflation rate which resulted in the abandonment of the local currency and the adoption United States dollar as well as the South African Rand.

This has seen the proliferation of different religious groups in the country particularly in the Harare Region and other major towns such as Bulawayo, Gweru, and Mutare among others. Charismatic Pentecostalism particularly the UFIC also carries with it a clear economic message of individual prosperity and enrichment within the local context.

The UFIC has largely been associated with an urban environs and the church shuns rural areas as if there are no people in need of this new wave of Christianity. The general and obvious reason for this is that people in rural areas struggle to find money and this automatically disqualifies rural people from accessing this gospel of wealthy.

This development unfolds against a background of serious economic hardships that has left a few untouched and has retarded economic progress significantly. The crisis has exacerbated poverty, misery, unemployment, fear, doubt and uncertainty among Zimbabweans. It is against this background that the UFIC made considerable inroads in the country.

UFIC therefore, emerged and proliferated at a time when the country's economy was not performing well. It is this factor coupled with the huge emphasis placed on the gospel of wealth which has proven that indeed there is a high correlation between charismatic Pentecostalism and Zimbabwe's economic and political meltdown.

The question on whether UFIC is really addressing the needs of Zimbabwean, has attracted mixed feelings. On one hand the church leader Emmanuel Makandiwa has been praised for being a Moses of this generation, as he and his church have managed to stand as the only source of hope for a better Zimbabwe.

His gospel has showered healing and hope among Zimbabweans. On the other hand however, Emmanuel Makandiwa and UFIC have widely attracted a great deal of criticism, with some arguing that this new brand of Christianity is serving the interest of those in power and at the top of the social ladder. UFIC thus, in this case stands as pacifying people, shifting people's attention from real economic and political issues which need to be addressed probably through a revolt.

Having said this, the future of UFIC and charismatic Pentecostalism is highly doubtful, this study has established that, since UFIC and charismatic Pentecostalism seem to be thriving on economic instability in the country, the phenomena is likely going to sink and probably disappear a natural death in case of an economic turnaround .

It can be concluded therefore that religion in general and the PG theology owes a great deal to the social, economic, political and even historical contexts in which it operates. As highlighted in the study, UFIC's character has been determined by the urban context in which it operates, addressing modern challenges that people in the urban areas face. In all, there is a positive correlation between the Zimbabwean economic crisis and the proliferation of charismatic Pentecostalism.

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Appendix: Respective responses from guided questions are given below.

QUESTION 1

Are you a full time member at the UFIC or part time	Fulltime	Part time	Not a member
Responses in %	30%	60%	10%

QUESTION 2

Does PG address the day to day challenges of your life	Yes	No	Don't know
Responses in %	73%	10%	17%

QUESTION 3

Do you think God wants people to be rich or poor	Rich	Poor	Don't know
Responses in %	70%	7%	23%

QUESTION 4

Does Prosperity gospel really change people's lives	Yes	No	Don't know
Responses in %	83%	3%	13%

Question 5

Are there any testimonies in your heart that you can attribute to the emergency of charismatic Pentecostalism in particular U.F.I.C	Yes	No	Don't know
Responses in %	63%	13%	23%

Question 6

Do you think there is an interconnection between the emergence of charismatic Pentecostalism and Zimbabwe's economic meltdown

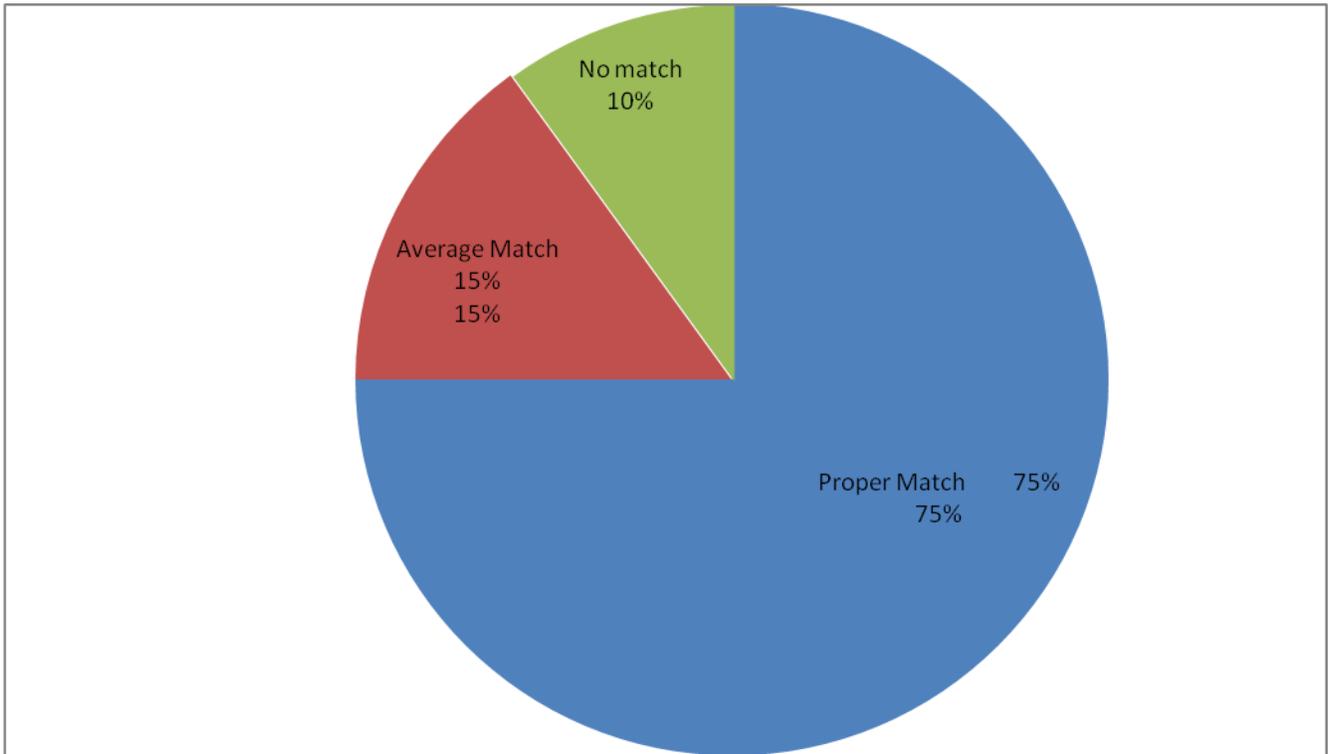


Figure 1:4 shows the responses of the interviewees on how the emergence charismatic Pentecostalism is interconnected with Zimbabwe's economic and political instability.

