

**Pentecostal and Charismatic
Spiritualities and Civic Engagement in
Zambia**

(1964-2012)

By

Naar M'fundisi

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Abstract

The current study contributes to the development of a discourse surrounding the ways in which Pentecostal and Charismatic attitudes have been shaped and reshaped by issues at the core of Zambia's civic concerns.

Tracing the historical development of Pentecostalism in Zambia and exploring the nation's history of civic engagement, the primary areas of examination will include both political activism and various attempts at addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic. For the purposes of this study, community organization around addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic is here understood as political activism and not merely as health care advocacy. Attempts at Pentecostal civic engagement are traced in post-colonial Zambia, from independence in 1964 during the Kaunda era, until 2012. It has been discovered that the Pentecostals' delay in engaging effectively in this area, as compared to mainline churches can be attributed to the following factors (among others): a history that eschewed civic engagement (which they deemed ungodly), their minimal numbers (making it difficult for them to become a powerful influential force), their fragmented voice as a movement, the formation of unhealthy relationships with heads of state in the past (which proved detrimental to their prophetic voice) and an overemphasis on prayer as opposed to praxis in dealing with social issues. What will be evident is the relationship between religion and society and ways in which Pentecostal and Charismatic beliefs and practices have had an impact on civic issues and vice versa.

Between June 2009 and September 2013, the author engaged *inter alia* on both intensive and extensive ethnographic research in Lusaka, conducted over 50 interviews with major church leaders, distributed 300 questionnaires (with a response of 265), attended 20 gatherings of her focus group, and visited 3 HIV/AIDS clinics in Lusaka over a 4 year period. This research focused on leaders and members of mainly Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, and also on workers in integrated health care centres as well as in other institutions set up by some of these churches. The majority of the interviews were conducted in Lusaka, except two which were held in Kitwe and Luanshya.

What makes the current study viable and innovative is that to date, no comprehensive research has been conducted in the area of Pentecostal and Charismatic civic engagement in the Republic of Zambia.

Dedication

This thesis is a dedication to my dear mother, Regina Tonga Mfundisi (1942-2002), who I loved dearly and was the epitome of a woman with a beautiful heart.

Zororai Murughare Amai (MYSRIEP)

Acknowledgements

This thesis has taken me on an interesting journey in the last five years. There were many lows along the way. However, I also encountered a number of things that gave me a reason to smile. This thesis has roots in Zambia, my home country, where I spent my formative years. Though born and raised in the Salvation Army it gave me great pleasure to write something that would demonstrate the role that Zambia has played in the growth and development of the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement across the globe.

First of all I would like to give thanks to the almighty God because with him all things are possible. I am greatly indebted to Professor Allan Anderson my supervisor, who planted this seed in me by encouraging me to write something about Frederick Chiluba, former President of Zambia. It is from there that my thesis developed. I would like to thank Dr. Richard Burgess who was very supportive during the two years we worked on the John Templeton Project. Thank you for working very hard with other staff in the department to secure funding that helped me continue with my studies. I would like to thank both Professor Anderson and Dr. Burgess for their invaluable suggestions through the years that helped improve my thesis. I also want to thank Dr. Nimi Wariboko for his invaluable advice and reading through my drafts at short notices. A special thank you to Dr John Padwick who walked the last mile of this journey with me.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

(Shortened names of churches, church/ Christian organizations, political and health acronyms)

ACZ - Apostolic Church in Zambia

AFACA - Apostolic Faith and Acts Church in Africa

AFC - Apostolic Faith Church

AFM - Apostolic Faith Mission

AOGZ - Assemblies of God Zambia

ART - Antiretroviral Treatment

ARV - Antiretroviral

BLCI - Bread of Life Church International

BIGOCA - Bible Gospel Church in Central Africa

CCJP - Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

CCZ - Council of Churches in Zambia

COG - Church of God

ECR - Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS

EFZ - Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia

EU - European Union

FBO - Faith-Based Organization

FGCOG - Full Gospel Church of God

FODEP - Foundation for Democratic Progress

GOF - Gospel Outreach Fellowship

GOMI - Gospel Outreach Ministry International

GMMI - Grace Ministries Mission International

HIPC - Highly Indebted Poor Countries

ICOZ - Independent Churches of Zambia

IFCC - International Fellowship of Christian Churches

JCC - Jubilee Christian Centre

JCTR - Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection

LAZ - Law Association of Zambia

MDG - Millennium Development Goals

MDRI - Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative

MMD - Movement for Multi-Party Democracy

NCC - National Citizens Coalition

NCC - National Constitutional Conference

NDIIA - National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

NETOZ - National Evangelistic Task of Zambia

NGOCC - Non Governmental Organizations Coordinating Committee

NGO - Non Governmental Organization

NUBEG - National Union for Builders, Engineers and General Workers

OF - Oasis Forum

OVC - Orphans and Vulnerable Children

PAOG - Pentecostal Assemblies of God

PAOGC - Pentecostal Assemblies of God Canada

PAOGZ - Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia

PC - Pentecostal and Charismatic

PCRI – Pentecostal Charismatic Research Initiative

PEPFAR - President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief

PHC - Pentecostal Holiness Church

PLWHA - People Living With HIV/AIDS

RCCG - Redeemed Christian Church of God

RCZ - Reformed Church in Zambia

TALST - Touch a Life Social Thrust

TB - Tuberculosis

TBN - Trinity Broadcasting Network

SADC - Southern African Development Community

SDA - Seventh Day Adventist

SITG - Standing in the Gap

STI - Sexually Transmitted Infection

UCZ - United Church of Zambia

UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund (formerly United Nations International Emergency Fund)

UNIP - United National Independence Party

UTH - University Teaching Hospital

UPND - United Party for National Development

UNZA - University of Zambia

VCT - Voluntary Counseling and Testing

WHO - World Health Organization

ZCTU - Zambia Congress of Trade Unions

ZEC - Zambia Episcopal Conference

ZEMCC - Zambia Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee

ZCPT - Zambia Prevention, Care and Treatment Program

ZIMT - Zambia Independent Monitoring Team

Chapter 1. Constructing the Identity of Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity in Zambia

1.1 Introduction: Zambia's Religious Landscape

Christianity in Zambia permeates every part of daily life. Based on the Zambia 2010 Census of Population and Housing Report, 75.5% were classified as Christian, 20.2% Catholic, 0.5% Muslim, 2.0% other and 1.8% other.¹ This report did not provide a proportion of Pentecostal/Charismatic Christians as their numbers would have been added to the Protestant group. It equally did not indicate the percentage of African Initiated Churches (AIC) which would have been included in the 'other' category. The emergence of Christianity in Zambia is linked to the arrival of Dr. David Livingstone, a missionary who arrived in the late 19th century. He preceded other missionary activities, leading to the formation of Christian mission stations and churches. This then resulted in the rise of AICs. The leaders of these AICs did not shun Christianity altogether, but rather endeavoured to retain the African traditional flavour and idiom within their ecclesiology and liturgy. The arrival of Pentecostalism helped restore a spiritual connection (a world view that is innately African) that was downtrodden by missionaries. This was not a spiritual connection that engaged ancestral worship and the veneration of ancient spirits, but rather a connection to the Spirit of God.

Following the death of Dr. David Livingstone, a succession of missionary stations were planted throughout the country. Rotberg records that approximately over 100 mission stations were opened in Zambia between 1882 and 1924.² Since the late 19th century, Zambia enjoyed plurality as mission-led churches as well as AICs mushroomed across the country.

¹ *Zambia 2010 Census of Population and Housing: National Analytical Report* (Lusaka: Central Statistical Office, 2012), 19-20.

² Robert I. Rotberg, *Christian Missionaries and the Creation of Northern Rhodesia* (Princeton: NJ, Princeton University Press, 1965), 151-153.

Pentecostal growth benefited greatly from this religious plurality as some of its members had prior links to mainline churches and AICs. Many young people left their churches, converted and joined this seemingly vibrant movement with new religious sensibilities.³ This led to the development of Charismatic churches in the 1980s⁴ and examples of these churches will be discussed in chapter two. Unfortunately Kaunda detested religious plurality amongst the mainline churches and labelled it 'denominational idiocy and a terrible condemnation of Christianity and confusion to the people of Zambia'.⁵ Kaunda espoused the idea of having one national church, just like the Church of Scotland in which his father was a minister. The formation of The United Church of Zambia (UCZ) in 1965 was to be one of the first ecumenical ventures to be exhibited during that time.⁶ This came close to what Kaunda desired. Gifford called it a 'remarkable ecumenical venture' in that this church was an amalgamation of various Protestant movements namely The Union Church of Central Africa, The Free Church of Scotland, The London Missionary Society, The Methodist Missionary Society as well as the Paris Evangelical Mission Society to Barotseland.⁷ The United Church of Zambia still exists today and has also experienced 'Pentecostalisation' which has led to the creation of a break away Charismatic church called Grace Ministries.

Since their inception, mainline churches have made a number of contributions to civic engagement within the country, and continue to do so in the 21st century. This in turn has provided a context for Pentecostal and Charismatic (PC) civic engagement. Mainline churches have always been linked to various learning, health and development institutions.

³ Victor Chilenje, 'The Origins and development of the Church of God Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia 18882-2004' (PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, 2007), 221.

⁴ Which in this case are churches that broke away from the mainline churches during what K.J Phiri describes as the 'Pentecostalisation' of the Reformed Church in Zambia as well as other mainline churches. Kelvin Jason Phiri, 'African Pentecostal Spirituality: A Study of the Emerging African Pentecostal Churches in Zambia' (PhD. Diss., University of Pretoria, 2009), 22.

⁵ D. G. Cook, 'Church and State in Zambia: The Case of the Africa Methodist Episcopal Church' (paper presented at the School of Oriental and African Studies Seminar, 1973), 7.

⁶ Chilenje, 'The Origins', 125.

⁷ Ibid, 126.

For this reason, Zambia has a number of schools and hospitals situated in remote areas of the country that have served the needs of local people for decades. These institutions continue to stand today and currently, with the changes in socio-economic, religious and political dynamics, mainline churches have diversified into more areas of civic engagement. More importantly, they have strengthened their voice by using the media as a platform to air their concerns and to lobby the state on a variety of issues at the core of Zambia's civic concerns. Roman Catholic institutions have been known to express their views through pastoral letters and articles to the state often concerned with various issues including matters of governance. Both Catholic and Protestant churches are currently engaged in matters concerning the constitution, governance, health, education, economic justice, elections, rural and urban development, youth empowerment, agriculture, gender issues, church-state relations, politics and socio-economic justice. This thesis will demonstrate how PCs are also playing centre stage in their own capacity as well as through interreligious relations in meeting the needs of people on Zambia's public domain.

1.1.1 Identifying the Gap

Historians and sociologists have written about PC Christianity in Zambia and in a number of other African countries where the movement is larger and more vibrant.⁸ Unfortunately very

⁸ Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism. The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: CA: University of California Press, 2007); Eldin Villafane, *The Liberating Spirit: Towards an Hispanic America Pentecostal Social Ethic* (Grand Rapids: Michigan, Wm. B Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993); Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford : New York, Oxford University, 2008); Amos Yong, *In the Days of Caesar: Pentecostalism and Political Theology* (Cambridge: Wm. B Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2010); David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford and Maiden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002) especially. Chapter 4; Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd., 1998), Paul Gifford, *Christianity and Politics in Doe's Liberia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Paul Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Jeff Hynes (ed), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World* (Hampshire and New York: McMillan Press, 1999); Terence O. Ranger (eds.), *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa. Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in the Global South*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), chapter. 6.

few scholars have engaged with the different histories surrounding the various expressions of the movement in Zambia from 1946/7 when the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) is believed to have come to the country.⁹ It is only in the last two decades that PC Christianity in Zambia has received academic attention. This research has largely focused on the history of the movement, especially since the ascension of Frederick Chiluba, a Pentecostal, to presidency in 1991. Those that have written about PC Christianity in Zambia have lamented the lack of sources to aid their research. They have noted that even the churches themselves did not formally record their history or retain important historical documents in their church archives.¹⁰ Publications about PC churches have been written but have mainly focussed on the ten years when Zambia had a Pentecostal president.¹¹ This research aims to provide a history of the civic engagement of PC Christianity in Zambia from 1964-2012. The thesis will explore how this form of Christianity has interfaced with and helped to change the social, political and religious realities of the public domain in Zambia. Research on civic engagement has previously been developed in the global South where Pentecostalism has had a colossal impact on society and politics. Similarly, studies have been conducted in Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Malawi and Zimbabwe showing the impact Pentecostalism and Evangelical Christianity has had on the democratization of African countries.¹²

⁹ An Oral History interview with Bishop Mark Musonda on 25/08/10, former Presiding Bishop of Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia. In 2006 he was elected as International General Secretary for AFM international and served until 2009.

¹⁰ John Mutunda Kapenda Lumbe, 'The Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movements in Zambia Between 1989-2000' (Master's thesis, University of South Africa, 2008), 3; Austine M. Cheyeka, *Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post-Colonial Zambia*, in J. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola, *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 145; Adriano Chalwe, 'An Evaluation of the Mission History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia' (PhD Thesis, North-West University, 2008), 11.

¹¹ Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics*, 154-165; Gifford, *African Christianity*, chapter.5; Isabel Apawo Phiri, 'President Frederick J. T. Chiluba of Zambia: The Christian Nation and Democracy.' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33.4 (2003): 401-428; Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism*, 6.

¹² Dena Freeman (editor), *Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs and Social Change in Africa* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*. (2007); Villafane, *The Liberating Spirit* (1993); Yong, *In the Days of Caesar* 2010); Martin, *Pentecostalism*: (2002) especially chapter 4; Gifford, *African Christianity* (1998), Gifford, *Christianity and Politics* (1993); Freston, *Evangelicals and*

Civic engagement in this study will connote the way in which people ‘connect with the life of their community.’¹³ These connections can be developed in various ways and at different levels depending on the capacity of the service provider, as well as the severity of the needs of the community. It will also be understood as the influence that PC beliefs and practices have on personal and social transformation and on wider civic culture and economic growth in both civic and congregational settings. This will entail looking at their history and their initial attitudes and actions towards matters of civic concern for the past seven decades.¹⁴ What will be evident is that PC Christianity has had an impact on society and in turn, society has influenced PCs. This is because, while engaging with the public domain, they continue to encounter diverse socio-economic problems which they may not have anticipated. This then helps them to rethink their understanding of the transcendent and reorganise themselves and their resources in order to diversify their levels of civic engagement. It is not only about the relationship between mankind and the transcendent, but also how the experiences of mankind’s altruistic behaviours shape their understanding of God. These dynamics have allowed for a nuanced understanding of what is considered religious/non-religious and sacred/non-sacred. Civic engagement helps to erase these categories as within Zambia, church projects cater to people from all walks of life regardless of their belief systems.

Civic engagement also creates important links with the concept of social capital. Sociologists like Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam have grappled with this concept in trying to understand the importance of communal links,¹⁵ be it financial, physical or human capital.¹⁶ PC growth

Politics (2001); Hynes (ed), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture* (1999); Ranger (eds.), *Evangelical Christianity* (2008).

¹³ Robert Putnam, ‘Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America,’ *Political Science and Politics*, 28.4 (1995): 665.

¹⁴ This period includes almost two decades of colonialism, from the 1940’s to 1964 when Zambia gained its independence.

¹⁵ P. Bourdieu, ‘Forms of Capital’ in J.C Richards (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1983); J. C. Coleman, ‘Social Capital in the Creation of Human

and civic engagement in Zambia has benefited from the concepts of social capital. This is because civic engagement advances the connection between social, cultural and religious capital. Bourdieu has defined social capital in terms of ‘resources gained from mutual acquaintance within a structure or class’,¹⁷ Coleman in terms of ‘a variety of entities with similar characteristics; networks facilitating actions of individuals within a structure’,¹⁸ and Putnam links it to the importance of ‘social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arises from them’.¹⁹ Hanifan’s contribution was also significant in understanding social capital and looked at it in terms of ‘those tangible things that count for most of people’s daily lives like goodwill, fellowship, and sympathy and social intercourse to make up a social unit’.²⁰ It will be evident in this thesis that for PCs to successfully move out of the four walls of the church to impact society, they have had to depend on local (and later transnational) networks in order to gain the connections needed to build capacity. Having become a movement that houses people from all levels of society, PC churches have benefited not only from their leaders’ initiatives, but also from financial resources gleaned from members as well as the social networks they belong to. Therefore, the ability for various PC churches whether mega or small to engage in socio-political and health issues within their communities has greatly benefited from financial, physical as well as human capital.²¹ Unfortunately some of the detrimental consequences of social capital have been identified as

Capital,’ *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988): 95-120; Robert D. Putnam, ‘Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital,’ *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 6.1 (1995): 65-78.

¹⁶ Coleman, ‘Social Capital,’ 100-101. Coleman understands Physical capital as ‘tools, machines and other productive equipment,’ human capital as ‘skills and knowledge acquired by an individual’ and social capital as relations among persons’.

¹⁷ Bourdieu, ‘Forms of Capital,’ 249.

¹⁸ Coleman, ‘Social Capital,’ 98.

¹⁹ Putnam, ‘Tuning In, Tuning Out,’ 665.

²⁰ L. J. Hanifan, *The Community Centre* (Boston: Silver Burdett, 1920), 130.

²¹ Alejandro Portes, ‘Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology,’ *Annual Review of Sociology* . 24 (1998): 15.

‘exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members and restrictions on individual freedoms.’²²

This thesis is divided into three parts. The first section discusses Zambia as a one party state under President Kenneth Kaunda (1964-1991). The second section considers Zambia as a democratic state under President Chiluba (1991-2001). The final section focuses on Zambia post Chiluba (2001-2012). This thesis has also sought to examine the significance of PC churches on Zambia’s public domain and the contributions they have made towards socio-political issues as well as the reshaping of Zambia’s religious culture.

The questions explored within this thesis address issues not fully explored in the work of other academics. Each section will revolve around its own set of questions linked to the overall research question which is: *What significance has the interface between Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity and the wider religious, political and social realities had in Zambia?*

1.1.2 Significance

This study contributes to the wider discussion on PC Christianity and civic engagement by examining how the different expressions and dimensions of PC spirituality influence civic engagement and how civic engagement influences the shape of PC spirituality. The thesis incorporates voices from influential leaders and those who may otherwise be considered not influential due to their socio-economic and geographical contexts. It also draws on the voice of ordinary Zambian PC Christians from grassroots communities. While most scholarly research in this field has mainly explored the Chiluba era, this thesis focuses on early PC history as well as on a period of twelve years after Chiluba left office.

²² Ibid.

1.2 Overview of Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity in Zambia

The past twenty years has witnessed a significant upsurge of research interest in the growth and development of Pentecostalism in the global South.²³ Religion continues to dominate the public domain and to permeate social, political, economic and cultural spheres.²⁴ Christianity in the Zambian context has established itself as a force not to be ‘readily agreed with and safely ignored.’²⁵ Research interests in PC Christianity have continued to evolve, particularly in relation to the role of religion in the global South. In the past two decades, PC Christianity has become an agent of change in Zambia. Having emerged as a marginalised branch of Christianity, this movement has become an important player in the Zambian public arena and has engaged in socio-political, economic and development areas. This research has revealed an interesting gradual shift in Pentecostal spiritual focus. In comparison with earlier forms of their beliefs, which emphasised the urgency of proselytising in preparation for the imminent return of Christ, recent decades have witnessed the development of a ‘social conscience’²⁶ and an endeavour to meet people’s needs holistically while on earth. Since the introduction of Christianity to Zambia in the late nineteenth Century during the colonial era, through the post-colonial era under Kaunda and Chiluba the democrat, into the twenty first century, it has continued to play a major role in Zambia’s public domain. Paul Gifford presents a well-rounded analysis of the public role of Christianity on Zambia’s religious culture and politics since the time that Zambia was a one party state under Kaunda and during the period when it

²³Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism* (2007); Villafane, *The liberating Spirit* (1993);Yong, *In the Days of Caesar* (2010); Martin, *Pentecostalism* (2002) especially Chapter 4; Gifford, *African Christianity* (1998); Gifford, *Christianity and Politics* (1993); Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics* (2001);Hynes (ed), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture* (1999); Ranger (eds.), *Evangelical Christianity* (2008); Anderson, *An Introduction* (2004); Allan H. Anderson and Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecostals After a Century* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 1999), Chapter 1; Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires. The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007); Allan Anderson, *Bazalwane: African Pentecostals in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1992).

²⁴ Jeff Hynes, *Religion in Third World Politics* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993), 1.

²⁵ Mills C. Write, *The Causes of World War Three* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1959), 150.

²⁶Anderson and Hollenweger, *Pentecostals After*, 211.

became a democratic state under Chiluba. He suggests that the central civic role of Christianity was clearly emphasized when Kaunda suggested that the church was ‘among the special five pillars of the nation’.²⁷ Gifford praised what he called a ‘genuine ecumenism’ in Zambia.²⁸ There are three religious bodies that represent the different Christian movements in Zambia: The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ-PCs), the Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC-Catholics) and the Council of Churches in Zambia (CCZ-Protestants). Historically, the most dominant voice among them has been that of the Roman Catholic community, which has always confidently exercised its prophetic role in relation to matters of governance and civic concern. These three bodies came to the fore ecumenically in 1969, to fight against President Kaunda whom they felt wanted to introduce ideologies which were not Christian. The church supported and legitimized Kaunda when he kept his Christian ideals and it was the church that uprooted him from power due to his ideological beliefs that were considered abominable to the Christian faith.²⁹ Within this context, Pentecostalism (in conjunction with other church bodies) became involved in what can be seen as ‘creating autonomous spaces of practice which defy the oppressive logic of current power monopolies, the articulation of strategies to create, exercise and legitimate new power relations and new opportunities for survival - the elaboration of a conceptual challenge to the power monopolies’.³⁰

Pentecostals and Charismatics across the globe have adopted different levels of social and political action.³¹ Examples can be drawn from Latin America where José Míguez Bonino states that ‘due to the awareness of the place of social responsibility in the movement,

²⁷ The other four being the Press, Judiciary, Legislature and Executive, in Gifford. *African Christianity*, 194.

²⁸ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 194.

²⁹ A letter from the Christian Churches in Zambia to all their members about Scientific Socialism. This letter could have been written before 1970.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, (2007).

Pentecostals have developed a social conscience, not just at a personal and occasional level, but in an institutionalised form, including social, medical and juridical assistance, and educational institutions'.³² A similar trend is noted in African countries like South Africa, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Liberia, Malawi and Zambia where, just as in Chile, Brazil and Guatemala,³³ Pentecostals have taken an active interest in politics and in some cases won presidential seats. Despite Chiluba's failure as a head of state due to the corruption that tainted his government, PC Christianity continued to thrive in Zambia's public arena. Pentecostals' engagement in politics, their promotion of alternative faith-based lifestyles and their unwavering commitment to evangelism contributed to the growth and popularity of this form of Christianity in Zambia. These factors continue to sustain them twelve years after the Chiluba Presidency.

1.3 Presuppositions

The biases of a researcher can have an impact on the ways in which information is presented and interpreted. Denzin suggests that researchers need to take certain presuppositions into account when conducting historical research, including gender, class, family background, turning point experiences, objective markers that reflect crucial points about the subject, real people with real lives and truth statements.³⁴ Having been born and raised in the Salvation Army (introduced to the PC movement in my teens while retaining my identity as a Salvationist) and being a female Zambian educated in the West, to some extent affects the way in which I interpret information. I share the same heritage as the people I am writing about and have been present and affected by some of the developments in PC Christianity in

³²J.M. Bonino, *Faces of Latin American Protenstantism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 66-67.

³³ Edward Cleary and Hannah W. Stewart-Gambino, *Power, Politics, and Pentecostals in Latin America* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997); Villafañe, *The Liberating Spirit* (1992).

³⁴ Norman K. Denzin, *Qualitative Research Methods Series*, Vol 17 (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989), 17-23.

the past two decades. Being aware of this in the initial stages helped me to be aware of the temptation to write a biased research project.³⁵ Allan Anderson argues that ‘it is impossible to write a value-free account of the past as it is always a selective and subjective interpretation of it’.³⁶ This is further supported by Cole and Knowles who state that to a large extent, a researcher’s life history is reflected in their work because every aspect of their study is guided by their own complex personal history.³⁷ For this reason, I have employed a multidisciplinary approach which includes both qualitative and quantitative research methods. This helped to ‘maintain a critical distance from the material,’³⁸ and hopefully has ‘neutralized some bias inherent in particular data sources, myself as the investigator and method chosen’.³⁹ I also had to demonstrate a level of reflexivity. Possessing reflexivity can be a challenge when conducting qualitative research on the insider-outsider scale. This is the ability for a researcher to engage in ‘conscious and deliberate self-scrutiny in relation to the research processes’.⁴⁰ This exercise may prove to be even more challenging if the researcher

³⁵ David L. Sacket, ‘Analytic Research,’ *J Chron Dis* 32 (1971): 51. He states that ‘biases may distort the design, execution, analysis and interpretation of research’; Ian S. Lustick, ‘History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias,’ *American Political Science Review* 90, 3 (September 1996): 605. He states that ‘history must be the direct focus of investigation and explanation. Such an approach has the added advantage of helping generate historically based studies where observations or cases outnumber variables’; Van Der Laan, *Historical Approaches*, in A. Anderson and M. Bergunder, A. Droogers and C. Van Der Laan (eds.), *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods* (London: University of California press, 2010), 203.

³⁶ Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires: The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007), 5.

³⁷ Ardra L. Cole and J. Gary Knowles, *Lives in Context: The Art of Life History research* (Walnut Creek: Alta Mira Press: Atla Mirror Press, 2001), 10; C. Van Der Laan, *Historical Approaches*, in A. Anderson and M. Bergunder, A. Droogers and C. Van Der Laan (eds.), *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods* (London: University of California press, 2010), 202. In analysing two American Missionaries at the seventy-seventh anniversary of the Pentecostal Assembly of Amsterdam who described Pentecostalism as originating from America and the other, heaven, respectively, van der Laan sympathised with their reflections claiming ‘one’s perspective influences one view on the origins of Pentecostalism.’ This can be so on any subject matter about which one is passionate.

³⁸ Van Der Laan, *Historical Approaches*, 202-203.

³⁹ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994), 175, referencing T.D. Jick, ‘Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Triangulation in Action,’ *Administrative Science Quarterly* 24 (December, 1979): pp 602-611.

⁴⁰ David Hellowell, ‘Inside-Out: Analysis of the Insider-Outsider Concept as a Heuristic Device to Develop Reflexivity in Students Doing Qualitative Research,’ *Teaching in Higher Education* 11, 4 (2006): 483.

‘possesses a *priori* intimate knowledge of the community and its members.’⁴¹ It is argued that the insider-outsider approach can trigger uneasiness especially when ‘revealing negative aspects of one’s cultural group’. However, self-awareness is seen as key to succeed in the notion of reflexivity. Therefore in this thesis, I try to critically reflect on my own initial perceptions and beliefs by pushing myself beyond my ‘comfort zone’ to engage both as a researcher and as a Zambian Citizen born and raised in Lusaka.⁴²

1.4 Literature Review

Interest has continued to develop in relation to the engagement of Pentecostals in national politics especially in the global South. Although little research has been undertaken on Zambian Pentecostalism, the study of PC political engagement and its public role has been developed in other African countries and Latin America. Pentecostalism has moved from being a movement that was demonised and found mostly on society’s margins to a movement that has broken confidently onto the global scene and expressed a capacity to influence the socio-political arena. Pentecostalism in Zambia has an interesting history but has not received a great deal of scholarly attention. Lumbe (a Zambian theologian) notes the lack of adequate written records on the history of Pentecostalism in Zambia even within Zambia’s church history archives. In his Master’s dissertation he challenges Pentecostals to ‘take themselves seriously and take up historical scientific documentation and self-analysis as this is what would strengthen their mandate as an influential movement.’⁴³ Lumbe presents an insightful introduction to the movement’s inception, beliefs and practices as well as social engagement. He attempts to present an all-inclusive account of significant events in the development of Pentecostalism in Zambia. It is important to note however that Lumbe’s sources are limited to

⁴¹ Ibid, 284.

⁴² Amani K. Hamdan, ‘Reflexivity of Discomfort in Insider-Outsider Educational Research,’ *McGill Journal of Education* 44, 3 (2009): 377-378.

⁴³ Lumbe, ‘Origins and Growth,’ 6-7.

his own personal knowledge and research on Zambia and one author, Allan Anderson, who has written very little on Pentecostalism in Zambia. Furthermore, the indigenous Zambians interviewed for his work are not key figures in the development of Pentecostalism in Zambia. Lumbe does not give a detailed account of Pentecostalism and civic engagement despite making recommendations for it. He does however present a foundation on which further research can be built. Adriano Chalwe wrote a PhD thesis on the history of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Zambia (PAOGZ). This is the first detailed account of a Pentecostal movement in Zambia. He concludes by making recommendations for the leadership on the activities they could engage in, that would enable the church to progress.⁴⁴

In his article 'One African Nation Under God' Ted Olsen (2002) looked at the significance of Christianity in Zambia from the days of Dr David Livingstone who evangelised Africa while colonialists 'scrambled for its land'.⁴⁵ According to Olsen, Christianity in Zambia permeates the country's civic and political spheres.⁴⁶ This is evident in Zambia's Preamble which not only acknowledges God as supreme, but also declares Zambia as a Christian Nation.⁴⁷ While

⁴⁴ Chalwe, 'An Evaluation.'

⁴⁵ Ted Olsen, 'One African Nation Under God,' *Christianity Today*, 46 no 2 F 4 2002, 38.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 36.

⁴⁷ The preamble in the constitution of the Republic of Zambia is as follows; We, the people of Zambia, in exercise of our constituent power, acknowledge the supremacy of God Almighty; Declare the Republic a Christian Nation, but uphold the right of every person to enjoy that person's freedom of conscience or religion; Uphold the human rights and fundamental freedoms of every person and recognise the equal worth of different communities in our Nation; Commit ourselves to upholding the values of democracy, transparency, accountability and good governance and resolve to exercise our inherent and inviolable right as a people to decide, appoint and proclaim the means and method to govern ourselves; Resolve to ensure that all powers of the State are exercised for sustainable development and in our common interest; Confirm the equal worth of women and men and their right to freely participate in, determine and build a sustainable political, economic and social order; Recognise and uphold the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural character of our Nation and the self-actualisation of people living in different Provinces of Zambia and their right to manage their own local affairs and resources in a devolved system of governance within a unitary State; Resolve that Zambia shall remain a free, unitary, indivisible, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-racial, multi -religious and multi-party democratic sovereign State ;And direct that all organs and institutions of the State abide by and respect our sovereign will; Do hereby solemnly adopt and give to ourselves this constitution. The Post Newspaper, 'The Draft Constitution,' accessed May 03, 2012, http://www.postzambia.com/post-read_article.php?articleId=27199.

arguing that the law in Zambia draws on Christianity, he asserts that ‘this Christian Nation has not always been heaven on earth’ as a result of the corruption of successive regimes.⁴⁸

Gifford (1998) -in *African Christianity, its Public Role* provides a robust historical account of the church from colonial Zambia to the end of Chiluba’s first term.⁴⁹ He analyses the church’s role in the enthroning and dethroning of both heads of state (Kenneth Kaunda and Chiluba). He directs the reader’s attention to Chiluba’s government, to the euphoria which PCs felt knowing that they would be governed by a fellow PC and to the crumbling Zambian economy due to Chiluba’s corrupt government. Although Gifford’s work is very informative and detailed, it is, however, largely informed by secondary sources and lacks the voice of ordinary Zambians at grassroots level.

A study by Paul Freston (2001) on evangelicals in politics in Africa and Asia gives a brief history of the two successive Presidents in Zambia, Dr Kaunda and President Chiluba.⁵⁰ Drawing on Gifford’s work, he attempts to explain the role played by the church in enthroning and dethroning both presidents due to dissatisfaction with the government. He concludes that whilst Chiluba was a good union leader, his task was harder as President. He also argues that despite the fact that some evangelicals condemned his failure as president and disassociated themselves from him, they needed to ask themselves ‘what it is they could have said that would have made him a better president’. Isaac Phiri, in his article entitled ‘Why African Churches Preach Politics,’ uses Zambia as a case study to argue that ‘African churches feel they have a duty to ‘intervene in National politics in response to repression of society’.⁵¹ The prophetic role of religion is described by James Wood as favouring the

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Gifford, *African Christianity*.

⁵⁰ Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics*, 154-165.

⁵¹ Isaac Phiri, ‘Why African Churches Preach Politics: The Case of Zambia,’ accessed April 20, 2010. <http://scholar.google.co.uk/scholar?hl=en&lr=&q=info:e0rzwD0rvekJ:scholar.google.com/&output=viewport&pg=1>.

‘oppressed, despondent, dispossessed and discriminated, questioning the state on matters that are unjust so as to bring about peace and order for all’.⁵² Chiluba, the first democratic president who was seen as a political messiah at the time of elections, sadly failed to live up to the country’s expectations of being led to the Promised Land. Zambia’s economy was still ailing when he left office. Record levels of corruption in his government and an increase in what Olsen called ‘Zambia’s modern slavery,’ HIV/AIDS which was claiming thousands of lives, left Zambians grim (not that Chiluba was to blame for people’s contraction of HIV).⁵³ Freston raises the question of whether ‘poor performance by Christian political figures like Chiluba would hasten the future weakening of Christianity’.⁵⁴ Sadly for Zambians, Olsen reports a lack of confidence in the role of religion in political matters by Zambians after Chiluba’s tenure.⁵⁵

Isabel Phiri’s central argument was that the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation established ‘the criteria by which his presidency would be judged and ultimately found wanting.’⁵⁶ Furthermore, she suggests that the Christian nation concept had the inadvertent consequence of giving evangelicals and the wider church a clear basis on which to judge Chiluba and the Zambian state, hence serving as a catalyst for more energetic and extensive evangelical political engagement’.⁵⁷ Isabel Phiri acknowledges the increase in the growth of evangelical Christianity as well as an increase in the church’s involvement in civil matters during Chiluba’s tenure. However, she also criticises Chiluba’s running of the government on faith-based ideas as undemocratic. Isabel Phiri argues that democracy derives its power and

⁵² James E. Wood (Jnr), ‘Religion vis a vis the Prophetic Role of Religion.’ *Journal of Church and State* 41 (1999): 51-75.

⁵³ Olsen, 42.

⁵⁴ Freston. *Evangelicals and Politics*, 164.

⁵⁵ Olsen, ‘One African Nation,’ 40.

⁵⁶ Phiri, ‘President Frederick J.T. Chiluba,’ 401-428.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

legitimacy from the people and not another source which in this case was God.⁵⁸ Though quite insightful, Phiri ignores the fact that Africans and in this case ‘Zambians are by nature very religious people’.⁵⁹ She makes a valid point on the meaning of democracy, however because of the place that Christianity occupies within the Zambian context, the idea of democracy and Christianity stand side by side in mutual coexistence. The acknowledgement of the guidance of a transcendental power is not a strange phenomenon in Africa and hence in the case of Zambia the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation was gladly embraced by many. Others have argued against this notion. In a fierce response to Henry Kayambalesa’s idea of making Zambia a secular state,⁶⁰ Elias Munshya wa Munshya asserts that it is impossible to keep politics out of religion because the church has a prophetic role to play in providing moral as well as spiritual guidance. He criticises secularism as a western phenomenon that cannot work in Zambia, a country whose people are very religious by nature.⁶¹ Austin Cheyeka deemed the Christian nation concept to be a myth considering Chiluba’s corruption.⁶²

The works of the different writers on Zambian Pentecostalism betray a gap in the area of civic engagement that needs to be addressed. As my thesis title suggests, I have presented an account of the history of PC Christianity in Zambia coupled with a detailed account of the nature of Pentecostal beliefs and practices, experiences, their influence on personal and social transformation and their impact on civil culture and economic growth in different national contexts and congregational settings. Some of these issues have been addressed in the works of the different scholars mentioned above. However, this thesis will develop a more holistic

⁵⁸ Ibid, 424.

⁵⁹ Elias Munshya wa Munshya, ‘Zambia: The Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation, accessed March 23, 2010 <http://www.lusakatimes.com/?p=23287>.

⁶⁰ Henry Kayambalesa, ‘The Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation,’ accessed March 11, 2010, <http://www.lusakatimes.com/?p=23244>.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Austin Cheyeka, ‘Concept of Zambia as a Christian Nation,’ *African Ecclesial Review* 44, 3-4 (2002): 169.

analysis of the wide range of factors that have affected Zambia's civil society, contributing to social decay, and it will assess the impact that Pentecostalism has had on the country's public domain.

1.5 Research Methodologies

As noted in the introduction, this thesis is an interdisciplinary study employing methods drawn from the social sciences, anthropology, history and theology to explore the impact that the PC movement in Zambia has had on civil society.

André Droogers' three dimensional anthropological model (the interrelation of the sacred, internal and external dimensions) is the methodological approach that guides this research. Droogers uses this model in relation to the study of power relations in a Christian community or local Christian group by analysing how internal, external and transcendental dimensions interrelate'.⁶³ He argues that this kind of approach goes beyond 'historically grown and strained relationships between science and Christianity, the kind of tension he relates to the West'.⁶⁴ Aiming to understand what happens in each of the three dimensions, he makes use of what he calls 'cognitive anthropology and connectionist insights,' because he believes that actors in the different dimensions are influenced by 'schemas' or plans which are 'social and individual'.⁶⁵ Within this thesis, Droogers' three dimensional model will be used in the analysis of the manner in which the sacred/transcendental dimension (Pentecostal experiences, altruistic sentiments, missionary zeal, prosperity gospel, healing), and the internal dimension (leadership, organizational structures, gender) influence the external dimension (civic engagement, media use, ecumenical relations, transnational networks, support of certain

⁶³ André Droogers, 'The Power Dimensions of the Christian Community: An Anthropological Model,' *Religion*, 33.3(July 2003): 263. For the purposes of studying the anthropology of Christianity (which he believes is the best way to study Christianity), he includes a fourth dimension, which focuses on the power relations between the believer and the ethnographer.

⁶⁴Ibid, 264.

⁶⁵Ibid.

politicians, inter-religious relations, mission, evangelism).⁶⁶ This methodological equation answers the question: ‘How do different expressions and dimensions of PC spirituality influence civic engagement, and conversely how do experiences of civic engagement influence the shape of PC spirituality?’ The interrelation of these three elements in the equation underpins PC civic engagement and enables an assessment of how civic engagement (the external dimension) affects Pentecostalism’s internal and transcendental dimensions.⁶⁷ This outlook demonstrates that religion can be reshaped not only by the transcendent but by the experiences gained from engaging with the wider society. It will be evident from chapters 2-6 that the engagement with HIV/AIDS, poverty, street children, orphans, governance and political processes has encouraged the PC movement to begin to envisage a holistic gospel. This helps them to re-think the place of religion not only on a personal level but within the public arena as well. The term ‘public arena’ in this case relates to Myer and Moors’ definition, ‘the space evolving in (postcolonial) societies in conjunction with some measure of political liberalization and commercialization’.⁶⁸ This definition assumes that the public arena is democratic; a space that is accessible and provides freedom for those with the means to contribute to the reshaping and development of the nation. It is important to note that Pentecostal civic engagement in Zambia is only a fraction of the impact that other Christian groups have continued to maintain in Zambia.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this thesis, I have also drawn on an anthropological method to develop my field work, participant observation and interviews. Anthropology has previously been relegated to the study of cultures. However, the ‘clash of civilizations,’⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Ibid, 263-80.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors, *Introduction*, in Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors (eds.), *Religion, Media and the Public Sphere*, Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006, 6.

⁶⁹ See Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order* (London: Simon and Schuster LTD, 1996).

brought about by globalization has meant that ‘traditional’ cultures have been eroded and there has been a rise of information technologies as well as urbanization and transnational migration. Therefore, Droogers argues that anthropological studies have shifted from solely focusing on ‘autonomous cultures that were once deemed primitive or tribal and illiterate,’⁷⁰ which means that anthropology can no longer provide precise answers or typify the study of specific cultures.⁷¹ This shift has limited the capacity of contemporary anthropologists to provide precise answers and to typify the study of anthropology.⁷² Droogers also argues that what has happened in the study of cultures has permeated anthropological studies of religion. This is because as opposed to the study of ‘illiterate cultures and their tribal religions, they have engaged in studying global religions, thereby situating the religious as a globalised cultural phenomenon’.⁷³

1.5.1 Inductive Analysis

This thesis has largely adopted an inductive approach. The inductive method, which is also known as the ‘bottom up’ approach differs from the deductive approach because it starts with observation rather than theory.⁷⁴ Creswell states that it is from inductive observations that a researcher can convey ‘emerging themes and patterns and formulate tentative hypotheses which can be explored to provide for general conclusions or theories’.⁷⁵ According to van der Laan, this approach ‘takes ordinary people’s views and oral forms of history more seriously’.⁷⁶ In the initial stages of my research, I gathered as much primary and secondary

⁷⁰Droogers, ‘The Power Dimensions,’ 264.

⁷¹Ibid, 265.

⁷² Ibid,

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Allan Bryman, *Social Research Methods: Revised Edition* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 8-9.

⁷⁵ Creswell, *Research Design*, 58; ‘Web Centre for Social Research Methods, Research Methods Knowledge Base: Deduction and Induction,’ accessed February, 23, 2013, <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/dedind.php>.

⁷⁶ Van Der Laan, *Historical Approaches*, 203.

material as I could on PC Christianity in Zambia, even though relatively little has been written on it. This helped me to understand the context I was going to explore. This data was then amalgamated with the interviews, questionnaire results and participant observations in order to develop a clear framework. This thesis analyses historical socio-political engagement. Therefore, the aim has been to allow history to serve as a basis upon which the successive events until 2012 are analyzed. This approach has been taken because according to van Bath, ‘every present has the past from which it asks’⁷⁷ and a better ‘understanding of the present can be done by studying its historical development’.⁷⁸

1.5.2 Data Collection/Selection

I carried out my field research between 2009 and 2013 (for a total of 24 weeks) and travelled to Zambia five times for this purpose. The main location of the field work was in Lusaka. During this period, I distributed 300 questionnaires to people that attend PC churches (church members, leaders and pastors). In order to make the sample as broad as possible the questionnaires were distributed to people from a wide selection of churches. Respondents were from 59 different churches, the majority being from PC denominations.⁷⁹ They were also from various ethnic groups represented in Zambia.⁸⁰ The response rate was high and 266 out of 300 questionnaires were collected (89%). The demographic profile of the respondents included more lay people than pastors with percentages of 76% and 24% respectively.⁸¹ In terms of gender, respondents comprised 55% male and 46% females, not quite reflecting a gender balance among participants.⁸²

⁷⁷ Ibid, 203 quoting Bernard Slicher van Bath, *Geschiedenis: Theorie en Praktijk* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1978), 17, cited from R.F Beerling, *Heden en verleden: Denken Over Geschiedenis* (1962), 18.

⁷⁸ Van Der Laan, *Historical Approaches*, 203.

⁷⁹ See chapter 5 for more details on the questionnaire survey.

⁸⁰ The word tribe is a very common word used in Zambia. It is never regarded negatively as linking to colonial undertones as wider academic discourses may suggest.

⁸¹ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.346.

⁸² See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.346.

The criteria I used to select my sample was both definitive and random. It was definitive in that I focussed mainly on PCs within the city of Lusaka. There are however a few people from the Copperbelt province who I consulted during the research process. The selection was also random because most of the people interviewed and those that took part in the questionnaire survey were randomly selected through single and multistage sampling.⁸³ Single-stage sampling is a process by which the researcher is privy to names and people needed for the research. Multistage sampling is a process where the researcher samples 'groups, organizations or clusters,' and then creates samples within them. When I initially travelled to Zambia for my field research, I had names of people that I intended to interview with links to the PC movement. This fell through single-stage sampling. However, while in Zambia, I identified churches and organizations which are part of the PC movement and randomly selected samples from within them as part of multistage sampling. This random selection was done in order to make the selection broad and rigorous to allow for generalizations of findings within the PC groups.⁸⁴ My success in multistage sampling was mainly due to Snowball sampling. This is a sampling process that 'yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of others who share the same characteristics that are of research interest,'⁸⁵ or simply 'contacting one participant via another'.⁸⁶ This was very helpful because it allowed me access to senior leaders within the PC movement that could be hard to contact. Once I met with one leader, they would then refer me to another with their contact group so I could access more information. Some of these leaders made calls on my behalf and introduced me to some of the key figures within

⁸³ Creswell, *Research Design*, 119.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 120.

⁸⁵ Patrick Biernacki and Dan Waldorf, 'Snowball Sampling: Problems, Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling,' *Sociological Methods Research* 10, 2 (1981): 141.

⁸⁶ Kath Browne, 'Snowball Sampling: Using Social Networks to Research Non-Heterosexual Women,' *International Journal of Social research Methodology* 8, 1 (2007):48; Chaim Noy, 'Sampling Knowledge: The Hermeneutics of Snowball Sampling in Qualitative Sampling,' *International Journal of Social research Methodology* 11,4 (2008): 330.

the movement. I used the same technique when distributing my questionnaire survey.⁸⁷ I targeted anyone that belonged to a PC church and used them to distribute some of the questionnaires to other people within their churches, workplaces, schools and homes. Those people would sometimes request questionnaires to give to other people they knew within the movement. The rationale I used to select the churches I was to visit for participant observations and distribution of questionnaires was also definitive. I targeted PC churches that are popular and had large congregations as well as smaller churches with few members.

Field work for this study involved semi-structured interviews, participant observation at church services, conferences, visits to health care centres, educational and media institutions and the distribution of questionnaires. Fifty interviews were conducted mainly with church leaders. The rest were undertaken with church members, educators, health care workers and project managers of various initiatives. This was supported by the collection of other primary sources like books, DVDs of sermons, worship songs and teaching, newspaper articles, magazines, personally recorded videos and photographs of various events and places. This approach was taken in order to explore a well-rounded PC spirituality while teasing out how this influences civic engagement.

During the data collection process, a number of churches were studied in order to gather material from the diversity of PC Christianity. Churches that were visited and engaged with in more detail were: Bread of Life Church International (BLCI: Charismatic), Bible Gospel Church in Central Africa (BIGOCA: Charismatic), Gospel Outreach Fellowship (Go Centre:

⁸⁷ This process did not magically drive itself as I was instrumental in initiating and terminating this snowball effect by casually giving hints on people I wanted to interview, organizations and churches I wanted to visit during interview process. This would then trigger my interviewees to offer some kind of assistance. Bernacki and Waldrof support this as they dispute the idea that snowball sampling is a 'self-started and self-propelled phenomenon'. Snowballing has its own potential problems which can include; 'finding respondents to kick-start the chain, verifying eligibility of potential respondents, controlling the types of referrals and pacing and monitoring the data quality'. Ibid, 143-144. These did not affect my research as the first three were easy to control and as for the later, I was able to monitor the data quality by simply leaving out unnecessary information during the analysis process.

neo-Pentecostal); Northmead Assemblies of God (Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia (PAOGZ), Life Line Community Church (Charismatic), Mount Zion Christian Centre (Charismatic) and Lakeroad Destiny Centre (PAOGZ: Pentecostal).

I visited the Northmead Assemblies of God and Bread of Life International's bookshops. Besides the Bread of Life Bookshop, which had a few books written by Bishop Imakando, the rest of the books were written by either Nigerian or North American authors. Almost all of the books in the Winners Chapel Bookshop were written by David Oyedepo and his wife. Having attended church services, Annual General Meetings and prayer events, I made notes and took pictures and recorded a number of audio and video clips from these events. I also purchased some magazines and newspapers relating to activities surrounding PC Christianity. I visited the University of Zambia main library but did not find anything relating to PC Christianity. I was however able to interview a lecturer, Dr. Isaac Phiri, who has published on PC political engagement in Zambia.⁸⁸ Having visited two HIV/AIDS clinics at Circle of Hope and Chreso, the former belonging to Northmead Assemblies of God and the latter to Gospel Outreach Fellowship, I was able to interview the directors, site managers, financial managers, caregivers, nurses and counsellors. I also accompanied the staff from Circle of Hope clinic to Chisamba, a rural area where they have a mobile clinic. Once a month they go and provide counselling and medical treatment to HIV/AIDS patients.

1.5.3 Phenomenology

Data analysis for this thesis utilised specific categories.⁸⁹ These categories helped to describe 'key themes'⁹⁰ and how they are related to the central research question. I used the

⁸⁸Phiri, 'Why African Churches,' (1999); Interview with Isaac Phiri, University of Zambia Lecturer in Mass Communication, 3/08/10.

⁸⁹ These included church growth, transnational networks, social initiatives, ecumenical relations, politics, leadership, organizational structures, business, economics, media, education, theology, motivation for civic engagement, core values, healing/deliverance and national transformation, buildings.

phenomenological perspective in gathering and interpretation of data. Collected data was closely read and then analysed from a phenomenological perspective, 'depicting patterns and dynamics of each phase'⁹¹ with a hope to 'offer a fruitful description of events'.⁹²

Phenomenology can be seen as 'a science of describing what one perceives'.⁹³ The aim of phenomenological research is to take note of significant statements and themes of meanings and then engaging in exhaustive descriptions of these experiences and phenomena.⁹⁴ In this research, the meaning that the subjects brought to their experiences is what I aimed to understand. With this in mind, I used questions in interviews and questionnaires that allowed respondents to express their thoughts and lived experiences as PCs in Zambia. Creswell argues that in order to carry out phenomenological research, one should be able to 'ask appropriate questions and rely on informants to discuss the meaning of their experiences. Therefore, questions were open ended and allowed respondents to speak openly. This requires patience, skill on the part of the researcher and the ability to also handle emotional outbursts'.⁹⁵ While I had anticipated some of these challenges, I did not experience any. Before I went on my first field research trip to Zambia, I had a preliminary interview with a Zambian Baptist minister, Reverend Joe Kapolyo, based in London.⁹⁶ He pointed me in the direction of some of the people and churches that would be key to my research. I used the IBM SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) Statistics V21.0 system to arrange my

⁹⁰ Mark Cartledge, *Practical Theology: Charismatic and Empirical Perspectives* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003), 73.

⁹¹ Clarke Moustakas, *Phenomenological Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1994), 173.

⁹² Cartledge, *Practical Theology*, 111.

⁹³ Moustakas, 'Phenomenological Research,' 26.

⁹⁴ Creswell, *Research Design*, 67.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 130.

⁹⁶ Reverend Joe Kapolyo is the current minister of Edmonton Baptist Church in North London. He is former principal of All Nations Christian College UK. He was former principal of the Theological College of Central Africa for a number of years. Interview with him held on July 1, 2009.

questionnaire response data into categories and then to collect results. It was from these results that I was able to make generalizations about the themes I was researching.

1.5.4 Interviews

The main source of my historical data was oral history which was collected through interviews. Creswell argues that the researcher's task revolves around 'looking at the larger structure to explain the interviewee's meanings of, social interactions, cultural issues, ideologies, historical contexts and interpretation of life experiences'.⁹⁷ Culturally, Zambians do not engage widely in writing and for many years most of the historical information was passed down orally. Being able to interact in some of the native languages gave me an advantage during this process. For example, the Bishop that gave me the history of Apostolic Faith Church (AFC) spoke Chinyanja and CiBemba and therefore, the whole interview was done in both languages. His input added to the rich history of this thesis because AFC was one of the smaller Pentecostal churches with roots in Britain and South Africa as will be explained in Appendix 5.

The interviews were flexible and were both structured and semi structured. The unstructured interviews 'had minimum guidance and allowed the conversation to develop naturally and for new questions to arise'.⁹⁸ Though unstructured, 'themes and ideas prepared beforehand helped to guide the interview'⁹⁹ through the form of a checklist completed by myself during the process.¹⁰⁰ Whereas with structured interviews an interviewer follows a strict set procedure in order to allow the same information to emerge, my aim was to allow an opportunity for the unexpected to emerge. By allowing for people from the grassroots and

⁹⁷ Creswell, *Research Design*, 50.

⁹⁸ Cartledge, *Practical Theology*, 71.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 72.

¹⁰⁰ Judith Bell, *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First Time Researchers in Education and Social Science* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1993), 93.

leaders to speak into this thesis I hoped to discover something that would make Zambian PC Christianity distinct while at the same time identifiable under the umbrella of global Pentecostalism and its political and social interaction. I adopted Denzin and Lincoln's interview strategy which counteracts the traditional neutral and aloof stance. They propose that a 'researcher comes down to the level of the respondents and engage in real conversation to give and take an emphatic understanding. This makes the interview more honest, morally sound and reliable because it treats the respondents as equals, allows them to express personal feelings and therefore presents a more realistic picture than that which can be uncovered using traditional methods'.¹⁰¹ The disadvantage of this approach is that it is easy for bias to creep in but, as noted earlier, awareness of the problem helped to avoid this. Response effect is a problem that I was also prepared to encounter during the interview processes. This effect includes, 'the eagerness of respondents to impress the interviewer by their answers, vague antagonism between the respondent and interviewer and also the tendency for the interviewer to seek out support of preconceived notions'.¹⁰² Bell again suggests that 'though these issues are difficult to control completely, awareness of the problem and constant self-control can be helpful'.¹⁰³

1.5.5 Challenges of Data Collection

I faced a number of challenges during my data collection process. The exercise of gathering data on PCs social engagement was not easy due to the scarcity of both primary and secondary sources. Therefore, I needed to spend a significant amount of time interviewing as many people as possible. In 2009 I encountered a problem with a lady who claimed to have worked with the Ethical Review Council in Zambia. This was due to a misunderstanding as

¹⁰¹ Denzin and Lincoln, *The Landscape*, 68.

¹⁰² Bell, *Doing Your Research Project*, 73.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

she thought my research was unethical despite the fact that I had a letter from the ethical review committee from the University of Birmingham. She further threatened to have me arrested and sent out of the country. This was not to be as she had no basis to engage in those activities and she never met me in person.

The cost of travel within the city of Lusaka was quite high as I had to visit many different places to meet people and conduct interviews. I booked taxis most of the time which was expensive because public transport was often unreliable. Some days I had three interviews to conduct in one day across different parts of the city with short spaces of time between each interview. Therefore, taxis were the quickest modes of transport. Securing appointments was a challenge at times as I had to wait for days to be called. Sometimes these appointments were cancelled and I failed to secure another date. I worked 7 days a week during my field research, which was quite exhausting as my time in the country was usually limited. Some Sundays I attended two to three PC church services at different churches in different parts of the city. Some of my days started at 7am and ended after 8:30 pm on days when I attended mid-week evening church services.

1.5.6 Case Study

The country of Zambia presents the main case study within this thesis. Furthermore a series of sub case studies are developed in Chapter Six. This chapter will describe how two Pentecostal churches are engaging in the fight against HIV/AIDS by looking at the work they do at the two clinics they own. Case study analysis aids in ‘catching complexities and searching for details’ of how PC Christianity has interacted with its contexts.¹⁰⁴ The case study method is one that is ‘concerned with the interaction of factors and events in order to

¹⁰⁴ Robert Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1995), xi.

obtain the full picture'¹⁰⁵ of events. Critics argue that 'while the case study method is down to earth, it is not suitable for generalizations'.¹⁰⁶ This will not be the case in this thesis because Chapter Six examines case studies of two clinics which are the only ones owned by PCs in Zambia. In order to examine the way in which PC churches are engaging in issues of HIV/AIDS, these two clinics were selected (the Circle of Hope clinic and Chreso Clinic). The clinics have fully-fledged facilities and staff with expertise in diagnosing and treating HIV/AIDS. These churches are well established and financially stable, and run a number of other projects including education, orphanages, prison ministries, feeding programmes etc. Their leaders are well travelled and appear quite frequently on national television, speaking not only on spiritual issues but also matters affecting Zambian society.

1.5.7 Research Ethics

This research was approved by the University of Birmingham research ethics committee. Ethical considerations at the start of the research project provide a guide to the limits a researcher has to consider within their research and also protects the 'welfare of the subjects'.¹⁰⁷ This is because informants have a right to 'privacy, informed consent and protection from harm'.¹⁰⁸ Direct misinterpretation of the research's goals and methods was avoided by asking for consent from participants both during interview processes and during the distribution of the questionnaire survey. Respondents were recruited through voluntary participation. Stake suggests a brief 'written description of intended work to be presented

¹⁰⁵ Bell, *Doing Your Research*, 6.

¹⁰⁶ Roger Gomm, Marty Hammersley and Peter Foster, *Case Study Method* (London: Grand Oaks. New Delhi, 2000), 19; Judith Bell, *Doing Your Research*, 9. Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 91.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Burns, *Introduction to Research Methods* (London: Sage Publications, 2000), 17.

¹⁰⁸ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications 1998), 70.

beforehand’¹⁰⁹ to the informants in order for them to understand the purpose of the research. Therefore, the first page of the questionnaire included a brief summary of the purpose of the research and its aims, followed by my personal contact details. I also included a letter from the university to show that this work was for academic purposes. I referred to the ways in which data would be disseminated and explained respondent anonymity.¹¹⁰ Permission was also sought from church leaders before their members were interviewed or handed questionnaires, though the leaders did not preselect for me those to interview or to give questionnaires. The aim of these ethical considerations was to protect the interests of the respondents so as to avoid them saying anything against their will or the use of their responses in ways that would endanger their lives. Ethical considerations in terms of data honesty on the part of the researcher are crucial. This is because ‘fabrications, fraudulent materials, omissions and contrivances are both non-scientific and unethical’.¹¹¹

1.6 Working Definitions

The current debate about global Pentecostalism relates to whether one defines Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity on the basis of theology (the doctrine of Spirit Baptism and tongues as initial evidence), historical roots with links to Azusa Street Revival with J. Seymour and Parham,¹¹² or spirituality.¹¹³ The groups that are included within the rubric of Pentecostalism will depend on which definition is adopted. In the African context Asamoah-Gyadu (2000) expresses his cynicism towards writers that see African Pentecostalism as mere

¹⁰⁹ Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*, 57.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 219.

¹¹¹ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research. Theories and Issues 2nd Ed.* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003), 217-218.

¹¹² Amos Yong, *The Spirit Poured Out On All Flesh. Pentecostals and The Possibility of a Global Theology.* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic Press, 2005), 35.

¹¹³ Allan Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost, An Introduction to Pentecostalism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Richard Burgess, *Nigeria's Christian Revolution. The Civil War Revival and its Pentecostal Progeny (1967-2006)* (Carlisle: Regnum/Paternoster, 2008).

‘clones, consumers and imitators of western innovations’¹¹⁴ and Kalu (2008) discourages the view that African Pentecostalism is ‘a product of Azusa or an extension of the American electronic church.’¹¹⁵ These African writers advocate for a rather ‘broader’ definition that is inclusive of the various cultural contexts of African Christianity.¹¹⁶ Pentecostalism or Pentecostal in the African context includes the newer churches formed by indigenous Zambians as well as mission-related churches like the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia (PAOGZ). In this thesis Pentecostal and Charismatic churches will be used in an all-embracing way so as to include Pentecostals, Charismatics and Neo Pentecostals. The only difference is that Charismatic churches in Zambia would be churches that broke away from mainline churches for example the Bread of Life Church broke away from the Baptist church. The Charismatic movement usually refers to the outbreak of Pentecostal phenomena in the mainline churches from the late 1950s. One consequence was the emergence of many new Pentecostal churches around the world which are sometimes referred to as Independent Charismatic or Neo-Pentecostal churches. Within the African context, ‘Pentecostalism’ or ‘Pentecostal’ includes the newer churches formed by indigenous Zambians.

Other terms that will need more clarity include my use of the words political and apolitical. Using Bradley Burroughs’ interpretation, I will use political to mean ‘statecraft’, which relates to the church engaging in political processes and the search for justice.¹¹⁷ When the term apolitical is used, it will signify ‘soulcraft,’ which sees the church as *polis* and seeks ways in which it can cultivate virtues, character and serve as a witness to the world.¹¹⁸

Burroughs acknowledges the fact that faith in itself is political, despite the fact that different

¹¹⁴ Johnson Asamoah Gyadu. ‘Renewal within African Christianity. A Study of Some Current Historical and Theological Development within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana,’ (Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Birmingham, 2000), 25.

¹¹⁵ Kalu, *African Pentecostalism*, preface, viii.

¹¹⁶ Gyadu, *Renewal within African Christianity*, 16.

¹¹⁷ Bradley B. Burroughs, ‘Christianity, Politics, and the Predicament of Evil: A Constructive Ethic of Soulcraft and Statecraft,’ (PhD dissertation, Emory University, Atlanta, September 2012), 129-190.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 190-262

thinkers might share varying views.¹¹⁹ Therefore, faith cannot be considered exclusively apolitical based on the definitions given.

1.6.1 Born-Again

A born-again Christian in Zambia or ‘Ma Bonagen’ or ‘Ba Pente’ refers to a person who has accepted Jesus Christ as Lord and personal saviour through repentance from sin and goes to a Pentecostal or Charismatic church. This term is more commonly used when a person shows evidence of glossolalia and has manifestations of charismata. To further elaborate on this I will use Ruth Marshall’s definition. Despite the fact that she writes within the Nigerian context her explanation of what born-again Christianity means in Nigeria fits the Zambian context. She see it as capturing the ‘central aspect of a religious movement that is extremely diverse, from the doctrinal, institutional and sociological point of view, and constitutes the central experience that enables converts to identify their co-religionists despite internal differences and conflicts’.¹²⁰ This is why it is used interchangeably to refer to Pentecostals and Charismatics, and furthermore, anyone from Protestant churches that appears to exhibit the characteristics of a born-again Christian having been exposed to the movement.

1.7 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into 7 chapters. This introductory chapter provides a summary of the thesis and deals with the methodology employed. Chapter 2 is a historical chapter, providing brief histories of the main Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in Zambia. Chapter 3 is also a historical chapter which analyses some of the PC activities during President Kaunda’s tenure. More emphasis is placed on events that happened in the 1980s where PC Christians

¹¹⁹ Ibid,190.

¹²⁰ Ruth Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 265.

began to become more visible in the public domain due to their involvement in national affairs. Chapter 4 analyses President Chiluba's tenure and PC involvement in matters of national interest. It also looks at the growth of the movement and the influence it had on the religious culture in Zambia. Chapter 5 and 6 analyse PC civic engagement under the post-Chiluba government. While Chapter 5 deals mainly with PC political involvement and considers whether their spirituality encourages or hinders civic engagement, Chapter 6 uses two case studies of PC churches that run fully-fledged HIV/AIDS clinics. This will enable an examination of the role that PC churches are playing in the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which in this case is not looked at as just a health issue, but a socio-political issue as well. Chapter 7 is the conclusion which summarizes the main findings of the study and makes recommendations for the PC movement in Zambia.

Chapter 2. The History of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Zambia

2.1 Introduction

The Pentecostal and Charismatic (PC) movement has transformed the face of Christianity in Zambia over the last two decades. The aim of this chapter is to present a history of the development of the movement and its gradually expanding increasing presence within the public realm in Zambia.

At the outset it is important to make a clear distinction regarding my use of the terms Pentecostal and Charismatic. While other scholars suggest detailed descriptions dating back to the beginnings of Pentecostalism at Azusa Street,¹ in order to remain within the confines of the Zambian context, I will define Pentecostal and Charismatic in the following ways. Pentecostal will refer to those churches that have roots in North America and emphasise a ‘post conversion experience accompanied by the practice of Charismata’.² In some (especially with Classical Pentecostals), but not all cases, the evidence of speaking in tongues is emphasised. There are a number of Pentecostal groups in Zambia and some of the most well-known are the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia (PAOGZ), Assemblies of God (AOG), Church of God (COG), Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), Apostolic Faith Church (AFC)³ and Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC).⁴ The term Pentecostal in Southern Africa also includes African Independent Churches (AICs) which are of a Zionist character with roots in South Africa and Zimbabwe.⁵

¹ Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals* (London: CSM Press, 1972), 4; Adriano Chalwe, ‘An Evaluation of the Mission History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia’ (PhD diss., North-West University, 2008), 2.

² Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 11; Allan Anderson, *Spreading Fires. The Missionary Nature of Early Pentecostalism* (London: SCM Press, 2007), 6 and Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 25.

³ The History will be found in the Appendix 5 section.

⁴ These are all Classical Pentecostals influenced from America.

⁵ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 66. For a more detailed history of Zionist type churches consider Allan Anderson, *Moya: The Holy Spirit in An African Context* (Pretoria: The University of South Africa, 1991).

Anderson refers to these as Pentecostal-type, ‘Spirit’ or ‘prophet healing’ AICs which use rituals and symbols of water and oil in their liturgy and healing services’.⁶

The term Charismatic churches will refer to churches that split away from the mainline churches after having a Pentecostal experience. These churches ‘do not insist on initial evidence of tongues but encourage the practice of the gifts of the spirit’.⁷ As the Pentecostal movement continued to gain momentum in the 1990s, mainline churches began to experience splits (also known as breakaway churches) as people who were discontented with the beliefs and practices of the mainline churches broke away and formed their own independent churches. These breakaway churches largely adopted PC forms of spirituality. The most popular Charismatic churches in Zambia currently include Grace Ministries Mission International GMMI (broke away from the United Church of Zambia UCZ),⁸ Bible Gospel Church in Africa BIGOCA (broke away from the Reformed Church in Zambia RCZ) and Bread of Life Church International BLCI (broke away from the Baptist Church). The term Charismatic is also used to determine strands within the Catholic, Anglican and United Church of Zambia (UCZ) that have not broken away. This research has not focused on these Charismatic strands.

Unfortunately, in comparison to mainline churches, few PC Churches have detailed official documentation of their church histories. Therefore much of the data gathered for this chapter was collected through oral histories provided by some of the main leaders in these churches.

⁶ Ibid, 13; Allan Anderson, *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/Apostolic Churches in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2000), 37; Allan Anderson, *Bazalwane: African Pentecostals in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 1992).

⁷ Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 13-14, 171.

⁸ UCZ was formed because President Kaunda espoused the idea of having one national church, just like the Church of Scotland in which his father was a minister. This church was an amalgamation of various Protestants namely, The Union Church of Central Africa, The Free Church of Scotland, The London Missionary Society, The Methodist Missionary Society and the Paris Evangelical Mission Society to Barotseland. Paul Gifford, *African Christianity, Its Public Role* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1998), 183; Victor Chilenje, *The Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) In Zambia 1882-2004* (PhD Dissertation, The University of Stellenbosch (South Africa), 2007), 126.

PC Christianity has existed in Zambia for almost seventy years and has only recently started to gain academic interest among Zambian and western scholars. Interest began to grow during the Presidency of Frederick Chiluba (1991-2000) who was once a member of the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) before becoming a Pentecostal. Western academics like Paul Gifford and Paul Freston wrote about the impact this Pentecostal leader had on the nation and described how PCs took an active role in helping to usher in a new democratic government under him.⁹ In 2004, a Malawian scholar Isabel Apawo Phiri, wrote an article which developed a deeper analysis based on the work of Gifford and Freston.¹⁰ Even the most dominant and established Pentecostal churches in Zambia like PAOGZ had not documented their histories before the work of Reverend Chalwe in 2008. As well as providing a robust history of PAOGZ, Chalwe also drew attention to the challenges faced and the successes that the movement had achieved since inception. He lamented 'their poor community participation and suggested the need for the creation of a theology of socio-political and economic reconstruction and the need for a change in attitude'.¹¹ Chalwe, a leader in the PAOGZ himself, unfortunately fails to present tangible solutions that would underpin his suggestions.

Also in 2008, a Zambian theologian named John Mutunda Kapenda Lumbe completed a Masters dissertation on the growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movements in Zambia between 1989 and 2000.¹² He attributed this growth to PCs ability to respond to issues

⁹ Paul Gifford, *African Christianity, Its Public Role*. (London: Hurst and Co. Ltd., 1998); Isabel Apawo Phiri, 'President Fredrick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia.' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33, 4 (2003). Paul Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹⁰Phiri, 'President Fredrick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia.' (2003).

¹¹ Adriano Chalwe, *An Evaluation of the Mission History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia* (PhD diss., North-West University, 2008), 2.

¹² John Mutunda Kapenda Lumbe, 'The Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movements in Zambia between 1989-2000' (Master's thesis, University of South Africa, 2008). While Lumbe uses the term Neo-Pentecostal to mean the same thing as Pentecostal, I am more inclined to use Asamoah-Gyadu's definition which states, 'it is an umbrella term to encompass Pentecostal renewal phenomena associated with trans-denominational fellowships, prayer groups ministries and independent churches which came into existence in the last three decades of the 20th century'. Their theology is seen as not distinctive as that of the Pentecostal churches. There is also an emphasis of 'every-member-ministry', as the Holy Spirit endows members of a congregation

of witchcraft and curses, its appeal to emerging intellectuals, providing hope to people in the margins, a recognition and empowerment of laity, and mass gospel campaigns.¹³ He concluded that the PC movement in Zambia had a lot to contribute to the various expressions of spirituality as long as it stayed true to the working of the Holy Spirit and maintained a holistic approach to ministry (civic engagement). He also emphasised the need for leaders to become more enlightened about socio-political issues on a national and global scale.¹⁴ Lumbe acknowledged the potential of the movement to be an agent of change especially in the area of socio-economic development and crafting theological responses to the needs of the communities they serve'.¹⁵ He however suggests that the movement should take itself more seriously and adopt a 'scientific documentation and self-analysis as serious components of becoming established as an influence in Zambia'.¹⁶ In light of their self-understanding as a movement that depends completely on the Holy Spirit, it is not clear whether PCs would favour the documentation of their work. The use of scientific methodology might be viewed as recanting a belief in the enabling power of the Holy Spirit.¹⁷ In their understanding, science can remove God from the picture. Therefore, a deeper theological analysis, coupled with some scientific research tools would be more suitable.

A year after Lumbe's publication, Jason Kelvin Phiri, another Zambian, completed his PhD thesis on the study of 'spirituality in emerging African Pentecostal churches in Zambia's

with various gifts of charismata (healing, discernment and prophecy) to exercise within the church. As opposed to relegating sacred power to the male or female leader of the church, Gyadu speaks of Neo-Pentecostals' emphasis on 'personal spiritual power for every believer'.

¹² J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics: Current Developments within Independent Indigenous Pentecostals in Ghana* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 26-27.

¹³ Ibid, 36-47.

¹⁴ Ibid, 111-117.

¹⁵ Ibid, 3.

¹⁶ Ibid, 7.

¹⁷ Interview with Reverend Pius Chisha, Senior Pastor of Lakeroad Destiny Centre PAOGZ on 9/08/11.

Christian and traditional religious context'.¹⁸ This study uses two charismatic churches that broke away from mainline churches as case studies Bible Gospel Church in Africa (BIGOCA) and Grace Outreach Missions International (GOMI). He firstly acknowledges the importance of the contribution of African traditional spirituality, and then defines spirituality as the 'abiding presence of God the Holy Spirit'.¹⁹ On the basis of this foundation he proposes that if these churches are to develop a liberative theology they need to synchronize traditional and Pentecostal spiritualities in order to develop a spirituality that is both African and Christian. This study discredits what Phiri calls a 'western world view approach which is heavily influenced by science' and advocates an understanding of God from an African world view.²⁰

A statistical group called the National Evangelistic Task of Zambia (NETOZ) was established during the Chiluba era to quantify the growth of the PC movement. In an interview, Bishop N'gambi, founder and senior Pastor of Praise Christian Centre, claimed that the results showed that the movement grew more in Zambia during that time than any other given time.²¹

In line with what has been articulated in the current literature, this thesis notes that a vast amount of work still needs to be carried out in relation to the PC movement in Zambia. This chapter will present brief histories of the different PC groups currently in Zambia starting with 1946/7 when Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) was established, and then how other churches successively followed. The impact the movement has had on mainline churches and vice versa will also be highlighted. This will then create a context from which the movement has evolved over time to becoming what Lumbe calls 'agents of change' by actively engaging in matters of civic concern like politics and social issues like HIV/AIDS. In forthcoming chapters, attention

¹⁸ Jason Kelvin Phiri, 'African Pentecostal Spirituality: A Study of the Emerging African Pentecostal churches in Zambia' (PhD Diss., University of Pretoria, 2009).

¹⁹ Ibid, 6.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Interview with Bishop Edgar N'gambi, Senior Pastor of Praise Christian Centre and one of the Board members of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia EFZ on 18/08/11.

will be focused on the general growth in active socio-political engagement by both Pentecostals and Charismatics and drawing from the voices of the indigenous Zambian pastors.

2.2 Brief Histories

Pentecostal Churches

2.2.1 Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM)²²

The Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) in Zambia officially started between 1946 and 1947 and appears to be the oldest Pentecostal church in Zambia. It is important to note that this AFM is different from Apostolic Church in Zambia (ACZ) which was started in 1957 by a Danish missionary. AFM traces its roots to Reverend John G. Lake who was sent from Indianapolis to South Africa where an Azusa Street leader had established a congregation. While in South Africa, he established AFM among the locals, some of whom already had the Pentecostal experience through other Pentecostal influences in 1908. The AFM spread to Zambia (then known as Northern Rhodesia) through Afrikaner expatriate workers from South Africa, working in the mines on the Copperbelt. The AFM was initially established in a town called Mufulira. These expatriate workers started fellowships in other towns on the Copperbelt including Chingola, Kitwe, Mufulira, Chililabombwe (then known as Bankroft) and Luanshya respectively.

The central figure in the development of the AFM among Africans was a man from Malawi called Joel Chinzakazi-Phiri.²³ He was working in Zimbabwe at Mutare and then moved to

²²Interview with Bishop Mark Musonda on 25/08/10. He is former Presiding Bishop of Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia AFM. In 2006 he was elected as International General Secretary for AFM international and served until 2009.

²³ He is now pastoring an AFM church in Longacres built in 1955 by the Afrikaner speaking members. His grandfather, Reverend Siame was converted and baptized by Chinzakazi and was one of the first converts who became the second most senior person in AFM Zambia. When Chinzakazi moved to Lusaka, Reverend Siame was left in charge in Mufulira.

South Africa where he ‘received salvation’ and was baptised in the Holy Spirit. He then came to Mufulira as an evangelist and interpreter for a South African Evangelist called van Ek around 1946-47. Due to racial segregation, Joel Chinzakazi’s work focussed on indigenous Zambians because he was not allowed to live in the white suburbs with his leaders or interact with the white settlers. His first convert was Sikaonga who invited Chinzakazi to stay at his home. He preached to his family who were all ‘born-again’ and were baptised in a local stream in Mufulira the next day. The next day, Sikaonga invited his friends from the mine to his house and that evening, they were all ‘saved’ and spoke in tongues having received the baptism in the Holy Spirit. Many miners from Tanganyika (now called Tanzania) became converts during that time, possibly because they had been exposed to the Pentecostal message before, as Pentecostalism in Tanganyika is recorded to have started in the late 1930s (having spread from Rwanda).²⁴ Other converts were from Zambian towns close to Tanganyika in the Northern Province like Nakonde, Isoka and Mbala. Therefore, the early AFM churches on the Copperbelt gained many converts from Northern Zambia (the Namwanga, Mambwe and Lubu people) and Tanganyika.

Initially, AFM’s thrust was not to establish churches. This is because their emphasis was placed on encouraging the people who ‘got saved to evangelise’.²⁵ Some services were held in people’s homes and in church buildings where the seating was still racially segregated. The black fellowships were more vibrant and according to Bishop Musonda, it was common to see whites attending black house fellowships. The first church to be established was at a place called Kantanshi in early 1953.

²⁴ Frieder Ludwig, *Church and State in Tanzania: Aspects of Changing Relationships 1961-1994* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 182.

²⁵ Other characteristics involved women wearing clothes that disguised their body structure, no make-up was allowed and their hair had to be covered. No female pastors were ordained .

Joel Chinzakazi began his preaching ministry on ant hills in the early 1950's. He would stand on the ant hills and play the accordion singing in Chewa (a language used in the Eastern part of Zambia as well as Malawi). People named him 'Halleluyah' because he would shout 'Halleluyah' so many times while preaching. Initially, people looked at him as though he was mad but as crowds gathered he would begin preaching. In the process, many were 'saved' and in the process young boys were recruited to help announce his arrival in the compounds by shouting 'Halleluyah' everywhere. One of those boys was Bishop Mark Musonda, who later became a preacher in the AFM years later and took on the role of Presiding Bishop of AFM in Zambia. He was also elected International General Secretary for AFM International between 2006 and 2009.

AFM established their first mission station at Kasupe Mission in 1956, in the western part of Lusaka at a farm donated by a farmer called Mr. Foster. That is where the first AFM Bible College outside South Africa was established, with the help of American Missionaries Henry and Edward Cooksie and Dr. Erasmus (a South African). This Bible College trained pastors for Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland (now Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi respectively). It was at this point that the centre of the church was moved from Mufulira to Lusaka. While in Mufulira, the church spread more to Northern Province. After working in the mines a lot of miners returned to the North and established churches there. For this reason, there were many more AFM branches in the Northern Province than in other provinces.²⁶

2.2.1.1 'Initial evidence'

²⁶ Bishop Mark Musonda.

Following Zambian independence in 1964, many white missionaries from South Africa left as a result of rising tension in the country, as Zambia was no longer under British rule. At this point, the Zambian's government's relationships with white missionaries became strained. German Missionaries (the first missionary being Heinrik Wendland) had already come to take over the mission work in Northern Rhodesia in 1962, but unlike the South African missionaries they forbade people from speaking in tongues.²⁷ This was contentious because people would refer to the book of Acts to prove that Baptism in the Holy Spirit was accompanied by the evidence of speaking in tongues. What led to more confusion was that other branches took speaking in tongues to the extreme in that all they did was speak in tongues and prophesy during services.²⁸ Throughout this time, civic engagement was not emphasised as part of their religious consciousness according to Bishop Musonda

When the Afrikaners finally left, they sold their AFM buildings. Pastor Gronyear who was the general treasurer of the AFM toured all of the AFM churches and decided which ones to sell. After relationships improved between South Africa and Zambia, the South African Missionaries decided to return in the mid-1990. The Germans left in 1997 and the Zambians decided to govern themselves seeing that the church had grown. As a result, the church suffered a number of splits, the most notable leading to the formation of Word of Life Church and Gospel Outreach Fellowship. The AFM currently has over 300 churches in Zambia with a membership of 50,000 and only started to ordain female pastors in 2005.

2.2.2 Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC)²⁹

²⁷ These missionaries came from a place called Felbata Mission. This was the mission that started sending missionaries to Zambia including Evangelist Reinhart Bonnke.

²⁸ Bishop Mark Musonda.

²⁹ Interview with Bishop Chrispine Zulu, Conference Overseer of the Southern Conference and Assistant National Overseer of the Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC) in Zambia on 18/07/11.

The Pentecostal Holiness church (PHC) has classical Pentecostal roots and was established in Zambia in 1948. Some Zambians working in the mines in South Africa were converted as a result of PHC evangelism. This inspired missionaries there to expand their mission efforts to Central Africa and Zambia. The first church to be established in Zambia was in a township in Lusaka called Chilenje South. Before the acquisition of the Chilenje premises the fellowship was established at Chilenje Primary school under the leadership of an American missionary called Reverend Guthrie. In 1953 a plot of land was purchased and by 1955 the first church was built and commissioned (Chilenje City Miracle Centre). This is the oldest PHC church in Lusaka. Another church called Taylor Memorial was established in Livingstone in 1959. From these humble beginnings, PHC now has over 700 churches across the country with a membership of 68,000 and the majority of the churches are in Lusaka followed by the Copperbelt.³⁰

Early emphasis was placed on holiness and divine healing. The Chilenje City Miracle Centre (CMC) branch was well known for praying for the sick to the point that those that did not respond to treatment at the biggest hospital in Lusaka at the time (University Teaching Hospital [UTH]) were referred to that church for divine healing. Some practices involved women covering their hair and being prohibited from wearing make-up or trousers. According to Bishop Zulu (Conference and Assistant National Overseer of the PHC in Zambia), teaching at this point largely focused on the second coming of Christ. Members were not encouraged to concern themselves with matters relating to politics, business and education. This emphasis was also evident in the songs that they sang which mostly had a message that reminded people of how everything on this earth would pass away,³¹ and that people needed to be ready for the second coming. Although the church was graced with the power of healing at that time, growth

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Bishop Chrispine Zulu.

was hindered because the church focused its work on the marginalised, poor and uneducated. Furthermore the church did not market itself effectively enough to attract numerical growth. The face of PHC changed due to the influence of the late Bishop Samson Phiri, who became the senior pastor of the Chilenje branch in 1983. Phiri was a very powerful preacher and was one of the regular broadcasters on Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), the only Christian Network in Zambia in the 1990s. His influence brought PHC out of obscurity and as his reputation grew the church also began to attract people from different social strata. He was appointed National Overseer of PHC in 2004 until he died in 2011.³²

2.2.3 Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia³³

The Pentecostal Assembly of God Zambia (PAOGZ) was first established at the Mwambashi Mission Station in 1955.³⁴ Its origins and the date of its foundation are disputed. Chalwe in his PhD thesis on the history of PAOGZ argues that the correct date is 1948 because a Christian Mission to Many Lands (CMML) preacher became a Pentecostal and was in Zambia at that time. Chalwe, however does not provide evidence to support this assertion. On the other hand, Reverend Steven Mwale, former General Superintendent of PAOGZ (1991-1997), claims his teachers at Bible school claimed it was started in 1953 by British Pastors who came to Zambia.³⁵ Their efforts to plant the PAOG did not succeed and therefore, just as they were leaving, the Canadians arrived. A more likely estimation can be attributed to 1953-1957. In this case, the first Pentecostal Assemblies of God Missionaries in Zambia were the Canadians. Hence for many years PAOGZ was known as Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOGC).

³² Interview with Marlon Phiri, son of Bishop Peter Phiri on 30/06/11.

³³ For a detailed history of the PAOGZ, see Adrian Chalwe, 'An Evaluation of the Mission History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia' (PhD diss., North-West University, 2008)

³⁴ Interview with Bishop Sky Banda, Senior Pastor of Maranatha Pentecostal Assembly of God Zambia PAOGZ in Kitwe on 6/08/10.

³⁵ Interview with Reverend Steven Mwale, former General Superintendent of PAOGZ in Lusaka on 20/11/2009.

Reverend Bob Skinner was the first missionary to run the Mwambashi mission station situated on the Copperbelt province of Zambia. This was the training ground for the first PAOGC pastors. According to Skinner's narration of his coming to Zambia to Bishop Harrison Sakala, he did not travel to Zambia to deliberately start a church; this happened by coincidence. Before 1995, he came to Zambia via Malawi in response to an invitation to preach at an interdenominational fellowship revival camp held at Mwambashi Mission station that belonged to a Christian who allowed his farm to be used to host Christian camps. Some white Irish brothers from North Western province called the Maglingtons who belonged to the South African Brethren church attended that camp meeting that year. When Skinner spoke at this gathering one of the Maglington brothers was baptised in the Holy Spirit and upon his return, got into trouble because news spread within his church that he had become a Pentecostal. The brothers were excommunicated from their church and went back to Mwambashi where they began to work with the PAOGC in the early 1960s. Before the Maglingtons moved to Mwambashi, they began preaching in North Western province, which, according to Reverend Mwale, is how a number of the first Bible students at Mwambashi came to be from North Western Province.

Progress was very slow at Mwambashi and before Zambia gained its independence in 1964, movement between towns was limited because of the colonial government's rule that forced people to possess a pass to move to a different town. In addition to this, migration to other towns was only allowed for employment purposes and unemployment was a punishable offence. Therefore, without employment, the Pastors' movements were restricted, further hindering evangelism. The college did not have much impact as the pastors trained were only semi-literate and were mostly from the margins of society. They were trained to create vernacular churches and mainly targeted people in compounds and villages. In consequence,

PAOGC failed to impact the wider society. By the time the Bible College at Mwambashi closed in 1977, eight small churches had been planted. The main three churches included Chimwemwe PAOGC (one of the initial churches), Kanyama PAOGC in Lusaka and Kawama PAOGC church in Mufulira.

The closure of the mission station was precipitated by a need to formulate a clear strategy for growth and expansion. According to Reverend Scott Hunter, this involved ‘finding the most effective way to penetrate the Zambian culture and nation. Their objective was being [sic] to produce a strong national church that could effectively minister to all levels of the society’.³⁶ This would involve ‘closing down the Mwambashi mission, phasing out the Bible school operated there, placing missionaries in the cities to pastor churches and target the young people’.³⁷ Hunter argued that this strategy worked

based upon the understanding that in missions we were not out to reach the country by ourselves. Instead we were out to reach the people who were best suited and ready to respond to reach their own nation. The idea was to find the highest level of the culture that was responsive and make the penetration into the society at that level. We refrained from going higher than the responsive level as that would have been a waste of time. Having discovered that the young adults and teenagers in the cities were the most open, we went after them. Saved, filled with the Holy Spirit and then confronted with God's calling on their lives and they responded. We immediately opened a Bible college in 1977 at 11 Kanyanta Street, Kitwe and the church has never looked back since in that nation!³⁸

A group of 14 vibrant and educated young men who became known as the ‘pioneers’ started training at Kanyanta College. Bishop Harrison Sakala, the chief Bishop and overseer of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia at the time of this research, referred to them as pioneers of the new awakening because the original pioneers had been those that first trained at

³⁶ Reverend Scott Hunter, ‘Zambia: A Case Study in Success.’ Unpublished article, 2010.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Scott Hunter, email message to author, October 19, 2011.

Mwambashi (Reverend Mbanjo, Reverend Luke Sefuke, and Reverend Malesu).³⁹ The 14 pioneers were zealous and proactive in spreading the Pentecostal message - preaching in high schools and training colleges as well as planting a number of churches wherever they went.

Marxist ideologies had become popular at the University of Zambia (UNZA) during this period and the Christian Fellowship on campus was regularly challenged by the students that adhered to a Marxist philosophy. Bishop Mbulo, Bishop Joshua Banda and others organised a retreat in Mazabuka for students in various learning institutions including UNZA in the late 1980s.⁴⁰ It was there that they attempted to make these students less fearful of confrontation by students who challenged their beliefs. Within a week of returning to their institutions, there was news that the Christian Fellowship at the UNZA had become so zealous that they were winning many students to Christ. The pioneers went to many places to evangelise because the college closed on a Friday, allowing the students to proselytise as well as practice what they had learnt. This gave them the opportunity to plant churches, pray for the sick and have people baptised in the Holy Spirit. Many spoke in tongues. The pioneers travelled to many towns on the Copperbelt⁴¹ and would then return to college on Sunday night or Monday morning to resume classes. They also began to pastor the churches they planted at weekends.⁴² Their teachers were initially from Newfoundland, Canada. One teacher from the West Indies called Reverend Winstone Broomes played a pivotal role in the lives of these pioneers and encouraged them to build indigenous churches that were self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating.⁴³ Hollenweger argued

³⁹ Interview with Bishop Harrison Sakala, Chief Bishop of PAOGZ on 9/08/11.

⁴⁰ Interview with Bishop Joshua Banda, Senior Pastor of Northmead Assembly of God, Assistant Bishop to the Chief Bishop of PAOGZ, former Principle of Trans-Africa Theological College (PAOGZ) and a Board Member of EFZ on 27/08/10, Interview with Bishop George Mbulo, Senior Pastor and Founder of Capital Christian Centre in Lusaka. He is former principal of Tran-Africa Theological College (PAOGZ) from 1984-1987 and is an EFZ Board Member on 10/08/10.

⁴¹ The towns included Kitwe, Ndola, Lushya, Chililabombwe, Kabwe and Chingola.

⁴² Interview with Bishop Mbulo.

⁴³ Interviews with Bishop Sky Banda, Bishop Harrison Sakala and Bishop George Mbulo. Interview with, Reverend Joe Kapolyo, senior Pastor of Edmonton Baptist church in North London on July 1, 2009. He is former principal of All Nations Christian College and the Theological College of Central Africa in Ndola. Broomes may

that that this was to ensure that these churches became independent from their North American ‘mother churches’⁴⁴ - the opposite approach to that taken in mainline churches. This idea helped students prepare to be independent as upon graduation, their funding from the Canadians would cease. Bishop Harrison Sakala condemned this strategy as capitalistic because it emphasised the autonomy of one church or individual in a socialist environment.⁴⁵ He argued that no matter how much money one PAOGZ church has, it could not share with other churches within the fellowship as they were autonomous (currently PAOGZ has included self-defining and self-theologizing).⁴⁶ Bishop Sakala favours a system that has a central administration where funds are distributed from a central point because this stops bigger and wealthier congregations from being out of control.⁴⁷

From these humble beginnings, PAOGZ has grown to about 1600 churches across the country with a membership of 120,000. The College at Kantanshi expanded, moved premises, and changed its name to Trans-Africa Theological College. Pastors that graduate annually have continued to plant churches.

2.2.4 Church of God (COG)

have been influenced by Henry Venn’s theory of the Three Self. See J. F. A Ajayi, ‘Henr Venn and the Policy of Development,’ *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 1, 4 (1959): 331-342.

⁴⁴Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals*, 4.

⁴⁵ Bishop Harrison Sakala.

⁴⁶ He believes the idea of self-supporting, propagating and governing emanated from the battles between that blacks and whites in America. He makes reference to the time when Seymore, having spoken in tongues earlier than Parham his teacher, began to have a following. Therefore if he was going to plant churches, there was no way the white churches belonging to Parham would share their wealth with Seymore. Hence the fostering of churches that were self-supporting, governing and propagating. Chalwe, 194.

⁴⁷ PAOGZ flagship churches include Maranatha (Kitwe), Eastley (Mufulira) and Northmead Assembly of God (Lusaka). Maranatha and Eastly church buildings belonged to Pentecostal churches that came earlier. Maranatha and Eastly Churches were planted in 1970 while Northmead Assembly of God was planted in 1972. For example, Eastley church building belonged to Assemblies of God South Africa while Maranatha belonged to Apostolic Faith Mission. Maranatha catered to expatriate workers during the 1970’s due to Bob Skinner’s influence. Racial segregation was still evident in this church as two benches at the back were reserved for Black people. According to Bishop Sakala, traits of colonialism were still evident even when Zambia had already gained its independence at that time.

The Church of God found its home in Zambia in 1964 under the name Full Gospel Church of God (FGCOG), which had roots in South Africa.⁴⁸ COG came to Zambia through expatriate workers who were part of the FGCOG and the ministry begun in their homes. The FGCOG was overseen by the church in South Africa from 1951-1964. According to Bishop John Mambo the church experienced growth during this period due to commitment, zeal and clear strategy. Churches were planted in many major towns in Zambia and a Bible school was established to train pastors called Foundation Bible School in Mufulira in 1977. This growth was followed by stagnation and decline between 1969 and 1975 because:

Spiritually, the church was anaemic. Confusion filled the minds of the people. Leaders fought for key positions due to pride and love of money. Congregations split and funds were misappropriated. A spirit of disunity prevailed. Ministers put themselves first, rather than God. Some of the lay leaders practiced witchcraft and magic, and some led lives of immorality. They did not pray nor read their Bibles. Harsh, unloving discipline was administered to erring ministers. As a result, the church stopped evangelizing. Members quit coming to church. Leaders left to start their own churches, and some of them took church assets with them. Discipleship died. Churches were closed, and some of them were sold, and projects came to a standstill. Figuratively, the church went into hiding.⁴⁹

Under the leadership of the overseer Bishop Benard Mambwe from 1976 onwards, the church slowly began to recover after six years of stagnation. Church leadership went through a process of spiritual cleansing and repentance. For six years, the spirit of holiness slowly permeated the church and it was only then that the church slowly began to recover. Bishop Mambwe was replaced by Superintendent Ed King due to misdeeds that brought him into disrepute.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ An interview with Bishop John Mambo, former Overseer of the Church of God in Zambia for 19 years on 20/07/11. He was also regional superintendent overseeing 9 countries including East and Southern Africa. He is the founder of Chikondi Foundation, an orphanage for vulnerable children, including children of pastors that have died. Unfortunately this year conflicts with the year that is given on Church of God Missions website which traces the inception to 1951. 'Church of God World Missions,' accessed August 23, 2011 http://www.cogwm.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3039&Itemid

⁴⁹ 'Church of God World Missions: Zambia.'

⁵⁰ These misdeeds were not explained.

The name FGCOG was dropped in 1976 and the church became known as Church of God (COG). This was due to long-standing tensions with the mission and the missionaries. COG in Zambia later decided to directly affiliate itself with the Church of God in Cleveland, Tennessee rather than through FGCOG, South Africa.⁵¹ According to recent statistics, Zambia records about '481 churches, 21 Missions, 180 ministers and 51,023 members with Reverend Israel Simbaya as current overseer'.⁵²

Charismatic Churches

2.2.6 Bread of Life Church International (BLCI)⁵³

Bread of Life Church International (BLCI) is one of the biggest Charismatic churches in Zambia today with an approximate membership of 8-10,000. Bishop Joe Imakando who is the presiding Bishop is a very well-known and respected preacher in Zambia. He has been known to speak out on matters of civic concern and has had good relations with former heads of state in Zambia. As well as being chairman for the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia Board, Bishop Imakando is the President of the Association of Evangelicals in Southern Africa (AESAs), and is described as an 'apostle, teacher, author, conference speaker and broadcaster'.⁵⁴

BLCI, which was part of Emmasdale Baptist Church, was created in 1992 through a prophetic word according to Bishop Imakando. Having taken on the role of General Secretary of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in 1987, Reverend Imakando handed over his role as pastor of Emmasdale Baptist Church to Pastor Chali Kasonde to start BLCI. By 1992 the Emmasdale

⁵¹ Despite the fact that FGCOG is also affiliated to Cleveland.

⁵² 'Church of God World Missions.'

⁵³ Interview with Bishop Joel Imakando, Senior Pastor and Founder of Bread of Life Church in Lusaka and part of the EFZ Board of Directors, 10/11/09.

⁵⁴ 'Bread of Life Church International. 2011 Year of Unprecedented Blessings' http://www.blici.info/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=35&Itemid=135 (Accessed 18 September, 2011).

church had about 120 members. In August of the same year, the church embarked on a period of prayer seeking God's direction for the church after which God gave the church a vision which stated, 'You shall bring thousands into the Kingdom, possess the land and feed my people with the Bread of Life'. Having been moved by the Holy Spirit, Pastor Chali handed the leadership of the church back to Reverend Imakando. It was only after the Lord spoke to him through a vision in his sleep that he reluctantly accepted. This was to be the beginning of a series of events that would transform the face of Emmasdale Baptist church. During this time, the leadership decided to change the name of the church to Bread of Life Church International as a result of the prompting of the Holy Spirit. This was accompanied by great excitement and expectation in fellowships and church meetings as was evident through multiple demonstrations of the power of the Holy Spirit through charismata.⁵⁵

Church growth became more evident in 1994 due to two major events. Firstly, despite the fact that Bishop Imakando was developing a Charismatic church, his Baptist background continued to influence him and for a while he was sceptical and questioned some of the manifestations of the Spirit. According to Bishop Edgar N'gambi,⁵⁶ a shift happened when he attended a Conference at Rhema Church (Neo-Pentecostal) in South Africa.⁵⁷ One of the keynote speakers was Pastor Tim Storey from the United States. Reverend Imakando was ready to leave during the sermon when the power of the Holy Spirit hit him. He then remained in the meeting. When he was in his room that night he reflected on his earlier experience and could not wait to have the same experience again. The next day he attended another service and at the end, a number of people needed prayer. He pushed his way to the front and experienced the power of the Holy

⁵⁵ Bishop Joel Imakando.

⁵⁶ Bishop Edgar N'gambi. He was once a Bishop in ZAOGA an African Independent Pentecostal church with roots in Zimbabwe started by Bishop Ezekiel Guti. Bishop N'gambi left ZAOGA and formed his own church.

⁵⁷ Rhema is one of the newer Pentecostal Churches formed independently by Pastor Ray McCauley, a South African.

Spirit. Apparently when he went back to Zambia his sermons took on a new dimension. Bishop N'gambi said 'we began to see him flow in the Holy Spirit and unexpected things began to happen in his services. The man was hungry for the move of God'.⁵⁸ Secondly, in the same year a prophet visited BLCI. He prophesied that 'you shall not be able to build fast enough by reason of the increase the Lord will give you'. The church responded to this prophecy by establishing Saturday prayer meetings and it was at this point that the church began to experience even more rapid growth. An extension to the church building was built and the church was forced to hold two services in order to cater for the growing numbers. Gradually, BLCI became a Charismatic fellowship built on the work of 'the Holy Spirit, the Word of God and Prayer' according to Bishop Imakando. The church began to setup churches in Mongu, Ndola, Kitwe, Zaire and Kanyama. Currently, the church has 84 mission churches in Zambia and 3 other branches in Malawi, Congo DR. and South Africa. Since 1997, BLCI showcases a weekly television programme called 'Hour of Blessing' with Bishop Imakando preaching. The church runs a Bible and primary school and other ministries focused on responding to the spiritual needs of members. Civic engagement has always been a feature of this church. As the church has grown in capacity so have their social ministry projects through their Messiah Ministry. This ministry provides shelter and support to orphans and vulnerable children. It also has a well-developed home-based care initiative that supports people with HIV/AIDS and their families.

2.2.7 Bible Gospel Church in Africa (BIGOCA)⁵⁹

The Bible Gospel Church in Africa (BIGOCA) was established on 6th March 2001 under the leadership of Bishop Peter Ndhlovu in a Chinese restaurant. Prior to forming BIGOCA, Bishop

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ Interview with Bishop Ndhlovu, founder of Bible Gospel Church in Africa (BIGOCA) on 24/08/11.

Ndhlovu was part of the Reformed Church in Zambia (RCZ), once known as the Dutch Reformed Church. He grew increasingly dissatisfied with the beliefs and practices within the church and after several clashes with the church leadership due to his charismatic preaching, Ndhlovu left RCZ and BIGOCA became a breakaway Charismatic church.

BIGOCA has grown rapidly across the country since its inception. In almost every area where the RCZ was planted, there is a BIGOCA branch because the initial break-away affected most RCZ branches. There are 286 churches in all nine provinces in Zambia and branches in 13 other African countries. The flagship church was once a beer hall and has since been converted into a large auditorium. Bishop Ndhlovu sees this as God's will and intervention. Over the years, he has placed great emphasis on civic engagement which he believes is a Biblical mandate. The church currently has 89 community schools and provides accommodation for 13,000 orphans and vulnerable children (which is a standard requirement for all BIGOCA churches). They lead support groups for widows called the Widows Club where women come and make jewellery to sell and earn an income. The church strongly encourages people to attend voluntary counselling and testing for HIV/AIDS. In 2011 the church invited a team of healthcare professionals to provide HIV tests for all members who wished to be tested. In order to lead by example, Bishop Ndhlovu and his wife were the first to be tested. This was intended to help remove the stigma from being tested. Ndhlovu has had good relationships with two former Zambian Presidents Frederick Chiluba and Rupiah Banda in the past who attended his church occasionally. He also claims to have prayed for Chiluba in 2006 when he was told that due to his cardiac problem his heart was only working at 12% efficiency and that he would die soon. Chiluba lived another five years after that. He further claims to have provided counsel to Chiluba when he was going through the toughest times in his life. He also claims to have led former President Rupiah Banda and his family to Christ. He openly endorsed Bishop Banda as

the chosen one during the 2011 presidential elections and these actions were criticised by a number of the pastors interviewed. This will be explained further in chapter five.

2.2.8 The Reformers

In 2008, a religious group called the Reformers has emerged in Zambia.⁶⁰ This is a group of over 30 pastors and church leaders from a PC background that gathers every Thursday morning at the Gospel Outreach Fellowship under the leadership of Pastor Eddie Chansa (Senior Pastor of Lifeline Community Church in Lusaka) and Pastor Helmut Reutter (Senior Pastor of Gospel Outreach Fellowship in Lusaka). This group, though not classified as an ecumenical group, includes members that have become discontented with some of the beliefs and practices of the PC churches. They claim that some of these beliefs and practices are not spiritual and Pentecostals have not thought through them in order to measure how they match up with biblical principles. This could be because they believe Zambian PCs have imported some of their practices from countries like the United States and Nigeria with little understanding of the contexts of these countries. Pastor Chansa gave an example of ‘pleading the blood of Jesus rhetoric on all manner of things.’ He argued that this was not scriptural as the Passover Lamb as used in the Old Testament context was not created to be a weapon to shoo Satan away in the way that a rosary might be used. It was used to stop the angel of death from killing first born sons of the household of Israel. The Reformers also speak against the institutionalisation of churches and would rather call their churches ‘fellowships’ and their members ‘family.’ Based

⁶⁰ Interview with Pastor Eddie Chansa, Senior Pastor and founder of Lifeline Community Church in Lusaka and part of the EFZ Board of Directors on 15/07/11. This group has called themselves reformers because they are rethinking and hoping to reform certain PC practices within their congregations which they believed were not consistent with scripture. The lack of a variety of accounts on the group which would have enabled me to write a more critical account meant that I could only provide a description based on my interviews with founders, participant observations of their meetings as well as brief interactions with the group’s members. As the group members came from across different parts of Lusaka, scheduling interviews with any of them was challenging as they mostly rushed back to their own programmes after reformers meetings.

on the meetings I observed, it became clear that a major emphasis was placed on the importance of leaders developing 'sons'. These could be either female or male and would be trained to become the next generation of leaders that would do the same for the subsequent generation. According to both of the leaders of the group developing 'sons' was more effective than simply making members because 'sons' always have the best interest of their fathers in mind. This theory could not be proven as the group had not grown or been in existence for long. This idea of developing sons can be related to Max Weber's notion of routinization of charisma.⁶¹ The word charisma according to Weber relates to 'the quality of an individual personality which is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman or exceptional in powers.....and on this basis, this person is seen as a leader or a subject of authority'.⁶² This person is revered and inspires others to follow his/her leadership. In the event of their death or retirement, this charisma may need to be routinized and it is the responsibility of the successor to ensure this is so in order to ensure continuity of the movement or organization. Routinization is when the 'revolutionary ideas and practices of the leader are built into the bureaucracy or formal structure of the organization'.⁶³ Donald MaIntosh went on further to state 'how often the charismatic leader leaves the task of building the new order of his successor as with Jesus and Peter (and Paul)...'⁶⁴ While the first leaders role is 'to bring people together as he/she is inspired by a vision,'⁶⁵ the second leader needs to be 'conventional, mundane and practical in order to create an organization/institution and moves the vision forward.'⁶⁶ Therefore, the idea of creating of 'sons' works in the same way as pastors who are

⁶¹ Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A.M. Anderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1947), 363.

⁶² Ibid, 358-359.

⁶³ Nathan Palmer, 'Steve Jobs and the Routinization of Charisma,' *Sociology in Focus*, assessed October 07, 2011, <http://www.sociologyinfocus.com/2011/10/07/steve-jobs-the-routinization-of-charisma/>.

⁶⁴ Donald McIntosh, 'Weber and Freud: On the Nature and Sources of Authority,' *American Sociological Review* 5, 5 (1970): 906.

⁶⁵ Michael A. Toth, 'Towards a Theory of the Routinization of Charisma,' *Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal* 9, 2 (1972): 93.

⁶⁶ Ibid

members of the reformers group are encouraged to groom their own flock. This is because, for the present, their flock will continue to be inspired by their leadership. As for the future, within them may rise a successor that would emulate the leaders' ideals, beliefs and practices in order for their ministries to continue to grow even after retirement or death.

Pastor Chansa was once a Pastor in the PAOGZ but left to create his own independent church due to frustrations he encountered whilst affiliated to it. He is well known as a controversial speaker who is not afraid to challenge church leaders or speak out against government over irregularities that he believes damage the country and the church. He is part of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) board. Pastor Reutter has roots in AFM and he too left because he wanted to develop his ministry in ways that would override the boundaries set up by the AFM. He is also a key figure in PC circles. His church through Chreso Ministries runs clinics, schools and an orphanage in rural areas of Zambia. Though Pastor Chansa and Reutter's churches are very successful, their group of Reformers currently have very little influence due to its size. However, they hope that many churches will soon catch their vision.

2.3 The Pentecostal/Charismatic Impact on Zambia's Religious Culture

While the PC movement continues to have a tremendous influence on Zambia's religious culture, civil society and the general public, the opposite is also true. The adoption of some PC beliefs and practices within mainline churches forms part of this evidence as will be explained in subsection 2.3.2 and 2.4. Similarly, the PC movement has been impacted by mainline churches and other civic organizations. This is because they have been open to ecumenical links with mainline churches and networking with other civic organizations in their quest to gain knowledge, skills and expertise in their target areas. This is demonstrated mainly in chapters five and six regarding the issues of politics and HIV/AIDS from 2001-2013. It took many years before Pentecostals could establish themselves alongside the much stronger and

more influential mainline churches that have existed in Zambia since the late 19th nineteenth century. As a result of their humble beginnings and the fact that their support lay mainly among lower class Zambians, it was hard to find a place among the rich and powerful churches which had established institutions. Bishop Harrison Sakala says that the reason why Pentecostalism could not influence upper and middle class society at that time was because many of those that carried the message were male domestic servants of Europeans.⁶⁷ This explains my earlier assertion that either illiteracy or social class hindered growth.

2.3.1 Opposition to the Early Pentecostal Churches

Early Pentecostals faced a lot of opposition and marginalization from mainline churches. The pastors were very young, predominantly in their early 20s (like the pioneer group of PAOGZ).⁶⁸ Furthermore, some of the earlier pastors had little or no formal pastoral training in contrast to those in mainline churches. This is why some referred to PAOGZ as the ‘church of young children.’⁶⁹ Bishop Sakala recalls Baptists saying, ‘we will pump doctrine into their empty heads!’⁷⁰ Reverend Mwale also recalls moments when some members of the mainline churches would plot to frame some of the Pentecostal leaders in order to discredit their moral stances. For example, all night prayer meetings were portrayed as times when Pentecostal Pastors would sleep with young girls. Consequently, representatives of these churches felt isolated even when they were established and were invited to join interdenominational meetings. This is because exclusive announcements were made like; ‘we do not want any people making noises here because God also listens in the quiet place’.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Bishop Harrison Sakala.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.



Plate 1 Pastor Eddie Chansa, Myself and Pastor Helmut Reutter: The two are Founders of the Reformers Movement at Gospel Outreach Fellowship, Lusaka

Many did not think that Pentecostalism would survive in the religious marketplace because it took a while to develop solid organizational structures.⁷² Despite this opposition, it is clear that the young people at that time provided the foundation on which the PC movement continues to build at present. The movement attracted even more young people and mainline churches were struggling to retain them within their own churches especially in the early 90's. According to Bishop Sky Banda what kept the Pentecostals going in the midst of such opposition was their knowledge that what they were experiencing was genuine.⁷³ He also argued that the Pentecostals have proven over the years that the gospel they were preaching was real because

⁷² An interview with Reverend Steven Mwale, former General Superintendent of PAOGZ on 10/11/09.

⁷³ Interview with Bishop Sky Banda, Senior Pastor of the first PAOG church built in Ndola, Maranatha PAOGZ and former General Superintendent of PAOGZ on 6/08/10.

many lives were and continue to be transformed by it.⁷⁴ He also claimed that another thing that helped the movement grow was what he called ‘free advertising’ that the mainline churches engaged in on their behalf when they slandered them from their pulpits.⁷⁵ To support this, Bishop Mbulo stated:

Some of the persecution we suffered was that every time you said you went to a Pentecostal church people would look down on you like you have committed a crime. While in Chingola we were meeting at Chingola Primary School. One of the ladies who gave her life to the Lord was a teacher. She got permission from the head teacher for us to use the auditorium in order to start a church. News went round town that this new couple from Kitwe was coming to plant a church and they were Pentecostal. The word Pentecostal meant confused or cultic. That morning, almost every mainline church preached against us and on that day we only had two ladies show up for service. Because we had not yet established a church, the school was our outreach point where people with various problems would come and be prayed for. People were getting healed and demons were cast out. As these things were happening, news went round Chingola. There were preachers we knew in that town but when we met them they would look the other way. With this kind of persecution, we felt isolated yet energised inside because we knew what we were experiencing in terms of the spirit was real.⁷⁶

This in turn gave rise to curiosity among members who came into contact with Pentecostals and then decided to visit their churches. Gradually in the years that followed, people began to attend Pentecostal bible studies, evening services and all night prayer meetings while retaining their membership at their respective mainline churches. Many young people were excommunicated for attending such meetings and speaking in tongues. Others either left to join already established Pentecostal churches or to create their own independent Charismatic churches. Examples of this phenomenon include BIGOCA, Bread of Life Church International and Grace Ministries. As a result of disagreements about power, leadership and misunderstandings these breakaway churches also experienced splits, leading to the

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Bishop Mbulo.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

multiplication of independent PC churches. Despite their differences, most of these churches are united by their affiliation to the EFZ.⁷⁷ Unfortunately not all PC churches (especially the smaller ones formed from multiple splits) qualify for the EFZ criteria of affiliation. Consequently two other umbrella bodies were formed namely, Independent Churches of Zambia (ICOZ) headed by Reverend David Masupa and International Fellowship of Christian Churches (IFCC) headed by Bishop Simon Chihana.⁷⁸

2.3.2 Pentecostalism in Mainline Churches

Pentecostal and Charismatic influence has permeated mainline churches in Zambia as they in turn have adopted some of their practices either subtly (to avoid upsetting other members) or more openly. Examples include the stretching forth of hands towards people being prayed for and the monthly staging of all-night prayer meetings. An example can be drawn from my family church, a Salvation Army Corps in Lusaka's Libala Township. The church holds all-night prayer meetings once every month to intercede for the church. Ten years ago this practice would not have been entertained as it would have been viewed as a contradiction of the Army's doctrine, even though it does not state that charismata shall not be practised in the church. Other PC practices have been adopted such as having lively praise and worship bands with instruments like drums, bass and lead guitars, having moments where everyone prays in unison, and the use of PC phrases like 'say to the person next to you that you are blessed and highly

⁷⁷Interview with Reverend Pukuta Mwanza, Executive Director of EFZ in Lusaka on 08/08/11 and Pastor Denis Mwetwa, a worker at EFZ on 05/08/10. According to the EFZ leaflet, 'EFZ is a voluntary organization of Para-Church organizations, Christian Denominations, Local churches with evangelical persuasion, Mission agencies and Individuals.' Reverend Mwanza's role is to strengthen unity and harmony among members and promote the EFZ mission in line with the great commission. Other mother bodies include Christian Council of Zambia (CCZ) which is mainly comprised of mainline churches and Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC) which is a Catholic mother body.

⁷⁸ An Interview with Bishop Simon Chihana, president of International Fellowship of Christian Churches (IFCC), a Christian mother body in Lusaka on 8/08/11. These church mother bodies house the smaller PC churches that may lack credentials needed to be affiliated to the EFZ. Currently, EFZ has included within their criteria that for small churches to be registered, they need to have the backing of a notable church that is already affiliated.

favoured!’ In the 1990’s Bishop N’gambi, Senior Pastor of Praise Christian Centre in Lusaka, recalls visiting many mainline churches like the Dutch Reformed Church in Zambia,⁷⁹ the Anglican Church, the United Church of Zambia (UCZ) and the Roman Catholic Church where he would be invited to speak on various topics relating to the power of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁰ In some of those meetings people would experience the baptism of the Holy Spirit and begin to speak in tongues while he was preaching. On one occasion he recounts preaching in a packed UCZ church meeting. During the meeting people started speaking in tongues. Leaders started to take those people to the church side room thinking they were manifesting demons and started to cast them out. They were then told that people were having an experience in the Holy Spirit and not manifesting demons. N’gambi also mentioned that he ensured that he did not touch or lay hands on people in most of these meetings in order to avoid the impression that he was using magic or hypnosis. Sometimes he would ask the church leaders to come to the front where he would pray for them and then ask them to lay hands on the people in turn that came for prayer. The effects were the same as people would still fall (or be slain) under the power of the Holy Spirit, start jerking and speaking in tongues or manifest demons. Currently most of these mainline churches have such strong charismatic characteristics that it is difficult to distinguish their worship from that of Pentecostal churches. The Anglican and the UCZ have strong charismatic movements. An example is Trinity Church in the city of Lusaka led by Pastor Mukelabai. Mukelabai was impacted by Praise Christian centre many years ago, but rather than leaving his mainline church, he stayed and began a Charismatic movement within the UCZ.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Now called the Reformed Church in Zambia.

⁸⁰ Bishop Edgar N’gambi.

⁸¹ Ibid.

2.3.3 From the Margins to Influence

One common theme that kept recurring during various interviews with Pentecostal clergy was the joy and satisfaction they felt as their movement travelled from the margins to have an impact on mainline churches, and on people from all social strata. Many PCs are now in places of influence (doctors, nurses, teachers and lawyers) this has enabled the movement to promote Christian values within professional social strata. For ten years (1991-2001) Zambia was ruled by a President that once belonged to a mainline church but became Pentecostal (as is discussed in chapter four). Though his rule was tainted by scandals of corruption, President Chiluba appointed Pentecostal clergy within his cabinet and officially declared Zambia a Christian Nation in 1991, illustrating the PC movement from the margins to places of influence. Furthermore, while many PC pastors are currently seeking to gain a qualification in Theology and other subjects like Business Administration,⁸² others are working towards or already possess Certificates, Diplomas, Degrees and Doctorates in Theology. Whilst there is wide acknowledgement of the presence and significance of the PC movement in Zambia by mainline churches, their interpretation of scripture and, in particular, the Prosperity Doctrine that many believe in still remains in question.⁸³ In spite of this, they continue to be known as prayerful people. This is why even the most influential leaders attend all-night prayer meetings in their respective churches and other prayer events.

2.4 Inter-denominational Intercessory Prayers: Standing in the Gap

Inter-denominational intercessory prayer meetings organised by Pentecostals like Standing in the Gap (SITG) have stimulated Pentecostal and Charismatic initiatives among people

⁸² This is because as their ministries begin to grow and develop social ministries and run businesses, some pastors would like to gain an understanding of how to run such institutions in order to be more effective.

⁸³ Interview with Father Henriott, Director of the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, 10/08/10.

attending mainline churches. While at these meetings, regardless of which denomination one belongs to, everyone appears focussed on praying for and seeking answers for their individual needs. These meetings are very PC in nature. However, according to Pastor Paul Tembo, they have members from the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA), Jehovah's Witness, Baptists, Catholics, people from the UCZ, the Salvation Army and other denominations present.⁸⁴

Standing in the Gap started in 1997 as a radio programme on Radio Christian Voice with Pastor Sunday Sinyangwe, a Charismatic. People sent in their prayer requests and Pastor Sinyangwe prayed for them live on radio. With time, it was decided that physical prayer meetings should be held in addition to the radio program. Pastor Sinyangwe collaborated with Pastor Paul Tembo, a Baptist assistant Pastor, to establish Standing in the Gap as a ministry in 2007.⁸⁵ With both Pastors as leaders, Standing in the Gap holds all night prayer meetings every Wednesday in Lusaka and every Friday in different provinces around Zambia. Despite the fact that the Lusaka meetings take place midweek, people turn out in thousands to attend and BIGOCA has volunteered their Chilenje and Matero branches to host these prayer meetings. Some of the prayer points include prayers for the nation, marriages, businesses, financial breakthroughs and deliverance from demons. The Standing in the Gap team also retained their radio programme which now airs every Sunday morning. People call in with various problems and are immediately prayed for while on air. I had had the opportunity to listen to some of these programmes during her field research on Sunday mornings between July and August 2011.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Interview with Pastor Paul Tembo, Vice President of Standing in the Gap and assistant Pastor in the Baptist church on 15/08/11.

⁸⁵ Ibid. He was the first pastor to conduct deliverance services in the Baptist church. He did face opposition from church leaders and members but soon that died down. When asked why he has remained in the Baptist church as he is evidently Pentecostal he said God gave him a specific instruction to remain and transform it. Pastor Tembo died in 2012.

⁸⁶ Some of the prayer requests included illnesses, bad dreams, family curses and witchcraft.

The brief histories outlined have shown how far the PC movement in Zambia has come. The various strands of Pentecostalism entered Zambia to re-affirm the centrality of the power of the Holy Spirit in people's lives, empowering them to fulfil the great commission. They also reinforced the idea that there was a need for people to 'receive salvation' and become 'born-again' in preparation for Christ's imminent return. They attained the name 'ma Bon Agen,' because every time they went around evangelising they would ask people if they were born-again. As well as 'embracing the teachings of the Bible, showing commitment to its demands, and resisting attitudes which were in conflict with what the Bible taught, Pentecostals also viewed salvation as liberation from the control of the Devil and his demons'.⁸⁷ This is why it remains common for demons to be manifested in PC meetings and be cast out. In cases where there are too many manifestations for a Pastor to deal with, a special intercessory team including Pastors would be assigned to help with exorcism. A term that is common within these circles and one that has helped some Pastors to become very popular is the word 'deliverance'. Deliverance connotes being freed from different kinds of ancestral and other spirits that keep a person bound in all sorts of problems. Common problems include poverty, barrenness and lack of progress in one's life. It is believed that people who show such traits need to be freed through a process of deliverance. This involves special and intensive prayers led by a pastor or 'man of God' with the gift of deliverance. This Pastor prays against these spiritual forces until a person is delivered. This can be carried out on a one to one basis or through special deliverance services. Sometimes deliverance takes place during Sunday services. Whereas some do not show any physical signs of being delivered after prayer, others vomit, while others start jerking, fall on the ground and become unconscious or break out in ecstatic tongues among other things. I witnessed this at a SITG all night prayer meeting in 2010. Once the congregation

⁸⁷ Chalwe, *An Evaluation of the Mission History*, 35.

witnesses such events, they begin to worship and praise God through song, prayer and speaking in tongues. People that go to seek deliverance sometimes have to leave a special offering or a 'seed' for the pastor. While some pastors will demand what type of seed they require, others let the individual needing prayer decide. Deliverance pastors in Zambia have become very popular because of the large numbers of people facing all sorts of socio-economic and physical challenges that they believe are caused by witchcraft, curses, demons or ancestral spirits and generational curses. The standard practices among Pentecostals and Charismatics remain prayer, fasting, exorcism (deliverance), speaking in tongues and prophecy. Some churches choose to emphasise or downplay these charismata.

2.5 Noticeable Changes within the Movement: Civic Engagement

The Pentecostal movement in Zambia has undergone a period of significant change. Initially it placed an overwhelming emphasis on winning souls in preparation of the second coming of Christ. It is now the case that the movement pays attention to practical concerns without neglecting the message of salvation and eternal life. An example of such a change includes the growth in emphasis on civic engagement. PCs in Zambia now participate in politics and in some cases PCs have become political leaders, like former President Chiluba. Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda (Vice President during the Chiluba era) and a Pentecostal now has a political party called The Heritage Party (HP). Dr. Nervers Mumba who was once Senior Pastor of Victory Bible Church in Kitwe from 1984-2003 stepped down from his pastoral role and created his own political party which he called the National Christian Coalition (later changed to National Citizens Coalition NCC and then to Reformed Party in 2006). This was later disbanded and merged with the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), which was the ruling party. Mumba served as Vice President during the Mwanawasa era and is now the president of the MMD party. Reverend Steven Mwale also has a political party called PLP and

was one of those that filed an application as a presidential candidate for the 2011 General Elections, but failed to meet the requirements.⁸⁸

Pentecostals have begun to build orphanages, schools from nursery to high school, universities and colleges that offer a broad variety of courses besides Biblical studies. They are also involved in the health care sector especially since the explosion of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. When Pentecostals discovered the idea of having a personal relationship with Christ and that Christ was soon to return, they ridiculed the mainline churches for their lack of emphasis on what they believed was critical in preparation for the Second Coming. The development of educational and social welfare institutions was not a priority for early Pentecostals despite the fact that they would have possibly been educated or accessed medical treatment in a mainline health care or academic institution. Civic engagement was seen as a secular diversion and carnality. The phrase ‘carnal Christian’ referred to Christians that were involved in the cares of this world.⁸⁹

This mind-set has changed, especially in the twenty first century as PCs in Zambia have become more socially and politically engaged. Could it be that the presence of the two extreme sides of the Christian church existed in order to allow introspection on both ends? Could this have been another aspect of God’s divine plan to create a church that embraced both extremes? A church that would balance spirituality and civic engagement by holistically meeting both physical and spiritual needs of those in need? The PC movement has definitely learnt lessons from the mainline churches and they in turn have also learnt from PCs (through their Pentecostalization). Bishop N’gambi of Praise Christian Centre was quick to say:

It is us the Pentecostals who look down upon mainline churches. God does not because - remember - a lot of educated people in Zambia went to a missionary

⁸⁸ Interview with Reverend Steven Mwale (He was once former President Chiluba’s personal chaplain).

⁸⁹ Bishop Harrison Sakala.

school. That means that the exposure to knowing God came through the mainline churches as they learnt to read and hear the word of God as a foundation God was building in them. In later days, he took Christianity to a higher level by bringing in Pentecostals and Charismatics but the Bible says God is not unrighteous that he we should forget our works of righteousness. For the sake of the prayers they prayed and the seeds they planted, God cannot forget them even though they may not have been where they were supposed to be spiritually at that time.⁹⁰

He went on to argue that on many occasions it is the senior leaders in the movement that have opposed change in the past. However that has not prevented change because some of those churches that split from traditional Pentecostal churches have engaged in activities that would have been disallowed within their fellowships. Today, PCs can comfortably sit among leaders of other mainline churches and present their views on different issues relating to the church and the general public. The question of the strength of the PC voice and representation among other church groups will be discussed in chapters four and five.

2.6 Conclusion

PAOGZ is the wealthiest of the Pentecostal groups in Zambia and its leaders are the most influential in terms of representation. A number of other influential leaders like Bishop Joshua Banda of Northmead Assembly of God, Bishop Edgar N'gambi of Praise Christian Centre, Bishop Joel Imakando of Bread of Life Church International, Bishop George Mbulo of Capital Christian centre and Bishop Ndhlovu of BIGOCA represent the face of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Zambia today. They represent the church spiritually, politically and socially due to the fervent nature of their message about spiritual, political and social issues. The following chapters of this thesis will focus on key questions relating to PCs and their level of civic engagement. These questions will include: are PCs engaging with more diverse social issues? If they are, how involved are they? What is the nature/character/orientation of their

⁹⁰ Bishop Edgar N'gambi.

voice on political and social-health issues like HIV/AIDS? What evidence is there of action on these issues? Do they have the capacity to do more? What are they saying about themselves in relation to their mandate on earth? How is their support network among themselves and other church groups? What is the face of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity in Zambia in the 21st century?

In Chapter 3, I will respond to the salient voices of PC individuals during the tenure of Kenneth Kaunda, the first post-colonial President of Zambia. As part of the development of civic engagement, the task will be to identify events where PC praxis was evident between 1964, when Zambia got its independence and 1991 when Zambia transitioned to a democratic state with Frederick Chiluba.



Plate 2 Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia - Lusaka



Plate 3 Bishop John Mambo, Former Overseer of Church of God in Zambia and East Africa



Plate 4 Acts 1:8 Conference 2011 in Lusaka - Senior PAOGZ Bishops (J. Banda and H. Sakala) and Canadian PAOC Leaders Praying for Declarations



Plate 5 Bible Gospel Church in Africa (BIGOCA) – Matero, Lusaka

Chapter 3. ‘Zambia Shall Be Free!’ Exorcising Dictatorial Regimes, Embracing Democracy and Civic Engagement (1964-1991)

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine the role that the Pentecostal and Charismatic (PC) movement played in the area of civic engagement during the Kaunda era (1964-1991). Kenneth Kaunda was the first President in post-colonial Zambia. Being a devout Christian, Kaunda sought to build good relationships with the church, which he regarded as one of the five pillars of the nation.¹ The church played an important role during his Presidency because a number of the mainline churches operated healthcare and educational institutions in a number of rural areas. They were also politically involved since the clergy participated in a number of public events that began and ended with prayer. Christianity permeated through all areas of society but despite this, very little has been heard about the PC movement until the 1980s. Therefore, this chapter aims to highlight PC activity during that time. It is important to note, however, that during this time the impact of PC was minimal in Zambia. Their small numbers and what were allegedly considered other-worldly beliefs and practices led to their marginalization by mainline churches. This chapter will begin by providing a brief biography of Kaunda to establish the foundations of his spiritual and political ideas. An analysis of Humanist and Scientific Socialism ideologies and the role that was played by the mainline as well as PC churches in the fight to sustain Christian values within the country will be examined. The voices of PC leaders during this time, their reaction to Kaunda’s ideology and the part they played in dethroning him as President will be analysed. The data from interviews I held with various leaders within the Pentecostal movement in Zambia demonstrates that

¹ The other four are the Judiciary, Legislature, Executive and the Press. Paul Gifford, *African Christianity, Its Public Role* (London: Hurst and Co. Ltd., 1998), 194.

Pentecostals were not socially active during the first republic (1964-1991). A major reason for this was that civic engagement or active participation in matters of public concern was not part of their religious consciousness. Any attempt to engage in socio-political affairs was considered worldly and a deterrent to preparations for the second coming. They were mostly apathetic in their initial responses to politics and saw any engagement with public affairs as carnality.² This attitude slowly began to shift in the late 1980s. The latter part of the chapter will evaluate why it took time for PCs to contribute in practical and relevant ways to wider social issues. Within this chapter and the chapters that follow, I intend to look at civic engagement in terms of political action (statecraft) as well as social work (the later primarily focusing on the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which I will discuss thoroughly in chapter six).³

3.2 Church and State Relations during the Kaunda Era

During the Kaunda era religion in Zambia played a key role in the public sphere. Birgit Meyer defines the public sphere as ‘the space or arena evolving in (postcolonial) societies in conjunction with some measure of political liberalization and commercialization’.⁴ This definition counters Habermas’ understanding of the public sphere because he subtracts the role of religion in public

² The phrase ‘carnal Christian’ was commonly used among early Pentecostals in Zambia to refer to Christians who involved themselves with societal issues, which in their eyes were worldly. Interview with Bishop Harrison Sakala, Overseer of the PAOGZ on 9/08/11. Interview with Bishop Sky Banda, senior Pastor of the first Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, now Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia in Ndola, Maranatha PAOGZ and former General Superintendent of PAOGZ on 6/08/10. Interview with Reverend Simon Mwale, former General Superintendent of PAOGZ on 10/11/09.

³ Robert Wuthnow and John Hyde Evans, ‘Introduction,’ *The Quiet Hand of God: Faith-based Activism and the Public Role of Mainline Protestantism* (University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2002), 1-26; Michael W. Foley and Dean R. Hoge, *Religion and the New Immigrants: How Faith Communities Form Our Newest Citizens* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 28-41.

⁴ Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors, ‘Introduction,’ in *Religion, Media and the Public Sphere*, ed. Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 6.

spaces relegating it to the private sphere.⁵ This thesis argues that religion is very much a part of the public domain and therefore this chapter and the successive chapters examine the public role of religion in the civic engagement of PCs in Zambia. PC arguments in relation to their engagement and its relationship to beliefs about their mandate on earth are explored.

3.3 Post-Colonial Zambia with Kenneth David Kaunda

The exercise of gathering data on PC social engagement during the Kaunda era was very problematic. Austine Cheyeka, a Zambian scholar, lamented the lack of adequate academic resources relating to their participation in the public square, stating that ‘there has hardly been a satisfactory historical literature on the PC movement before the 1990s’.⁶ As noted in chapter one most of the literature relating to Zambian PC Christianity refers to the Chiluba era.⁷ When engaging with the few sources written by other academics, I mainly rely on information collected through interviews, participant observations and the questionnaire survey as well as resources that speak generally about religious activities in Zambia during this era and beyond. The hope is that this chapter will inspire other academics to delve deeper into this part of Pentecostal research in

⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger, Cambridge: Polity, 1989. In recent years, Habermas’ position has changed as he has developed the idea of the post secular public sphere.

⁶ He further argued that ‘anyone interested in the development of these new churches will search the relevant literature in vain’. Austine M. Cheyeka, ‘Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post-Colonial Zambia,’ in *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia*, ed. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 145.

⁷ Paul Gifford, *African Christianity, Its Public Role* (London: Hurst and Co. Ltd., 1998); Isabel Apawo Phiri, ‘President Fredrick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia.’ *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33, 4 (2003); Paul Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Adriano Chalwe, ‘An Evaluation of the Mission History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia’ (PhD diss., North-West University, 2008); John Mutunda Kapenda Lumbe, ‘The Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movements in Zambia between 1989-2000’ (Masters Dissertation, University of South Africa, 2008); Jason Kelvin Phiri, ‘African Pentecostal Spirituality: A Study of the Emerging African Pentecostal Churches in Zambia’ (Masters Dissertation, The University of Pretoria, 2009).

order to create a balanced history of their activities in the country from their inception, as opposed to one that starts with the dawn of the Chiluba presidency.⁸

3.3.1 Childhood years

Kaunda was born in a very strong Christian household in 1924 at Lubwa Mission, a remote area in Chinsali District, in Northern Zambia. His father David Kaunda was a minister of religion and was ordained within the Church of Scotland as a missionary. According to John Mwanakatwe, being born in this household meant that ‘there was a lot of hymn singing and prayers in the family,’⁹ and it is these formative years within a Christian household that appear to have grounded Kaunda’s Christian ideals. Kaunda loved singing and throughout his presidential career he would take every opportunity to play his guitar.¹⁰

3.3.2 Education formation

Despite becoming a widow left with eight children, Kaunda’s mother Helen Kaunda worked very hard to educate her son. At sixteen, Kaunda completed what would have been the equivalent of a primary school education and in 1941, he was sent to Lusaka’s Munali secondary school, which was one of the first boys secondary schools for Africans in Northern Rhodesia.¹¹ This is where he grew in knowledge and in his Christian faith as a member of the ‘Student Christian Association’.¹²

⁸ It is important to note that the Pentecostal movement had been in Zambia for close to 50 years before the Chiluba era.

⁹ John M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era* (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1994), 3.

¹⁰ He composed a song in Chinyanja that was known and sung throughout the nation wherever there was a gathering with him which said ‘*Tiyende pamodzi ndi m’tima umo*’ which means: ‘let us move forward together with one heart’. He would always lead this song as everyone sung in unison. ‘Anthem Could be A Hit By Guitarist Premier,’ *The Northern News*, April 24, 1964, 1.

¹¹ Kenneth Kaunda, *Zambia Shall Be Free* (London: Windmill Press, 1962), 17.

¹² Ibid. The first girls secondary school was Chipembi Girls Secondary School, established by the Wesleyan Methodists in 1926. ‘World Without Walls. Breaking Down Walls, Building up People. Chipembi Girls Secondary School, accessed 20/02/12 <http://www.worldwithoutwalls.net/partners/chipembi.php>’; ‘Chipembi Girl’s Secondary

While at Munali, his South African principal Daniele Sonquishe had a great influence on him.¹³ Not only did they both stammer, they both played guitar and had many political discussions together. While Sonquishe always lamented the extent of racial discrimination in South Africa, he also encouraged Kaunda, stating it was going to take people like him to ensure the same did not happen in Northern Rhodesia.¹⁴ Kaunda believed that it was Sonquishe who made him think about the possibility of him becoming a politician.¹⁵

3.3.3 Religious Beliefs and Affiliation Before the 1970s

Kaunda always regarded himself as a devout Christian. He was known to have a manner about him that earned him the trust of the colonial leaders, who wanted to ensure that the person that took over from them was well suited.¹⁶ Fergus MacPherson states that the reason that Zambia's independence was acknowledged internationally was that people were drawn to Kaunda's 'sincerity and honesty of mind made apparent without arrogance or self-praise'.¹⁷ MacPherson also quotes what he calls other 'hard-headed men' who made positive remarks about Kaunda's 'spiritual integrity and clear-headed realism'.¹⁸ He is recorded to have lacked egoism, and exhibited sympathy. Many British Colonial leaders were intrigued by his trustworthy nature despite his desire to prove to the Europeans that he could lead Zambia. From the outset, he readily

School Profile,' accessed February 10, 2012

http://www.vvob.be/scholenbanden/files/Chipembi_Girls_Secondary_School.pdf,

¹³ Glenda Wina, 'The Man Born to Lead,' *The Northern News*, April 20, 1964, 9.

¹⁴ Kaunda, 16-17.

¹⁵ Besides Sonquishe, Kaunda is known to have admired Adolf Hitler and despite earning the nickname 'Hitler' by his dorm mates, he did not exhibit his character but only imitated the way he brushed his hair.

¹⁶ 'Kaunda Has All the Power He Needs, Sir John Moffat,' *The Northern News*, January 15, 1964, 1.

¹⁷ Fergus MacPherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia. The Times and The Man* (London: Oxford University Press), 427.

¹⁸ Ibid, 427; Gifford, *African Christianity*, 191.

admitted the fact that his party might fall short of what they intended to do because they were mere humans.¹⁹

It became very clear even before Zambia became independent that Christianity would play a pivotal role in the post-colonial era. Though former President Chiluba officially declared Zambia a Christian nation in 1991, Kaunda was the first to initially make such a proclamation. He did so in 1966 through a public statement written to commemorate the celebration of Zambia's second year of independence.²⁰ In this statement, Kaunda commended the Zambia Bible House for compiling scriptures for the previous and the current year's independence celebrations. He emphasised the aim of the country through the slogan 'One Zambia, One Nation,' because he believed that was the 'way to show the world that as a Christian nation, God is all powerful in the citizens' family lives'. He went on to say,

At this time, as we celebrate our second birthday, I say to you all, no matter where you are, in the fields and factories; in schools and colleges; in the shops and offices or wherever your work takes you, let God help us to help our country. Sometime ago I read the following words, 'I want to see nations governed by men governed by God. Why not let God run the whole world?' Let us make our start here in our beloved Zambia.

What followed was a tabulation of Matthew 5:3-10.

Zambians are by nature very spiritual people. Therefore, having a post-colonial government that upheld Christian principles was welcomed and these principles pervaded and shaped the socio-political culture of Zambia. According to Hinfelaar, 'at the time of independence Zambia's mission-educated leaders fully understood the importance of the consent and blessing of the

¹⁹ MacPherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia*, 427-429.

²⁰ Kenneth Kaunda, 'Message from His Excellency the President of the Republic of Zambia' 1966.

churches'.²¹ Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) not only encouraged clergy to 'become members of village productivity committees and other UNIP initiated projects, but as will be seen in Chapter 4 with Chiluba, Kaunda appointed some of them to be his personal advisors'.²² He made statements such as 'we have allowed the Church and Judiciary to act as a mirror to the nation so that government and the party might see what sins they are committing'.²³ This meant that clergy were regarded as 'the custodians of the nation's morality and so positioned to legitimize or reject political processes'.²⁴ Quoting ter Haar, Hinfelaar refers to the many national occasions where clergy were granted seats of honour and 'representatives of both realms, spiritual and temporal, would sit side by side in the official celebration, which was always accompanied by a thanksgiving service'.²⁵ Kaunda's remarks can be likened to a statement made by Julius Nyerere, President of neighbouring Tanzania.²⁶ He was a devout Roman Catholic and stated that 'the church had an obligation to fight for a society which would enable every man and woman to live with dignity and well-being and to work for the eradication of exploitation and for the sharing of wealth'.²⁷

²¹ Marja Hinfelaar, 'Legitimizing Powers: The Political Role of the Roman Catholic Church 1972-1991,' in *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia*, eds. J. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 130.

²² Ibid, 132.

²³ 'The Church as Mirror,' *Times of Zambia*, October 24, 1969, 1.

²⁴ Hinfelaar, 'Legitimizing Powers,' 134.

²⁵ Ibid, 131, quoting G. ter Haar, *Spirit of Africa: The Healing Ministry of Archbishop Milingo* (London: Hurst and Co., 1992), 201.

²⁶ Julius Nyerere and Kaunda were very close friends. Nyerere was the chairman of the Southern African Development Council (SADC) from the mid 70's. This was an alliance which served to oppose the South African apartheid regime favouring black majority democratic rule. Member countries included Zambia, Mozambique, Angola, Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia. Malawi joined later. These were known as Frontline States. Kaunda and Nyerere were one of the first leaders in this alliance.

²⁷ Julius Nyerere, 'The Church's Role in Society,' in *A Reader in African Christian Theology*, John Parratt (London: SPK, 1987), 109.

Gradually, however, the once harmonious church-state relationship began to disintegrate. What follows are examples of issues that gave rise to antagonism between the church and the state. The emergent PC civic engagement will become apparent as these examples are described.

3.4 Church-State Antagonism

3.4.1 Alice Lenshina and the Lumpa Church

The first major clash that Kaunda experienced with the church was with an indigenous anti-colonial nationalist group led by Alice Lenshina, called the Lumpa church.²⁸ Lenshina was very successful and her followers were described as ‘hot headed’ owing to their drive to overcome those they perceived to be their enemies (government and anyone that opposed them)²⁹ as well as their willingness to die for their faith. Her success can be described in three ways. Her movement was seen as a psychological movement for it arose when Africans felt disillusioned and increasingly powerless against the dominant missionaries and colonial government. Secondly, she preached against witchcraft and thirdly her use of hymns that she composed with an African idiom was seen to parallel European hymns.³⁰ Over time, a sense of paranoia gripped Lenshina and her followers because they regarded everyone outside their church as enemies.³¹ Because of this mind-set, clashes with society and government became prevalent as did the cultivation of an eschatological

²⁸ Fernandez described them as ‘fanatics who were not victims of hostility but their aggressive and self-righteousness and unwillingness to compromise with political forces were factors that contributed to the hostility that surrounded them; James W. Fernandez, ‘The Lumpa Uprising, Why?’ *Africa Report*, Washington DC 9 vol.10 (1964) 31; Allan Anderson, *African Reformation* (Trenton: NJ, Africa World Press, 2001), 138; W.M.J. van Binsbergen, ‘The Dynamics of Religious Change in Western Zambia.’ *IFAHAMU, A Journal for African Studies* 6 (3), (1976): 268; Heward, Christine Woods, ‘The Rise of Alice Lenshina.’ *New Society* (London), 4, (98) (13 August 1964).

²⁹ Zambia Government Report 3, ‘Lumpa Rebels Not to Be Punished,’ *East Africa and Rhodesia-Zambia* (20 August 1964): 7 (The Harold Turner Collection, Special Collections, Cadbury Research Library, The University of Birmingham)

³⁰ Lesley Charlton, *Spark in the Stubble: Colin Morit of Zambia* (London: Epworth Press, 1969), 130.

³¹ Zambia Government Report 3, ‘Lumpa Rebels,’ 5.

outlook. As the Lumpa church felt increasingly misunderstood by the state and society, their separatist attitude hardened. The more the Lumpa church felt victimized, the more they determined to ignore societal norms. For example, they refused to acknowledge local chiefs and chose not to possess UNIP party cards.³² The Lumpa tale became more than a quest to safeguard African ideology and practice or one for enculturation within their Christian beliefs. They wanted to create a Luman socio-political, socio-cultural ideology in the hope that everyone would soon be persuaded to adopt their philosophy. As the word Lumpa meant ‘to be superior,’³³ or ‘excelling all others’³⁴ conforming to missionary church or state matters of social construction was not an option for the Lumpa adherents. Clashes with both the colonial and later the UNIP party, the worst breaking out in 1962 when many Lumpa lives were lost, led to the church being disbanded.³⁵ This led to the exiling of many of its adherents and the imprisonment of its leader Alice Lenshina. Before then, several attempts were made by government to forge a peaceful reconciliation with the Lumpa church but in vain.³⁶

3.4.2 The Termination of Pregnancy Act 1972 and the Introduction to Scientific Socialism

³² The acquisition of these cards was compulsory.

³³Hugo Hinfelaar, ‘Women's Revolt: The Lumpa Church of Lenshina Mulenga in the 1950s.’ *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. 21, Fasc. 2 (May, 1991): 99. The Lumpa saga can also be likened to another well-known African Independent church from the Congo called the Kimbanguist movement. This was led by Simon Kimbangu and was started in 1921. Kimbangu was well known for his teachings and miraculous healings. This group traversed through years of constant clashes and persecution by government. The group was apolitical, eschewed polygamy, dancing, and witchcraft, and embraced a Puritan ethic. It was also the first AIC to be admitted into the World Council of churches in 1969. Marie-Louise Martin, *Kimbangu: An African Prophet and His Church* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975); Joseph Diangienda, *Out of Africa: Kimbanguism* (London: Christian Education Movement, 1979).

³⁴Anderson, *African Reformation*, 136.

³⁵ David M.Gordon, ‘Rebellion or Massacre? The Lumpa Conflict Revisited’, in *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia*, (eds.) J. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 47and 49-56; ‘Looms at Lumpa Camp,’ *Zambia Daily Mail*, October 2, 1971, 7.

³⁶What is interesting about the Lumpa church is that Alice Lenshina grew up in the same area and went to the same school as Kenneth Kaunda, the man who finally put an end to the Lumpa movement when he became president. The Lumpa church flourished greatly in the area where Kaunda’s father erected Lubwa Mission station. A number of Kaunda’s relatives were members of the church when it was at the peak of its success; Gifford, *African Christianity*, 184; Anderson, *African Reformation*, 137-38; W.M.J. van Binsbergen, ‘The Dynamics of Religious Change in Western Zambia,’ *IFAHAMU, A Journal for African Studies* 6,3 (1976): 268.

The first time that the post-colonial state clashed with the mainline churches was with the Roman Catholics over the endorsement of the Termination of Pregnancy Act in 1972, which went against their moral stance against abortion. The Roman Catholics' argument focused on the fact that this decision was made in haste and asserted that the state should have allowed for a public debate on the matter.³⁷ The second clash arose when Kaunda wanted to introduce Scientific Socialism in Zambia. This was met by vehement ecumenical opposition from the three umbrella bodies that were created specifically for this purpose.³⁸ A unique aspect of Zambia is the inter-religious solidarity that is sometimes apparent through these three official umbrella bodies, which Gifford saw as genuinely ecumenical. Gifford praised this as opposition to Kaunda's proposal as proof of a 'genuine ecumenism' in Zambia.³⁹ These umbrella bodies (Zambia Episcopal Conference (ZEC), Christian Council of Zambia (CCZ) and the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ)) currently function as the representative 'voices' of the different church organizations in Zambia. ZEC is comprised of the Roman Catholics, CCZ of Protestant mission churches and EFZ of Evangelicals and more so PCs.⁴⁰ Suggestions, opinions and concerns from the various churches are voiced through these bodies who then lobby the government on their behalf. This has continued to give the church the impetus to actively engage in civic matters and be a part of Zambia's thriving civil society.⁴¹ In relation to Scientific Socialism, these umbrella bodies published a joint statement that was circulated among religious leaders dismissing Scientific Socialism because they believed

³⁷ Marja Hinfelaar, *Legitimizing Powers*, 135.

³⁸ The church would not have had a problem with socialism because when introduced in the USSR it served to eradicate state oppression and the class system. This meant that the masses were encouraged and empowered to use their talents and abilities and take part in production and the country's development. Power was no longer rest in the hands of a select few as everyone had a role to play. For a country that was coming out of a colonial regime, the Zambian people would benefit from this ideology. M. Petrosyan, *Humanism: Its Philosophical, Ethical and Sociological Aspects* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), 6.

³⁹ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 194.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 188.

⁴¹ Ibid.

forms of it did not respect the religious rights of human beings.⁴² It is here that a Pentecostal influence is initially seen in relation to a religio-political issue.

3.4.3 The Church Criticizes, Judges and Swings into Action

As noted at the start of this chapter, church and state relations played a very significant role in Zambia during the Kaunda era. In the months preceding the 1964 elections, that were to make Zambia an Independent state, Kaunda stated:

The Christian church must identify itself with the people and not sit in judgment on individuals and nations. The church must become active and lead our people. There are other problems, our young people for instance face. Is the church going to content itself with the role of criticizing political parties for misleading the people or is the church going to accept this as part and parcel of the problem of our society and the place it services with the nation, not only here in Northern Rhodesia, but elsewhere where such problems exist? The life of any church becomes a danger to society if it starts and ends with the seat of judgment. By all means, as a member of society let it criticize, let it judge if it wishes to do so but let it also swing into action in a positive manner.⁴³

From this speech it is evident that Kaunda did not see the church as an organization that that was in a position to condemn social policy without engaging in civil society and offering alternative approaches. He felt that the church should engage with all issues that affected the nation as a whole. Kaunda offered an open invitation for the church to partner with the state without weakening its prophetic voice. He suggested that the Church should lead by example, thereby embodying Christ's ideal for humankind. If the new post-colonial government was to succeed, the role of the church was pivotal. Kaunda's Christian upbringing as well as the lessons he may have learnt from

⁴² J. Komakoma (ed), *The Social Teaching of the Catholic Bishops and Other Christian Leaders in Zambia: Major Pastoral letters and Statements 1953-2001* (Ndola: Mission Press, 2003).

⁴³Address to the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation's conference June 1964, quoted in Colin Legum, *Zambia Independence and Beyond - The Speeches of Kenneth Kaunda* (London: Nelson, 1966), 118.

his high school principal possibly contributed to his understanding of the role the church in society. His father was known to be a man of discipline and loathed the sight of people suffering and hard pressed.⁴⁴ Being a ‘preacher, elementary school teacher and voluntary welfare worker’,⁴⁵ Kaunda’s father understood the role of the church in the community. He travelled long distances within his district into remote areas to evangelise as well as setting up and supervising the work that was being done by teachers in the schools that he helped establish. Kenneth Kaunda shared the same passion and largely channelled this towards working alongside those that were oppressed by the colonial government.

However, too much emphasis on the social role of the church may raise concerns about the role of the state. Is it fair to place too much expectation on the church in the area of civic engagement? Does putting this burden on the church encourage the state to take a step back from this role? The state has the duty to care for citizens and it is its responsibility to ensure that issues of civic concern are addressed across the country effectively. Only in an ideal society could government solve all civic problems. In reality, because the world is a hub of unending social ills, the church, just like other non-governmental organizations, has a role to play. Faith organizations can fill in the gaps left by the state by meeting practical needs, working as lobbying groups to remind government of their duty to the people and working hand in hand with the state to alleviate these problems.

3.5 Pentecostals and Charismatics: Presence or Obscurity?

⁴⁴ Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era*, 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 2.

During the Kaunda era, mainline churches were actively engaged in the areas of health and education. Churches like the Salvation Army, Roman Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists ran mission schools and hospitals in most rural parts of the country. As soon as these churches entered the country, they established these institutions alongside their churches. For this reason, the dominant church in a particular community would be one that had established these institutions in that area. The Roman Catholic Church was the largest church in Zambia and, as such, was a powerful force in society; confident in exercising its prophetic voice on social concerns. An example of this boldness can be found in Archbishop Emmanuel Milingo who was a prominent critic of the Kaunda government.⁴⁶ Such statements were intended to highlight civic issues that needed to be addressed by the state. Fr. Joe Komakoma, head of Justice and Peace in the Catholic Secretariat in Lusaka, edited a book called *The Social Teaching of the Catholic Bishops and other Christian Leaders in Zambia*.⁴⁷ This book is a collection of pastoral letters and statements dating from 1953 to 2001. While some were written to be circulated among the Catholics themselves, other letters were written jointly and endorsed by the three religious umbrella bodies, for the purposes of sensitizing the nation to various issues relating to Humanism, liberation and justice in

⁴⁶ Bishop Emmanuel Milingo was a well-known charismatic catholic whose gift of healing brought him a lot of publicity as well as opposition from various church leaders within the Roman Catholic Church which was cynical about this gifts. He was Archbishop of Lusaka from 1969-1983 and was well known for being outspoken with regards to issues of corruption and nepotism. His criticism of the state's numerous links with South African freedom fighters made him unpopular and was seen as a threat to institutions of power. 'The Milingo affair,' *African Ecclesial Review AFER*, 24 (6), (Dec 1982):323. It is believed that Kaunda never spoke against him and Milingo never included Kaunda in his criticisms. Milingo spent most of his time exorcising evil spirits from those that were victims, praying and caring for the sick. Milingo's activities led to divisions within the Catholic Church which later escalated into being summoned to the Vatican in April 1982 by the Pope for a medical check-up and theological reflection. Based on the various civil ills Zambians were facing at that time, like poor health facilities, poverty and unemployment, Milingo's ministry was seen as 'an outlet' for those that were in need, and it is such occurrences that denote how 'the spiritual and political spheres are closely related.' 'Zambia: Prodigal's Son Returns,' *Africa Confidential*, 27 (22) (29 October, 1986):8; Donald Chiyaka, 'Milingo E.' *Z Magazine*, 92 (January 1978 Lusaka); Mona Macmillan, 'Spirit of Africa: The Healing Ministry of Archbishop Milingo of Zambia,' *The Month* 246 #7914(9 May 1992): 196-197.

⁴⁷ Joe Komakoma, ed, *The Social Teaching of the Catholic Bishops and other Christian Leaders in Zambia*. Major Pastoral Letters and Statements 1953-2001. Ndola: Mission Press, 2003.

the Kaunda era, AIDS, the declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation, the constitution, debt relief and former President Chiluba's third term bid. A short biography of Fr. Komakoma states that his motivation sprang from a desire to publicise the church's social teaching and a commitment to ensure that it was understood and could serve as a guide for Christians when they find themselves in various challenges.⁴⁸

It is evident that in the period between 1964 and the late 1980's the PC movement was still reticent to deal with social issues. As noted in the introduction, this was connected to the belief that civic engagement was not part of its religious consciousness. What was clear from the various interviews I conducted with a number of Pentecostal pastors who became pastors from the 1960s to the 1980s was that the focus was more on proselytizing and ensuring that people were ready for the second coming.⁴⁹ This does not minimise the importance of their ministries within their congregations, which dealt with peoples personal problems. However, amongst other churches their views were perceived to be strange and their practices attracted a lot of negative publicity. Chapter two notes some of the comments that were levelled at Pentecostals by other church leaders. It was this negative publicity concerning miracles, speaking in unknown tongues, praying and crying out loud that raised curiosity among people. As people heard about the miracles that were occurring in some

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Interview with Bishop Sky Banda, Senior Pastor of Maranatha Pentecostal Assembly of God Zambia in Kitwe on 6/08/10; Interview with Bishop Edgar N'gambi, Senior Pastor of Praise Christian Centre and one of the Board members of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia on 18/08/11; Interview with Bishop Mark Musonda, former Presiding Bishop of Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia on 25/08/10; Interview with Bishop Chrispine Zulu, Conference Overseer of the Southern Conference and Assistant National Overseer of the Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC) in Zambia on 18/07/11; Interview with Reverend Steven Mwale, former General Superintendent of PAOGZ in Lusaka on 20/11/2009; Interview with Bishop Harrison Sakala, Chief Bishop of The Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia on 9/08/11, Interview with Bishop George Mbulo, Senior Pastor and Founder of Capital Christian Centre in Lusaka on 10/08/10. Mbulo was the principal of Tran-Africa Theological College (PAOGZ) from 1984-1987; Interview with Reverend Chisha in Kitwe on 16/11/09.

of these churches they wanted to see and experience this themselves. While mainline churches had tangible tools that were used to engage with the needs of their communities such as schools, medical facilities, orphanages and literacy programmes, Pentecostals focussed on meeting the physical needs of their congregants. Some of the problems they engaged with were witchcraft, illness, demon possession, destitution, barrenness, ancestral and generational curses. These physical needs were subsequently met through spiritual tools. When medical facilities and traditional diviners (or 'ng'anga') failed and when mainline churches could not offer solutions to problems pertaining to spiritual influences like witchcraft, it was the rumours that circulated about the Pentecostals' ability to perform miracles that drew people to them. They also created communities that supported members in ways that would help them to feel at home by offering psycho-social and emotional support. This was an important part of their civic engagement. To an extent, it could be assumed that some mainline churches with foreign missionaries, especially in rural areas, may have struggled to understand socio-cultural problems people faced at grassroots level. This could be attributed to the difficulty for Westerners to comprehend how witchcraft could affect a whole generation. Referring back to Putnam's definition of civic engagement which is, 'connecting with the life of the community',⁵⁰ part of the life of the communities in which Pentecostal churches existed involved matters of the spirit as well as the social-economic world.

At a national level, the PC voice was articulated through the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), despite low levels of wider church affiliation during the Kaunda era. It was only when the

⁵⁰ Robert Putnam, 'Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America', *Political Science and Politics*, 28.4 (1995): 664-683 (665).

EFZ board was dominated by PC leaders (as opposed to evangelicals) during the Chiluba era that more PC churches (especially the smaller ones) affiliated with EFZ.⁵¹

3.5.1 A Humanist in Zambia

In 1967 Kaunda introduced a 'national political philosophy which claimed to be socialist in principle'.⁵² This philosophy was shaped by humanist ideas,⁵³ and this ideology was introduced in a pamphlet written by Kaunda. Andrew Roberts asserts that Kaunda drew his inspiration from the Arusha Declaration which was formulated by his friend Julius Nyerere, then President of Tanzania.⁵⁴ He also claimed that although Zambian Humanism and Tanzanian Socialism were grounded in the championing of human dignity, rights and freedom, their approach to solving civic

⁵¹ Interviews with Pastor Danny Pule, Senior Pastor and Founder of DUNAMIS Christian Centre in Lusaka on 17/08/11; Bishop Mark Musonda; Bishop Edgar N'gambi; Gifford, *African Christianity*, 188. Currently, there are two other umbrella bodies representing smaller Pentecostal and Charismatic churches that would not fit the revamped criteria for EFZ affiliation namely, Independent Churches Organization of Zambia (ICOZ) started in 2001 by Reverend David Masupa and International Fellowship of Christian Churches (IFCC) started in early 2000 headed by Reverend Simon Chihana.

⁵² Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976), 246.

⁵³ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 191. Humanism is an ideology that was championed by Marx and Lenin, thereby earning the name Marxist-Leninist Humanism. Due to its complexity it is difficult to define the term. Its definitions can depend on the author's philosophy and understanding of socio-political issues. According to Petrosyan 'the concept of Humanism is linked to the question of man's place in the world, today and tomorrow. Humanism is broader than humanness or humanity'. In Marxist-Leninist theory, humanism is a logically constructed and generalised system of philosophical, socio-economic, political and ethical views of man, his status and the role in society, his attitude to the world, and his future. It treats man as a worker, a creative being and, as such, the highest of all values. Furthermore, it stated that the great value we attach to man as an individual, the defence of his freedom, rights and dignity, the urge to liberate man from the forces that enslave him and the noble dream for all mankind.' M. Petrosyan, *Humanism: Its Philosophical, Ethical and Sociological Aspects* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), 8-9 and 15. The idea was for humanity across the globe to work together by forming 'genuine relationships.' The creation of socialist relationships would end wrangles, strife and exploitation among societies because everyone would have a fair chance in making use of their skills to contribute to development.

⁵⁴ The Arusha Declaration was built on socialist principles which were meant to guide the Tanzanian constitution (TANU). The principles were anchored on absence of exploitation, means for production and exchange to be in the hands of peasant farmers and workers, the existence of Democracy and Socialism as a belief. Ayanda Madyibi, 'Julius Nyerere: The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self Reliance,' written for the Tanganyika African National Union (February 5, 1967), accessed on February 2, 2012 <http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/nyerere/1967/arusha-declaration.htm>.

issues was different.⁵⁵ While relating humanism to ‘African Democratic Socialism’, Kaunda accepted the private ownership of property, in contrast to Nyerere. He was aware of the danger of class conflict as a result, but said this could be avoided if ‘everyone was committed to working for a man-centred society in which human relations were valued above material possessions’.⁵⁶ Kaunda described himself as a humanist but due to his strong Christian principles and upbringing, his humanism was ‘coloured by Christian principles,’ according to Creighton Lacy.⁵⁷ For example in a speech made at the Golden Jubilee of the Ndola Diocese Kaunda stated,

The Catholic church and other churches have contributed and continue to contribute more to what the nation of Zambia is today than many of us Zambians care to realise or let alone recognise or appreciate. Whether we are members of the Party or members of the church, we must continue to remind ourselves that under the philosophy of Humanism which guides our common action, the church and the party are partners in the reconstruction of our society in all areas of human endeavour. The party and the church must work together to give greater strength to the individual and society in order to be able to fight more resolutely and overcome poverty and its offshoots of hunger, ignorance, disease, crime, corruption and exploitation of man by man.⁵⁸

The question that many would have had was, if he were such a devout Christian, what was the point in introducing Humanism in Zambia? This proves that he took an interest in reading about the political ideologies that were drawn on by different political leaders across the globe. Kaunda’s desire for the emancipation of his people was quite evident from the start because his desire was to see Zambians free from the chains of colonialism. He felt that they would achieve this by exercising their various gifts and talents in order to contribute to the development of the country. In an independent Zambia, unity was to be attained through the solidarity of all Zambians in

⁵⁵ ‘We Defended Humanism,’ *Zambia Daily Mail*, July 13, 1971, 6.

⁵⁶ Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976), 246; ‘The Main Message is Humanism,’ *Zambia Daily Mail*, 25 October, 1971, 27.

⁵⁷ Creighton Lacy, ‘Christian Humanism in Zambia: An Interview with President Kenneth Kaunda,’ *Christian Century* (16 February 1972): 191; John Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era*, 7.

⁵⁸ ‘Kenneth David Kaunda,’ a speech given at the Golden Jubilee of Ndola Diocese, Zambia May 4th 1980, 252.

promoting the dignity of humanity. The church, based on its Christian values should share in this challenge. Kaunda's Humanism was painted with Christian values and his hope was that this would not cause clashes with the church. According to Mwanakatwe, 'Zambian Humanism held high valuation of man [sic] and respect for human dignity. It also encouraged hard work and encouraged giving fair rewards to those who worked hard conscientiously'.⁵⁹ Whilst Kaunda found some tenets of Humanism helpful, leading to what he designed as *Zambian Humanism*, it may have been safer not to have named it 'Humanism' owing to its connection with Karl Marx (who disregarded the role of religion in society) and Lenin (who argued that religion needed to be removed from the minds of men if socialism was to work effectively - leading to the persecution of many Christians). More thought should have accompanied Kaunda's adoption of this ideology and I argue that he could have engaged experts to develop it in a way that would privilege Christian virtues to completely camouflage the humanist ideology. Humanism was attacked by the church which claimed that it threatened the place of God in human lives by putting man at the centre.⁶⁰ Bishop Joel Imakando, a prominent charismatic leader lamented years later, 'this never works, Humanism is a disaster!'⁶¹ Though the voice of PCs has been privileged in this analysis, it is important to note that they did not operate in singlehandedly in opposing Humanism. This opposition came from the

⁵⁹ John Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era*, 49. For more information on Zambian Humanism see Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, 246-249.

⁶⁰ Fagginger also asserts the fact that Humanism places man at the centre of all human activity. The goal of man is to acquire happiness and self-actualization. J.A.C. Fagginger Auer, *Humanism Versus Theism* (Iowa: The Iowa State University Press, 1981), viii. According to Petrosyan, 'other trends in bourgeois philosophy like Neo-Thomism (also known as neo-scholasticism, religious knowledge is gained by reason) and Personalism, Existentialism (humans responsible for own development through their will), neo-positivism etc. have rallied against this Marxist-Leninist theory of Humanism stating the problem of man and human happiness to be unrealistic utopia because of the alleged original sin and congenital selfishness of human nature,' M. Petrosyan, *Humanism: Its Philosophical, Ethical and Sociological Aspects* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1972), 6-7. For more on Humanism see Kate Soper, *Humanism and Anti-Humanism: Problems of Modern European Thought* (London: Hutchinson, 1986); Jonathan Arnold, *Dean John Colet of St. Pauls: Humanism and Reform in Early Tudor England* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

⁶¹ J. Imakando, 'The Role of the Church in the Democratic process in Zambia' in *Civil Society and the Consolidation of Democracy in Zambia* (Lusaka: Foundation for Democratic Process, 1992), 3.

wider Christian community through the collaboration of all three church mother bodies. Despite the fact that President Kaunda made efforts to sustain this ideology, church leaders were more successful in convincing the general public (who were mainly Christian) of their stance against it. When the issue of Humanism quietened down, the introduction of Scientific Socialism to advance Humanism by Kaunda became another issue that caused major church-state antagonism.⁶²

3.5.2 Scientific Socialism, Eastern Religions and Church Responses

The introduction of scientific socialism in 1979 as an ideology that would advance humanism sparked a lot of religious attention and controversy.⁶³ It was the government's intention to introduce the compulsory study of scientific socialism in all institutions of learning, with an aim to promote it as the 'state's ideological model for development.'⁶⁴ This situation caused unrest among Zambia's religious leaders leading to an ecumenical venture to oppose the state on this matter. A joint letter was written to attack the state on Scientific Socialism entitled *Marxism, Humanism and Christianity: A letter from the Leaders of the Christian Churches in Zambia to All Their Members About Scientific Socialism*.⁶⁵ This letter acknowledged the fact that Socialism was coherent with Christianity because it fostered a system of utilising the nation's wealth for the benefit of all members 'due to public ownership of the means of production.'⁶⁶ The letter however,

⁶² Ted Olsen, 'One Nation under God,' *Christianity Today*, 46, 2 February 4, 2002, 38.

⁶³ Scientific socialism is a theory that was developed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. This was a theory of liberation of the working class from exploitation by their employers. According to Chenkov, Scientific Socialism is 'a system of knowledge embracing general laws of governing the development of nature and society, the advance of social production, emancipator struggle for the working people, revolution and the creation of a just-socialist society.' G. P. Chernikov, *Fundamentals of Scientific Socialism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1988), 8.

⁶⁴ Komakoma ed, *The Social Teaching*, 107.

⁶⁵ Kingsley Mwenda (CCZ), James Hess (EFZ) and Dennis de Jong (ZEC), and eight Catholic priests representing the Catholic church in various provinces of Zambia, signed this document. *Marxism, Humanism and Christianity: A Letter from the Leaders of the Christian Churches in Zambia, to All their Members about Scientific Socialism 1979*, in *The Social Teaching* Komakoma ed., 107 and 110.

⁶⁶ Ibid. In line with this, R. I. Kosolapov et al, define socialism as 'a system of social relations, within whose framework the supreme objective of production and the most important factor in its progress becomes the all-round development

condemned Humanism because it saw ‘religion as an obstacle to men and women from becoming masters of their own destiny’.⁶⁷ The church in Zambia vehemently opposed these ideals because they were seen as a ‘danger to the constitutional freedom of the people, especially the freedom of worship’.⁶⁸ After much deliberation, Kaunda’s bid did not succeed.⁶⁹ Hinfelaar attributes this success to the fact that ‘the churches were able to give expression to the public’s dissatisfaction with UNIP’s authoritarianism’.⁷⁰ Gifford applauds this venture because when compared to other countries like Ghana, whose ecumenical ventures involved only Roman Catholics and other mainline churches at that time, the situation in Zambia included Pentecostals, a movement that was not then very popular on such platforms.⁷¹

3.5.3 The Church and Zambia’s Economic Welfare

In 1987 another statement was made by the three umbrella bodies in response to President Kaunda’s call for the church to ‘contribute to Zambia’s economic welfare’.⁷² This letter was addressed to churches, the general public and the state. During this period, Zambia’s economy had deteriorated and a majority of the people lived in dire poverty.⁷³ Kaunda argued that the standard of living had declined due to history, government decisions and the international markets. He

of the working man on the basis of meeting his growing material and nonmaterial requirements.’ R. I. Kosolapov et al, *Developed Socialism: Theory and Practice* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1980), 8.

⁶⁷Mwenda (CCZ), Hess (EFZ) and de Jong, *Marxism, Humanism and Christianity*, 110.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 132. There seemed to have been no record of resistance from the general public on this matter.

⁶⁹ Clive Dillon-Malone, *Zambian Humanism, Religion and Social Morality* (Ndola: Mission Press, 1969); Gifford, *African Christianity*, 188.

⁷⁰ Hinfelaar, *Legitimizing Powers*, 77.

⁷¹ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 188.

⁷² Philip Simuchoba (CCZ Chairman), James Spaita (ZEC Chairman) and James Hess (EFZ Chairman), ‘Christian Liberation, Justice and Development: The Churches’ Concern for Human Development’, (February 1987) in *The Social Teaching*, Komakoma ed., 140.

⁷³ Jowie Mwinga, ‘Most of Us Live in Poverty,’ *The Weekly Post*, September 20-26, 1991, 1; Zaria Geloo, ‘Why Zambians Don’t Come Back,’ *The Weekly Post*, September 20-26, 1991, 7; Charles Harry, ‘Zambia and IMF,’ *Weekly Post*, September 20-26, 1991, 15; Chola Chimba, ‘World Bank Pulls Out,’ *The Weekly Post*, September 1-19, 1991, 15.

wanted the church to work alongside government to help the country's economy to bounce back.

One of his concluding remarks makes this clear,

Our Christian brothers and sisters should not wait passively for more directives from the churches or for more handouts from the government. God calls his children to be the agents of their own development. They ought to work together with non-Christians and non-believers for the betterment of the world in which we live in. They should take initiatives in their professional, political, local and national, civil and religious organizations.... We consider ourselves to be engaged in a common struggle with our National leaders and so we confidently say, 'let us move forward together!' The Spirit of Christ urges us. The future of our nation depends on our response to the present. Let us grasp it firmly in the arms of justice and fairness to all. May the Almighty Father give us courage and the strength to face our responsibilities and give ourselves generously to the building of our nation.⁷⁴

His remarks demonstrated the idea that religion was not a private but a public affair. Having acknowledged the errors of the state, combined with the influence of international markets, he was confident that the church had the capacity to turn Zambia's economy around. Kaunda's confidence in the church would serve as a reminder to the church of its mandate to proclaim a holistic gospel that would permeate the political, social and economic dimensions. Some of these issues targeted to rural development and income distribution subsidies.⁷⁵ This was because people in rural areas were more vulnerable to delayed responses than people living in urban areas. This view was heavily supported by scripture and references were made to what God's kingdom on earth might look like. While Komakoma praised this document, he questioned whether it made any difference. He asks whether it was circulated and discussed and what the government and ruling party's response was to its conclusions⁷⁶ James Hess, who was the chairman of EFZ at that time, was one

⁷⁴ Simuchoba, Spaita and Hess, *Christian Liberation*, 195-196.

⁷⁵ Ibid 195.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 140.

of the signatories to this ecumenical document. This raises the question on the impact this statement would have had on the PC church in general. Whether this document was circulated among PC churches is questionable. Similarly, whether this document would have been welcomed in these churches is another story.

3.5.4 The Ranganathan Uproar⁷⁷



⁷⁷ Cartoon: Chris Chitanda, 'Mahaishi's Mind Bending Effects,' *The Weekly Post*, October 25-31, 9.

In the early 1990's (just before the 1991 elections) the church aired its concern again over Kaunda's spirituality because of his connections with gurus from India. His interest in Indian spirituality drove him to develop links with Dr. M. A. Ranganathan and together they erected a temple called David Universal Temple on State House grounds. Gifford quotes a national paper branding this venture as 'demonic and blasphemous'.⁷⁸ Kaunda also collaborated with the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi in a project that was meant to make Zambia 'heaven on earth' through a television programme that was aired a few days before the elections in 1991.⁷⁹ A number of PC Pastors with others (including Anglicans) denounced this as 'demonic' because Kaunda had banned the further registration of Christian churches at that time.⁸⁰ Bishop Danny Pule, a Pentecostal preacher who would later hold a ministerial position as Assistant Minister of Finance in Chiluba's government, called on all Christians to 'pray sincerely for a peaceful transition and demolish all demonic strongholds by divine power'. He accused other presidential and parliamentary candidates of 'relying on the occult to win the elections'.⁸¹ This church-state antagonism in relation to spirituality persisted until the end of Kaunda's tenure.⁸² As Kaunda's popularity among religious leaders continued to wane (as President of the opposition party)

⁷⁸Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics*, 155; Gifford, *African Christianity*, 191, quoting *The National Mirror*, 28/10/91, 5 and 6-13/10/91, 4.

⁷⁹ Jowie Mwinga, Chris Chitanda and Dingi Chirwa, 'Heaven on Earth Angels Arrive,' *The Weekly Post*, September 13-19, 1991, 1. Bishop John Mambo who was known as the outspoken overseer of the Church of God in Zambia faced deportation by Kaunda due to his negative stance on the Heaven on Earth Project. Bishop Mambo was born and raised in Zambia. However, because his mother was South African, President Kaunda deported him to a country he had never lived in as he saw him as threat. This was a hypocritical move because Kaunda, too, had parents with Malawian heritage. Kondwani Chirambo, 'Bishop Mambo Deported,' *Times of Zambia*, October 24, 1991, 1.

⁸⁰ The Anglican Church deemed their practices unorthodox because they taught transcendental medicine which was not in line with Christianity. Jowie Mwinga, 'Heavenly Project Faces Public Resistance,' *The Weekly Post*, September 20-26, 1991, 11. As the Chiluba era dawned, the Maharishi left the country. According to a newspaper article, 'had the Maharishi heaven on earth project taken off in Zambia, the people would have been subjected to untold psychological colonialism and misery by the Gurus through medical treatment'. Chris Chitanda, 'Heaven on Earth Flee New Era, The Weekly Post, November 8-14, 1991, 9.

⁸¹ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 191, quoting *The Times of Zambia*, 17/10/1991, 1.

⁸² Jowie Mwinga, 'Heavenly Project Faces Public Resistance,' *The Weekly Post*, September 20-26, 11.

Chiluba's reputation soared because of this negative publicity. Due to a number of outbursts on national television and religious gatherings against religious leaders whom he believed were threatening national cohesion by their negative responses, Kaunda continued to lose power. People had become discontented with his regime and were ready for change. At this time, PCs still did not have a high profile on socio-political issues. Their voice was not bold enough to independently speak out on issues of national social justice. What PCs knew how to do was to pray and look to the second coming as a time when God would deliver his church. This world was not their home after all. This attitude had both positive and negative connotations.



Plate 7 Pastor Danny Pule at Dunamis Christian Centre, Lusaka 2011

3.6 Church Development Projects in 1972

Drawing on a report published in 1972 for the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation, although not all PC churches active at that time are included, it is possible to gain an indication of their level of civic engagement through social ministries as shown in the table in appendix 4.⁸³

Whilst this table does not include all of the Pentecostal churches present in Zambia at that time it provides an indication of the level of civic engagement or number and type of social ministries amongst PCs in Zambia during this period. In terms of developmental programmes, it is evident that 70% of the Pentecostal churches in this analysis did not engage in development programs. The key exceptions were the African Gospel Church, Apostolic Faith Church, Apostolic Church, Apostolic Faith Mission, Pentecostal Assembly of God and Pentecostal Holiness Church. The most common developmental programmes were women's clubs. Whilst a description of the activities of women's clubs is not provided, it can be assumed that they involved sewing, cooking and general women's fellowships. Apostolic Faith Mission appears to have provided more programmes that included training young farmers, literacy and nutrition classes for the community as well as pastors-in-training at their Kasupe mission station. With an approximate number of 4,700 people attending their churches as well as the financial support they had from their headquarters in South Africa, (as mentioned in chapter two) they possessed an advantage over other smaller churches that had fewer numbers without any external support.

⁸³ C. Woodhall in 1972 compiled a churches and development directory through the Mindolo, outlining some of the different churches active in Zambia at that time. The information is limited and Woodhall did appeal for more information from other churches not mentioned in his booklet. This compilation included approximate numbers of church attendance, developmental programmes owned by each church and towns where the different branches of these churches were situated. C. Woodhall, *Churches and Development Directory for Zambia* (Kitwe: Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation, 1971), 6-21.

3.7 An Evaluation of Pentecostal/Charismatic Minimal Civic Engagement in the Kaunda Era

A number of factors need to be considered in order to provide a better understanding of the reasons for poor engagement in social ministries by PCs during Kaunda's tenure compared to mainline churches. These include the fact that their growth was slow, their beliefs and practices privileged proselytizing over civic engagement, their apolitical attitude and their focus on the imminent return of Christ. Furthermore, the fact that PC support came mainly from people on the margins of society and their lack of engagement in interreligious relations led to isolation.

3.7.1 Stunted Growth

In comparison with mainline churches Pentecostal churches, were small in number. It was not until the 1980s that they experienced significant growth. Between the mid-1940s when the first Pentecostal group came to Zambia until the 1980s their growth was gradual and part of the reason for this can be attributed to the number of splits that occurred in some of the churches. For example, in the 1970s the Apostolic Faith and Acts Church experienced a number of splits due to issues relating to leadership as well as doctrinal disagreements.⁸⁴ These splits continued among the churches that had split from the main church. In the case of the PAOGZ, Chalwe attributes its slow growth to 'poor discipleship programmes and their overemphasis on personal trust in God and explaining all human tragedies as lack of faith'. He also speaks of disunity which resulted in unnecessary splits. In the eyes of those that were neither Pentecostal nor Charismatic, their lack of understanding of the mission of PAOGZ led them to view this church as 'a collection of fanatical,

⁸⁴ From Apostolic Faith and Acts Church came Apostolic Born-Again Church, Apostolic Faith Key Hole for Heaven, Apostolic Faith Holy Gospel Church and Apostolic Faith Star Church. An Oral history interview with Bishop Weluzani Jere, Bishop of Community for Jesus First Mission Church in Luanshya on 16/08/10. He was a long serving minister in the Apostolic Faith and Acts Church.

uneducated and antisocial elements who were bent on providing low cost solutions for socially desperate people'.⁸⁵ Such issues inhibited the growth of the movement. Low numerical growth meant that it was almost impossible to have a considerable impact on the community. PC representation was minimal in a religious market dominated by Catholics and established Protestant churches.

3.7.2 Beliefs and practices:

3.7.2.1 Apolitical attitudes: Amos Yong's Three-Point Broad Analysis of Apolitical Pentecostalism

Based on the numerous interviews conducted with Pentecostal leaders, it is evident that their initial beliefs and practices inhibited social action. Early Pentecostal beliefs embedded in Classical Pentecostalism shunned the kind of social action exhibited by other mainline churches like lobbying for 'social justice and against inequities in the political structures'.⁸⁶ More effort was invested in evangelistic tasks. Prayer was the means used to address issues of social concern. Amos Yong attributes the apolitical character of Pentecostalism to a too restrictive definition of what it means to be political.⁸⁷ Yong argues that by restricting the use of the term to talk about the left or the right in politics ignores much of the contribution that Pentecostals make in civil society. He calls this approach 'counter-political'.⁸⁸ If the narrow view of political thought remains, then Pentecostals are considered apolitical, and this he summarizes as coming from three main lines of thought.

⁸⁵ Chalwe, 'An Evaluation of the Mission History,' 40.

⁸⁶ Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 187.

⁸⁷ Amos Yong, *In the Days of Caesar: Pentecostalism and Political Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 4.

⁸⁸ Ibid, 4.

(1) Those Influenced by the Modernist-Fundamental Debate in America.⁸⁹

This debate produced a literalist reading of certain Biblical passages like Jesus' saying in John 18:36, '*my kingdom is not of this world*'. As a result, Pentecostals have remained a movement focused on a coming kingdom. This literalist view has often been read in line with a dispensationalist hermeneutic and theology, which has further separated 'secular and redemptive' histories.⁹⁰ Also in the dispensationalist view, the destruction of the world is imminent so involvement in politics has been neglected because winning human souls is more important (Mark 8:36).

Pentecostals influenced by this view have emphasized mission and evangelism over political engagement. This mind-set also suggests that social conditions will get worse before they get better and that it is only Jesus who can save the world. Therefore, churches should not be drawn into partisan politics, but should represent the mouthpiece of God, speaking out against injustice and oppression.⁹¹ Such thinking has also engendered a mistrust of political thinking and agencies.⁹²

(2) The Disenfranchised

Yong's second line of thinking suggests that this way of viewing religion is often most widely accepted by the disenfranchised. This idea was initially proposed by C. L. D'epinay (1969) and R. M. Anderson (1979).⁹³ They claimed that in poor areas, socio-economic survival is of primary

⁸⁹ Ibid, 5.

⁹⁰ See Helen Lee and James Guth, 'The Politics of Armageddon: Dispensationalism Among Southern Baptist Minister', in *Religion and Political Behavior in the United States*, T. G. Jelen. (New York: Praeger, 1989), 187-208.

⁹¹ Anderson & Otwang, *Tumelo: The Faith of African Pentecostals in South Africa* (Pretoria: University of South Africa, 1993), 61.

⁹² Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 5.

⁹³ C. L. D'epinay, *Haven of the Masses: A study of the Pentecostal Movement in Chile* (London: Lutterworth, 1969); R. M. Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (Oxford: Oxford University

importance and much less interest is placed in politics or voting. These people live from day to day and survival is paramount. Yong suggests that for many of these people personal piety is very important because God's displeasure is felt on a national level if there is sin. Therefore it is important for the believer to stress personal piety in order to ensure God's blessing and forego his judgment. Therefore, personal and public moralities go before political policy.⁹⁴ On the other hand, being poor restricts access to the power seats. Therefore, apolitical attitudes may be linked to having no access in the first place. 'Socio-economic and political marginalization thus translates into political non-involvement'.⁹⁵

(3) The Link Between Pentecostal Spirituality and Political Quiescence

Yong's third broad category of reasons given for political non-involvement suggests a possible link between Pentecostal spirituality and political quiescence. Longitudinal studies in Guatemala have shown a link between those experiencing charismatic manifestations and non-involvement in voting or lobbying. This is true of all people expressing a charismatic spirituality, whether Charismatic, Pentecostal or Roman Catholic.⁹⁶ So it appears as if those moved by this form of spirituality are just less politically engaged. I suggest that this is probably due to a combination of the two former points. Yong's ideas can be related to the apolitical attitudes of Pentecostals during

Press, 1979). Yong does recognize that these theories are open to question, but accepts that many Pentecostals do come from these poor backgrounds.

⁹⁴ On this view see W. Thompson, *Charismatic Policies: The Social and Political Impact of Renewal in Charismatic Christianity: Sociological Perspective*, S. Hunt, M. Hamilton & T. Walter. (London: Macmillan, St. Martin's Press, 1997) 160-83; R. A. Chesnut, *Born Again in Brazil: The Pentecostal Boom and the Pathogens of Poverty* (London: Rutgers University Press, 1997) has argued that the manner in which Pentecostals have coped with poverty draws them away from political involvement, as instead of policies or programmes which have helped save the people, it is the communal turn which has helped people to survive, and it is not politics which save, but community. Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 6.

⁹⁵ Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 7.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 7.

the Kaunda era. In Zambia apolitical attitudes among Pentecostals and Charismatics began to mellow in the latter part of the Kaunda era. In the next chapter I will explore how Pentecostals adopted a greater level of political engagement and how the dawn of Chiluba contributed to that shift.

3.7.2.2 Focus on the imminent return of Christ

Moving on from Yong's three point analysis of apolitical Pentecostalism and considering Allan Anderson's account of Pentecostalism originating in multiple Jerusalems,⁹⁷ we can see that the Pentecostal emphasis on proselytising and baptism of the Holy Spirit was a global phenomenon. After this endowment of *pneuma* the new converts were called to replicate their experience to prepare as many people as possible for the second coming. Early Pentecostalism in Zambia witnessed the same experiences. This world was 'not their home' as some of the songs they sang emphasised. They were not here on earth to build mansions, gain riches or to be involved in matters that did not relate to the Kingdom of God because they were heaven bound. This kind of attitude led them to seclude themselves from people of other denominations due to misunderstandings, and antagonistic relationships. Civic engagement and its theological justification as in other churches was not common. Whatever was done in their churches was intended to be salvific (salvation encompassing being born-again, receiving healing, speaking in tongues and deliverance from demons or ancestral curses).

The early preachers in the Pentecostal churches only preached individual salvation and made no social comment. Even after seventy years of Pentecostal Christianity in Zambia, churches like the

⁹⁷ Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC) have not engaged in the development of any major social projects. Abraham Chikasa, project development manager at Christian Council of Zambia says

In some of our personal experiences, we [people belonging to mainline churches] were labeled as being non-Christian for simply being in the mainline churches and engaging in social projects despite having accepted Christ as our personal savior in our respective churches. We were deemed 'non-spirit filled.' When we attended Pentecostal gatherings, all meetings we went to were prayer meetings, crusades, overnights etc, and never any workshop or discussion on social issues. This would have been considered as worldly. This was in the early 1980s.⁹⁸

3.7.2.3 Kaunda's Socialism

Kaunda's socialist ideology drove him to provide a platform for free health and education for the nation and all primary schools were nationalised.⁹⁹ During that period, a Pentecostal church was founded in Zambia with a mission that was different from that of the other Pentecostal churches. In the mid-1970s the Danish Apostolic Church under the leadership of John and Peder Peterson came to Luanshya on the Copperbelt. Contrary to the mission of other Pentecostal churches their mission was to focus on education.¹⁰⁰ Whereas other Pentecostals appeared to have focussed on capturing the youth and empowering them for evangelism and ministry, the Danish Apostolic Church was more interested in educating these young people. They did this by going into schools not solely for the purpose of evangelism but to supply books and various materials to aid education. When this cause did not find much success, they established what is now called Kaniki Bible College in Ndola.

⁹⁸ Interview with Abraham Chikasa, Project Manager at Christian Council of Zambia on 11/06/11.

⁹⁹Gifford, *African Christianity*, 189. However, in 1991 Chiluba privatized these institutions. There was probably fear that government would not allow any new church ventures i.e. schools which would counter his socialist ideals.

¹⁰⁰ This was connected to the Apostolic Church of Denmark.

3.7.2.4 The Desire to Live in Urban Areas

Early Pentecostal churches established themselves in mining towns rather than the remote areas that missionaries in mainline churches had stationed themselves when they entered Zambia.

Examples include early PAOGC missions, formerly known as Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC), whose flagship churches were in major mining towns. For example, Eastly Assemblies in Mufulira, Maranatha in Kitwe, Evangel Temple in Chingola, Peoples Church in Ndola, Northmead Assemblies of God in Lusaka, and Calvary Temple in Livingstone were all set up in upmarket areas of these towns. Part of the argument is that some of these churches were set up in urban areas because they were also targeting expatriate workers that came to work in the mines. Unfortunately in some of these churches, indigenous Africans were marginalized. For example, in Maranatha church, two benches were put at the back of the church for Africans to sit on whereas the front seats were reserved for whites. Reverend Scott Hunter, one of the first Canadian Pentecostal Leaders in Zambia, claimed that those two back benches were put there for blacks because the services targeted the whites.¹⁰¹ This justification of segregation partly explains why indigenous Zambians did not feel welcome.

3.7.2.5 Failure to Inculturate

The issue of the failure to inculturate also played a part in the minimal growth of some Pentecostal churches. An example can be drawn from Maranatha in Kitwe and Northmead Assemblies of God in Lusaka. These churches were intended to cater only for expatriate workers (in the case of the

¹⁰¹ Scott Hunter, *Zambia: Case Study*, unpublished paper, 2011. I do not think the man realized how racist that was because he didn't seem to express any concern with that. Interview with Chief Bishop Harrison Sakala, Overseer of the PAOGZ on 9/08/11.

Copperbelt, those that worked in the mines).¹⁰² Furthermore, the services were conducted in English thereby discouraging many Zambians who spoke *ici Bemba* (the main language spoken on the Copperbelt) from attending. This meant that there was no urgency to engage indigenous Zambians and to grow the churches because they were content to have regular services with middle class whites who may only have experienced very few socio-economic problems. This approach led to a failure to connect with the uneducated, indigenous people at grassroots level. In addition, when it came to the songs that were sung during services, the common early choruses were in English (e.g. ‘All over the world, the Spirit is moving.’) The main hymn book used was a red British hymnal containing 800 evangelical hymns called *Redemption Hymnal*. A few vernacular songs would be sung in the churches that were predominantly indigenous but even then, they were hardly sustained. These songs/hymnals were focused on redemption, the second coming, the Spirit, the end times, the power of the blood but rarely about the duty of love and care in the world.¹⁰³

3.7.2.6 Education and Health Institutions

The focus of early Pentecostal missionaries was not on teaching and health care but evangelism. Some of the leaders of African Independent Pentecostal churches had little or no formal education. What qualified them in Pentecostal standards was their ability to lead and evidence that they had been filled with the Holy Spirit, who empowered them to preach the gospel. When Bible schools were introduced, disagreements developed between those that did not go to Bible School and those that did because the latter felt superior to the former in relation to the way they engaged with

¹⁰² Bishop Harrison Sakala.

¹⁰³ Abraham Chikasa.

scripture.¹⁰⁴ Having very little education and a lack of resources hampered the ability of PC churches to develop social programmes during in this era.

It is fair to conclude that PC beliefs and practices, their lack of social teaching and minimal numbers contributed to this lack of development. As noted in the previous chapter, the Pentecostal movement began to grow more steadily during the 1980s but even then, they were still too numerically small to have a great impact on society. Such small congregations meant they may not have had the financial backing to support social programmes. It was in the 1990s that these changes began to occur. This will be explored from Chapter four onwards.

3.8 The Closing Years of Kaunda and Birth of a Democrat, Frederick Chiluba

A smooth transition to multi-party democracy was deemed to be one of the greatest contributions that the church made in the final months before the 1991 elections. All churches including PCs came together and formed the Zambia Elections Monitoring Coordinating Committee (ZEMCC), which was a Christian churches monitoring group. Its aims were to ‘train army soldiers on how to monitor elections in polling stations, provide voter education, offer guidelines on responsible voting, urge voters to avoid bribes, intimidation and disruption, to attend rallies so as to have informed choices about candidates and to cooperate fully with law enforcement agencies’.¹⁰⁵ Many religious leaders campaigned openly for Chiluba, especially PC churches. Gifford, however,

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Bishop Weluzani Jere, Bishop of Community for Jesus First Mission Church in Luanshya on 16/08/10. He was a long serving minister in the Apostolic Faith and Acts Church; Bishop Harrison Sakala; Bishop George Mbulo.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Zambia Elections Monitoring Co-coordinating Committee,’ *The Weekly Post*, October 4-10, 1991, 7. Gifford, *African Christianity*, 196.

makes reference to a Pentecostal Pastor, Sexton Chiluba of City Community Church, who was believed to have been campaigning for Kaunda.¹⁰⁶

Another example of the church contributing to this transition can be seen when the three umbrella bodies helped to avert what would have been a major political crisis. They intervened at a time when the opposition party, MMD, refused to attend a meeting initiated by President Kaunda to discuss contents of a newly drafted constitution called the Mvunga Draft Constitution.¹⁰⁷ The church helped the warring parties settle their differences and eventually both reconciled and worked peacefully.¹⁰⁸ Everyone took part directly or indirectly in the change that was to happen after Kaunda's twenty-seven years in office.¹⁰⁹ The trade unions, university and college students, the church and the general public all played a role in the 1991 elections. What is interesting is that even the once apolitical Pentecostals were equally involved, not necessarily because they had reshaped their beliefs towards civic engagement, but because there was a general sense of dissatisfaction with the Kaunda regime and a conviction that the country needed change. The questions that need to be asked are: Why the sudden political interest? What events led to their political interest to even go as far as publicly endorse Chiluba as a viable presidential candidate?

The issue surrounding the public role of religion especially among Pentecostals is a subject that has attracted global academic interest. Academics like T.O. Ranger, D. Miller and T.Yamamori, J. Gewald et al, and O. Kalu have attributed this to the explosion of these churches, corresponding

¹⁰⁶ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 197 quoting *Times of Zambia*, July 14, 1991.

¹⁰⁷ For more information on the Mvunga Draft Constitution see 'Summary of The Main Recommendations of the Constitution Commission of Inquiry together with the Government Reactions to The Recommendations 1991,' accessed November 19, 2013 <http://www.unza.zm/zamlil/mvunga-1991.html>.

¹⁰⁸ 'Church Averts Political Crisis,' *National Mirror*, August 4, 1991, 1-2; Paschalina Phiri, 'Bishop Mumba, Political Mediator,' *The Weekly Post*, August 2-8, 1991, 11;

¹⁰⁹ Robby Makayi, Chris Chitanda and Jowie Mwinga, 'Election Verdict: Kuyabebele Zwa, Farewell KK Hello Chiluba,' *The Weekly Post*, November 2-7, 1991, 1-3.

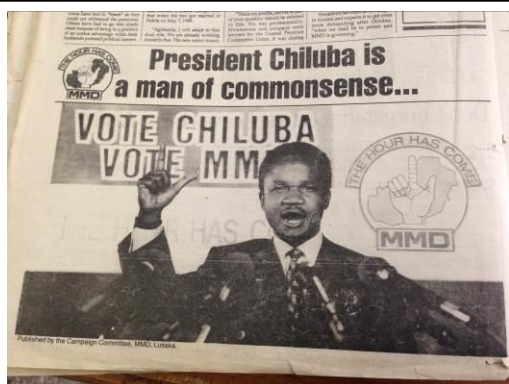
to or happening at the same time as the political developments that were taking place in Africa from the late 1980s. It was during the democratization and liberalization of African states that Pentecostals began to open up and actively take part in these political processes as well as addressing other matters of civic concern.¹¹⁰ This is what is demonstrated in the closing years of Kaunda, leading to the Chiluba era that will be analysed in the next chapter.

3.9 Conclusion

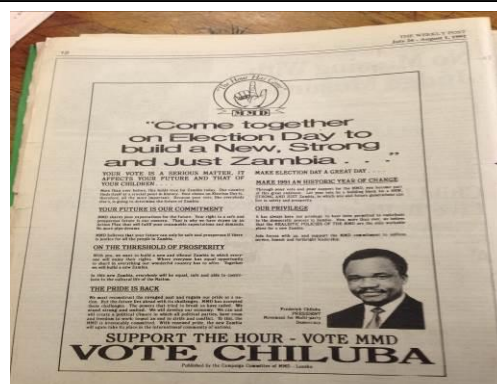
Between 1964 and 1991, the PC movement was still young and marginalised in comparison to other mainline churches. This had a negative effect on their ability to assert themselves and be recognised as a force. Their negative attitudes towards politics and engagement with civic affairs rooted in the Pentecostal history also had a negative impact on their ability to expand and contribute positively to their communities. The impact of the movement was more evident in the 1980s and early 1990s, in the closing years of Kaunda. A number of collaborative efforts were made between PCs and other church umbrella bodies to address various issues of public concern. However, as more PC Pastors begun to exercise their prophetic voice in the public domain, they opened up the movement to new and more positive attitudes towards civic engagement. This will be more evident in the next chapter which discusses when Chiluba, a self-acclaimed Pentecostal, became president for 10 years.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Terence O. Ranger (eds.), *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa. Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in the Global South*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism. The New Face of Christian Social Engagement*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2007; J. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola, *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia*, Leiden: Brill, 2008; Ogbu U. Kalu, *African Pentecostalism. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹¹¹ Robby Makayi, Chris Chitanda and Jowie Mwinga, 'Election verdict: Kuyabelele Zwa- Farewell KK,' *The Weekly Post*, November 2-7, 1991, 1-3.

Newspaper Articles.¹¹²

Newspaper Advertising Chiluba as
Presidential Candidate - 1991



Newspaper Advertising Chiluba as
Presidential Candidate - 1991



Plate 8 Chiluba Wins the 1991 Elections

¹¹² *The Weekly Post*, September 13-19, 1991, 5; *The Weekly Post*, July 26 – August 1, 1991, 12; Robby Makayi, Chris Chitanda and Jowie Mwiinga, 'Farewell KK! Hello Chiluba,' *The Weekly Post*, November 2-7, 1991, 1.

Chapter 4. ‘The Hour Has Come!’ Born-Again Christians and Their Influence in Democratic Zambia 1991-2001

4.1 Introduction

‘The hour has come!’ was the slogan of President Chiluba’s Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD). The phrase was intended to signal that the hour had come for change in Zambia, a country that had been under one party rule for twenty seven years. This chapter will focus on the socio-political and economic role that Pentecostal and Charismatic (PC) born-again Christians played during the ten years when Frederick Chiluba was President (1991-2001). Chiluba was a born-again Christian and during his tenure declared Zambia a Christian nation, whereupon Zambian PC churches grew dramatically. Born-again Christians were no longer absent from political matters and for the first time in Zambia’s political history, PCs including Pastor Danny Pule, Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda, Henry Kristafor and Ernest Mwansa played a key role in political affairs. The aim of this chapter is to evaluate the life of Chiluba, paying particular attention to his ten-year tenure as President of Zambia. This chapter will also detail examples of occasions when those that labelled themselves born-again Christians took part in political action and processes directly and indirectly (through prayer and spiritual practices).

4.1.1 Frederick Chiluba

Frederick Chiluba is crucial to this study as he was the first and so far the only President of Zambia who associated himself with the PC movement, thereby making an excellent point of reference for the presence of PC Christians in politics. He was very open about his spirituality and regarded himself a born-again Christian. The social, spiritual and political contexts of his beliefs will be explored in order to reveal the influence these had on his political agenda. This will enable an understanding of his commitment to leading a nation that pleased God, the

motivation behind his declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation and why he gave the church (especially PC churches) tremendous support. In addition, key events and individuals will be highlighted in order to draw out how born-again Christians participated in matters of civic concern, in this case politics and political processes (having come from an apolitical stance (soul-craft) in their past history). With regards to civic engagement, Anderson states, 'Pentecostals have not always felt comfortable with relating to the wider society, but this is something that is gradually changing. They have been accused of a spirituality that withdraws from worldly issues like politics and the struggle for liberation and justice and of proclaiming a gospel that spiritualizes or individualises social issues'.¹ (This accusation is however, based on a definition of the 'political' (statecraft) that they might not accept.) Nevertheless, an example that fits Anderson's claim can be seen in the way that Zambia's poor economy was blamed on the works of the Devil, rather than on the poor performance of government officials and widespread corruption. Similarly, Chiluba, aware of the growing corruption scandals in the country stated, 'what the people need is the word of the Lord, then there shall be no corruption'.² In relation to PCs' civic engagement, Olsen speaks of a 'lack of consistency in their actions and rather serving as watchdogs in promoting justice on a variety of topics,' as opposed to mainline churches.³ Similarly, David Martin, based on his analysis of John Burdick's observations of Pentecostals in Brazil,⁴ speaks of their minimal presence in social movements despite the fact that their faith

¹ Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 261. In response to this, I would argue that there was no politics in traditional Zambian society because people did not struggle for liberation and justice or for voting as defined in the West or by the mainline churches. Given the spiritual-magico substratum of African politics, the use of the symbolic language of the devil might actually be political.

² Austin Cheyeka, 'Concept of Zambia as a Christian Nation,' *African Ecclesial Review* 170, quoting Chiluba on a ZNBC Television program 'This is Your Day,' 26 October 1995.

³ Ted Olsen. 'One Nation Under God,' *Christianity Today* 46, 2, February 4, 2004, 41.

⁴ John Burdick, *Looking to God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Brazil's Religious Arena* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

encourages ‘empowerment and participation in such’.⁵ In a country like Zambia where PC leaders have been known to speak with a fragmented voice at the cost of direct and open challenges to government, it may not be appropriate to be too cynical since many PC pastors may not have had the level of backing and authority enjoyed by clergy from other mainline churches. Therefore, PCs have tended to focus on issues of morality rather than more challenging national and global problems like poor public health and education, corruption, and human rights violations. They have also been known to champion prayer and ‘religious imperatives such as brotherhood, love, caring, peacefulness and forgiveness as compatible’ with other forms of civic engagement.⁶ Though the spiritualization of social ills and injustices still exists, and will for some time, a gradual shift from this mind-set has continued to develop in Zambia, more so since the Chiluba era. For this reason, the rest of this thesis will demonstrate how this gradual shift happened by providing information on the various social ministries and patterns of political engagement that PCs have developed. Chalwe, the current principal of Trans-Africa Theological College, a PAOGZ Bible college, attributes this to born-again Christians, who now see the lack of socio-political involvement as disobedience to God. He recommends that the involvement in socio-political tasks should continue to inform the church’s work in Zambia especially among born-again churches.⁷ Chalwe also relates acknowledges this shift to the ‘social dimension being added to the PC evangelistic thrust,’ as a catalyst for further civic engagement.⁸

4.2 The Return to Democracy

⁵ David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 89.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Adriano Chalwe, ‘An Evaluation of the Mission History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia’ (PhD diss., North-West University, 2008), 119.

⁸ Ibid, 40.

In 1991, after 27 years of a socialist one-party political system under Kaunda, Zambia finally reached out to a multi-party democracy under Frederick Chiluba. Chiluba won the elections by a landslide with 76% of the vote.⁹ Zambia had become a democratic state at a point when the political system and economy had steadily declined to near collapse.¹⁰ Chiluba had previously been the president of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) where he had been hailed for developing a strong labour movement that widely promoted the rights of workers in Zambia.¹¹ Now he was 'renowned as architect of Zambia's democratic dispensation,'¹² hailed as the 'black Moses, liberator and illustrious son of Africa by his followers',¹³ and 'God's instrument in the eyes of many'.¹⁴ Bishop Imakando while addressing a host of mainly evangelical and charismatic leaders at State House in 1992 stated, acts of unrighteousness, wickedness, oppression, injustices and idolatry, corruption, witchcraft and occult practices were evidence that Zambia had turned away from God. He expressed his belief that God had raised a Bible believing and born-again leader as a sign of hope for Zambia.¹⁵

4.2.1 Chiluba as Black Moses

⁹ Isaac Phiri, 'Why African Churches Preach Politics: The case of Zambia,' *Journal of Church and State*, 41 (1999): 348; John M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era*, (Lusaka: Multimedia Press, 1994), 228.

¹⁰ According to a newspaper article written at the start of Chiluba's era, 'Chiluba has to face the reality of being in charge of a bankrupt economy and a very expectant population. The economic outlook of Zambia is grim. Inflation is unacceptably high, the economic growth rate is negative, commercial and industrial enterprises are grinding to a halt and the national treasury is empty with hospitals becoming hostels for the dying'. Gilbert Mudenda 'Third Republic Needs to Revamp the Economy,' November 2-7, 1991, 9; 'IMF-Zambia's Sick Economy,' *The Weekly Post*, November 29- December 5, 1991; 'Will MMD Live up To People's Expectations Having Inherited \$7 Billion in Debt and Derailed Economic Recovery Program?' *National Mirror*, November 4-10, 1991, 1.

¹¹ Rupiah Banda, 'MUVI TV- RB Praises ex-President President Chiluba,' accessed June 18, 2011 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MPA_AZFYJ-0&feature=relmfu; Brian Haapunda, 'Zambia Mourns ex-President Chiluba,' accessed June 18, 2011 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aPPUenpdZiA&feature=related>.

¹² 'MUVI TV- Chiluba's burial report,' (19/06/11) accessed April 2, 2012 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=endscreen&NR=1&v=fNXFsAIAJ8c>; 'Will MMD Live,' 1.

¹³ Interview showcasing Bishop Sky Banda on Christian Vision Video, 1993; 'Chiluba Passes on,' (18/06/11) accessed April 2, 2012 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHLUbVYVz_E; Patson Chilemba and Chubaula Silwamba, 'Rupiah Explains Chiluba's Acquittal,' *The Post* June 28, 2011, 4.

¹⁴ 'Zambia Declared Christian Nation,' *Africoscope*, 1992, 10 in 'One Nation Under God,' Olsen, 43.

¹⁵ Lawrence Temfwe, 'An Analysis of the Role of The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia in The Declaration of Zambia As A Christian Nation' (M.A Dissertation., Wheaton College, Illinois, 1999).

Chiluba saw himself as a Biblical Moses (leading Zambians out of Egypt) and a political leader like Joshua in the Bible.¹⁶ Some accounts claim that he had received a number of prophecies where he was told that God had confirmed that he would be the next President of Zambia. One prophecy was expressed by two born-again ladies, Adeline and Faye who came to Zambia in 1989 on a mission trip from Jamaica. Having failed to make it clear to immigration officers the purpose of their visit (claiming God sent them), they were going to be sent back. While waiting in the departure lounge, someone told Mrs N'gambi (a Zambia Airways air hostess trainer and well known born-again Christian, married to a Pentecostal Pastor) about the ladies. She came to meet them and decided to be their host. They resided with the N'gambi's for some time while evangelising in Lusaka's shanty compounds. They later went to the Copperbelt where one day they claimed that God directed them to Chiluba's family home. It was there that they told him he was going to be a great leader of the nation.¹⁷ Adeline and Faye returned to Bishop N'gambi's residence in July of the same year and spoke about the proclamation of Zambia as a Christian nation.

Faye and Adeline left Zambia and sometime later, Mrs N'gambi received news from Mrs Avliaklis (another born-again Christian) that Chiluba had been chosen as MMD party President. As soon as that happened, the two ladies went where Chiluba was having a meeting and anointed him. Bishop Chihana, who became a big supporter of Chiluba also claimed to have sat on the same flight as Chiluba in 1989 on his way to Ndola to see his family.

When I sat down, the Lord told me that he would be the next president of Zambia. I got up immediately and went to him and said, sir, this is my name and I told him the message. (There was no MMD yet.) He shook my hand and said thank you. Even before he became president, he looked for me. We

¹⁶Cheyeka, 'Concept of Zambia,' 179.

¹⁷ Interview with Bishop Edgar N'gambi, senior Pastor and founder of Praise Christian Centre on 18/08/11.

became friends, he came for prayer and we began interceding in different homes with Miyanda, the late Watemwa and his wife, Musuka, Reverend Abedego Mwamba and Bishop Chelelwa. We would privately have overnight prayer meetings without letting people know. When he became president, there was an anointing service at the Cathedral. The man that sat behind Chiluba was me, he didn't have a body guard then.¹⁸

Many other pastors also supported him. Similarly Phiri speaks of a Swedish woman who prophesied to him that he would be the leader of his nation in the 1980s while at a Christian meeting. In 1989, Mbita Kabalika, a cousin of Chiluba living in the United Kingdom at that time, is believed to have had the same vision.¹⁹

4.2.2 Chiluba's Economic Reforms

The first five years of Chiluba's Presidency were accompanied by major national economic and political restructuring. He emphasised the fact that it takes institutions as well as the will and determination of the people to bring about such change. Most importantly, he stressed the importance of the rule of law as the foundation for individual success and the transformation of political structures and institutions (unlike Kaunda, whom Chiluba considered had conducted himself as though he *were* the law).²⁰ However, despite his earlier efforts to champion civil and political rights (which earned Zambia a reputation as a model of democracy), Chiluba gradually began to adopt Kaunda's methods of suppressing the opposition. During his final years in office Chiluba earned a reputation for being a corrupt leader.

¹⁸ Interview with Reverend Simon Chihana, President of International Fellowship of Christian Churches (IFCC), another recent church umbrella body with over 1000 church leaders on 15/08/11.

¹⁹ Isabel Apawo, Phiri, 'President Frederick J. T. Chiluba of Zambia: The Christian Nation and Democracy.' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33.4 (2003): 406.

²⁰ His speeches were collected in Richard Sakala (ed), *Beyond Political Rhetoric: Balancing Political and Economic Reforms* (Lusaka: ZPC Publications, 998).

4.3 Pentecostal and Charismatic contributions to Electoral Processes (1991): Zambia Elections Monitoring and Coordinating Committee ZEMCC

The church played a very significant role in the return to multi-party democracy in Zambia. Former U.S President Jimmy Carter, having taken an active part in Zambia's 1991 presidential elections commended 'Zambia as a good case point of a country in which the churches carried the trust of the people and made a decisive contribution to the re-establishment of democracy.'²¹ One of the ways in which PC churches contributed to the elections was through the formation of the Zambia Elections Monitoring Co-ordinating Committee (ZEMCC). ZEMCC was formed after six civic organizations broke away from the Zambia Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT), which comprised organizations and civic leaders interested in non-partisan monitoring of the elections.²² ZIMT had been registered in July 1991 and two months later the group disbanded due to misunderstandings among leadership and formed ZEMCC in September 1991 (a month before the elections).²³ ZEMCC was initiated as a result of requests from politicians 'who sought the intervention and assistance of neutral men and women in an effort to help monitor the elections and to ensure that they were free and fair'.²⁴ A number of 'churchmen' were appointed to lead this organization.²⁵ Joseph Imakando who was then Executive Director of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia was chosen to be the secretary. It is recorded that '3500 ministers and lay people were trained to help monitor elections in all regions of the country'.²⁶ It achieved its aims by training army officers to provide voter education and observe procedures at

²¹ Phiri, 'Why African Churches Preach Politics,' 323.

²²The organizations included The Christian Churches Monitoring Group (EFZ, CCZ and ZEC), the Law Association of Zambia, the National Women's Lobby Group, the Press Association of Zambia, the University of Zambia Students' Union and the NGO Coordinating Committee.

²³ E. Bjournlund, M. Bratton and C. Gibson. 'Observing Multi-party Elections in Africa: Lessons from Zambia,' *African Affairs* 91 (1992):408.

²⁴ Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era*, 252.

²⁵ Bjournlund, Bratton and Gibson. 'Observing Multi-party Elections,' 409.

²⁶ Phiri, 'Why African Churches Preach Politics,' 343.

polling stations.²⁷ Above all, they urged people to pray on the Sunday preceding the elections'.²⁸ There were major concerns with the election date of 31st October: the day when Halloween is celebrated. This prompted Pentecostal and evangelical leaders to pray against powers of darkness that would potentially interfere with the elections.²⁹ Another major contribution that the Pentecostals made was to offer to host the first ZEMCC office at the Apostolic Faith Mission Headquarters (AFM) in Longacres, Lusaka.³⁰ (At that time, Reverend Foston Sakala (from the Reformed Church of Zambia (RCZ)) was the Chairman for ZEMCC.³¹) During the elections, the AFM premises were also used as a centre by former US president Jimmy Carter, who was especially invited by President Kaunda to monitor elections.³² The transmitters used to monitor, as well as transmit information on elections nationally and internationally during that time, were erected there and AFM church members were recruited to help with data collection. ZEMCC subsequently declared the elections free and fair, as did international observers.³³ This form of political engagement by ZEMCC demonstrates the power of human capital. Coleman deems human capital as 'created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them act in new ways.'³⁴ Human capital's success can be

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Paul Gifford, 'Chiluba's Christian Nation: Christianity as a Factor in Zambian Politics 1991-1996,' *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 13, 3 (1998): 366; Bjournlund, Bratton and Gibson. 'Observing Multi-party Elections,' 41-413.

²⁹ Temfwe, 'An Analysis,' 42.

³⁰ Interview with Bishop Mark Musonda on 25/08/10. He is former Presiding Bishop of Apostolic Faith Mission in Zambia. In 2006 he was elected as International General Secretary for AFM international and served until 2009.

³¹ For an in-depth analysis of the role that ZEMCC played see Bjournlund, Bratton and Gibson. 'Observing Multi-party Elections in Africa,' 405-431.

³² He accepted this invitation on 'behalf of the Carter Centre of Emory University and the US-based National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI).' Bjournlund, Bratton and Gibson. 'Observing Multiparty Elections in Africa,' 409. Other international and African groups invited according to E. Bjournlund, M. Bratton and C. Gibson included the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Organization for African Unity, several government and regional private organizations, the American Federation of Labour–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (South Africa), the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Law Society of England, the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre (Zimbabwe).

³³ Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era*, 253.

³⁴ J. C. Coleman, 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital,' *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988): 100.

linked to social capital. This is because it takes social networks, accompanied by trustworthiness, communication, coordination and generalised reciprocity to successful work towards a common good.³⁵ This form of social capital was equally demonstrated when church organizations came together to oppose Chiluba's third-term bid as discussed later in this chapter.

4.4 Frederick Chiluba: A Democrat and 'Born-Again' President

PCs saw Chiluba's ascendancy to power as miraculous because the man that was now holding the highest office in the nation was a 'born-again' Christian. His ascendancy to presidency was initially met with euphoria but in time, the excitement died down because many born-again and other Christians began to reflect on the direction the country was taking, as well as questioning certain occurrences they thought did not reflect Chiluba's declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. Central to this disillusion was the rise in 'corruption, drug smuggling and human rights abuses among high level ministers and officials'.³⁶ Furthermore, as the economy continued to struggle and corruption became characteristic of Chiluba's government, Christians became divided. While some were bold (especially the Roman Catholics) and openly condemned the current state of affairs, others refrained from speaking up against a man who was believed to be God-sent.³⁷ Therefore, those that spoke against him would have been seen as speaking against a 'God-ordained government'.³⁸ This is the challenge that accompanies leaders who are seen as a

³⁵ Robert D. Putnam, 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital,' *Journal of Democracy* 6.1 (1995): 66.

³⁶ Cheyeka, 'Concept,' quoting *Times of Zambia*, May 22, 1992; Masautso Phiri, 'FTJ Should Resign,' *The Post*, December 13, 1996, 2.

³⁷ Speaking at the 32nd EFZ Annual General Meeting, Chiluba saw those that spoke out against his government as backing Pseudo Marxism. He said he expected the church to support him instead. This was after then EFZ Chairman George Schultz 'advised the government to look into the plight of the people as poverty, corruption and the economic situation had brought suffering and the decline of the Kwacha'. Chilombo Mwendela, 'FTJ Accuses the Church of Backing Pseudo Marxism,' *The Post*, April 24, 1996, 2.

³⁸ Odhiambo Okite, 'Church Leaders Publicly Oppose Third Term for Christian President,' *Christianity Today* 45,6, April 23, 2001, 26.

providential gift because, hailing a political leader in this way can inhibit the prophetic voice of the church. The silencing of this voice can lead to the abuse of power in the name of God.

What follows is a short biography of Chiluba.³⁹ Whilst the story of his Presidency will be explored,⁴⁰ the following questions will be asked about the political presence of born-again Christians during the Chiluba era:

- What impact did the correlation between Chiluba's agenda and his personal beliefs have on the explosion of Pentecostalism in Zambia?
- What impact did the presence of Pentecostal pastors in government have on the body of Pentecostal Christians?
- What role did the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia play during the Chiluba era?
- To what extent did the Christian government apply biblical principles in order to address issues of civil society?

4.4.1 Childhood, Social Contexts, Education and Early Career

Frederick Jacob Titus Chiluba was born on 30th April 1943 to Diana Kaimbu and Jacob Nkombe. He was the twin that survived after his brother died at childbirth and hence named *Mpundu*, a name given to twins in Bemba. His primary education was in Luapula Province and part of his secondary education was in Kawambwa. From Northern Zambia he moved to the Copperbelt Province. Chiluba lived the early part of his life with his grandmother, after which he moved to

³⁹ Chiluba's biography is important because it provides the reader with a context against which to read his Presidency. The story of PC Christianity in Zambia would be incomplete without the mention of Chiluba. As the chapter unfolds, it will be made clear why he is an important character in the story of PC Christianity in Zambia in the late 20th century.

⁴⁰ Interview with Emmanuel Mwamba, Administrative Assistant and Chiluba's official Spokesperson on 12/11/09. Mwamba was sent to meet me instead when Chiluba cancelled the appointment we had as he has to attend a court case that came up the week of the interview. He is the one that narrated most of Chiluba's story.

Mufulira in the 1950s to do odd jobs that would enable him to finish school. It was at this time that it is believed that he became a bus conductor. For a period of seven years he moved to Tanzania (then known as Tanganyika) and worked at a sisal plant. When he returned to Zambia he secured employment at Atlas Copco in 1966.⁴¹ This was a Swedish company that supplied mining equipment. He accepted an internship as an accounts clerk and during that time he enrolled in school to complete his secondary school qualification, while studying book keeping as a professional at the same time. Chiluba was found to have an excellent work ethic and gained favour in the eyes of his employers. He was promoted to Assistant Accountant and by the time he left in 1991 to run for political office, he had risen to the level of Credit Manager.⁴²

4.4.2 The Trade Union

Atlas Copco was an engineering firm owned by the state and all workers were required to belong to the National Union of Builders, Engineers and General Workers (NUBEGW), to which Chiluba also belonged. Chiluba became Chairman of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) and was instrumental in fighting for the improvement of the conditions of workers. It was during this time that he began his political career. In 1973 he became leader of all affiliated unions in the country, a position he held for seventeen years. He became politically enlightened and received international exposure by virtue of his position. He chaired various committees for world unions for 8-10 years. ZCTU was affiliated to UNIP. Its meetings were attended by UNIP board members and President Kaunda would occasionally be present. Chiluba became increasingly vocal, challenging the state on matters pertaining to the rights of workers. As a

⁴¹ Hara and Mweemba, 'Ode to Dr. Frederick,' 19.

⁴² Emmanuel Mwamba.

result of his criticism he began to experience political harassment and was increasingly regarded with suspicion, leading to his imprisonment in the early 1980s.⁴³

Newspaper Cartoons⁴⁴



Newspaper Cartoon Depicting Zambia's Economy at the Start and the End of the Kaunda Era



Plate 9 Newspaper Cartoons Depicting the State of the Economy During the Chiluba Era

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Abraham Nyirongo, 'Fist 3rd Republic Budget vs. MMD Campaign Promises', *The Weekly Post*, November 8-16, 15; Neo Simutanyi, 'This Week in Politics,' November 29-December 5, 1991, 4; *The Weekly Post*, October 4-10, 1991, 14.

4.4.3 Imprisonment

In 1980, ZCTU organised a nationwide industrial strike in response to shortages, despondency and the general dissatisfaction of workers which had risen beyond control. Chiluba and his colleagues were arrested and imprisoned at separate prisons for three months in 1981.⁴⁵ Fortunately, Chiluba's lawyers applied for Habeas Corpus in order to secure him a speedy trial.⁴⁶ He was then released when the court decided his arrest was illicit.

4.4.4 Conversion experience

It was during his time in prison that Chiluba accepted Christ as his personal saviour. Before this point he was committed to ethics, social justice and human rights but his Christian spirituality had not been not a driving factor. However after having the reality of his mortality brought to the fore under the current brutal regime, Chiluba looked to God for protection and promised to serve him all the days of his life. The process of conversion started on the night of his arrest in 1980. While in his hotel room, he found a Gideon's Bible and began to read a passage about the meaning of faith in Hebrews 11. He recounts reading it three or four times until he went to sleep at 1.00 am. He did not understand the faith of those he was reading about until he was arrested two hours later. Olsen claims Chiluba wrote that a pastor brought him a book called *From Prison to Praise*.⁴⁷ After reading the book and his Bible (possibly a Gideon's Bible given out in prisons) he knelt down in his cell and accepted Christ as his personal saviour.⁴⁸ He is also quoted as saying that he 'forgave all those that had him falsely arrested as God had proved to him that He

⁴⁵ Some of these colleagues included Newstead Zimba (National General Secretary for ZCTU), Chitalu Sampa (Chairman); Phiri, 'Why African Churches Preach Politics,' 338; Miriam Zimba and Margaret Mangani, 'Kabushi Congregation Recall Chiluba's Contribution,' *Times of Zambia*, June 22, 2011, 9.

⁴⁶ Interview with Emmanuel Mwamba.

⁴⁷ Quoting his personal story which Chiluba included on his official website. Erlin Carothers, *Prison to Praise* (UK: Hodder and Stoughton, 1970).

⁴⁸ Olsen. 'One Nation Under God,' 38.

was in charge of all things'.⁴⁹ Gradually his Christianity developed and he began to attend PC churches and crusades while maintaining his affiliation to the United Church of Zambia (UCZ), a mainline church. Chiluba is recorded to have subsequently received the gift of tongues at one of Reinhard Bonnke's crusades.⁵⁰

4.4.5 'The Hour Has Come!' Chiluba as Democratic President of Zambia

His arrest and imprisonment did not deter Chiluba from continuing to speak on behalf of the workers' union.⁵¹ In 1989 he was inspired by Lech Walesa, who was a prominent union leader in Poland. Walesa later became president.⁵² Chiluba earned the title of 'Zambia's Lech Walesa' from his colleagues,⁵³ because he adopted Walesa's ideology.⁵⁴ At one of the annual ZCTU congresses in 1989 Chiluba advocated the idea that the government should abolish the one party state and return to multi-party rule⁵⁵ like Eastern Europe. During this period, there was an attempted coup led by Lt. General Mwamba Luchembe and Kaunda subsequently made changes to further tighten national security. When it became clear that the coup had caused national unrest and that civilians continued to lose confidence in the UNIP government, Kaunda implemented a number of measures to placate the nation releasing certain prisoners that were jailed due to suspicion of threatening national cohesion. He also called for a national referendum

⁴⁹ Ibid, 38.

⁵⁰ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 2.

⁵¹ He regarded himself as a brother to Simon Kapwepwe. This brought him wrath from Kaunda as Kapwepwe and Kunda were political rivals. In the mid 70's Kapwepwe was isolated, ostracised and treated as an enemy of the state. Therefore Chiluba's relationship with him raised suspicion and brought Chiluba state attention under surveillance. During this time Chiluba was poisoned and nearly died.

⁵² Walesa was Chiluba's colleague in the Union circles. Walesa was the first union leader to challenge Soviet Union dominance and dictatorship. Fred Wanyenga, 'learn From lech Walesa FTJ Urged,' *The Post*, January 23, 1996, 7.

⁵³ Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics*, 155.

⁵⁴ 'Frederick Chiluba,' *The New York Times* (1/07/11) accessed April 19, 2012

http://topics.nytimes.com/topics/reference/timestopics/people/c/frederick_chiluba/index.html .

⁵⁵ Zambia was a multi-party state from 1964-1973. During that time the opposition parties included African National Congress (ANC, led by Simon Kapwepwe), The Federal Party and UNIP itself. Then Kaunda decided to amend the constitution and imposed a one party state in order to strengthen his rule. The major reason for Kaunda's decision was the divisive effect of tribalism within the country. For example, the Bemba's always felt sidelined as UNIP appeared to accommodate only people from the Eastern province.

to ascertain whether people wanted a one party or pluralist state. This would have been the first time that the freedom of expression and speech was exercised by the public without fear of intimidation and prosecution by the state.⁵⁶

It was at this time that the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) found a loophole and was formed as the opposition party. In 1990, scholars, businessmen and political leaders convened at the Garden Motel in Lusaka and discussed the possibility of challenging the hegemony created by the UNIP government and a return to multi-party rule. Chiluba was elected chairman, responsible for organising meetings and mobilising people.⁵⁷ With time it became increasingly clear that Chiluba would be the strongest candidate to stand as MMD president. Even after persecution and imprisonment by Kaunda, he remained resolutely opposed to the President's rule and won the trust of many followers. He was the only one in his group who had not been manipulated by Kaunda and he continued to champion the demand for democracy and the rule of law.⁵⁸ His slogan, 'The Hour has come!' was highly appropriate at that time as the dawn of change was imminent.

The church's intervention in national politics during the 1991 elections to ensure a change of government was commendable. Although they were careful not to endorse any candidate, it was clear that their aim was not only to ensure free and fair elections, but also to contribute to the change that Zambians were hoping for. According to Cheyeka, church leaders indirectly showed support for the MMD through statements that privileged pluralism.⁵⁹ Doctrinal differences were cast aside and the churches worked ecumenically, playing 'an in-between role in which they

⁵⁶ Phiri, 'Why African Churches Preach Politics,' 339.

⁵⁷ Arthur Wina, as chairperson of the movement, Levy Mwana was a chair for the legal committee.

⁵⁸ Phiri, 'Why African Churches Preach Politics,' 328.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 340.

could chide extremism on both camps while making sure that change was not stalled'.⁶⁰ This was coupled with the formation of a forum called 'The Zambia We Want' by the Mindolo Ecumenical Centre on the Copperbelt.⁶¹ This forum was created to bring together leaders from the incumbent government (UNIP) and the opposition groups to debate their positions publicly. UNIP did not show much interest because the forum was dominated by the opposition. The forum was later seen as an 'anti UNIP' conference. During this period, sermons carried political undertones and political awareness was raised through many other channels. The fear of Kaunda rigging the elections also stimulated the creation of the ZEMCC.

4.4.6 Fusing the Political (statecraft) With the Spiritual

The difference between Kaunda and Chiluba's spirituality was that, while the former's 'personal religion was to an extent separate from official duties, the latter's presidency was characterised by attempts to put his Christian faith into action while conducting national affairs'.⁶² From the beginning of their presidential careers, both Kaunda and Chiluba made their spirituality public. In Chiluba's case, this became evident when PCs and other churches organised an anointing service with the support of the three religious umbrella bodies at Zambia's biggest Anglican Cathedral, conducted by an Anglican priest. The theme of the service is believed to have been inspired by the story of King David in the Old Testament.⁶³ Chiluba also refused to enter the State House until it was spiritually cleansed by clergy of charms and demonic paraphernalia and structures that he asserted had been left there by Kaunda. Fifty Christians (mostly PC) went to

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid, 48.

⁶³ Phiri, 'President Frederick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia,' 406. Anglican Bishop Stephen Mumba blessed and anointed Chiluba during that service and urged him to 'keep the charge of the Lord in heading the nation,' Reverend Foston Sakala who was then moderator of the Reformed Church of Zambia said 'the ball is now in your court. The world is now watching you. Zambia awaits to see you practice democracy in all you do'. 'Look to God, Church Leader Tells New Leader,' *Times of Zambia*, November 11, 1991, 1. (Same reference as fist picture in Fig. 10 on the next page)

State House for prayer and a woman professed to have seen a sea-horse leaving the building during the prayer meeting.⁶⁴ Chiluba was however, confident in the power of God whom he believed was 'bigger than anything demonic'.⁶⁵ He brought in priests and pastors to destroy any statues that he found superstitious. Kaunda had previously built what he called the Universal Temple on the State House grounds, which was not believed to be Christian. Chiluba instructed pastors (the majority being born-again pastors) to help him to destroy the temple as well as dismantle statues that were regarded as idols. A truck filled with them was then taken to a place behind the Lusaka Independence Stadium and burnt.⁶⁶ While they were being burnt, Chiluba and those that accompanied him were singing songs of praise to God and cursing the devil.

In fusing the political and the spiritual, Chiluba spiritualised most of the negative press he received, dismissing it as attacks by the devil, and positioning his rule as a spiritual battle. His constant uncritical use of Christian rhetoric and scripture to justify his actions perhaps resonates with Gifford's observation in the 1990s that, 'almost all African Christianity is fundamentalist, for nearly all African Christians approach the Bible rather uncritically. In general they love to quote it, refer to it and support any position alluding to it. This is true of Christians in the mainline churches, and is doubly true of what are called African Independent or Instituted churches'.⁶⁷ Chiluba's spirituality played a major part in his life and according to his official

⁶⁴ Ibid, 405; A newspaper article stated 'four priests, two of which were white from Kaniki Bible Society in Ndola led by Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda took part in this exorcism'. 'Exorcists At It,' *Times of Zambia*, December 19, 1991, 1 and 3.

⁶⁵ Interview with Emmanuel Mwamba.

⁶⁶ Gabriel Banda, 'This Week in Politics,' *The Weekly Post*, November 2-7, 1991, 4. (Same reference as second picture in Fig. 10 on the next page)

⁶⁷ Gifford's comment neglects those Africans that have gone on to do further theological studies and gained various qualifications at different levels. I also disagree with the use of the term 'fundamentalism,' which scholars see as a response to modernism. Gifford, 'Christian Fundamentalism, State and politics in Black Africa,' in *Questioning Secular State*, (ed.) David Westerlund (London: C. Hurst, 1996), 98.

spokesperson, Emmanuel Mwamba, his daily life incorporated the reading of scriptures, prayer and fasting.⁶⁸

4.5 The Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation: A Premature Declaration?

Two months into office, Chiluba made a national declaration that was to influence Zambia's socio-political rhetoric and ethos. The declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation serves as a very important aspect of this study. Olsen speaks of the way in which 'Christianity infuses every aspect of [Zambian] culture' as everywhere one is, whether in a bank, a supermarket owned by Muslims, or public transport, it is common to hear Christian music, a preacher preaching or someone thanking God for a miracle in private conversation.⁶⁹

The most popular reform that Chiluba introduced was this declaration. Even those who did not understand or remember Chiluba's political reforms understood and valued this statement of values.

On behalf of the nation I have now entered into a covenant with the living God, and therefore, I want to make the following declaration: 'I declare today that I submit myself as President to the Lordship of Jesus Christ. I likewise submit the government and the entire nation of Zambia to the Lordship of Jesus Christ. I further declare that Zambia is a Christian nation that will seek to be governed by the Righteous Principles of the word of God. Righteousness and justice must prevail in all levels of authority, and then we will see the righteousness of God exalting Zambia.'⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Interview with Emmanuel Mwamba,

⁶⁹ Olsen. 'One African Nation Under God,' 36.

⁷⁰ Christian Vision, 'Breaking the Chains: President Chiluba: A Man After God's Own Heart,' Video (Christian Vision: West Bromwich, 1993). These words preceded the declaration; 'You have heard me before compare the nation with a sick person. I have said: 'We are sick and weak, but we are still alive. And we are determined to get well again.' Today I want to say to all of you: We need God to heal our land! I will therefore now do my part of the covenant, as I will identify myself with the Zambian nation in the following prayer: 'Dear God, as a nation we now come to your throne of grace, and we humble ourselves and admit our guilt. We repent from all our wicked ways of idolatry, witchcraft, the occult, immorality, injustice and corruption and all other sins that have violated your righteous laws. We turn away from all this and renounce it all in Jesus' name. We ask for forgiveness and cleansing through the blood of Jesus. Therefore, we thank you that you will heal our land. We pray that you will send healing, restoration, revival, blessing and prosperity to Zambia. Amen. *Zambian Watchdog*, 'History: What Chiluba Said

The declaration was made on December 29th 2001. Chiluba did not appear to have ‘considered the theological implications of this announcement,’⁷¹ which was deemed impromptu as it was made without prior consultation with all three church umbrella bodies.⁷² The declaration was met with elation by most born-again Christians and with scepticism by other critical Christians and scholars who saw this as a threat to social cohesion. The initial criticism of the declaration was made by the secretary of the Roman Catholic Bishops Conference, noting the ‘lack of consultation and preparation was deeply regretted’.⁷³ Although Chiluba was a born-again Christian, the EFZ also claimed not to have been consulted over the declaration, despite the fact that a majority of the people that stood behind Chiluba during this ceremony were Pastors, many of whom were members of the EFZ.⁷⁴ The three religious umbrella bodies also released a joint press statement expressing the same perspective, suggesting that the church was not given enough time to prepare for this occasion. However they noted the positive points within the declaration as explained by Chiluba on a television interview where he stated that ‘the declaration affirmed freedom of conscience, worship and expression in an environment of

When He Declared Zambia A Christian Nation,’ *Zambian Online: The National Homepage for Zambia* (26/06/11) accessed April 26, 2012 <http://www.zambia.co.zm/article17958>.

⁷¹ Interview with Sampa Bredt, CCZ General Secretary, 1998 in, ‘An Analysis of the Role of The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia,’ Lawrence Temfwe, 5.

⁷² Phiri, ‘President Frederick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia,’ 40; Moses Chitendwe, Clergy that openly expressed their disapproval included Father Ives Batungwa (ZEC Secretary General), Reverend Fauston Sakala (RCZ Moderator and Reverend Bwanali Phiri (Director of World Evangelistic Missions). At the same time Anglican bishop Stephen Mumba and Godfrey Sikazwe (Moderator of the United Church in Zambia) were in favour of this. ‘Chiluba Ruled Off-Side,’ *National Mirror*, December 20, 1991, 1; Having expressed their regret in the lack of consultation in regards to the declaration, the three Umbrella bodies acknowledged it a few months after stating they had taken note of the parts of the declaration that championed freedom of worship and expression in an environment of Christian love without the persecution of minority groups. ‘Christian Churches Concur with Chiluba,’ *National Mirror*, January 19, 1992, 1.

⁷³ Olsen. ‘One Nation Under God,’ 39; Brendt Sampa, J. Imakando and J.L Calmettes, Press Statement by CCZ, EFZ and ZEC on the Declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation, 16th January, 1992 in *The Social Teaching of The Catholic Bishops and Other Christian Leaders in Zambia: Major Pastoral Letters and Statements 1953-2001*, J.Komakoma (ed), (Ndola: Mission Press, 2003), 265; Sipo Kapumba, ‘Bishop de Jong Opposes Christian Nation Clause,’ *The Post*, May 16, 1996, 1.

⁷⁴ Christian Vision, ‘Breaking the Chains: President Chiluba: A Man After God’s Own Heart,’ Video (Christian Vision: West Bromwich, 1993).

Christian love, which excludes the persecution of people from other religions which are a minority'.⁷⁵



• ANGLICAN Bishop Stephen Mumba blesses the President after he had anointed him with holy oil.

Look to God, church tells new leader

By Times Reporter

PRESIDENT Frederick Chiluba was yesterday spiritually sworn in as the second head of the Republic of Zambia with the church calling on him to keep the charge of the Lord in leading the nation.

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Cartoon Demonstrating the Event When Chiluba Ordered Pastors to Cleanse the State House of Anything Demonic Believed to Have Been Left

President Chiluba's Anointing Service

Plate 10

⁷⁵ Ibid. Some of these religions include Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, African traditional religions etc.

When I questioned one of the senior PC Bishops in relation to this lack of consultation, he stated, *‘does a king always have to consult his subordinates when he wants to make an important decision?’* Contrary to this, in another interview, Pastor Lawrence Temfwe (a keen observer of the role of the church in civil affairs and a Pentecostal pastor) stated that the declaration should have been thought through before it was implemented. He believed it was not announced in response to the nation’s outcry but from Chiluba’s personal conviction and that of a few pastors around him.⁷⁶ He further asserted that Christians continue to be divided over the declaration twenty years later. In place of the declaration, Pastor Temfwe stated that he would rather show Christian presence through acts of kindness,⁷⁷ such as lobbying Parliamentarians to build medical facilities and schools and ensuring that children have facilities like parks and other recreational facilities.

In light of the importance of the declaration, it is important to consider its contents so as to establish what Chiluba was hoping to communicate. In what follows, I will also look at the integration of PC Christianity into Zambian politics, questioning; ‘what are the social-economic and political dimensions of being a Christian nation and in what way was the upsurge of churches during the Chiluba era related to the resilience and crisis of the post-colonial nation state’.⁷⁸

4.5.1 Understanding the Declaration from Chiluba’s Perspective

⁷⁶ Interview with Pastor Lawrence Temfwe, founder of Jubilee Christian Centre (JCC) on 26/04/12.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, (eds). ‘Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neo-liberalism,’ (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 2001), in Birgit Meyer, ‘Pentecostalism and Neo-Liberal Capitalism. Faith Prosperity and Vision in African Pentecostal Charismatic Churches,’ *Journal of the Study of Religion in Africa* 28, 3 (1998):453.

Chiluba was determined to see Zambia prosper and believed that this was dependent on the nation's spiritual attitude to God's laws. He quoted 2 Chronicles 7:14 before the declaration; *'If my people who are called by my name humble themselves and pray and seek my face and turn away from their wicked ways, then I will hear from heaven, and I will forgive their sin and heal their land'*.⁷⁹ The moral state of the nation was critical for Chiluba and the declaration was meant to be as a code of conduct that would enable the nation to attract God's blessing. This was echoed five years later by Chiluba: 'we now have a code of conduct because when we do something bad, people will say; that this is not expected of a Christian nation!'⁸⁰ In the initial part of the declaration, Chiluba acknowledges his concerns about the nation, which he thought was sick. He stated, 'you have heard me before compare the nation with a sick person. I have said we are sick and weak, but we are still alive. And we are determined to get well again. Today I want to say to all of you, we need God to heal our land'.⁸¹

More than anything, he believed that in order for Zambia to prosper and progress, God had to be at the centre of national life. Chiluba appeared to be aware of demonic and satanic attacks that supposedly surrounded him and believed that if he entertained things that were ungodly, God would not bless the nation. An example of this was seen in the spiritual cleansing of the entire State House through prayer and the sprinkling of anointing oil. One pastor who was among those who went to destroy monuments and statues at the State House acknowledged later during an interview that he thought they were a bit over zealous because some of the things could have just been innocent decor. Having dedicated Zambia to God, Chiluba was acknowledging the fragility of human beings in relation to running any nation, institution or home. With God at the centre, he

⁷⁹ Holy Bible, New International Version Bible (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2006)

⁸⁰ 'Don't Fail Us Chiluba Tells Christian World,' *Times of Zambia*, April 25, 1995, 3.

⁸¹ Christian Vision, 'Breaking the Chains,' video.

believed that God's presence would override and guide the minds of people responsible for running the affairs of the country. He had to lead by example and his staff would learn from him.

The next part of his statement was a prayer:

I will therefore now do my part of the covenant, as I will identify myself with the Zambian nation in the following prayer: 'Dear God, as a nation we now come to your throne of grace, and we humble ourselves and admit our guilt. We repent from all our wicked ways of idolatry, witchcraft, the occult, immorality, injustice and corruption and all other sins that have violated your righteous laws. We turn away from all this and renounce it all in Jesus' name. We ask for forgiveness and cleansing through the blood of Jesus. Therefore, we thank you that you will heal our land. We pray that you will send healing, restoration, revival, blessing and prosperity to Zambia. Amen.'⁸²

It is clear that this part of Chiluba's prayer referred to Kaunda's Presidency. From the moment Kaunda introduced concepts of Humanism and Scientific Socialism, mistrust of his commitment to Christianity developed amongst the general public. Despite Kaunda's strong Christian background and his support for the church's involvement in state programmes, his exposure to foreign ideologies was detrimental to the way in which people perceived his Christian faith. Furthermore, Christianity was the most widely practised religion in Zambia and the public had grown suspicious of Kaunda's ideologies. In response to every new ideology that he tried to introduce the church (through the three church umbrella bodies) rose up to challenge him. Chiluba, just like Kaunda in the early years of his tenure, made his Christian convictions clear. There was no doubt that despite his knowledge of challenges in relation to the global markets and the socio-political and socio-economical conundrums facing African states he believed Zambia's prosperity was dependent on God's healing hand on Zambia's land. In his mind, all

⁸² Ibid.

manner of idolatry, witchcraft, the occult, immorality, injustice and corruption (things he believed were being practised in the State House) were practised during the Kaunda era. The things that he felt were violating God's righteous laws were the cause of Zambia's plunge into socio-economic disaster. This is why he felt it was appropriate as a leader (just like the high priests in the Old Testament) to repent and ask God for forgiveness on behalf of the nation.⁸³ The fervent tone of his voice and the tears he shed during this declaration clearly indicated his strong religious convictions. Repentance was meant to be an antidote, leading to God's 'healing, restoration, revival, blessing and prosperity to Zambia.'

It is clear that the declaration failed to subvert the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) recommended by the IMF. This followed the privatization of Zambia's state-owned Copper mines which contributed to 80% of Zambia's economy. People sank into poverty as food prices sky-rocketed when government subsidies were removed. Inflation was high and by 2001, 80% of Zambians were living below the poverty line.⁸⁴ Chiluba's ambition to revamp an economy that was ailing as he took up presidential office seemed to fail as he too had to succumb to conditions placed by IMF loans during his tenure.

4.5.2 The Declaration as Covenant

Chiluba saw the declaration as a covenant with God. He envisioned a country that embodied God's kingdom on earth as he hoped that he would govern it by God's righteousness and justice. Lawrence Temfwe analysed the declaration in relation to the 'Sinaitic Covenant in the

⁸³ During a celebration of praise event, Chiluba declared that 'the era of corruption was over' and the nation was to 'look to stability'. 'Salvation is at Hand-Chiluba,' *Times of Zambia*, December 30, 1991, 2. Furthermore, the departure of the Maharishi, described in the previous chapter was seen to have been 'prompted by Chiluba's MMD agenda not to entertain cults which was later to be depicted in the declaration'. 'Go to Hell!' *The Weekly Post*, December 13-19, 1991, 4.

⁸⁴ Phiri, 'President Frederick J. T. Chiluba of Zambia,' 411.

Pentateuch based on the statements he made during his tenure'.⁸⁵ Besides the 2 Chronicles 7:14 example, he looked at the sentiments Chiluba expressed on a radio broadcast (October 28, 1998) after a failed attempted coup:

Those who have assembled together against us shall fall for our sake and no weapon formed against us shall prosper at all (Isaiah 54:17). The Lord God of Glory will guide this nation. Jesus our rock will continue to strengthen us. We shall not falter. Victory is certain in Jesus' name.

Temfwe saw this as an example of 'Chiluba relating the message of the kingdom of God to issues of politics and to justify his political rule'. Secondly, with reference to Isaiah 54:17, which speaks of God's relationship with Israel and the Gentiles, 'Chiluba gave Zambia the same status as Israel the chosen nation'.⁸⁶ Another example of Chiluba's demonstration of the Sinaitic covenant was seen in his invitation to clergy to pray for Israel at the State House. His reasoning was that, 'all who curse Abraham will be cursed; all who bless him will be blessed'.⁸⁷ Chiluba strongly believed in the blessing that was attached to those that honoured the nation of Israel, such that one of his priorities as soon as he entered presidential office was to close down the Iranian and Iraqi embassies and restored diplomatic links with Israel (which had initially been severed by President Kaunda). This 'Christian Zionism' became part of Zambian public discourse.⁸⁸ This perspective was supported by the Tele-evangelist Nevers Mumba who stated:

Zambia has cursed Israel in both word and attitude and we are reaping the curse on our nation. God's word is final. By being against Israel, we are standing up against God and his will. Zachariah 2:8 says 'for he who touches you (Israel) touches the apple of my eye.' So for a number of

⁸⁵ Temfwe, 'An Analysis,' 5.

⁸⁶ Temfwe, 'An Analysis,' 5.

⁸⁷ Misheck Wangwe, 'Zambia Needs Leaders that are Ready to Sacrifice,' *The Post*, April 24, 1996 6.

⁸⁸ Phiri, 'President Frederick J. T. Chiluba of Zambia,' 409.

years Zambia has been poking her finger into the eye of God. No wonder the lack of progress.⁸⁹

4.5.3 Open Religious Fundamentalism by Zambia's Head of State

Chiluba's open religious fundamentalism was unique especially for a head of state. The declaration was very timely and initially gave Chiluba an upper hand. Having a national leader that renounced what were perceived to be ungodly practices and acknowledging the Lordship of Christ over the nation was seen as an answer to prayer. The questions that remained, were what socio-political and economic implications would the declaration have on the people of Zambia and was Zambia ready for it and was the declaration itself enough to resolve civic issues?

4.5.4 The Significance of the Declaration

Chiluba did his best to implement new reforms in all areas of civil society in order to engender development in Zambia. Unfortunately even in this new era, social ills continued to fester. There were high levels of corruption during Chiluba's tenure, leading a journalist to describe Kaunda's men as pick-pockets whereas Chiluba's lot were thieves.⁹⁰ Fred M'membe, a Pastor, deemed Chiluba's government as 'the most corrupt regime of the country's history, colonial and post-independence' saying that 'a Christian nation, if there is such a thing, can never be found on

⁸⁹ 'Nevers Mumba,' *Times of Zambia*, October 13, 1991, 5.

⁹⁰ Editor. 'Chiluba's Legacy To Zambia,' *UKZAMBIANS* (11/06/11) accessed May 2, 2012

<http://www.ukzambians.co.uk/home/2011/06/18/chilubas-legacy-to-zambia/> ; In support of this, a newspaper article written after Chiluba's death by what was named 'a concerned citizen' claimed 'Chiluba did more harm than good to Zambia because while he privatized all state-owned companies, Kaunda initiated companies like Dunlop Limited, Lenco, Zambia Airways, Livingstone Motor assembly and built numerous houses'. 'Praises on Chiluba,' *The Post*, June 27, 2011, 29; Mainza Chirwa, 'Chiluba's Constitution Has Destroyed Zambia's Image,' *The Post*, May 17, 1996, 7; 'Chiluba's Deception Exposed,' *The Post*, May 22, 1996, 1-2. Another newspaper article stated, 'people's confidence and respect for political leaders is almost non-existent. Ordinary citizens perceive leaders as corrupt robbers'. 'Christian Political Testimony,' *The Post*, November 28, 1996, 6.

President Chiluba's evil constitution because he is a crook'.⁹¹ Paul Gifford further described Chiluba's government as 'an uncaring Christian nation' due to the rise in poverty.⁹²

For many years that were to follow, it appeared that PCs supported the declaration more strongly than other Christians.⁹³ One non-PC church leader saw this as 'Chiluba running the Christian community on remote control'.⁹⁴ Another problem was that such a declaration could have potentially undermined the rights of non-Christian religious groups which were in the minority, including those belonging to Zambia's indigenous religions. It also appeared that Chiluba did not recognise that the declaration contradicted the idea of democracy, as it automatically privileged the freedoms of Christians over non-Christians.⁹⁵

This leads to the wider question of whether the Christianity he was championing was compatible with the aspirations of the founders of the Zambian nationalist movement, who had always envisioned an independent Zambia where all people would be equal. Prior consultation with other religious leaders and the general public could have resolved this issue before the declaration was made. Isabel Phiri, having analyzed Chiluba's book on democracy, wondered why he mentioned very little about the role of the church in the democratization of Zambia. Furthermore he only included the declaration itself in the chronology at the end of the book. This led to Phiri further questioning Chiluba's motivation. She asks if he was 'aware that the way he carried out the declaration contravened the characteristic of democracy that he was supposed to

⁹¹ Fred M'membe, 'Is This Really a Government of Christians?' *The Post*, May 13, 1996, 7.

⁹² Gifford, *African Christianity* (1998).

⁹³ Reuben Phiri, 'Born Agains Differ,' *The Post*, January 3, 1996, 1 and 5.

⁹⁴ 'Chiluba Running the Nation on Remote Control,' *National Mirror*, February 12-8, 1995, 6; Chitendwe, 'Chiluba Ruled,' 1.

⁹⁵ Sheikh Shubai Phiri the chief spokesperson of the Hajj Islamic Council of Zambia (HICZ) described the declaration as 'irrelevant and contradictory to democratic principles', and that it did not 'acknowledge the supremacy of God'. McDnald Chipenzi, 'HICZ Condemns Christian Nation Declaration,' *The Post*, January 11, 2006, 7.

championing. Or maybe he understood the declaration as a personal gesture of his commitment to God and not a political manoeuvre'.⁹⁶ His actions from the beginning show, however, that as much as he was a 'committed' Christian, he used his spirituality to his own advantage. As long as he continued to use Christian rhetoric, he would retain the support of people who saw him as God-sent.

Those that were in favour of the declaration believed that it led to the national peace that Zambia continued to experience. Based on the interviews I held with PC Pastors, it became increasingly clear that some years later, many still remained sympathetic to the declaration. The former overseer of the Church of God in Zambia, Archbishop John Mambo who was close to Chiluba at the start of his tenure (being accorded first chairman for what was known as '*Zambia Shall be Saved*')⁹⁷ only to later become one of Chiluba's critics, stated:

We have survived 47 years of freedom. Any time an army officer wants to overthrow the government in a coup, he fails. It is not in the intelligence of the system in place, it's God's intervention. No life has been lost unless killed from one reason or the other. Everything we have had is so peaceful even in previous elections. It's just that if we are not careful we might end up with worse dictators. I personally feel the declaration was the best gift by Dr. Chiluba gave to Zambia and he will be remembered for that.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Phiri, 'President Frederick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia,' 404.

⁹⁷ Zambia Shall be Saved was a phrase that was initiated by Pastor Nevers Mumba, a very prominent and popular Pentecostal preacher in the late 1980's onwards. Zambia Shall Be Saved then became a theme that was adopted to accompany the crusades that were staged during the first few years of Chiluba's Presidency. Preachers from the United States included Earnest Angeley, Benny Hinn and Reinhart Bonnke from Germany. Mambo's role was to organize these crusades so as to ensure smooth running of the events. The speakers were accommodated at the State House.

⁹⁸ An interview conducted with Bishop John Mambo, former Overseer of the Church of God in Zambia for 19 years on 20/07/11. He was also regional superintendent, overseeing 9 countries including East and Southern Africa. He is the founder of Chikondi Foundation, an orphanage for vulnerable including orphaned children of deceased pastors.

Zambia is a land locked country surrounded by eight countries, the majority of which have experienced civil wars.⁹⁹ In most cases people from these countries have fled to Zambia to seek refuge. For example during the apartheid regime, Lusaka gave sanctuary to a number of exiled South Africans. It also served as the headquarters for the African National Congress (ANC) and many of the ANC executive lived there, including Thabo Mbeki and ANC chairman Oliver Tambo. Zambia had also been home to people from Rwanda and Somalia fleeing civil wars. All of these events happened during the Kaunda era and therefore, Zambia's peacefulness cannot be attributed solely to Chiluba's declaration. As noted in chapter three, many people are not aware that former President Kaunda was the first to declare Zambia a Christian nation as far back as 1967. Furthermore, the peaceful nature of Zambians also acts as a contributing factor to the peace Zambia has experienced over the years, although that is not to say that there are no tribal squabbles, as well as the violence that is sometimes instigated by political party cadres during the time of elections.

Five contrasts exist between the two declarations. Firstly, Kaunda did not make a big show of his declaration probably because Christianity was already a dominant religion in Zambia. By contrast, Chiluba did not just make a declaration; he involved the nation in a covenant with the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The God whom he knew only through Jesus Christ. There is a difference between being a Christian because you are born into a Christian family and declaring that you are a Christian (the Kaunda case) and becoming a born-again (Chiluba's case). Chiluba's declaration gave the impression of making Zambia a born-again nation. The public and society were personalised, privatised, singularised and individualised. He made the nation answer an altar call, so to speak. In a country with a large PC sensibility, this approach was of

⁹⁹ For example, Zimbabwe, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, The Democratic Republic of Congo and further down South Africa.

great significance. This is why his action was more ‘mythical’ than Kaunda’s earlier declaration. Secondly, as opposed to Chiluba, Kaunda issued the declaration casually. Thirdly, Kaunda did not place the declaration in the preamble of the national constitution. Fourthly, whereas Chiluba was a fundamentalist Christian, Kaunda was open to other Eastern ideologies which he sought to incorporate within the country. Finally, whereas Kaunda closed the Israeli embassy in Zambia, Chiluba emphasised the Sinaitic Covenant and made the restoration of links with Israel a matter of urgency.

The declaration remained in favour of Christians for five years, at which point it was re-worded in order to uphold the rights of those that practiced other religions. In 1996, the re-worded declaration was included in the preamble of the national constitution stating: ‘We the people of Zambia, in exercise of our constituent power; acknowledge the supremacy of God Almighty; declare the Republic a Christian nation, but uphold the right of every person to enjoy that person’s freedom of conscious or religion’.

4.5.5 Pentecostal Pastors, A Weakened and Compromised Prophetic Voice

Chiluba befriended a number of PC pastors during his tenure. One of his personal chaplains was Reverend Simon Mwale, a Pentecostal with roots in PAOGC. Some pastors felt that having such close ties with the head of state was detrimental and compromised and weakened their prophetic voice. Indeed a majority of the PCs interviewed for this thesis lamented the silencing of the prophetic voice of those pastors. Their close relationships with the President and easy access to the State House ironically weakened their chance to promote socio-economic improvements for their communities.

During the first two years of Chiluba's presidency, a number of born-again pastors held daily morning devotions and prayers at the State House. When Chiluba was in the country, he would attend these prayer meetings. These ties were contrary to the statement issued by EFZ in 1992, 'appealing to the church in Zambia to restrict itself to those matters which were within its competence and to maintain a reasonable distance from the government'.¹⁰⁰ It would have been commendable if these pastors had used this opportunity to effect change through their interactions with the President. Being aware of the various challenges that plagued the lives of many Zambians due to poverty, AIDS and human injustice, driving to the State House each morning to pray for the President and the country should have enabled them to help bring about change. This could have started with the creation of an open relationship with Chiluba where the pastors were free to discuss and address social ills. Two factors minimised this possibility. Firstly, because Chiluba always spiritualised social ills, these leaders may have sincerely believed prayer alone would eliminate civic problems. Secondly, they may have felt that the observation of Christian values and morals would enable good governance. Unfortunately, this was not the case because the relationships led to divisions, resentment among pastors and a feeling that those that were close to Chiluba used him as a 'meal ticket'. As a result, they were reluctant to speak against him. The churches that were built during the Chiluba era as well as the other promoted Christian activities proved that the agenda was intended to advance Christianity and not eliminate social ills. Chalwe criticised PC Pastors' weakened prophetic voice, blaming it on a lack of political judgement, experience and a non-interventionist attitude amongst born-again leaders'.¹⁰¹ He also described what he called, 'political naiveté and the desire for riches in

¹⁰⁰ Chalwe, 'An Evaluation of the Mission History,' 121.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

some instances used by experienced politicians to create partisan sentiments among clerics'.¹⁰² Cheyeka further stated that 'fundamentalists who championed the Christian nation were not as worried about the country's lack of moral values as they were about what they would economically gain from their support of Chiluba'.¹⁰³ In this case it would be unfair to suggest that this was their only motive. Although financial benefits would have been a given, they must be credited for their dedication in praying for the nation. Unfortunately due to fundamentalist biblically based belief in the unquestioning honour for those in authority, the efforts of these PC pastors may have ended by discrediting the man they saw as God-sent. This supported Gifford's argument which stated, 'fundamentalist Christianity resolutely refuses to challenge government authorities on their record, or to engage in any social analysis of political structures. Because it diverts attention from their deficiencies, governments use this Christianity for the support it offers them in their attempts to stay in power'.¹⁰⁴ As has been seen, this was certainly true during the Chiluba era.

4.6 Declaration Debates

The declaration remains a divisive issue within Zambian public discourse. Initially, those that were in favour of it argued for its legitimacy from a Biblical stand point. Pastor Dereck Mutungu of River of Life Church referred to the figure of Daniel, (Daniel 4:3, 34-35) whom he believed trusted in God throughout his political career. He further asserted that Colossians 1:16-17

¹⁰² He quotes Graham Nkanza, *Times of Zambia*, January 11, 2007, 8.

¹⁰³ A good example can be given of a time when Bishop Joshua Banda and Reverend Mabvuto Mwale both PAOGZ pastors were accused of what was described as 'creating a heinous political monster that Chiluba and the MMD had become because they were partisan'. The statement further advised them to 'stop promoting political agendas and seeking favours from the State House but rather speak for justice and freedoms of the people.' Ngel Mandoloka, 'Pastors Charged,' *The Post*, June 7, 1996, 9.

¹⁰⁴ Paul Gifford, 'Christian Fundamentalism, State and politics in Black Africa,' in David Westerlund (ed.), *Questioning Secular State* (London: C. Hurst, 1996), 204.

showed that ‘Christ was redeeming nations and not just individuals,’ using Chiluba as his tool.¹⁰⁵ Mutungu was convinced that ‘Zambia had become a model nation for Africa, granting it the same divine status as Israel in the Old Testament’.¹⁰⁶ Contrastingly, an article was written to review the state of the Christian nation after eight years called, *Eight Years after Zambia Became a Christian Nation, the Title is Not Convincing*. The author branded the declaration meaningless based on interviews conducted with a number of prominent church leaders and officials.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, it was deemed ‘hollow’ due to ‘mounting social, political and economic problems including widespread corruption’.¹⁰⁸ A blogger, calling himself ‘a concerned Zambian’ spoke of the danger of defining the state in religious terms:¹⁰⁹

The state is simply an institution to ensure the protection of the vulnerable on the basis of natural law. That natural law of fairness is plain even to a child who has not been to school or church because it is deeply ingrained in us. The child may not know how to work out the finer details of fairness but when those who are knowledgeable have done their work, the child will see that the action taken has been fair. Therefore, there is no need to give the state a preamble of some religion or other. It should be left to do its primary job, and the constitution should be primarily about that and nothing more.¹¹⁰

Archbishop Mambo acknowledged the rise in ‘immorality and corruption putting a question mark over the declaration in the 21st century’. Due to the high rate of sin, he believed ‘there was

¹⁰⁵ Lawrence Temfwe, quotes Pastor Dereck Mutungu, Senior Pastor of River of Life Church, in an interview held in 1998 in ‘An Analysis of the Role of The Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia,’ 5.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Anthony Kunda. ‘Eight Years After Zambia Became A Christian Nation, The Title is Not Convincing,’ *Ecumenical News International, Lusaka* (01/01/2000) accessed may 2, 2012 <http://www.ctlibrary.com/ct/2000/januaryweb-only/24.0b.html>.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. Others argued on the basis that the declaration had politicised Christianity. Bright Mwape and Sandie Sakala, ‘Zambia Has Politicized Christianity,’ *The Post*, August 16, 1996, 11; ‘Politicized Christianity: Our View,’ *The Post*, August 19, 1996, 8-9.

¹⁰⁹ ‘A Letter from Kabwata’ accessed April, 29, 2011 <http://www.conradmbewe.com/2011/12/zambia-as-christian-nation.html>.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

nothing distinguishing Zambia from secular countries'.¹¹¹ Father Joe Komakoma, Executive Secretary for the Catholic Commission for Social Justice (CCJP), expressed concern over increased immorality among government officials who were increasingly amassing wealth for themselves by embezzling national funds and leaving the vulnerable disadvantaged. He lamented the 'lust for money, power, and social privileges which has been made to look like a virtue'. Furthermore, he said it gave rise to 'worsening social indicators, high poverty levels, widening gap between the rich and the poor, endemic corruption and a sharp rise in crime'.¹¹²

Austin Cheyeka, a professor of world religions at the University of Zambia provided a critical evaluation of the declaration after ten years, branding it a 'myth at best and heresy at worst'.¹¹³ He argued that the 'hope for a new order, intended to recreate the country' disappointed Christians when it did not happen. '80% of Zambians continued to live in abject poverty, disease, ignorance, violent crime, and absence of political ignominy'.¹¹⁴ He saw how Chiluba and those that supported the declaration thought it would change the nation as elusive. He further critiqued the Christian nation rhetoric as an example of 'talked theology' rather than praxis.¹¹⁵ Cheyeka's core argument encapsulated the fact that Chiluba's focus on the Christian nation was intended to 'divert people's attention from issues of accountability, democratic governance and transparency

¹¹¹ Ibid; 'Zambia Reduced To Sodom and Gomorrah,' *The Post*, May 27, 1996, 6; Masautso Lungu, 'Step Down FTJ,' *The Post*, March 1, 1996, 1; Steve M. Lubansa, 'Four years of MMD Brought Moral decay,' *The Post*, April 17, 1996, 7; Carolyne Mwanza, 'Our Democracy has Been Replaced By Chilubacracy,' *The Post*, February 2, 1996, 5; 'I Hate Zambia Because of MMD: Mwendalubi,' *The Post*, March 11, 1996, 5.

¹¹² J.Komakoma (ed), *The Social Teaching of The Catholic Bishops and Other Christian Leaders in Zambia: Major Pastoral Letters and Statements 1953-2001* (Ndola: Mission Press, 2003), 224; Darlington Banda, 'Politics of Poverty,' *The Post*, October 8, 1996, 6; For information on figures relating to Zambia's socio-economic status between 1992-2000 see Cheyeka, 'Concept of Zambia,' (1995), quoting the Social Statistical Office in Lusaka; Kalipa Kakwiku, 'Zambia's False Spirituality,' *The Post*, December 11, 1996, 7.

¹¹³ Cheyeka, 'Concept of Zambia,' 169.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 183.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 172.

to spiritual matters, to the extent that even naturally inevitable events such as the reintroduction of multi-party politics was described as a spiritual event'.¹¹⁶

During Chiluba's tenure, the EFZ was criticised because their executive committee failed to make a stand on the declaration. Their silence gave the impression that they were more interested in safeguarding their loyalty to the state as opposed to spiritual change. According to Temfwe, this consequently 'compromised their prophetic role and affected their influence as a watchdog and moral consciousness of the nation'.¹¹⁷

When interviewed in 2011, Temfwe argued that having a nation that is labelled Christian has led to some 'sins' being viewed as greater than others. Temfwe stated that if Zambians were sincere about sin they should also have made adultery a criminal offence. He further equated the 'Christian Nation declaration with the opening of 'Pandora's Box', as it would mean having to justify why some sins are more acceptable than others.

It is not surprising that many Zambians have continued to be protective of the declaration for over two decades. From the start, the declaration has been treated as some form of magic charm that is carried around to give the bearer a sense of protection. For some it is perceived to be a protection against the woes of the evil one seeking to destroy the nation. The mention of the declaration in a communal gathering provides a sense of unity and identity.¹¹⁸ It can foster a false sense of privilege for those who profess to be the children of God as they might feel responsible for Zambia's perceived good fortune. But as people return to their various lives, each person has their own socio-economical battles to fight. When a parent cannot feed her/his children; when injustice is encountered and people in authority are witnessed enriching themselves at the

¹¹⁶Ibid, 173.

¹¹⁷ Temfwe, 'An Analysis,' 74.

¹¹⁸ Cheyeka, 'Concept of Zambia,' 170.

expense of the poor, does the individual then stop to think about what the 'Christian nation' is doing to safeguard them from injustice?

The prosperity gospel has been publicised through Zambian national television as well as North American literature and evangelical crusades.¹¹⁹ It is an issue that is closely related to the 'Christian nation' declaration. Furthermore, that the airing of religious fundamentalists like Pat Robertson through the 700 Club and many more on Trinity Broadcasting Network in the 90s, exposed Zambians to North American Christian fundamentalism. One effect of this was the banning of homosexuality and adverts promoting condoms.¹²⁰ At the same time, Temfwe argued that 'a lack of equal opportunities, high mortality rates, social disintegration, poverty, AIDS and unemployment made the prosperity gospel inappropriate despite the fact that many bought into it'.¹²¹ Part of the blame can be placed on clergy who continued to skilfully orchestrate sermons that glorified the declaration and the prosperity gospel as a guarantee for national and individual prosperity. On the other hand, more nuanced methods of analysing the prosperity paradigm have arisen from the African context. For example, in trying to understand what African PC churches' responses are to issues of economic development, Nimi Wariboko examined 'aspects of the social teachings of African Pentecostal churches related to national economic prosperity through five paradigms (covenant, spiritualist, leadership, nationalist and developmental)'.¹²²

Key questions to be addressed in terms of the 'prosperity gospel' include the following: In a Christian nation how can the 'prosperity doctrine' be justified when wealth is confined to those

¹¹⁹ With roots in Kenneth Hagin and William Kenyon who proclaimed that God desired that his children experience good health and material wealth and prosperity as long as they have faith.

¹²⁰ Temfwe, 'An Analysis,' 54.

¹²¹ Ibid, 60.

¹²² Nimi Wariboko, 'Pentecostal Paradigms of National Economic Prosperity in Africa,' in Katherine Attanasi and Amos Yong (eds), *Pentecostalism and Prosperity: The Socio-Economics of the Global Charismatic Movement* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 36-59.

who are corrupt and enrich themselves at the expense of the poor and vulnerable? Should those who excel do so by shedding innocent blood, practising injustice and the use of 'corrupted scales'? Are these not the things that are abominable to the Lord? What about lessons on loving your neighbour as yourself, acting justly, loving mercy and walking humbly before God? What about feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and those in prison and caring more for others rather than for oneself? These are issues that critics of the declaration have articulated and I argue that the declaration in itself was not the catalyst for socio-economical and socio-political change in Zambia. According to Cheyeka, 'God is our liberator from all things including economic and political idols, but in his liberating actions he does not act like a magician. He requires our cooperation and humanity to improve the situation'.¹²³ God is not waiting on the declaration although it cannot be denied that He takes pleasure in people that acknowledge His Lordship and surrender to his will. The message that should have been preached was not a sermon on the benefits of declaring Zambia as a Christian nation but rather one suggesting that God is waiting on people to rise up, engage and serve others through individual acts of kindness. This would be a catalyst for national transformation. It is evident that Chiluba may not have thought that such virtues were necessary to build a nation. How then might it be possible to organise a polity capable of encouraging the development of the necessary virtues of development and citizenship?

Roman Catholics have continued to be cynical about the declaration even in the 21st century. Archbishop Mpundu, a Roman Catholic called it 'a useless declaration, claiming it did not help anyone and put Christians in bad light'.¹²⁴ He believed the church and the state could not have

¹²³ Cheyeka, 'Concept of Zambia,' 181.

¹²⁴ 'A Christian Nation In Zambia: Interview With Archbishop of Lusaka Zambia,' (23/05/10) accessed May 2, 2012 <http://www.zenit.org/rssenglish-29345>.

close ties and pointed to the historic problems within Judeo-Christian religion when attempts had been made to amalgamate priesthood and kingship, resulting in the later taking precedence over the former. Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda, who was minister without portfolio and then Vice President to Chiluba, disagreed with this assessment and asserted that Mpundu's words were 'a direct assault to Christianity and inconsiderate to those that believed in it'.¹²⁵ Miyanda noted that whilst he did not favour the way that Catholics wear crosses, he chose to respect their beliefs and did not call this 'nonsensical'. He said rather than just wearing a cross they could practice what they preach by 'reconciling and forgiving one another'.¹²⁶

Isabel Phiri argued that Chiluba 'set up criteria by which he would be judged and ultimately found wanting'.¹²⁷ When a proclamation of this nature is made, a standard is set about the way state and civil affairs would be run. However, it can also be argued that the declaration gives Zambia its identity just like similar declarations in Islamic states.

Credit should be granted to PC leaders and other individuals that have worked tirelessly in a bid to safeguard the declaration for over two decades. They have not only supported it in the media but have also attended national constitution making processes to ensure the declaration is retained in the national constitution. Based on the arguments presented, it is clear that Zambians remain divided on the Chiluba declaration. The way forward could be a gathering of all religious umbrella bodies to represent the views of their membership in order to look into this matter critically or have a national referendum. It is quite evident that independent statements in the

¹²⁵ 'Catholic Bishop Annoys Miyanda Over Remarks That Christian Nation is Nonesensical.' *Ndola Times*, accessed April 12, 2012 <http://www.ndolatimes.com/catholic-bishop-annoys-miyanda-over-remarks-that-christian-declaration-is-nonsensical/>.

¹²⁶ 'Catholic Bishop Annoys Miyanda Over Remarks That Christian Nation is Nonesensical.' *Ndola Times*, accessed April 12, 2012 <http://www.ndolatimes.com/catholic-bishop-annoys-miyanda-over-remarks-that-christian-declaration-is-nonsensical/>.

¹²⁷ Phiri, 'President Frederick J.T. Chiluba of Zambia,' 401.

press, for and against the declaration among clergy, have not led to a solution to this debate. A public symposium would attract all people concerned in order to voice their concerns. Furthermore, a simple questionnaire can be made available and circulated in public places as well as churches to gather responses to the claims within the declaration.

One might ask, what is the point of the declaration when Zambia's civil activities are contrary to what God would require of the nation? For those that are critical, it may be worth their while to consider those that are doing what is right in the sight of God.¹²⁸ Ultimately, the people and not a select few should be the ones to decide on the direction of the declaration because that is what democracy entails.

A final major issue that brought contention among the church and the general public, at the end of Chiluba's second term was when he decided to change the constitution in order to allow him to run for a third term.

4.7 Pentecostal Charismatic contributions to Electoral Processes (2001): The Oasis Forum; Working against Chiluba's Third Term Bid

As Chiluba's second term was coming to an end in 2001 he was not ready to relinquish his position and proposed to alter the national constitution to allow him to run for a third term. He was vehemently opposed by the church in general (including PCs) and civil society groups. This led to the Oasis Forum which was formed in 2001 as a coalition of church and civil society organizations (EFZ, CCZ, ZEC and NGOCC- Non Governmental Organisations Coordinating Committee) to oppose President Chiluba's desire to run a third term. In the February before the November 2001 elections, the Oasis Forum circulated a petition which contained a 'strongly

¹²⁸ Micah 6:8 (NIV).

worded message' opposing the third term.¹²⁹ This document was drafted by the three religious umbrella bodies. The Oasis Forum can be likened to ZEMECC, but not as extensive. The forum's first Chairperson was Christopher Mundia, a lawyer and Chairperson of the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ).¹³⁰ The money to host the first forum was donated by LAZ. The first coordinator was Bishop Mwenda a Pentecostal of Bethel Church in Nyumbayanga Township, Lusaka. The executive director was Bishop Mususu, another Pentecostal, who was then Executive Director of the EFZ. At that time, the role of PCs was both positive and negative. Unlike other umbrella bodies which spoke with one voice, EFZ members were divided because some still wanted Chiluba to stay in power. Another independent body was formed called Independent Churches of Zambia (ICOZ) headed by Reverend Masupa. ICOZ was an organization that was formed to counteract all the other religious umbrella bodies who took a stand against the third term bid. Its core membership was drawn from the born-again churches that supported Chiluba, and Reverend Masupa stood openly in favour of the third term. However the Oasis Forum was successful in its campaign as Chiluba's bid for a third term did not succeed. Whilst the MMD won the elections, Levy Mwanawasa, who was Chiluba's Vice President became President. EFZ continued to be a part of the Oasis Forum but resigned from it in April 2011.

¹²⁹ Okite, 'Church Leaders Publicly Oppose,' 26.

¹³⁰ An Interview with Musa Mwenye, President of the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ) and lawyer in private practice. He was spokesperson of Oasis Forum in 2007. He was honorary secretary of LAZ at the start and the association seconded him to the OASIS forum because LAZ, EFZ, ZEC, CCZ and NGOCC were members of the OASIS Forum. He is a Pentecostal and an elder in a church called Royal Family Church with Bishop Juston Katebe as an overseer who was previously the right hand man of Nervous Mumba. LAZ is a statutory body created under an act of parliament. The Law Association of Zambia Act and its objectives are to foster the rule of law, development of law and basic individual human rights. They have 16 objectives and 11 of them talk about interfacing with public and doing works that foster rights of people in the public and public institutions and also the interest of the legal profession as a whole. They have inward looking and outward looking responsibilities as under the Law association of Zambia Act. They are not part of government but a non-governmental organisation, despite being formed under an act of parliament. The LAZ has historically been viewed as a lobby group championing individual freedoms and human rights.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the engagement of PC Christians in the political arena during Frederick Chiluba's presidency. In a televised speech Rupiah Banda (who later became President at the time of Chiluba's death, said that many will remember him 'for laying the foundation towards the liberalization of the economy leading to the present economic growth Zambia is experiencing'.¹³¹ Chiluba did not only long for political freedom, he also endeavoured to replace what was considered 'Kaunda's debt ridden centrally planned economy with a free market'.¹³² In addition to the many national and political reforms introduced, he also ensured that Christianity was promoted. According to Okite, 'he opened the country up to the gospel and brought it from the fringes to the centre of Zambia public affairs'.¹³³ He ensured preference was given to churches by allowing the ministry of education to open classrooms on Sundays which made it possible for churches without buildings to worship. He also gave large sums of money to churches for church building projects. Furthermore, renowned evangelists like Ernest Angeley and Benny Hinn (both from the United States) were invited a number of times to hold crusades that were funded by the state. This precipitated concerns from the general public about the influx of American evangelists at the expense of tax payer's money.¹³⁴ Chiluba argued that, 'as a leader of Zambia, I have a responsibility to show the nation God's ways. Zambia needs proper healing by bringing in servants of God to liberate it from sin'.¹³⁵ A religious desk was created at State

¹³¹ 'MUVI TV- RB Praises ex-President President Chiluba,' accessed June 18, 2011

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MPA_AZFYJ-0&feature=relmfu; James Muyanwa, 'Frederick Chiluba, Father of Economic liberalization,' *Times of Zambia*, June 22, 2011, 6.

¹³² 'Painful Day For Zambia,' *Times of Zambia*, June 27, 2011, 1; 'Chiluba Passes On,' (18/06/11) accessed April 11, 2012 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kHLUbVYVz_E.

¹³³ Okite, 'Church Leaders Publicly Oppose Third Term,' 26.

¹³⁴ Some wondered if at all this was a money making scheme for televangelists. Paschalina Phiri, 'Are Religious Crusades a Front For Business?' *The Weekly Post*, November 8-14, 1991, 3.

¹³⁵ 'Zambia Needs Healing,' *Times of Zambia*, 22 May 1992,1

House which aimed to strengthen church-state relationships.¹³⁶ Reverend Peter Chintala, a Baptist minister, was to head this desk and drafted a constitution to govern it. However a year and half after it was formed the government had still not defined the role of the church in the Christian nation. This implied ‘a lack of foresight and serious approach to the church and state relationship.’¹³⁷

The period between 1991 and 2001 was a pivotal era in the development of PC history in Zambia because it is was during this decade that their involvement in political affairs became more evident. The declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation was a key event during the Chiluba era. Noble as it may have appeared it became a yardstick by which the Christian government’s performance was measured. Despite the negative press that accompanied Chiluba’s government,¹³⁸ the PC movement continued to flourish, contributing not only to the religious presence but also the reshaping of the religious culture in Zambia. Resistance from mainline churches to some of their beliefs and practices was still widespread, but was more limited than it had been during the first republic. However, the irony lay in the fact that, with time, PC spirituality began to permeate and influence the same churches so strongly that they too began to incorporate some of its practices within their own liturgies.

In the area of healthcare, social justice and other civic interventions, PC churches during the Chiluba era had not developed greatly. Furthermore, many of their churches were still not large enough and lacked the social capital to develop social programmes that would impact upon their communities on a large or moderate scale. Most of the leaders I interviewed stated that help was

¹³⁶ Zimba and Mangani, ‘Kabushi Congregation,’ 9.

¹³⁷ Temfwe, ‘An Analysis,’ 58-70.

¹³⁸ For example, Reverend M’membe in a newspaper article ‘felt the declaration was done to hoodwink the genuinely God-fearing citizen to win their support, and prey on majority Zambians’ religious emotions’. Masautso Phiri, ‘Ramifications of a Christian Nation, *The Post*, March 25, 1996, 5; ‘Is Chiluba Really A Born Again?’ *The Post* March 26, 1996, 5.

mainly given to members of their churches and their families as the needs arose. Help would also be given to people within their communities that knocked their door seeking help in various forms.

It is difficult to evaluate the record of PC Christians in Kaunda's government because no research has been carried out in that area. Equally there are no records to show whether any of the government officials during Kaunda's tenure were influenced by the 'born-again' movement. Even if they were, it is possible that they would not have made that information public due to the negative publicity that born-again Christians experienced at that time (as explained in Chapters two and three). The first time that born-again Pentecostals and Charismatic Christians are seen to directly participate in political affairs was during the Chiluba era - because Chiluba consciously appointed born-again Christians to his cabinet. Similarly, the movement had continued to grow from the 1980s onwards, so that PC Christians were now to be found in all areas of civic life and politics.

Many PC Christians regard politics as a 'dirty game', thus causing the church to distance itself, and opt for a prophetic relationship instead, where moral guidance and championing the cause of justice and the poor is preferred. Within the game of politics, perhaps some degree of deception, manipulation, compromise and coercion, is inevitable. According to Claver, 'popular confidence in politics has never been particularly high. Accusations of sleaze, impropriety and lack of integrity have further tarnished an already soiled public image.

Such judgements may well be both harsh and unfair, but they represent a rising tide of public opinion'.¹³⁹ This echoes the opinion of the majority of Zambians concerning state officials.

¹³⁹ C. Claver, *Thinking Clearly about the Truth* (London: Monarch publications, 1995), 177.

Corruption has existed since the first republic, with numerous accounts of the embezzlement of national funds. It has become increasingly clear that in Zambia's political history (similar to that of many African states), the 'state is basically those that own it'.¹⁴⁰ Chiluba served as an embarrassing example of a born-again Christian in politics. Even a decade after his leaving office, millions of tax payers' money were spent trying to prosecute him for the money he stole from the state.¹⁴¹ Despite Chiluba's hope that the declaration would be a guarantee of success, Chalwe claims 'he, like his predecessor left a legacy of poverty and political oppression'.¹⁴²

Chiluba and many Christians desired a nation that would not only be an example to other African states as a model for democracy but a 'Godly' nation that embodied God's kingdom on earth. Looking at his commitment to the moral state as well as the prosperity of the nation, one can assume that Chiluba's declaration was made in good faith. The irony is that the one thing that

¹⁴⁰ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 17.

¹⁴¹ Angela Chishimba, 'Law Firm Wants K1.5 Billion From FTJ,' *Zambia Daily Mail*, January 7, 2006, 1; Larry Monze, 'Chiluba Being Pursued For Stealing From State,' *The Post*, January, 10, 2006, 1 and 4; George Chellah and Speedwell Mupuchi, 'Chiluba Charged With Theft of \$507,000 of Public Funds,' *The Post*, February 22, 2006, 1 and 4; Kasuba Mulenga, 'Chiluba challenges Law Firm Over K10, 000, 000 Saga,' *Zambia Daily Mail*, January 10, 2006, 1; Patson Chilemba, 'Chiluba's Conscience is Not Free Says Nkole,' *The Post*, June 7, 2011, 4; Amos Malupenga, 'Chiluba Petitions African Union Over Governments Decision to Prosecute Him in London,' *The Post*, January 30, 2006, 1 and 4. Despite Chiluba's court cases on the same newspaper pages where he was being charged with theft of tax payers money, an article was written to recognise a Peace Award for what was deemed his 'untiring efforts and dynamic contribution to uphold peace in Africa. This was to be presented to him in Togo at an Africa Peace Conference. Webster Milambo, 'Chiluba Gets Peace Award,' *The Post*, February 22, 2006, 1 and 4. In January of 2006, Pastor Nevers Mumba, despite all what was being said about Chiluba's corruption stated he was not convinced that Chiluba stole. He believed there wasn't enough evidence to pin Chiluba down. 'Nevers Defends Chiluba: I am not Convinced He Stole,' *The Post*, January 4, 2006, 1 and 4. The next day, another newspaper article was published and Mumba was reprimanded for being inconsistent with his statements regarding Chiluba's case. Mr Tilyenji accused Mumba of putting his mouth where his money was. Tilyenji said he was convinced Chiluba stole maize and copper scandal, oil tanks that went missing and copper sales that that could not be traced. He said Mumba was inconsistent because in 2002, Mumba, who was then president of the National Citizens Coalition Party had 'demanded that Chiluba be arrested in order for then President Mwanawasa to prove he was committed to the fight against Corruption'. In February 2004 Mumba, when he was vice President advised Chiluba to return 75% of the money he stole. In May of the same year Mumba defended Chiluba by stating, 'he did not use the pulpit to defend himself.' It is for this reason that Chiluba's statement was deemed contradictory. Speedwell Mupuchi, 'Nevers Should Be Consistent,' *The Post*, January 5, 2006, 1 and 4. In another article, Mumba was described as 'inconsistent and an opportunist'. He was also compared to 'early missionaries when they used their Bibles to plunder the African continent'. Ever since he entered politics the article stated that 'he has used his word for selfish means, casting doubt and fear into people's minds. Uncle Bill, 'Nevers At It Again,' *Sunday Post*, January 8, 2006, 5; Kasuba Mulenga, 'London Law Firm Inspects Files in FTJ Case,' *Zambia Daily Mail*, March 3, 2006, 8.

¹⁴² Chalwe, 'An Evaluation of the Mission History,' 121; 'Chiluba Planned to Pay Malambo by Giving Him Property Says Witness,' *The Post*, February 16, 2006, 22.

was meant to unite the church is one that caused division due to the lack of consultation and failure of government to live up to the standards it was championing. Despite this, Christians did not cease to pray for their leader as well as the nation amidst the unrest. The evangelistic nature of the PC movement accelerated during this time because Chiluba implemented laws that made the registration of churches easy.

Chiluba's period of office from 1991 to 2001 thus serves as a significant example of PC civic and political engagement in Zambia. The next chapter continues to look at the post Chiluba era. This chapter will cover a span of eleven years (2001-2012) and will investigate the various ways in which the PC movement has engaged with matters of civic concern.

Chapter 5. Towards an Evaluation of Pentecostal/Charismatic Political Engagement Post Chiluba Era (2001-2012)

5.1 Introduction

Having examined in the first four chapters the Pentecostal and Charismatic (PC) activities in the area of civic engagement between 1964 and 2001, this chapter will focus mainly on contemporary PC engagement with politics (statecraft) from 2001 to 2012. PCs were previously deemed to be other-worldly as opposed to this-worldly. This chapter presents a mirror image of this perception and reflects a marked difference in the approach to civic engagement from earlier eras, especially the period between 1964 and the 1980s. According to Miller and Yamamori, ‘this movement reflects the increasing maturation of PCs as they develop from being an otherworldly sect, to a dominant force in reshaping global Christianity’.¹ This chapter and Chapter six will demonstrate how PCs have used their leverage to make valuable contributions to socio-political activities within the country. Politics in this case will be understood in a comprehensive way (statecraft and soulcraft) as opposed to just the art of statecraft. It therefore includes ‘human life in the public arena where the various dimensions of religious culture, society, economics and government activity interface’.² PCs in Zambia, regardless of the size of their individual congregations continue to aspire to contribute to the areas of health, politics, education and development. Their praxis has helped to challenge the apolitical (soulcraft) and anti-social assumptions that once tainted their history. Besides spiritualising their reasons for civic engagement as a transcendental mandate, they have also been willing to develop nuanced and diverse perspectives by learning

¹Donald Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori. *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (London: University of California Press, 2007), 212.

² Amos Yong, *In the Days of Caesar: Pentecostalism and Political Theology* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010), xix.

from and engaging with other Christian groups.³ Consequently they are continuing to move beyond the condemnation and demonization of those churches involved in socio-political issues and areas of development. As a result, they have embraced a holistic gospel that is relevant practically and sensitive to the needs of the people within the church and the wider community. While a church might have a decent understanding of the transcendent and a well organised leadership with a desire to impact the public domain (on a small or grand scale), different forms of capital are key. Therefore, at this stage, PC churches have begun to develop physical capital in terms of tools like machines and other productive equipment; human capital in form of skills and knowledge gained from people within different structures and classes of people,⁴ and social capital in terms of relations between persons with ‘social networks that have norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness arising from them.’⁵ Generally, when these forms of capital start to become evident within churches that have a drive for civic engagement, their influence on the public domain is inevitable. Consequently, their experiences of civic engagement will have an impact on their understanding of the transcendent as well as how they may better organise themselves to meet the dynamic needs of their communities. Pentecostals have in the past been accused of being ‘indifferent to matters of social concern,’⁶ and exhibiting what Amos Yong describes as an ‘uncritical nationalism,

³ Zambia HIV/AIDS Partnership in the Workplace, Anti-Retroviral (ARV) Drugs in Zambia (leaflet); Ecumenical ventures have mainly surrounded political issues and more so matters of HIV/AIDS where they have affiliated themselves with organizations that bring together churches and other organizations dealing with issues of HIV/AIDS like Churches Health Association of Zambia (CHAZ), Zambia National AIDS Network (ZNAN), Zambia HIV/AIDS Partnership in the Workplace and Network of Zambia People Living with HIV/AIDS (NZP+).

⁴ J. C. Coleman, ‘Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital,’ *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988): 100.

⁵ Robert D. Putnam, ‘Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital,’ *Journal of Democracy* 6.1 (1995): 19.

⁶ Dhan Prakash, ‘Towards a Theology of Social Concern: A Pentecostal Perspective,’ *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, 3 (1), 2010, 65-97 (97).

consumerism and political quiescence’.⁷ This thesis will demonstrate their gradual evolution towards a more positive and engaged attitude and the social capital in aid of that.

In order to explore this in more detail, this chapter will be divided into two parts. Having noted that the general shift in PC attitude towards social concern, the first part will address the characteristics of PC spirituality with regards to their political engagement by answering the following questions: What is motivating this shift? Why are PCs now more engaged in civic activism? How have they moved from a complete emphasis on the imminent return of Christ to engaging in matters of civic concern (politics), while waiting for his return? The second part will address the various strategies they are using to accelerate their social and political efforts.

Drawing mainly from primary sources, such as interviews, participant observations, data analysed from questionnaire surveys and secondary sources, this chapter will examine PC engagement with political issues and processes as well as the initiatives they have put in place in order to engage politically. It will be concluded that they have accelerated their efforts in engaging politically, developing programmes and structures and learning from mainline churches which have, for many years, contributed to the building and sustenance of public institutions. On the other hand, this chapter will offer a critique of their weakened prophetic voice with regards to political affairs, a lack of engagement with critical national issues that would allow them to contribute intelligently to debates, a fragmented voice and an overdependence on prayer as opposed to action to tackle state injustices crippling the wider society. The engagement with politics will include electoral

⁷ Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, xiii.

politics, politics through prayer and spiritual warfare (which will include an analysis of two prayer events; the Jesus Cares for Souls March 2010 and the EFZ Peace Building initiative rally in 2011), and economics which will consider the prosperity gospel (with reference to the cultivation of the ideas of entrepreneurship). There are other areas covered by EFZ that can be related to politics such as their advocacy on human rights, social justice, food security, and HIV/AIDS.⁸ Issues relating to HIV/AIDS however, will be looked at in more detail in the next chapter.

This chapter and Chapter six are interdisciplinary in nature and the data used to develop them was collected by employing methods drawn from the social sciences, history and theological research. Furthermore, this chapter will try to enable a greater understanding of the meaning that PCs attach to their civic engagement. As noted above, PC civic engagement in Zambia has not received enough academic attention. Therefore, this thesis provides an innovative integration of the subject matter, with significant additional findings that will contribute to the wider discussion on PC social action in Africa and across the globe. Chapter five brings together anthropology and the quantitative congregational survey data collected through the administration of questionnaires. The questionnaire survey, which was mainly distributed among church members, was used to supplement interviews that were carried out among church leaders. The aim was to provide balanced responses and a basis for generalizations from Christians from the grassroots of the church as well as their leaders.⁹

⁸ For more information see EFZ, Rights Based Advocacy Program on Food Security and HIV/AIDS (Leaflet)

⁹ Ibid, 266.

5.2 Current Distinctive Characteristics, Spiritual Practices and Experiences of Pentecostal/Charismatic Christians

In his book *Fire From Heaven*, Harvey Cox draws the reader's attention to the radical position that Pentecostals have adopted across the globe. Appearing to have 'dampened their initial eschatological fire,' Cox argues that many have accelerated their pursuit of 'success and indulgence,'¹⁰ more so with the spread of the prosperity doctrine. This pursuit has to some extent diluted their austerity and puritanism and created a platform that has made PCs more visible in the public arena. Building upon this, the first section of this chapter will address the motivation behind PC political engagement as well as examine factors and characteristics that encourage or impede their political engagement. This will be achieved by discussing the current distinctive characteristics of PC spirituality and theological shifts that have had a direct bearing on their praxis in addressing matters of social concern.

5.2.1 A Other-Worldly and This-Worldly Spirituality: Personal and National Development

As much as PCs still retain what may be considered an other-worldly kind of spirituality, they have with time also embraced a this-worldly spirituality. This is due to the development of a spirituality that not only focuses on eschatological glory ('this world is not our home, we are just passing through') but balances that with existential questions and an emphasis on engaging with the affairs of this world. This emphasis retains the idea that the kingdom of God is present in the world and not something that is still to come. According to this worldview it is possible to experience eschatological glory on earth and, therefore, Christians should be in the forefront promoting

¹⁰ Harvey Cox, *Fire From Heaven, The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 1995), 317-318.

kingdom values, having an understanding already of what heaven is like. In support of this, Pastor Eddie Chansa states, ‘the kingdom of God is not the future but is now’.¹¹ Similarly, Bishop Eddie Mulenga argued, ‘we the Pentecostals are trying to rise up to be relevant and yes there is a shift and this is why we are rising up to build schools, orphanages and hospitals, and engaging in politics’.¹² It is important to note that this kingdom rhetoric differs from the Vineyard Movement Kingdom Theology of John Wimber,¹³ which places emphasis on the presence of supernatural kingdom signs such as healing and deliverance. Similarly, Yong makes reference to ‘Pentecostals who have been shaped by dispensational eschatology, emphasizing missions and evangelism’.¹⁴ Wimber’s Kingdom Theology and Yong’s description have little relevance to politics and social engagement with the consequent ability to divert attention from such activities within the Zambian context.

5.2.2 The Prosperity Gospel: Current Trends

The prosperity gospel’s popularity grew in Zambia in the early 1990s with the influence of North American televangelists. During interviews with a number of the Zambian preachers that preached prosperity on television at that time, they agreed that they had been influenced by North American prosperity teaching. However, they said that their understanding has been altered leading them to take a less aggressive approach because some of ideas underpinning the prosperity gospel were

¹¹ Interview with Pastor Eddie Chansa, Senior Pastor and founder of Lifeline Community Fellowship in Lusaka on 10/08/11.

¹² Interview with Bishop Eddie Mulenga, Senior Pastor and founder of Liberty Christian Centre in Lusaka on 6/08/11.

¹³ For more information on the Kingdom Theology see Derek Morpew, ‘The Kingdom: Healing the Dualism of personal and Social Ethics’ *Vineyard USA*, accessed September 12, 2012 <http://www.vineyardusa.org/site/about/article/kingdom-healing-dualism-personal-and-social-ethics>.; Berten A Waggoner, ‘The Theology and Practice of the Kingdom of God,’ *Vineyard USA*, accessed September 12, 2012 <http://www.vineyardusa.org/site/about/article/theology-practice-kingdom-god-waggoner>.

¹⁴ Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 5.

not practical within the Zambian context.¹⁵ They admitted that to a certain degree they needed to raise funds to keep the station running. It would be unfair to dismiss the fact that they were equally interested in the welfare of the people and wanted them to prosper financially in the plight of the poverty that many Zambians were experiencing. The numerous testimonies of people that claimed to have received financial freedom after giving to the work of God on TBN should account for some measure of success in this gospel. However, this raises the question of validity as there has not been any research carried out to follow up people that provided such testimonies to find out if their testimonies of financial breakthroughs were sustained and legitimate. On the other hand, even if they were legitimate, their numbers are unlikely to have been statistically significant. Based on the questionnaire survey, 70% agreed with the statement, ‘God grants material prosperity to all believers who have enough faith’.¹⁶ By contrast, 50.2% agreed with the statement ‘God does not always give wealth to believers who have faith.’ 38.1% disagreed with this.¹⁷ What was apparent during this research was that an adaptation had taken place of the teaching of the prosperity gospel. Two trends were identified as emerging within this gospel. One trend follows a move from a magical approach to attaining wealth, to a cultivation of entrepreneurship. Following this is a move

¹⁵ Interviews with Pastor Danny Pule, Senior Pastor of Dunamis Christian Centre in Lusaka on 17/08/11; Interview with Pastor Helmut Reutter, Senior Pastor of Gospel Outreach Fellowship in Lusaka on 10/08/10; Interview with Pastor George Mbulo, Senior Pastor of Capital Christian Centre in Lusaka on 10/08/11. Teachings on the Prosperity gospel were introduced to Zambia in the 1960’s when Oral Roberts came to Zambia for a crusade. During that time, there was an increase in North American literature with authors writing on prosperity. However, this gospel became even more popular particularly in the 1990’s. Its emphasis on the idea that God was not only interested in the spirituality of man but also his health and finances, to be physically healthy and financially wealthy became a pervasive teaching among many PC churches. What varied was the level of emphasis within different denominations. The idea of ‘sowing a seed’ or ‘seed faith,’ through the giving of tithes and offerings in faith was taught as what stirred God’s blessings. To a greater extent, the coming of an American Christian channel, Trinity Broadcasting Network in 1998 precipitated this theology and the local preachers that were also aired on TBN reiterated the same message. Mainly people were asked to ‘sow their seeds’ to TBN Zambia in order for God to bless them and to help support the running of the network.

¹⁶ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.49.

¹⁷ Ibid.

from a focus on personal enrichment to altruistic behaviour. These trends are linked with how people participate and contribute to the economics of the country, which also remains within the confines of the definition of politics given in the introduction.

5.2.2.1 From Magic to Entrepreneurship

The emphasis on receiving financial blessings from God initially took a ‘magical approach’. The idea was that, once you ‘sowed’ a (financial) seed or any valuable possession this action would automatically activate financial and material blessings from God. However, currently there has been a shift to an entrepreneurial approach where people are encouraged to work hard and become entrepreneurs with multiple sources of income. In the survey, 97.4% agreed that hard work is important for people’s economic success;¹⁸ at the same time 92% also agreed that unemployment was a very big problem in Zambia.¹⁹ More than 64% of Zambians live below the poverty line, and according to Wylbur Simuusa, Minister of Mines in Zambia, it is ranked among the 20 poorest countries in the world.²⁰

Entrepreneurship has been encouraged through sermons but more so through conferences and workshops either held within churches or externally in conference halls. Large summits have become a common feature of PC churches. They showcase national and international speakers who teach people how to become entrepreneurs and leaders; how to save, invest and be debt free; how to think innovatively and positively and how to develop a mind-set of wealth creation.²¹ These

¹⁸ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.348.

¹⁹ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.349.

²⁰ Christoffer Guldbrandsen, ‘Why Poverty? Stealing Africa’ BBC iPlayer Documentary on Zambia’s Copper Mines, accessed November 27, 2012 http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/p010jx25/Why_Poverty_Stealing_Africa/; The United Nations Human Development Report in 2011 ranked Zambia as 24th International Development Indicators <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>

²¹ David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World their Parish* (Malden: Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 151

virtues are then coupled with believing that God will bless these efforts. This challenges the ‘perceptions that PCs are fundamental reactionaries as members are reaching out for a reality that is life changing, life affirming and future oriented’.²² Christians are encouraged to compete in the corporate world by becoming employers who create jobs, thereby contributing to the economic growth of the country. During the May 2012 Unleashing the Kingdom of God summit organized by Mount Zion Christian Centre, Dr Cindy Trimm from the United States, (an international preacher and key note speaker, with expertise in business and politics who can be likened to other similar African preachers like Mensa Otabil from Ghana),²³ gave tips on how Zambians should begin to think about doing business on an international scale, by taking advantage of the many globally marketable natural resources that the country possesses.²⁴ It is such conferences that encourage social and economic mobility among church members and their leaders. This is because they encourage Christians to think beyond their means and participate in the economy in various ways. Such conferences also help people think politically as once political issues are brought to the fore, people begin to think of ways in which they can participate in the restructuring and development of the country.²⁵ Pastors that have directly engaged in politics fall within this category.²⁶ Miller and Yamamori call such pastors ‘progressive’²⁷ because they contribute to the

²² Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 217.

²³ Gifford, *African Christianity* (1988); J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics: Current Developments Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostals in Ghana* (Lieden and Boston: Brill, 2005). PC Christianity in Zambia has also been greatly influenced by the teachings of preachers like David Oyedepo from Nigeria, Mensa Otabil from Ghana, Tudor Bismark from Zimbabwe, Propht Hubert Chigumira from Zimbabwe and Pastor Chris Oyakhilome from Nigeria. They are usually invited to preach at conferences organised by mega church churches in Lusaka and are also showcased on Zambian television channels. Their literature is usually well advertised and on sale at these events.

²⁴ Dr. Cindy Trimm, ‘Kingdom Technologies,’ Unleashing The Kingdom of God Summit DVD, 24/04/12.

²⁵ Skype interview with Pastor Bruce Msidi, Senior Pastor and Founder of Mount Zion Christian Centre in Lusaka on 24/03/12.

²⁶ Paul Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia Africa and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 21.

²⁷ Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 217.

reshaping of society and culture by promoting virtues of hard work, leadership and social concern as opposed to corruption and laziness.²⁸ This shift was supported by the survey, as 88.4% stated that Christians are increasing their influence on life in Zambia.²⁹ This magical approach, which links in with the Malachi rhetoric, is one sided and superficial because it focusses on the few verses in Malachi 3: 6-12 and builds a whole theology of giving tithes and offerings to the church.³⁰ I argue for a more balanced approach in the ‘magic to entrepreneurship’ trend to demonstrate the fact that the prosperity gospel has currently been contextualised to suit the Zambian society based on an understanding of the socio-economic and cultural realities unique to the country.

5.2.2.2 From Personal Enrichment to Altruism

The second trend in the prosperity gospel is a move from personal enrichment to altruism. The prosperity teaching has always attracted a lot of controversy because people have deemed it to be a commercialization of the gospel. The teachers of the Prosperity Doctrine have been accused of doing everything possible to appeal to people who want to be both Christian and wealthy. The main arguments are based on the irregularities that are said to accompany the scriptures used to justify the key claims of the Prosperity Gospel. Gordon Fee argues that the theological falsifications which the Prosperity Message brings to the fore are disjunctive truths that fit the American dream, thereby labelling it a cult.³¹ This is because a gospel intended to empower and

²⁸ Ibid. The central focus of this book is an examination of the increasing engagement of Pentecostals in various social ministries. Miller and Yamamori describe Progressive Pentecostals as ‘Christians who claim to be inspired by the Holy Spirit and the life of Jesus Christ and holistically address the spiritual, physical and social needs of people in their community.’ p.2 and 212.

²⁹ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.349.

³⁰ The Malachi rhetoric stems from the book of Malachi 3: 6-12. These verses talk about withholding tithes as robbing God and the giving of tithes to the church as the key for one to attain abundant blessings from God.

³¹ Gordon Fee, *The Disease of Health and Wealth Gospels* (Vancouver: Regent College Publishing, 2006), 8.

draw people to the love of God has sometimes left people cheated and exploited. The Prosperity Message is challenged because it is believed to ignore 'the implications of Christ's suffering and its exemplary significance to the deprivations of a believer' in accordance with 2 Corinthians 6:3-14.³² Unfortunately, the Prosperity Gospel can appear to depict suffering as a curse. This practice contradicts Phiri's argument stating that the 'Church can be the people of God if only the struggle for the poor is at the heart of its faith and life'.³³ Many prosperity preachers have lavish lifestyles and are constantly under scrutiny by the public with some charged with misconduct and the misuse of church money. On the other hand, the prosperity gospel can be seen as a message of self-actualization because it resonates well with the way in which Pentecostalism empowers people to reach their potential from the grassroots.

There has also been a clear shift in the way in which wealth is perceived. A new focus is placed on holistic and pragmatic ministry embracing the spiritual, material, physical and psychological. This shift inter-relates salvation, healing, deliverance, financial empowerment, education and the introduction of healthcare in church settings. The basic tenets of prosperity remain but have been adapted to include the idea that as well as personal financial enrichment, wealth should also be used for missionary work and for the benefit of the wider society. The failure of the state has also contributed to the shift towards civic engagement. Issues of corruption within the government and failure on the part of national leaders to alleviate the needs of the poor majority has caused churches to accelerate their efforts in closing gaps that have been created. Therefore, based on

³² E. M. Okwori, *Godliness for Gain: An Evaluation of the Nigerian Version of the Prosperity Gospel*. (Jos: Capro Media Services, 1995), 75.

³³ Richard Shaull, 'From Academic Research to Spiritual Transformation: Reflections on a Study of Pentecostalism in Brazil.' *Pneuma: The Journal of the Society for Pentecostal Studies* 1, 20 (Spring 1998): 95.

Droogers' three dimensional model where the sacred/transcendental dimension (PC experiences, altruistic sentiments, missionary zeal, prosperity gospel, healing, doctrine), and the internal dimension (leadership, organizational structures, gender) influence the external dimension (civic engagement, media use, ecumenical relations, transnational networks, support of certain politicians, inter-religious relations, mission, evangelism),³⁴ what these PC churches have observed and experienced on the public domain (external dimension) has driven them to get back into their churches (internal dimension) and rethink and re-organise themselves. This reorganization has included teaching members on the importance of using their wealth and resources to meet the needs of the less privileged based on the teachings of Jesus Christ. Despite the continued display of wealth through expensive cars, suits, jewellery and constant jet-setting by some more influential and wealthy PC pastors (a sign of the wealth that their members should aspire to have), this wealth has also been displayed by its use for the development of programmes that contribute to social welfare and address matters of civic concern like health, education, poverty, sanitation and social justice. Andrew Mwenda, the presiding Bishop of Bethel Ministries states 'believers should not only look at church as a Sunday service only, but also focus on everyday interactions with people at their workplaces, and political spheres should be opportunities to serve God'.³⁵

5.2.3 Deliverance Practices and Experiences

The past decade has seen a rise in the popularity of deliverance practices in many PC churches within Zambia. Pastors like Apostle Robert Bwalya from Bethel City Church are known for these

³⁴ André Droogers, 'The Power Dimensions of the Christian Community: an Anthropological Model', *Religion* 33.3 (July 2003): 263-80.

³⁵ Wiza Phiri, 'Christian Conferences Building Capacity of God's leaders,' *Christian Herald* 002, August 20,15.

practices. However, the influence has mainly been external, stemming largely from countries like Nigeria. The media has played a significant role in popularizing these practices through films from Nigeria. Another influence has come from visits from pastors like TB Joshua, a controversial Nigerian deliverance practitioner even within the PC fraternity, who has been accused of linking his practices to occult forces. Initially, he was revered and highly sought after. Chiluba, who once visited him in Nigeria, was given the opportunity to speak during his service in 2009.³⁶ Currently, Zambians' perceptions of such preachers are divided. While others believe preachers like TB Joshua are true prophets of God and continue to send money to his ministry in Nigeria in anticipation for healing and deliverance from ancestral and demonic powers, others remain critical of the powers he claims to have.³⁷ Chiluba's visit may have helped TB Joshua become more popular in Zambia at that time as he endorsed him as a highly anointed prophet of God with tremendous insights. While being interviewed by a reporter after the service, Chiluba claimed to watch Emmanuel TV (TB Joshua's Television Station) daily and encouraged ordinary Christians, clergy and national leaders to watch it too.³⁸ Despite Chiluba's visit to see TB Joshua, his underlying cardiac problem persisted and led to his death in 2011. Preachers like TB Joshua have been responsible for the development and re-shaping of healing and deliverance beliefs and practices. Central to this deliverance rhetoric has been an emphasis on deliverance from the influence of ancestral spirits deemed responsible for people's misfortunes. There is also a growing focus on self-deliverance (where one takes oneself through a process of self-exorcism as opposed

³⁶ 'Former President Frederick Chiluba Visits TB Joshua,' *CNN I Report* (14/ 12/11) accessed June 3, 2013 <http://ireport.cnn.com/docs/DOC-717822>; 'It is Critical That Leaders Watch Emmanuel TV-Chiluba,' Emmanuel TV accessed June 3, 2013 <http://thetbjoshuafanclub.wordpress.com/tag/frederick-chiluba/>.

³⁷ Interview with Pastor Lawrence Temfwe, founder of Jubilee Christian Centre on 23/08/11.

³⁸ 'Former President Frederick Chiluba Visits TB Joshua.'

to waiting on the preacher). This can be done privately or during services, where people are led into chants and prayers which they repeat, consequently leading to self-deliverance. What follows might be the vomiting of all manner of things ranging from digested food to what are deemed charms that are believed to have been planted in a person's body through witchcraft.³⁹ The films from Nigeria have also contributed to the portrayal of these kinds of deliverance manifestations. In the survey 45.3% agreed that all Christians need deliverance.⁴⁰ Spiritual warfare can risk lacking relevance to civic and political engagement as the focus is mainly on ancestral spirits and jealous family members that are seen as the cause of a person's misfortune. Instead of considering a lack of social mobility as the result of poverty, state neglect in providing basic facilities and a lack of access to education, unseen ancestral and demonic spirits are blamed. This attitude blinds people to tangible socio-political issues that reinforce their marginalization. This can explain why some church leaders do not see poor governance as a major cause of poverty or misfortune. Furthermore, if people live in impoverished or rural areas where even their leaders lack a certain level of understanding of economics and politics, with limited or no access to platforms that address the concerns of their communities, it may be a challenge for them to think past the demonic. Interestingly even the very educated believe that they need some form of deliverance from hindering spirits due to an inherent belief in tradition that places regard on ancestral curses and blessings. Such attitudes can contribute to the hindrance of political engagement to some degree.

5.2.4 Prophetic Ministries

³⁹ An interview with Deborah Nsoche, a member of the Standing in the Gap Intercessory Team on 15/08/11.

⁴⁰ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.350.

Prophetic ministries are similar to deliverance practices and are usually linked to prayer. Currently there are two main types of prophetic ministries: those that focus on individual problem-solving and those that focus on national/political issues. The former is predominant in Zambia because most pastors single out people and tell them about their past and what their future holds. If there is a problem, the person may be asked to perform certain tasks or rituals that may solve their predicament. Often they are asked to 'sow a seed' for the help they receive. At national level, there could be prophecy about how life in Zambia will be or her prospects for the future.⁴¹ Secondly, there can be critical prophecy asking for social justice and critiquing bad governance. PC influence is not as great as in Nigeria where some PC pastors have political influence and their prophecies are sometimes reported in the media to influence politics and political change.⁴² With regards to prophetic politics, Gifford criticized evangelical leaders for sometimes contributing to the legitimization and reinforcement of corrupt leaders.⁴³ He attributes this to their 'willing attitude to offer fervent prayers and praise for such leaders they deem godly due to their use of biblical

⁴¹ Pastor Nevers Mumba was once criticized for giving what was perceived as a false prophecy in 1991, when he stated that 'the United States was going to side with the Arabs against Israel as that was how people would see that God is with the people of Israel.' Mumba was told to be careful of not becoming a prophet of doom. Christopher Chishala, 'Nevers Mumba Prophecy False, *The Weekly Post*, December 20-26, 2006, 13. In 1991, during the transition to Multiparty Democracy, Mumba told viewers on television that God had given him a vision stating there would be a lot of bloodshed after the elections. Contrary to his prophecy, Zambia had a peaceful transition and many pastors including Anglican Bishop Stephen Mumba, Church of God General Overseer, Bishop John Mambo, Reverend David Simfukwe of the African Methodist and Pastor Helmut Reutter of Gospel Outreach Fellowship condemned him for causing unnecessary fear as opposed to giving people hope and encouragement to pray for a peaceful transition. 'Zambia Brace for Chaos,' *National Mirror*, October 6, 2013, 1-2; Another writer said 'please pastor cling to your Bible, or is your propaganda ministry?' Patrick Chungu, 'Evangelist Stank,' *The Weekly Post*, October 11-17, 1991, 11.

⁴² Pastor Tunde Bakare (Latter Rain Assembly) in Lagos is an example of one who has attracted criticism from politicians as well as some of his fellow Pentecostals due to the antithetical nature of his prophecies. Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 12; Richard Burgess and Naar M'fundisi, 'Pentecostal Spiritualities, Inter-Religious Relations and Civic Engagement: A Comparative Study of Nigeria and Zambia,' Pentecostal Charismatic Research Initiative final report 30/10/12.

⁴³ Paul Gifford (ed), *The Christian churches and the Democratization of Africa* (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1995), 5.

rhetoric.⁴⁴ Some of Africa's leaders that enjoyed this affirmation were Frederick Chiluba of Zambia, Charles Taylor of Liberia, Daniel arap Moi of Kenya, Mathieu Kérékou of Benin, Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria and Laurent Abagbo of Ivory Coast.⁴⁵ A number of pastors and other leaders interviewed lamented how in the past, pastors who had befriended former presidents Chiluba and Banda used prophecy to reassure and legitimize their status as the chosen ones. The so called 'chosen ones' did not stand the test of time as eventually they were unseated.⁴⁶ Such actions demonstrate the lack of confidence some placed in their PC leaders' ability to influence political leaders on issues of governance, economic and social justice. As opposed to using 'prophetic politicking/prophetic politics' to 'oppose perceived evils', what this behaviour does is delegitimize politically charged and genuine prophetic rhetoric⁴⁷ and to legitimize leaders who may not be serving the best interests of the country. Besides Bishop Ndhlovu (BIGOCA) and Reverend Masupa (ICOZ), who openly endorsed former President Banda during the 2011 presidential elections,⁴⁸ PC pastors in Zambia refrained from making bold public prophetic pronouncements with regards to who God might be saying the next leader would be. As will be seen later in the chapter, their utterances concern the need for a God-fearing leader, and for peaceful elections during which prayer efforts are accelerated.

The examination of characteristics of PC spirituality above has demonstrated how civic/political engagement is encouraged or impeded. The relationship with the transcendent through their

⁴⁴ Terence O. Ranger (ed), *Evangelicals and Democracy in Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), XIII and 227.

⁴⁵ Some of these leaders, for example Charles Taylor and Daniel Abagbo brutally killed and committed inhumane crimes against their own people.

⁴⁶ Comparisons can be made of King Saul and Samuel, in the Old Testament who were chosen by God and became corrupt.

⁴⁷ Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 12.

⁴⁸ To be discussed later in this chapter.

beliefs, coupled by the internal organizational structures within their ministries has had a direct impact on the way in which they engage with the public. What has also been evident is the fact that the experiences that PC's have had on the public domain have helped them re-evaluate their praxis and find better and diverse ways to engage with the needs of the people. However, it is important to note that PCs have come a long way in reshaping and adapting their beliefs and practices to be more relevant to society. Some of the actions that seem to impede them may take a while to negate and some actions may not be as grand as those of mainline churches. However, the changes are evident and slowly PC are beginning to participate in what they believe is their Biblical mandate and that is to preach a holistic gospel that also engages the needs of their communities. A national example can be provided by the current vision of the Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC), which is, 'building a dynamic united church that teaches God's word in truth and integrity meeting the total needs of mankind'.⁴⁹ According to Bishop Chrispine Zulu, the Conference Overseer and Assistant National Overseer, 'that vision has changed the whole focus such that in all the conferences, the focus has now changed as we are now looking to develop social programmes'.⁵⁰

Having participated in the PHC annual general meeting a few days after the interview with Bishop Zulu, it became clear that very little was said about civic engagement. The most notable comment was the recognition of a pastor from Livingstone who donated a television to a local prison. Having looked at the characteristics of PC spirituality in the 21st century, what follows is an analysis of their motivation for civic engagement.

⁴⁹ Interview with Bishop Chrispine Zulu, Pentecostal Holiness Church Conference Overseer in the Southern Conference and Assistant National overseer on 18/7/11.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

5.3 Motivation for Civic (Political) Engagement

Almost every leader in the PC movement who was interviewed for this thesis placed great emphasis on the importance of holistic ministry as it elevates both proselytising and praxis or social action. This growing emphasis on engaging in different forms of social action has seen churches become engaged in the areas of media, health, social welfare and justice, politics, education, business and economics. This engagement has been motivated by the growing number of ‘progressive’ pastors.⁵¹ This rhetoric has been embraced by both prominent and non-prominent pastors who may have small churches in impoverished areas with little means. Currently, leaders like Bishop Joshua Banda, Pastor Helmut Reutter, Bishop Joe Imakando, Bishop Ndhlovu, Pastor Eddie Chansa, Pastor Godfredah Sumaili and Pastor Lawrence Temfwe have shown a strong sense of social engagement, and their churches have run successful programmes (the external dimension) due to their available resources and well organized leadership. These churches have benefited greatly from a combination of physical, human and social capital in that they have manpower through volunteers and workers in the church, equipment and other facilities to aid their varied levels of civic engagement,⁵² as well as the social networks that the leaders and members bring to the fore.⁵³ They also have more solid structures (the internal dimension) in place compared to smaller churches. However, holistic ministry has been embraced even in churches whose internal dimensions may not be as developed as larger churches. In spite of their lack of resources, they are meeting the needs of their communities directly and indirectly using whatever means they have.

⁵¹ Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 2007.

⁵² Coleman, ‘Social Capital,’ 98.

⁵³ Putnam, ‘Bowling Alone,’ 19.

A number of reasons have been given to explain what has been driving these churches to engage in matters of civic concern directly or indirectly. Politically, some relate Zambia's Christianity back to David Livingstone, who explored Zambia and opened it up to Christianity. When Chiluba declared the nation Christian, he was affirming what was already there. It was felt that if Islamic countries can declare their countries Islamic there is no reason why Zambia could not affirm its Christian identity.⁵⁴ The scriptural reference that is commonly used is Psalm 33:3 'Blessed is the nation whose God is God'.⁵⁵ The declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation as well as the setting-up of a religious desk to run the spiritual affairs of the nation during the Chiluba era also underpinned the desire for PCs to be part of what was going on politically. However, as Chiluba's government became increasingly unpopular due to corruption, divisions emerged between those that continued to see Chiluba as the chosen one despite his flaws and those that became critical of him. Post-Chiluba government, Pastor Nevers Mumba, Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda and Reverend Simon Mwale strove to engage politically by forming political parties due to their desire to see Zambia led by a born-again Christian. Their political influence has been more cosmetic than permanent. However, they have excelled in developing the social side of civic engagement like health, education, and community development, with programmes aimed to tackle gender violence,⁵⁶ child labour and orphans. Indirect political action was also developed through what can be called 'politicking through prayer', which placed a strong emphasis on prayer as a means of engaging with political issues. This does not negate the fact that the EFZ has made statements in

⁵⁴ Pastor Lawrence Temfwe.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ 'EFZ, The Voice of the Church on Matters of Gender in Zambia: Addressing Ourselves to Issues of Gender Injustice and Gender Based Violence,' (Gender Document by the Church in Zambia, EFZ, ZEC and CCZ), Booklet.

collaboration with other religious umbrella bodies, especially in encouraging the state to consider free and fair elections in all elections.

Secondly, many see civic engagement as part of their Christian duty. According to Bishop Ndhlovu, 'it is our biblical mandate to take care of the orphans, widows and the vulnerable. It's not all for the government'.⁵⁷ Pastor Chisenga reiterated the same by stating; 'We are the salt of the earth so our salt should not only be on spiritual issues but also on socio-political issues of our nation to contribute and bring about development'.⁵⁸ Following from that Reverend Elliot Chalwe also stated:

When you look at Pentecostal constitutions, they were so focussed on winning souls. But as a Zambian church we have said this is not enough, we have communities and we don't just need to help people that belong to our churches. Therefore, we are sitting back and looking at our constitutions and changing them so that they are relevant to the day.⁵⁹

This justification can be linked back to Droogers' three dimensional model,⁶⁰ as in this case, the pastors mainly link their civic engagement to their relationship, as well as their understanding of the transcendent as a motivational factor to engage in matters of civic concern. They use the teachings and examples of Jesus Christ while on earth to justify their mission activities.

⁵⁷ Interview with Bishop Peter Ndhlovu, Presiding Bishop and Founder of Bible Gospel Church of Africa BIGOCA in Lusaka on 24/08/11.

⁵⁸ Interview with Pastor Chisenga Senior Pastor of Hope of Glory PAOGZ in Lusaka on 14/07/11.

⁵⁹ Interview with Reverend Elliot Chalwe, Founder and Senior Pastor of Christian Assembly of God in Lusaka on 12/07/11.

⁶⁰Droogers, 'The Power Dimensions,'263-80.

Motivation has also come from schools and hospitals set up by missionaries of mainline churches when they came to Zambia. According to Bishop N’gambi:

What the mainline churches did was set an example for holistic ministry. It’s only us that look down on the mainline churches because God does not. Remember that a lot of educated people in Zambia went to a missionary school. That means that the exposure to knowing God came through the mainline churches. Zambians learnt to read and write and heard the word of God in these places and that is a foundation God was building in them.⁶¹

For others the fear of Islamic invasion has also been a motivating factor especially for Bishop Joshua Banda.⁶² Though Islam has very little influence in Zambia, he believes he needs to remain on guard to avoid invasion as Christianity is seen to be the religion of Africa’s heritage.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has influenced some PCs.⁶³ The development of HIV/AIDS, which has for many years shaken the healthcare system, has been one of the major drives for civic engagement. Although HIV/AIDS was stigmatized because it was mainly known as a sexually transmitted disease, church leaders soon learnt that church members were not exempt. Because members were either infected or affected, the church had to respond. In this case, the external dimension comes into play as their experiences on the public domain would normally compel them to go back to their churches and rethink how the transcendent would have them respond in these situations based on their understanding of scripture. Consequently, this would lead to finding ways

⁶¹ Interview with Bishop Edgar N’gambi, Presiding Bishop of Jesus Worship Centre in Lusaka on 18/08/11.

⁶² Interview with Bishop Joshua Banda, Senior Pastor of Northmead Assembly of God (PAOGZ) in Lusaka on 28/08/10.

⁶³ Interview with Bishop Harrison Sakala Chief Bishop of Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia (PAOGZ) on 09/08/11.

in which to engage the church, by organizing members to respond to the rising needs of their communities.⁶⁴

Two other reasons have included ‘cementing the relationship between the church and the state’⁶⁵ and spiritually, ‘to make an investment with eternal value so that the next generation can run with it too’.⁶⁶ According to Pastor Saviour, ‘the poor will always be among us. Therefore, this engagement is meant to go on for a lifetime’.⁶⁷

At this point, it is important to draw attention to the cultural issues that impact on PC political engagement in Zambia. Paul Licherman and Nina Eliasoph help to provide a lens through which we can look at cultural dynamics and their influence on political and civic engagement.⁶⁸ Focusing on what they call ‘talk’, they analyze people’s daily rhetoric and how that translates into what is accepted and not accepted within groups that share similar interests. An example can be drawn from the resolution made by Bishop Harrison Sakala in 1993.⁶⁹ He adopted a resolution that as long as one was part of the PAOGZ fellowship, leaders should not be openly partisan. Furthermore he forbade the wearing of T-shirts showing support for a political party (these are usually distributed freely to the public during elections). This rule still stands today. Therefore, the one

⁶⁴ This will be further explained in chapter 6.

⁶⁵ Interview with Bishop Israel Simbaya, Administrative Bishop of Church of God in Lusaka on 25/07/11.

⁶⁶ Interview with Bishop George Mbulo, Senior Pastor of Capital Christian Centre in Lusaka on 10/08/10.

⁶⁷ Interview with Pastor Saviour Nkoma, Senior Pastor of Great Exploits PAOGZ, 14/07/11.

⁶⁸ P. R. Lichterman, *Elusive Togetherness: Church Groups Trying to Bridge America’s Divisions* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005); Nina S. Eliasoph, *Avoiding Politics: How Americans Produce Apathy in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁶⁹ Interview with Reverend Pius Chisha, senior Pastor of lakeroad Destiny Centre (PAOGZ) in Lusaka and Church and Community Relations Coordinator at International Justice Mission Zambia on 20/09/12, who was in attendance at that Annual General Meeting; This distancing from government started in 1992 when Freston quotes an EFZ statement made on 9/11/1992 stating ‘the church should maintain reasonable distance from the government.’ Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics*, 161.

speech made by the Chief Bishop in 1993 reshaped the behavior of PAOGZ leaders who, in turn, have exercised caution not to openly endorse political leaders even if their support may be obvious. Church members, however, would not be affected by this but are strongly encouraged to vote for whom they considered their choice. This also demonstrates how such boundaries can shape and affect the political culture of leaders in an institution.

5.4 Politics and Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity in Zambia

Having looked at what the motivations for PC civic engagement in the first part of this chapter, the second part will address the various strategies they are using to accelerate their social and political efforts. This examination will include conventional (direct political activism by encouraging people to vote as well as pastors standing to be elected) and implicit (indirect political activism through prayer initiatives) strategies. Part of the argument will focus on the suggestion that PCs are apolitical.⁷⁰ This can no longer be sustained because, even though their conventional political engagement may not be strong, they are engaging implicitly and indirectly through prayer initiatives. With regards to political engagement, Ruth Marshall implores people to exercise caution by not ‘reducing religious belief to political militancy’. However, she argues that ‘the forces of faith that drive the PC movements contribute to the historical conditions in which the complex field of political practice and representations are produced.’⁷¹

⁷⁰Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 4-5.

⁷¹ Ruth Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 2.

In Chapter four, it was concluded that increased PC political engagement largely occurred during the shift to Multi-Party Democracy, championed by a ‘born-again’ Christian, Frederick Chiluba. For PCs, the fear of the introduction of foreign ideologies that threatened the place of Christianity was a major source of concern.⁷² PC growth and their presence at the State House during the Chiluba era helped them champion their plans to strengthen Christian influence within the country. However, besides the handful that were directly involved in cabinet, the rest asserted their influence mainly on religious issues with very little influence on the major policies affecting the nation. Their failure to challenge the corruption that tainted Chiluba’s tenure left many questioning PC moral influence on the state.⁷³ Post the Chiluba government, PC leaders have shown even more interest in political affairs by strongly encouraging their members to vote as well as to engage in political affairs. For 10 years (2001-2011), the EFZ was affiliated to the Oasis Forum (OF), a coalition of church and civil society organizations originally set up to oppose Chiluba’s quest for a third term.⁷⁴ The forum functions as a critical prophetic voice over irregularities that continue to choke human rights and put Zambians at a disadvantage.⁷⁵ In 2011 the EFZ withdrew its membership claiming the forum had achieved what it had been set up for in 2001. Currently the EFZ does not see a reason for continued membership.⁷⁶ Bishop N’gambi stated that the EFZ had

⁷² ‘What is the Measure of a Man?’ *Christian Herald*, Vol. 002 (06), August, 2011, 22-23.

⁷³ Interview with Bishop John Mambo, former Overseer of Church of God in Zambia on 20/07/11; Ted G. Jellen and Clyde Wilcox (eds), *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective: The One, The Few and The Many* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5.

⁷⁴ Interview with Musa Mwenye, President of The Law Association of Zambia and lawyer in private practice (a Pentecostal) on 12/08/11.

⁷⁵ An example of some of the issues they have addressed in the past relate to donors. The nation was at that time awaiting a review of the constitution in 2006 and then Minister of Justice, George Kunda claimed that donors were responsible for this as they had refused to fund the venture. George Chellah, ‘Mususu Urges Government Not to Use Donors as Scapegoat,’ *The Post*, January 20, 2006, 1.

⁷⁶ Letter of Withdrawal written to all the bodies affiliated to Oasis Forum; Non-Governmental Organization Coordinating Council NGOCC, Council of Churches in Zambia CCZ, Zambia Episcopal Conference ZEC and Law Association of Zambia LAZ dated 10/05/2011.

decided OF's motivation was not based on the Kingdom of God. Though no details were given, he stated that if EFZ was to continue to give direction to the country, it needed to disassociate itself from the forum.⁷⁷ What is not clear is why they were a part of the Oasis Forum for 10 years if they thought it had already achieved its purpose in 2001. According to Musa Mwenye, 'the role of Evangelicals and Pentecostals in 2001 was both positive and negative. As well as being part of the forum there were pastors that went to State House to anoint the president assuring him that he was the chosen one for the third term'.⁷⁸ Furthermore, among the five organizations that were and continue to be a part of OF, two belong to the main religious umbrella bodies in Zambia. For an umbrella body whose commitment is partly to represent the views and interests of the nation through such forums this disassociation raises questions about why they would isolate themselves from groups that are the most vocal in the media on political as well as civil matters. A number of pastors who did not wish to be named claimed they felt let down by this decision. Another influential pastor who was absent during this decision claimed he would have fought hard to sustain EFZ membership of the OF because he saw no reason to pull out since the Forum was a platform where they could exercise their prophetic voice.

According to Bishop Chrispine Zulu of Pentecostal Holiness Church:

We encourage members to take part in politics. We don't have a negative attitude towards it like we used to before. We encourage people to vote. We don't think any of our pastors should be involved directly into politics. We have allowed people from the Electoral Commission to come into the church and encourage people to vote and registering. We have given them a platform and as pastors we

⁷⁷Interview with Bishop Edgar N'gambi.

⁷⁸Interview with Musa Mwenye, President of the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ) in Lusaka on 22/08/11.

have said to people, 'this is your right!' You pray and you act too.
We might raise issues but we do not endorse anyone.⁷⁹

In August 2011 the EFZ wrote a joint pastoral statement with CCZ and ZEC called 'A Call to Vote in Peace, Truth and Justice' for the 2011 elections (based on Amos 5:24). This was in the form of a booklet that was circulated among churches and members of the general public. This is an example of one way in which the EFZ encouraged members to vote on a national level. Despite a few incidents of violence stirred up by party cadres, the elections ran smoothly. This in turn gave PCs and other Christians engaged in fervent prayer for the elections a sense of satisfaction because they saw it as a prayer answered.⁸⁰ Pastor Paul Tembo, Vice President of Standing in the Gap Prayer Network, he expressed confidence in the smooth running of the elections in an interview a few months before the 2011 national elections. He was certain of this because of the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation and the fact that Zambia was in covenant with God. Peace was inevitable. Furthermore, because Christians had been praying for peace in the upcoming elections, God would not go against his covenant with Zambia as a nation.⁸¹ It is interesting to note that the covenant rhetoric has been sustained for a decade and three Presidents after Chiluba.

PCs in Zambia are political because currently they encourage members not to shy away from positions of influence.⁸² Despite the fact that corruption continued to prevail in the governments that succeeded Chiluba, President Banda (2008-2011) dismissed this as 'just politicking on the

⁷⁹ Bishop Chrispine Zulu.

⁸⁰ 'EFZ Annual Report, 2011,' 5.

⁸¹ Interview with Pastor Paul Tembo, Vice President of Standing in the Gap Prayer Network on 15/08/11.

⁸² Chiwoyu Sinyangwe, 'There's Reckless Financial Management-Magande,' *The Post*, June 19, 2011, 11; Lubemba, 'Corrupt Systems,' *The Post*, August, 2011.

part of those claiming corruption was still an issue of great concern'.⁸³ Ironically, the following year, The Post Newspaper described corruption as a '*Cancer that had blighted the country*'.⁸⁴ It is for this reason that Pastor Eddie Chansa supports the idea of Christians taking part in political issues when he says, 'we are meant to influence the world with kingdom principles, because once people are aware of what God expects them to do, they will rule with integrity and the country will follow suit'.⁸⁵ Results from the survey indicated that 86.4% agreed with the statement that Christians should pray for the government and participate in politics.⁸⁶ 85% agreed that Christians should run for political office if called by God,⁸⁷ and 59.2% said they had voted in the previous elections.⁸⁸ Whilst many PC leaders interviewed wanted their members to become politically engaged, there has not been a great emphasis placed on developing strategies aimed at mobilizing members that are interested in infiltrating political spheres. In an article entitled 'Church Don't Shun Politics,' Bishop Peter Mutale argued that the church 'should go a step further and prepare men and women for political leadership so that they can serve the people of Zambia in the fear of God'.⁸⁹ Pastor Chansa also stated:

Jesus was the most powerful politician...I would like to raise politicians like Joseph and Daniel that changed the entire Babylonian system. If I have the capacity, anointing and grace of God to father people to bring them in the image and likeness of God, I should produce people that will go into these spheres and change things. We cannot stay aloof and say that the world is evil.⁹⁰

⁸³ 'Those Saying Government Isn't Serious on Corruption Fight are Just Politicking' *The Post*, 24/08/10, 1-4.

⁸⁴ 'Corruption and the Chinese,' *The Post*, June 19, 2011, 20.

⁸⁵ Pastor Eddie Chansa, sermon at Reformers meeting 11/08/11; Interview with Pastor Eddie Chansa 07/07/11.

⁸⁶ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.350.

⁸⁷ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.351.

⁸⁸ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.351.

⁸⁹ Bishop Peter Mutale 'Church Don't Shun Politics,' *Christian Herald*, vol. 001/3, September to October 2010, 17.

⁹⁰ Interview with Pastor Eddie Chansa. Thia Cooper, in looking at the focus on Political Theology makes reference to the fact that Christ 'lived under the Roman political system that oppressed and exploited the Jewish population. Within that society he witnessed the merging of economics, politics and religion in the temple door way.' Thia Cooper, *Controversies in Contextual Theology Series, Controversies in Political Theology: Development or Liberation*

He further argued that:

In as far as I am concerned the best people with the best initiative to govern are children of God. Science is the study of nature created by God. That involves initiatives and best initiatives can only come from God. So combining the two, Christians are the best politicians to govern the affairs of any nation. Unfortunately I don't know where the lie was cooked from that politics is a dirty game. In my own context of this nation, I cannot say politics is dirty, it's the politicians that are dirty.⁹¹

Bishop Peter Mutale stated that 'as long as the (PC) church exhibits a distant approach to political affairs will continue to be regarded as dirty'.⁹² Such statements show the desire for a more significant strategic engagement of PCs in politics. However, there are no programmes targeted to train Christian political leaders. There are enthusiastic young pastors like Fred Chanda who stated:

When we look at the current political situation in our church, we can't influence politics because there is no unity... Politics is my passion and currently I am passive, waiting for the right time and I believe in operating by God's instruction. If he says to me go, I will. He has called me to speak. I spoke in church bluntly that as long as the church has not prepared someone, to take over and continue on this proclamation, the country will continue to suffer.⁹³

In the same vein Pastor Saviour Nkoma, a young Pentecostal pastor, asked 'why can't Pentecostals identify young politicians from their flock and expose them to politics?'⁹⁴ Those that have

(London: SCM Press, 2007), 14. These circumstances would have given him a solid political understanding of his times.

⁹¹ Pastor Eddie Chansa.

⁹² Mutale 'Church Don't Shun Politics,' 98.

⁹³ Interview with Pastor Fred Chanda, Missions Director Gilgal Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia (PAOGZ) on 22/08/11.

⁹⁴ Pastor Saviour Nkoma.

platforms to make statements on the public domain currently are influential pastors that have had these opportunities for many years. These platforms lack fresh voices from the younger generation who may be untainted by histories of unhealthy relationships with heads of state, unlike some of their pastors. Therefore, people like Chanda may be the next generation of influential PC leaders in the area of politics, who may also risk being excommunicated by their church. The stakes would be lower if a regular member was in that position. Due to the negative publicity surrounding the formation of political parties in the past by other PC pastors, it would be difficult for people like Chanda to gain support for fear of failure and negative publicity.

An example can be given of Bishop Mbulo (an EFZ board member) who on one of the Sundays prior to the elections encouraged his congregation saying ‘don’t let anyone deceive you with false promises or political demagoguery, of mere emotional speeches to influence you when their true intentions may be to sway you to support selfish and sometimes venomous agendas’.⁹⁵

5.4.1 Prophetic Voice

Statements by PC leaders remind the state of their prophetic role in society. According to Thia Cooper, this also entails ‘exposing the scandal of poverty (and many other social ills), contributing to its eradication by partnering and challenging structures and systems as part of their Christian witness’.⁹⁶ According to Pastor Chisenga:

The church has a role to remind the government on issues bordering justice. We hear the Catholics speak but we need to see more of

⁹⁵ Martin Nkolomba and Nkweto Mfula, ‘Beware of Power-Hungry Politicians, Christians Urged,’ *Zambia Daily Mail*, August 8, 2011, 1.

⁹⁶ Thia Cooper, *Controversies in Contextual Theology Series, Controversies in Political Theology: Development or Liberation* (London: SCM Press, 2007), 3.

Pentecostals doing that. We have a conscious role being the salt of the nation and as such, by virtue of our calling, God wants us to stand up and uphold justice, fair play, equity and righteousness as well as denounce traces of injustice, because the Bible hates injustice. God is talking about dealing with injustices from the lowest courts to the highest courts and open rebuke for the failure to uphold justice. In the same text Psalm 82, the Bible says why is it that you condemn the innocent and acquit the guilty? God hates injustices where you declare the winner the loser and the loser the winner, he hates corrupt scales. That is an abomination and we cannot be mute as we have a role to play. That's a burden that I have to contribute especially on radio.⁹⁷

In the same vein, Reverend Elliot Chalwe, comparing PC churches to the Catholic church states:

Our involvement as Pentecostals in political issues cannot equal to other mainline churches like the Catholics. 'Pentecostals are not really exercising their prophetic voice at a large scale. The reason why it has taken so long is because of our history and we had separated ourselves so much from civil issues. Perhaps it is because of certain implications relating to theological understanding. When you look at their constitutions they were so focussed on winning souls.'⁹⁸

Echoing Chalwe, Pastor Chisenga of Hope of Glory PAOG also spoke about of the weakness of PC political engagement.⁹⁹ Pastor Eddie Chansa blames this on their lack of an understanding of the times. He made reference to the children of Issachar in 1Chronicles 12:28-32 who during the reign of King David interpreted the times in order to help the nation move with God's time. Unfortunately some PC leaders have in the past been easily co-opted by government, which has led to many remaining non-critical of the state.¹⁰⁰ Many that were interviewed claimed this was due to financial favours given to them. According to one pastor, when pastors speak for

⁹⁷ Pastor Chisenga.

⁹⁸ Interview with Reverend Elliot Chalwe; Interview with Dr Isaac Phiri, University of Zambia Lecturer in Mass Communication on 3/08/10; Bishop Chrispine Zulu.

⁹⁹ Pastor Chisenga.

¹⁰⁰ Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 151.

government positively, nine out of ten times they are either Pentecostal or Charismatic. Pastor Paul Tembo stated:

I should say that is an area where the PC church has failed because it has allowed itself to be manipulated by the people in power and there is no united voice coming from the charismatic church as it is so fragmented. Even as at now when you read the paper you see charismatic pastors openly supporting the ruling party... The mainline churches have closed the door to manipulation that is why their voice is still heard because PC have opened it so that is why they are easily manipulated.¹⁰¹

Bishop John Mambo is one of the few Pentecostal leaders that have been critical of the state. In 2011 he wrote a press release expressing his personal thoughts on what he called ‘Matters of National Importance’.¹⁰² Within this document the issues he addressed included the Judiciary (questioning their calibre), job creation, policies that give people dignity, poverty, corruption, neglected people in rural areas and low income communities, land that was being given to foreigners, free and fair elections, the problem of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries and Structural Adjustment Program (which he saw as having been thrust down people’s throats), durable infrastructure and the problem of Zambians being docile people (he made reference of how people are easily coerced to vote for anyone provided they are given a bag of mealie meal and a Chitenge).¹⁰³ This document addressed some of the issues at the core of Zambia’s civic concerns. A sustained engagement with such matters would greatly improve PC profile because it

¹⁰¹ Pastor Paul Tembo.

¹⁰² Bishop John Mambo, Press Release on ‘My Thought on Matters of National Importance’ (yet to be published at the point of our meeting on 20/07/11).

¹⁰³ The former is Zambia’s staple food and later a piece of material that women wrap around the lower half of their bodies.

shows their ability to go beyond spiritualizing matters to critically engaging with tangible issues.

Prophetess Elfredah Musambazi unapologetically stated:

PCs are there but I don't think their voice is one that can silence anybody. I know EFZ speaks but they do not come out as boldly and aggressively on issues as they should. I am not sure EFZ can go on TV and say anything that will stop government.¹⁰⁴

Bishop Eddie Mulenga on the other hand argued that the church (PC) was bouncing back after a negative political history.¹⁰⁵ Musa Mwenye also argued that PCs are trying to become more visible on issues of governance but need to become more resolute in speaking for the voiceless. This is because the state rarely needs people to speak on its behalf because it is already strong.¹⁰⁶ Issues regarding the Barotseland agreement, a pre-independence agreement (1964) between the incumbent government and the Lozi chiefs, has been a matter of national debate. The agreement allowed the Lozis the right to self-government as well and to be consulted on matters of national interest (Barotseland was once a British protectorate). The Lozis claimed that successive governments had failed to honour the agreement and threatened to create their own country.¹⁰⁷ Pastor Danny Pule condemned the government for mishandling the issue.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Interview with prophetess Elfredah Musambazi Senior Pastor of Barak Ministries in Lusaka on 09/08/11.

¹⁰⁵ Bishop Eddie Mulenga.

¹⁰⁶ Musa Mwenye.

¹⁰⁷ For more information about the Barotseland Agreement 1964 see; The Barotseland Agreement 1964, PDF document accessed on 20 January 2013; Shuwanga Shuwanga, 'Zambian Government Fighting a Loosing Battle over Barotseland's Freedom – Baroste Freedom Movement,' *Barotse Post*, accessed January 20, 2013 <http://www.barotsepost.com/index.php/en/frontnews/local-news/250-zambian-government-fighting-a-losing-battle-over-barotseland-s-freedom-barotse-freedom-movement>; 'Barotseland Kingdom Seeks to Leave Zambia,' *BBC News Africa*, Accessed January 20, 2013 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-175466209/03/2012>; Chris Chitanda, 'Litunga Sues Over Barotseland Pact,' *The Weekly Post*, November 8-14, 1991, 3.

¹⁰⁸ Chibaula Silwamba, 'Barotse People Have a Point Says Pule,' *The Post*, 5297, April 20, 2011, 10. Pastor Danny Pule is the Founder and Senior Pastor of Dunamis Christian Centre. The Barotseland (Western Province) issue became one of the major issues raised in early 2011. This was based on an agreement made by the state in 1964, called the Barotseland Agreement.

On a more private matter, Bishop Sakala informed me of a time when he heard that there was a chance that Zambia's rivers would be privatised.¹⁰⁹ This would have meant that all the countries in southern Africa would have free access to Zambia's water. Bishop Sakala claimed to have gone to confront then President Mwanawasa in private. He claimed the President was pleased to know that the church was sensitive to such matters.¹¹⁰ Sakala also spoke of the number of occasions when PCs have gone to see President Rupiah Banda in private to consult him on various issues. He further stated that people would be heard rejoicing that the state has finally heard their plea without knowing who would have visited the president in private to make that petition.

5.4.2 An Outcry for Leadership

The lack of proper leadership was an issue that was identified as a major concern in Zambia by all the interviewees. This was reiterated by Bishop Imakando in a Christian magazine just before the 2008 election.¹¹¹ Reverend Richard Mbaio made the same assertion in a newspaper article, stating that 'Zambia needs leaders that are ready to sacrifice their comforts and privileges to uplift the living standards of the majority poor'.¹¹² He argued that Zambia had faced governance challenges in the past two decades because all the leaders failed to fight corruption, provide adequate health care and other basic needs of the people. He further stated that even 'though

¹⁰⁹ Two thirds is debatable. This information was based on an interview and was not verified.

¹¹⁰ Bishop Sakala was informed that the president had refused to sign the document that would allow such stating Zambia would only share its water if South Africa is willing to share their gold and Botswana their diamonds.

¹¹¹ 'Zambia Needs a Leader: A Christians Guide to Choosing Political Leaders,' *Christian Herald* 001/2, July-August 2010, 6.

¹¹² Misheck Wangwe, 'Zambia Needs Leaders That Are Ready to Sacrifice,' *The Post*, August 17, 2001, 5; Sheik Chifuwe, 'There is Mediocrity Among Politicians-Bishop Lungu' (Catholic), *The Post*, January 18, 2006, 1 and 4.

Zambia was celebrating 40 years of Independence, it lacked a credible republican constitution that presents the wishes of the people'.¹¹³ Bishop Imakando also presented this picture of Zambia:

People are harassed by poverty, the poor human condition, and are distressed by lack of direction and the struggle to just survive. Furthermore, many need assistance, some are sick and diseased and pensioners quickly become destitute, medical services are poor, and people die of curable diseases. However, he states that 'a good leader is one that people hope for who will turn around the economy and improve things'.¹¹⁴

5.4.3 Electoral Politics

In the post Chiluba government, Pastor Nevers Mumba, Brigadier Godfrey Miyanda and Reverend Simon Mwale formed political parties. Firstly, the Heritage Party (Miyanda) was formed in 2001. During the 2008 presidential elections Miyanda won 0.76% and 0.2% of the votes in 2011. Secondly, the National Citizens Coalition NCC (Mumba) was formed in 1997. In the 2001 presidential elections Mumba won 2.2%,¹¹⁵ thereafter, the party disbanded to join MMD where he became Vice President from 2003-2004. He was fired after a year for speaking against the President (Mwanawasa) and immediately indicated his plans to contest the 2006 elections under the name, Reform Party (RP).¹¹⁶ In May 2012 he was elected as MMD President but his election has been accompanied by squabbles which have continued to tear his party apart. His position as a Pentecostal politician was tainted by the negative publicity he acquired in the past and the RP

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ 'Zambia Needs a Leader,' 7.

¹¹⁵ Penny Dale, 'From TV Evangelist to Zambia Vice President,' *BBC News* (2 June 2003) accessed June 4, 2012 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/2956122.stm>

¹¹⁶ Ranger (ed), *Evangelicals and Democracy*, 234. In 2006, when Mumba had resurrected his political party, a newspaper article labeled him as 'suffering from exaggerated personal ego, lacking humility and intoxicated with ambition'. Neo Simutanyi, 'Nevers Political Resurrection,' *Business Post*, January 10, 2006, 18; Speedwell Mupuchi, 'Levy Has Failed to Destroy My Political Party: Nevers,' *The Post*, February 27, 2006, 7; Speedwell Mupuchi, 'God will Give Me Victory in Politics Says Mumba,' *The Post*, February 28, 2006, 2; Neo Simutanyi, 'Nevers Political Resurrection,' *Business Post*, January 10, 2006, 18.

never revived and was disbanded. Thirdly the PRP Party led by Bishop Steven Mwale, once Chiluba's personal chaplain has always remained minute and insignificant. During the 2011 presidential elections, Bishop Mwale failed to gain the required number of supporters to enable him to file for presidential nominations. He asked the Electoral Commission of Zambia to defer the party's filing date from a Wednesday to Friday but still failed to go through.¹¹⁷ These direct political involvements have been met with varied responses from the PC community and the general public. What was evident during my interviews with PC leaders was that besides Pastor Eddie Chansa who openly expressed his views about these candidates, as well as a younger upcoming pastor in the PAOGZ, the rest were very selective in the ways in which they described the actions of the people they regarded as 'our brothers'. When asked about their views on Nevers Mumba, the main responses focused on the fact that they were shocked when he decided to resign from his clerical position to seek political office. However, they said it was down to personal choice. They shared the same sentiments for Miyanda and Mwale and refrained from expressing any negative sentiments about their choices even though it was clear they did not approve of their actions. Bishop Sky Banda stated:

Our kingdom is not of politics... But we are concerned on issues of civic justice without supporting party politics. For example, when Nevers Mumba went into politics we felt that was his own personal opinion and we couldn't stop it. As PAOGZ, we believe it is necessary for Christians to be in politics because the nature of politics requires clean people to do a clean good job, instead of watching aloof while things go wrong. Our view is that it's a bit trickier for a minister to be into politics. We encourage our members to vote and become President although we as leaders do not endorse candidates.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷It's 10 presidential Candidates for 2011 Elections,' Lusaka Times, Accessed December 1, 2012 <http://www.lusakatimes.com/2011/08/13/ten-presidential-candidates-2011-elections/> 13/08/11.

¹¹⁸ Interview with Bishop Sky Banda Senior Pastor of Maranatha PAOGZ in Kitwe on 06/08/10.

In the same light, Reverend Fortune Mwiza stated that ‘as clergy our stance is that we don’t have to be in politics directly like an MP, but we can speak to governments and politicians to enhance peace, stability and prosperity’.¹¹⁹ This statement contradicts the survey where 65.3% said that pastors should run for political office if called by God.¹²⁰

Some of the reasons for the failure of PC leaders to gain political influence relate to divisions within the movement. The consistency of the united voice that exists among other ‘mainline’ churches seems minimal amongst PCs.¹²¹ As opposed to institutionalized churches whose leaders are accountable to their institutions, the numerous independent churches that exist under the PC umbrella have leaders who make autonomous decisions regardless of the fact that they are part of the EFZ. This is what creates a fragmented voice within the movement and it has an impact on the ability of EFZ to speak on its own behalf.¹²² Pastor Nkandu laments this stating, ‘unfortunately we do not speak corporately as a church voice and the government fails to take us seriously because it’s not a body speaking sometimes, but individuals’.¹²³ Dr Danny Pule observes, ‘the (PC) voice is still there but it isn’t strong because it is still divided’.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ Interview with Reverend Fortune Mwiza senior Pastor of Deliverance Church in Lusaka on 5/08/11.

¹²⁰ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.352.

¹²¹ It is important not to overlook the fact that sometimes Catholics disagree with statements that not reflect their united voice on matters. An example can be given of Bishop Banda of Ndola Diocese who made a statement that was openly rejected in the media by the Catholic church in Zambia. They stated that the views that he made about president Banda’s gesture to clear all outstanding balances on more than 3000 houses on the Copperbelt ‘as an act of desperation to win elections did not represent the stance of the Catholic church; Times Reporter, ‘Bishop Banda Acting Alone, Says Catholic Church,’ 15,40, 20/04/11, 1.

¹²² Musa Mwenye; Pastor Lawrence Temfwe; Pastor Eddie Chansa and Reverend Pius Chisha.

¹²³ Interview with Pastor Nkandu of Tabernacle of Faith PAOGZ in Lusaka on 25/08/11.

¹²⁴ Pastor Danny Pule.

Another reason for this may be that there are not enough PC churches to constitute a significant political voice. Chiluba's legacy to some extent contributed to the negative perception that born-again Christians face in the political arena.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, resistance against attempts to make Zambia a secular state has continued and PC pastors have been active in this cause. A recent EFZ State of the Nation Pastoral Statement stated:

We affirm the importance of the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation with other religions having their freedom of worship as enshrined in the bill of rights of the constitution. The Bible declares that, 'Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord' (Ps.33:12).¹²⁵

5.4.4 The National Constitution

PCs have participated in constitutional making processes in the post Chiluba government and have been active in the fight to sustain the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation clause in the Republican Constitution. Bishop Joshua Banda is an example of a leader who has served as one of the elected chairpersons for general constitutional principles at National Constitutional Conferences (NCC). During the August 2010, conference the religious umbrella bodies refused to participate in the NCC claiming they disagreed with the moral principles behind it (including the EFZ of which Banda is chairperson).¹²⁶ However Bishop Banda, Bishop Harrison Sakala (who was then chief Bishop of PAOGZ) and other PC leaders attended in their individual capacities.

¹²⁵EFZ Pastoral Statement on the State of the Nation Issued on 4th March 2012.

¹²⁶Council of Churches in Zambia, 'A Perspective of the Council of Churches in Zambia on the National Constitutional Conference NCC Draft Constitution For the Republic of Zambia,' *The Post*, August 10 2010, 8. The CCZ disregarded the NCC draft constitution on the grounds that it was a flawed process that 'did not advance the holistic development of the people of Zambia in the areas of Physical, Spiritual, Social and Economic wellbeing.' They also accused the constitution of seeking continued stay in power of those currently elected and proposed that a referendum be considered. The EFZ and ZEC had concerns that were similar to CCZ.

When asked why he attended, Bishop Banda, argued that it was his duty as a Christian to have a say in the constitutional process because this would give him the opportunity to speak against anything that would threaten Christian principles in Zambia.¹²⁷ On the other hand, when Bishop Mbulo, whose church offices were on the grounds of the Mulungushi Conference Centre where the NCC was taking place at the time of the interview was asked why he was not at NCC, he stated:

I am not in the NCC on the basic principle that I subscribed from the beginning that I want to be accountable. This is why I am part of the EFZ, and we have leaders. In our last General Consensus we agreed that we will not be part of NCC due to various reasons. Personally I like some and don't like some of what is happening at NCC. However, in principle, because I am part of a group, I stand with what we agree.¹²⁸

These two scenarios are an example of how fragmented PCs can be in their decision making. When board members agree with members on an issue and the same people are seen to go against that decision it makes the body dysfunctional. More than 130 billion Kwacha was spent on the 2010 National Constitution conference which failed to deliver a people-driven constitution as soon as it went to parliament.¹²⁹ This angered the citizens because it was seen as a waste of taxpayer's money. A Roman Catholic priest, Fr. Mambwe Mpasa of Mansa Diocese, was glad that the constitution failed. He asserted, 'I am happy that the constitution was rejected in parliament because it did not contain the number of issues we wanted. I commend those who rejected it'.¹³⁰ A number of pastors that were interviewed expressed disappointment in the PC church leaders who had attended the NCC even when they had agreed not to, in accordance with the EFZ

¹²⁷ Bishop Joshua Banda.

¹²⁸ Interview with Bishop George Mbulo, Senior Pastor of Capital Christian Centre, 10/08/10.

¹²⁹ Lawrence Temfwe, 'Constitutional Making Process and Fighting Corruption,' *The Challenge For Christian Living Today*, vol. 13 (2) (2011), 4; Moses Kuwema, 'Someone Should Pay for Failed Constitution- LAZ,' *The Post*, July 18, 2011, 4. This money was spent on allowances, transport and vehicles for delegates.

¹³⁰ Florence Bupe and Moses Kuwema, 'Preserve the Mung'omba Draft Constitution Says Father Mpasa,' *The Post*, April, 20, 2011, 11.

agreement. Amidst all this negativity, Temfwe, in an article written about the NCC was quick to remind the Christians he felt were silent in the 1980s and 1990s that they should be forgiven if they thought that ‘the church in Zambia, especially the Evangelicals are not involved in the real world as instruments of change under the hand of God’.¹³¹ Some of these changes were listed in the foreword written by Reverend Pukuta Mwanza (EFZ Executive Director) in the EFZ 2011 annual report. These issues included HIV/AIDS, educational support, livelihoods, disaster risk reduction interventions, food security, livestock restocking, natural resource management (through their involvement in forestry through Norwegian Church Aid),¹³² gender and development and training of church leaders in integral mission and church mobilization to ensure the church is engaged in holistic ministry and societal transformation.¹³³ Pastor Temfwe further stated that they have been salt and light to society at critical times but lamented the fact that ‘lately the Evangelicals have not been united in their witness when it comes to issues of governance.’¹³⁴ Pastor Bruce Msidi also shared similar sentiments saying, ‘when it comes to speaking with one voice, EFZ can sometimes appear fragmented due to the number of members that make independent choices’.¹³⁵

It appears that the current President has not given EFZ the kind of attention that previous governments did. An example can be given when Reverend Pukuta Mwanza demanded that the EFZ be included in the committee that was selected to draft the National Constitution. President Michael Sata responded by calling him ‘a dull man who needs to go back to night school’.¹³⁶ This

¹³¹ Temfwe, ‘Constitutional making Process,’4; Mose Kuwema, ‘Someone Should Pay,’4.

¹³² Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia, ‘Forests: Our Heritage Under Threat,’ (leaflet).

¹³³ EFZ Annual Report, 4

¹³⁴ Temfwe, ‘Constitutional Making Process,’4; Kuwema, ‘Someone Should Pay,’4.

¹³⁵ Interview with Pastor Bruce Msidi Senior Pastor of Mount Zion Christian Centre in Lusaka on 2/08/11.

¹³⁶ Mwansa, ‘Man of God Forgives Sata for Calling Him Dull’ *Zambia Watchdog* (17/06/12) accessed August 20, 2012 <http://www.zambianwatchdog.com/2012/06/17/man-of-god-forgives-sata-for-calling-him-dull/>

was unfortunate because Mwanza is a well-educated man.¹³⁷ President Sata's reaction may have stemmed from the negative history PC leaders have had, coupled with their reputation for making minimal contributions to issues that had no spiritual undertones.

Many believe the preservation of the Christian nation is the key to promoting moral values within the country. Bishop Banda has in the past rallied the church when there was an attempt to remove the 'Christian nation' label in exchange of labelling Zambia as a secular state. He and Bishop Imakando once mobilized the church and gathered signatures to ensure the secularization bid did not go through, arguing that once Zambia becomes a secular state this would open the nation to things like homosexuality and pornography. This was also the view shared by many clergy interviewed.¹³⁸ 86.6 % of the survey stated they wanted the country to remain a Christian nation, while 13.4% preferred a separation between church and state.¹³⁹ This result is merely a reflection of PC views and it is not surprising because they have always been in support of the declaration.

When the same question was asked much later in the questionnaire to include answers like Agree Strongly, Agree, Not Certain, Disagree and Disagree Strongly, the output was that 57.5% agreed strongly on having Zambia as a Christian nation.¹⁴⁰ This shows that though there are a few

¹³⁷ Mwanza holds Bachelor of Mineral Sciences degree in Metallurgy and Mineral Processing from the University of Zambia; a Master of Arts degree in Rural Social Development from the University of Reading in England and Master of Arts degree in Organizational Leadership from Eastern University, Pennsylvania in the United States. Mwansa, 'Man of God Forgives Sata.' accessed August 20, 2012 <http://www.zambianwatchdog.com/2012/06/17/man-of-god-forgives-sata-for-calling-him-dull/>.

¹³⁸ Bishop Chrispine Zulu; Pastor Paul Tembo; Reverend Fortune Mwiza; Pastor Fred Chanda; Bishop John Mambo; Reverend Simon Chihana; Interview with Reverend Harold Gondwe, assistant Pastor Living Hope Church PAOGZ 12/07/11; Interview with Bishop Joel Imakando, Senior Pastor and Founder of Bread of Life Church in Lusaka and part of the EFZ Board of Directors on 10/11/09.

¹³⁹ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.352.

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix 3 Frequency Tables, p.353.

uncertainties, this sample favoured the upholding of the Christian Nation. For the purposes of maintaining the parameters of this thesis, the survey lacked voices from other faith groups as well as those that do not consider themselves religious. In response to the question about the separation of church and state, the result was that 28.1% agreed and 58.1% disagreed.¹⁴¹

5.4.5 Empowerment Summits as Potential Spaces for Political Rhetoric

Summits, otherwise known as empowerment and leadership conferences, have become a common feature within PC churches in Zambia.¹⁴² Because they attract crowds they serve as good fora to disseminate matters of civic concern. However, Pastor Temfwe stressed that evangelistic campaigns and revival meetings do not really favour statements related to ‘sins of governance, corruption and social justice’. This is because they risk giving the wrong impression of leaders as inciting people to rebel against authority (Romans 13:1-6).¹⁴³ He further suggested that the church still needs to provide a prophetic voice on such situations because the church is the conscience of the state. This would require a dialogue between clergy and church members rather than ‘using Christianity to legitimize socio-political systems’.¹⁴⁴ Spiritual matters are privileged during such gatherings. Empowerment summits or conferences showcase national and international speakers with various expertise that empower Christians to help improve their standard of living. These have become more widespread than the crusades that were more common from the late 1960s.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Phiri, ‘Christian Conferences Building,’ 5.

¹⁴³ Temfwe, ‘Constitutional Making Process,’ 4; Kuwema, ‘Someone Should Pay,’ 4.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

Crusades mostly showcased trans-Atlantic evangelists who preached salvation, baptism in the Holy Spirit and healing.¹⁴⁵

Among the bigger summits that have been held in Zambia are Winners Chapel annual empowerment summits that attract thousands of people. In 2010, they held a four day summit which hosted Bishop David Oyedepo, the Nigerian founder. The teachings encouraged Zambian Christians to build their country through ‘community participation in development and building efforts,’ as opposed to waiting on the state to do so.¹⁴⁶ Oyedepo spoke about how a person can achieve their dreams (mainly financial) through their faith. Without any direct political rhetoric, his message was aimed to place the church (as opposed to the state) as a pacesetter in ‘stirring up visionary leadership that will in turn galvanise the community to work and transform societies’.¹⁴⁷ Some of the other themes covered included Hidden Powers of Faith and the Unlimited Power of Faith.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps because Oyedepo is a foreigner, speaking against the state may put him and his church at a disadvantage.

Another significant, biannual event is called the Unleashing the Kingdom of God (UTK) summit. According to Pastor Msidi, founder of Mount Zion Christian Centre (the church that initiated

¹⁴⁵ Upon visiting a number of Pentecostal Churches on four continents, Harvey Cox noted how ‘Pentecostals have dampened their eschatological fire and appear uneasy about their radical vision of the future (the imminent second coming) and about speaking in tongues. He further speaks of messages in churches today that focus on the immediate presence and compassionate availability of the Spirit of Jesus as the helper, healer and companion. He laments the fact that the expectation that the Lord will come again soon, though it is voiced now and then, seems muted and does not hold anything like the pivotal place it once did.’ Cox, *Fire From Heaven*, 316. The first big crusade in Zambia was held by Billy Graham in Kitwe in 1967 with a record attendance of 28,000. J. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola, *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia* (Lieden: Brill, 2008), 150, quoting David Barrett, ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World, AD 1900-2000* (Nairobi, Oxford and New York, 1982), 765.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Building a Great Nation,’ *Christian Herald* 001, 1, June 2010, 6.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, 7.

¹⁴⁸ Bishop David Oyedepo, ‘Hidden Powers of Faith: Empowerment Summit 2010’ (DVD); Bishop David Oyedepo, ‘Unlimited Powers of Faith: Empowerment Summit 2010’ (DVD).

UTK), ‘this summit is designed for everyone in general and gathers Christians and non-Christians alike. Its aim has been to help the church transition from being fixated on the law and the fear of hell to a church that is aware of what God requires of them and still be free to live life to the full’.¹⁴⁹ During such summits it is very unusual for political discussions to take place. However, the May 2012 UTK summit saw the formation of a discussion group that looked at the submissions of the Draft National Constitution of Zambia. In one of the seminars a political discussion arose with regards to the Draft National Constitution which had just been released to the general public for proposed amendments. Because the discussions were inconclusive at the summit, it was proposed that they be continued after the conference had ended. People were invited to come together and look through the Draft Constitution and make amendments from a Christian standpoint. A ballroom was hired at the Intercontinental Hotel in Lusaka to be used every Thursday. Initially, 40 days were suggested for consultations and amendments of the 227 page document. However, a national referendum was later proposed to allow the whole country to participate.¹⁵⁰ Though independent, this group was working through the Bible Society in Zambia and the three religious umbrella bodies.

PCs do not oppose the state directly, but through various projects like the Jubilee Centre (which works with orphaned children), Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS, Jesus Cares Ministries (which deals with orphans and vulnerable children) and the Lazarus Project (a NAOG initiative

¹⁴⁹ Skype interview with Pastor Bruce Msidi, Senior Pastor and Founder of Mount Zion Christian Centre Lusaka on 24/03/12.

¹⁵⁰ Silungwe, ‘Zambia: Constitution Will Be Best In Africa, *Times of Zambia* (25/06/12), 503, accessed September 27, 2012 <http://allafrica.com/stories/201206250262.html> ; Editor, ‘Technical Committee on Drafting Constitution Wants National Referendum Commission,’ *Zambia Daily Mail* (12/08/12) accessed September 27, 2012 <http://www.daily-mail.co.zm/?p=10946>.

which is an orphanage for boys) among others. They work with disadvantaged communities through various initiatives that empower them to counter unfortunate circumstances that keep them vulnerable and on the margins. This is due to the plight of African states that have had a reputation for neglecting the marginalized due to grotesque corruption that leaves the poor to suffer.¹⁵¹ Some of the issues include social justice and the upholding of human rights.¹⁵²

5.4.6 Political engagement through Prayer

Prayer has always been of great significance among PCs in Zambia. In comparison with the Catholics and Protestants represented by the two umbrella bodies who pray as well as directly confront the state on tangible socio-political issues (through public statements and pastoral letters), PCs have usually promoted prayer over direct political engagement. This is true in the pre and post Chiluba era. This attitude was condemned by Pastor Eddie Chansa during a Reformers meeting, when he called PCs ‘lazy people because they are too busy praying.’ He called the calling down of blessing through chants ‘craziness’.¹⁵³

There are examples of initiatives that demonstrate how PCs have recently been politicking through prayer initiatives. Ruth Marshall makes reference to what she calls ‘Born-Again political

¹⁵¹In 2006, Lee Habasonda an executive of the Southern African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (SACCORD) deemed Zambias politics a farce due to the tendency for politicians to cheat. This he said was demonstrated with the high levels of unemployment, poor health and education systems and political parties that encourage opportunism’. Noel Sichelwe, ‘Current Politics in Zambia a Farce,’ *Business Post*, January 3, 2006, 9. On the same issue of corruption, a newspaper article claimed there was no fight against corruption in Zambia except ‘a few prosecutions of people with good reason to believe stole public funds.’ Even the Task Force against corruption since its inception (when late president Mwanawasa declared zero tolerance on corruption in 2005) has not successfully fought it. ‘Fighting Corruption with Rhetoric,’ *The Post*, January 3, 2006, 7; Nkolomba and Mfula, ‘Beware of Power-Hungry Politicians,’ 1.

¹⁵² For more information see EFZ, Rights Based Advocacy Program on Food Security and HIV/AIDS (Leaflet)

¹⁵³ Sermon at Reformers meeting at Gospel Outreach Fellowship in Lusaka 11/08/11.

rationalities and the terms in which power, redemption, sovereignty and other political themes are staged in their practices and professions of faith'.¹⁵⁴ This explains why PC churches in Zambia privilege prayer initiatives over direct confrontation. From the case studies below, it will be evident that prayer is used to summon the power of God for political intervention into the political atmosphere of the nation. Mainline churches who have more of a united voice, coupled with their representative religious umbrella bodies that are well established, have an advantage over PCs. This is why they have more confidence in exercising their prophetic voice on matters of national interest. PCs who may want to make bold political statements may state retaliation and without the backing of their fellowships (which are not as influential as those of other churches), they have more to lose than gain.¹⁵⁵ Two events will now be used to analyze PC political engagement through prayer initiatives.

5.4.6.1 Jesus Cares for Souls August 2010

Jesus Cares for Souls 2010 was an initiative developed by Pastor Godfredah Sumaili, the female founder of Jesus Cares Ministries. This is an interdenominational ministry based in Lusaka that is based on Luke 4:18. According to Pastor Sumaili, it aims to embody the ministry Jesus Christ had when he was on earth. The initiative's main emphasis is on evangelism. Jesus Cares Ministries has many other mercy ministries that support orphans and prisoners, and it engages in issues of child labour, the sick and the poor.¹⁵⁶ The aim of the Jesus Cares for Souls 2010 event was to launch a mission to win 100,000 souls in 100 days in all provinces of Zambia. This was also combined with

¹⁵⁴ Ruth Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 3.

¹⁵⁵ Pastor Saviour Nkoma.

¹⁵⁶ 'Jesus Cares Ministries: Reducing Child Labour Through Education,' *U.S Department of Labour Office of Inspector General Office Audit* 2005, accessed September 18, 2012 <http://www.oig.dol.gov/public/reports/oa/2005/03-05-001-01-070.pdf> .

prayers for various socio-economic and socio-political issues affecting the nation. Prominent PC leaders present were Bishop Sky Banda, Reverend Pukuta Mwanza (EFZ Director), Reverend Teddy Kamfwa, Bishop Nelly Chikwanda, Prophetess Elfredah Musambazi, Bishop Chally Kasonde, Bishop Billy Mfula, Pastor Ignatius Ngoma (Chairman for Lusaka Pastors Fellowship), Reverend Nkonde, Pastor Godfredah Sumaili (President of Jesus Cares Ministries) and Bishop Mboa (Executive Director for Ndola Ministers Fellowship) and many more pastors.

The event commenced at Lusaka's High Court Roundabout where thousands of Christians, mostly from PC congregations gathered. Prayers and declarations for the nation were made in unison. Vuvuzelas were blown in support of the chants that accompanied the prayers. The prayers placed an emphasis on breaking spiritual forces which were believed to have been behind all the political and socio-economic misfortunes Zambia was experiencing. While chants were going on, a select number of influential PC leaders were gathered under one of the statues at the high court called, the 3rd Conference of Non-Aligned Countries (September 1970).¹⁵⁷ Ragged clothing and a rusty metallic bucket were placed under this statue and one of the Bishops had a 2.5 litre plastic container full of anointing oil, which he began to pour over these items. During this time the other pastors were praying in tongues and making declarations against the evil forces they felt were behind Zambia's misfortunes. This activity was intended to symbolise the belief that Zambia's misfortune would wane through the power of the anointing oil. Most of the declarations that were being made concerned Zambia's need to prosper. In other declarations the name of the President was chanted

¹⁵⁷ The Non-Aligned movement was for countries that came together to foster independence in post-colonial states and 'fight against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and all forms of foreign aggression, interference with hegemony and against great power and bloc politics.' Fidel Castrol (chairman of the Non-Aligned countries) UN speech, 12/10/79.

and being submitted back to God. In the background the crowd was being led in the following declaration:

We declare in the name of Jesus that the life of poverty has ended. We declare that in every village, town, city, province there shall be a removal of the garment of poverty in the name of Jesus. We raise an altar of compassion, the angel of the Lord is upon us. My father whatever altar from the north that marred the land, today, the altar of Jesus is alive with fire. Today we decree, arise Zambia to your deliverance and prosperity and salvation. Today you shall be the breadbasket of the nations and carry the future glory of the nations. We pray for the economy of Zambia in the name of Jesus. We declare the heavens over Zambia, salvation in every village, town, city and province according to the word of God. Today we raise a sound from the horn. We seek for a new name for Zambia. Our help comes from God!¹⁵⁸

Thereafter, the Salvation Army band led the procession through Cairo Road (the main through-road in Lusaka city centre which houses the main business and retail services). As each major building was passed more rigorous prayers, chants and exuberant worship songs were sung. The next stop was at Lusaka's Freedom Statues where more declarations were made and then to an open ground in Kamwala, where a stage had been erected with an exuberant worship band singing. During this procession, banners were carried which stated 'peaceful elections,' and 'free and fair elections' respectively. A pastor on a megaphone was standing at the back of an open van declaring 'Zambia for Jesus!' Once at the grounds, an interesting focus on the raising of an altar to God dominated the prayers and a number of speakers made reference to this. Pastor Kasonde began by stating that the event was about building an altar. He made reference to the time when God wanted to change the situation of Israel and asked Gideon in Judges 6:26 to tear down the altars set up to

¹⁵⁸ Declarations led by one of the Pastors on stage.

venerate other gods and erect an altar to God. He asked the crowd to break all altars erected to ancestral gods, sorcerers and witches by raising their right hand and making the breaking motion.

The master of ceremonies, in line with pastor Kasonde prayed:

Oh Land of Zambia, we speak unto you and raise an altar in the central district of Lusaka. We raise an altar to the living God. This altar shall bow to the Lamb of God in heaven. Revelation 8:3-5, and an angel was given incense and with incense he lit up a fire in front of the altar which was designed. Those are spiritual realities. Every altar that will not glorify God in Zambia is torn down. Matthew 15:13, whatever was not planted by my father in heaven is now uprooted. We want to uproot everything that is not of God and hindering improvement. We destroy by fire. Every altar in all provinces is broken now. Our father I declare that with the rabble of broken altars I need a new altar unto the lord. Lusaka is a national altar!

This was followed by the collection of the offering, which the master of ceremonies also labelled a sacrifice. This is because he believed it was a prophetic action undertaken in accordance with the word of God. He further stated that Zambia's socio-economic plight would be changed by this action of giving. This kind of simplistic approach to God's blessings is still widespread in PC spirituality based on the Malachi Rhetoric.¹⁵⁹ Prophetess Elfredah Musambazi carrying on from Pastor Kasonde made reference to Zachariah 1:17, where it is said that the cities of God would be built with prosperity. She also saw the offering as a sacrifice upon an altar, and that because people have created an altar, God would enable Zambia to prosper. Another symbolic action to commission the salvation of souls was carried out by the speaker who after asking all the pastors

¹⁵⁹ This one-sided understanding of the prosperity gospel is superficial. Others have contextualized it so as to be understood and shaped by socio-economic and cultural realities.

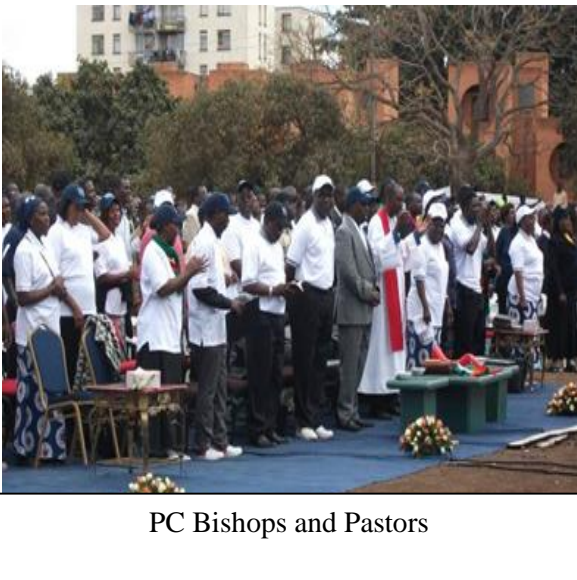
present to gather at the front, began to pour anointing oil on the ground,¹⁶⁰ declaring ‘Zambia for Jesus!’



Making Declarations



Anointing Rags to Symbolize Freeing Zambia from the Shackles of Poverty



PC Bishops and Pastors



The Worship Band

Plate 11 The Jesus Cares For Souls Event (2009) - Lusaka

¹⁶⁰ At that time vuvuzelas were being blown everywhere. Pastor Godfreda Sumaili stated that having gone to a camp meeting, the Lord gave her a word stating ‘he would open the wells that were closed.’ She said it was at that camp meeting that God revealed to her that an altar should be raised to him and that is what they were doing.

On the basis of this description, it is clear that the Jesus Cares for Souls 2010 event was not intended to challenge the state in any way. When prayers were made for the nation the challenge was against demonic structures as they were deemed responsible for Zambia's socio-economic challenges and injustices. This proves that the tendency to spiritualize social structures that are problematic continues to characterize such gatherings as opposed to placing the blame on poor governance.

According to Isaac Phiri,

In Zambia as long as you call people to pray, fast and give, the government will not say anything about you. These churches survive by turning away from the state and not confronting them. I once met one of the senior Pentecostal leaders at a lunch. At that time I had written an article criticizing Chiluba's corruption. This Bishop asked me why I was writing such, knowing it was destroying the country's national image.¹⁶¹

Dr Phiri suggests that PC Christians focus on personal religion and a relationship with God and not public roles. 'When Pentecostals march around the city, the state is not at all moved as it is sometimes seen as mere exuberance'. He said a march of that nature was politically neutral and, based on my observations, no tangible reference was made to challenge issues of governance, development, corruption, and the national constitution with regards to a hoped for referendum. Dr Phiri made reference to Kenya which was at that time having a referendum and the Roman Catholic Church which was fighting to oppose what was Kenya's proposed constitution as it had a clause that allowed abortion and divorce. It also permitted women to make their choices on abortion.

¹⁶¹ Dr Isaac Phiri .

While the Roman Catholics openly affirmed their position, the PCs on the other hand remained tight-lipped,¹⁶² which he thought was typical of PCs in Zambia.¹⁶³

5.4.6.2 EFZ National Peace Building Initiative (August 2011)

The EFZ National Peace Building Initiative was organized by the EFZ in August 2011. It was intended to offer people an opportunity to pray for the peaceful transition of the upcoming national general elections in October 2011. This was a gathering of all Evangelicals, and many of those that are known as the ‘City Fathers’ were present. Among them were Bishop George and Beatrice Mbulo, Bishop Joe Imakando, Bishop Ngandwe, Bishop Ngambi and his wife, Bishop Chileshe, Reverend Fortune Mwiza and Pastor Eddie Chansa. A number of pastors and church members were present from various PC churches.

The activities that surrounded this Peace Building Initiative mainly focused on prayer. No discussions or presentations were made to address issues that had caused Zambia’s socio-economic plight under previous administrations and the current government. The pastor chosen as master of ceremonies further emphasized this by stating ‘we are not here for speeches, we are here to pray and we are all going to engage in prayer’.¹⁶⁴ The overarching outcry according to pastor Eddie Chansa was, ‘to have the government of God,’¹⁶⁵ to pray for a leader chosen by God,¹⁶⁶ one that

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ According to George Chellah, a regular writer in the Post newspaper, ‘people who fear criticism are unreasonable. One of the things that people talk about is the Catholic church and I have great respect for them because when they have seen poverty and injustice affect the people they want to do something about it’. ‘People Who Want to Fit in Are Unreasonable,’ *The Post*, February 16, 2006, 3.

¹⁶⁴ The master of ceremonies at EFZ Peace Building Initiative, Woodlands Stadium in Lusaka on 17/07/11.

¹⁶⁵ Pastor Eddie Chansa speaking at the EFZ Peace Building Initiative, Woodlands Stadium in Lusaka on 17/07/11.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with Percy from Praise Christian Centre during the Jesus Cares for Souls 2010 march in Lusaka on 09/08/10

would honour and fear God, respond to the needs of the people, initiate development that would benefit the country and lead Zambia into prosperity. Ruth Marshall notes how PCs see the correlation between authority and righteousness by making reference to Proverbs 29:2 (when the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice. But when the wicked rule, the people mourn).¹⁶⁷ Such leaders are seen as the key to what she sees as ‘justice and the alleviation of suffering.’¹⁶⁸ Echoing this, Percy from Praise Christian Centre said, ‘right now what we want is, to petition God to give us his choice. This is because every President comes he takes us to another level. What we need is to pray and have a leader that is God fearing. Someone who fears God is a person with integrity’.¹⁶⁹ In Zambia, having a leader that acknowledges God is of pivotal importance and during elections, the faith of any strong candidate is always questioned and subject to media attention.

During this prayer initiative, prayers involved people walking around the stadium, chanting all manner of prayers and declarations. This is similar to the Jesus Cares for Souls 2010 event. PCs exercise a lot of confidence in attacking what are perceived demonic structures responsible for Zambia’s misfortunes in the unseen world. However, a focus on real people who may be responsible, and real issues affecting the nation would generate more results as opposed to addressing what may appear as otherworldly causes. This suggestion does not in any way belittle a confidence in prayer and the ability for the transcendent to reach down to humankind and solve their issues. However, when PCs are seen to engage practically in civic issues within the public

¹⁶⁷ Marshall, *Political Spiritualities*, 203.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Percy.

arena, they are in full view of the nation. In this way, what they do in the physical realm can translate to the confidence they have in the supernatural. From my observations, these tendencies have no effect on those who may be responsible. Leaders continue to do what is wrong if people put the blame on unseen structures. On the other hand, the raising of conscientiousness can be seen as political even though there may not be immediate results. For example, when Americans marched against going to war in Iraq in 2003 and President Bush ignored them, this may appear as though their act had no meaning and the effort of those that led the campaign was not praiseworthy. However, the consciousness that was raised and the opposition against it were some of the factors that may have led to the election of President Obama years later.

The prayer requests on the prayer initiatives agenda included; peaceful campaigns, the Electoral Commission of Zambia ECZ, balanced media coverage for various political parties and candidates offering themselves to provide leadership, fair and accurate and unbiased media coverage, effective security personnel, issue-based campaigns and not ones that target individuals, a large turnout on the day of voting, God to lead Zambia according to His will, prayer against electoral malpractice leading to disenfranchisement of anyone indicted of manipulating people, for the will of God to be done in the elections so that the outcome reflects the will of the majority of Zambia without any dispute, for certain institutions that are critical to the elections process, for the MMD government who are doing a good job so that elections are successful, for the opposition parties to do what is right not as enemies but as one with other parties, for the police, the Press Association of Zambia, all public institutions so that there will be gender balance, for the church to play its critical role of being politically neutral as pastors are leaders to every political party, for a tolerance

of political diversity in churches without using church buildings or pulpits to show solidarity or preference to any individual aspiring for particular positions and parties.

Whilst such exercises strengthen the unity of the church and show concern for the needs of the nation, gatherings that attract no attention from the media or from other faith and civic groups have little effect on national transformation.

Looking at both events, it can be recognised that such an attitude towards politics, though important in its own right (as people acknowledge that only God can redeem his people from socio-political ills and injustices), becomes more effective when prayer is coupled with activism. In the case of the EFZ National Peace Building Initiative, as noble as it was, having peaceful elections should have not been the only focus. The various leaders should have provided a well-researched response to the current national state of affairs. Time was taken up by various prayer requests as prayer instead. The core problems the country faced were not given enough attention. Having said this, there should be a more engaged and direct confrontation of the state. Those that had more time to speak centred on scriptures. A few people like Bishop Imakando and Pastor Fred Chansa were given a little more time to speak but their responses were scripture based.

Bishop Imakando gave a call to prayer and his message was based on 1 Timothy 2:1-3:

I urge, then, first of all, that petitions, prayers, intercession and thanksgiving be made for all people, kings and all those in authority, that we may live peaceful and quiet lives in all godliness and holiness. This is good, and pleases God our Saviour, who wants all people to be saved and to come to knowledge of the truth.

He suggested that it was the responsibility of Christians to pray for the elections because prayer is what brings change and moves the hand of God. Despite the fact that this rhetoric privileges prayer, the content of prayer eulogises political responses as well. Bishop Imakando spoke of how other nations hold Zambia in high regard due to previous peaceful elections and presidential transitions. Using Paul as an illustration, Bishop Imakando spoke of how he admonished Timothy to call people to pray, including those in authority. Using 2 Peter, he further spoke of how not all people can preach, prophecy or heal the sick, but noted that all can participate in prayer. The reasons he gave for the need for Christians to pray for people in power were, i) that their decisions influence the quality of life of the people; ii) that they are limited in power because they are mere human beings that face desperate problems, which make them turn to witch doctors for help. He made reference to Nancy Reagan whom he claimed had been consulting occult spirits in order to help her husband rule. He said Christians need to pray for leaders because demonic powers influence them like creeping plants, and he gave the examples of Idi Amin and the Rwanda genocide. He believed that there are demonic structures that operate alongside political ones and through them, Satan rules cities and nations. 'If we don't pray for them, what they decide will affect us and we will be left at the mercy of evil and demonic forces'. He stated that prayer was needed for those in authority so that Zambians can live peaceful, quiet and undisturbed lives without the threat of coups, civil war and strife. Furthermore, he argued that leaders would be saved and be in a relationship with God. He concluded by stating that the declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation blessed Zambia, giving it the right to be 'Gods country'; a nation which cannot entertain the devil's manoeuvres.

What is interesting is the focus that is placed on the demonic. It is invoked as if its absence would leave Zambia a perfect country. As the spirit world will always be in existence, perhaps the focus should be on people and what they can practically do to be of service to the poor and speak out for the voiceless and forgotten. This type of focus, which places less power and emphasis on the demonic, would encourage people into praxis. Pastor Eddie Chansa using Romans 8 as a reference, focused on the vision that Zambia's forefathers had for Zambia when they wrote the national anthem. He wondered why Zambia's leaders behaved as though they had no vision when the vision was laid down in the anthem. He stated that Christians should be the reason why the nation is united because they were predestined to conform to the image of the Son of God who brought the covenant of God to the nations. Pastor Chansa asserted that Christians are governmental by nature and should not operate like Non-Governmental Organizations. He believed God wants his people to raise leaders like 'biblical Daniel and Joseph who will change the system'. He stressed that the church was not there just to pray but to demonstrate the manifestation of the Kingdom of God in order to restore prosperity. He said that Zambia needed a Joseph to father the nation because Zambia lacked a father figure. This rhetoric demonstrates the confidence that PC have in the divine intervention in politics as a means of creating prosperity. There is also a focus on the idea that it is the rise of one godly leader (just like in Biblical times when Kings like David, Daniel and Joseph arose) that would lead the nation into success. Little or no reference is made to the role of believers working cooperatively to achieve this. Furthermore, the prayers and chants that accompanied these

two events demonstrate a tendency for PCs to blame issues of corruption, HIV/AIDS, unemployment, injustice and other social ills on the demonic.¹⁷⁰

Such tendencies are embedded with the traditional African context. When churches speak of salvation they refer to ‘redemption from the powers of the devil and demons as they are usually labelled as responsible for causing sickness, poverty and other material and socio-economic ills’.¹⁷¹ Many PC Christians have not demonstrated a significant engagement in direct political activism. However, such Christians do show support for those that have engaged directly or indirectly, as well as exhibiting a desire to re-shape society. Having noted the fact that their level of direct political activism has not been forceful, it would be unfair to gauge their involvement merely through direct political action. Despite the fact that the rhetoric in both events that have been evaluated appeared to privilege prayer, an important note to take is these events made prayer a collective responsibility. They did acknowledge the inadequacies within the socio-political system and in this case, prayer was the suggested remedy. The prayer genres were specific to repentance and petition. The former was very prominent in the Jesus Cares for Souls event and the latter in the Peace Building Initiative. The emphasis on the prayers of repentance in both events (especially at the start of the programs), which in most cases was done on behalf of the nation, meant that only then, would God grant their petitions. Having observed the manner in which prayers were lifted up in unison as opposed to one person leading, as well as the boldness with which people prayed and chanted out loud, some with fits punching the air, stomping of feet on

¹⁷⁰ Ayo Oritsejafor, ‘Dealing with the Demonic’ in C. Peter Wagner and Joseph Thompson (eds.), *Out of Africa* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 2004), pp 80-85. Dhan Prakash, ‘Towards a Theology of Social Concern: A Pentecostal Perspective,’ *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies*, 3 (1), 2010, 65-97 (97).

¹⁷¹ J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics: Current Developments within Independent Indigenous Pentecostals in Ghana* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005) esp. chapter 5 and 6.

the ground, marching across the grounds, wailing etc demonstrated the confidence with which PCs at these events had in the power of prayer to overturn political issues within the country. Therefore, even those that may not have had a clear understanding of the socio-political realm took part in this collective responsibility.

This takes us back to the definition of politics. Therefore, political engagement is considered broadly in this case and consideration should be given to other indirect ways of politicking which are: through prayer, engaging with matters of HIV/AIDS which are political in themselves (as will be explained in the next chapter), and the creation of responsible citizens. The issue of demographics has had an influence on PC political activism. Those that live in urban areas and bigger cities like Lusaka and the Copperbelt, have quicker and easier access to services and facilities that would help advance their ambitions. Currently, the majority of very influential PC leaders live in Lusaka and they are the ones that enjoy a variety of platforms on which they can assert their influence. Independent Churches of Zambia (ICOZ) is regarded as the fourth church umbrella body which is somewhat different from the main three. Reverend David Masupa who is the founder took this opportunity to round up a number of independent PC churches that may have failed to meet EFZ criteria for membership. Those that have had a platform like ICOZ have in the past served as state puppets and their calibre could not match that of the three main religious umbrella bodies.

5.4.7 Political Influence and Mobilization

Their numerical growth has helped PCs to gain a level of influence and recognition among other Christian groups in Zambia. This not only helped to change overtly apolitical attitudes but also encouraged PCs to relate their beliefs to the public domain. Pastor Danny Pule was pastoring his

church (Dunamis) while serving as Deputy Minister of Communication and Broadcasting. The poor performance of Mumba, Miyanda and Mwale in elections has, however, proved damaging for the candidates and has had a negative impact on other aspiring PC political activists. In the case of Brigadier Miyanda, although he was able to raise the funds in good time he only had a handful of supporters based on my direct observations. Mwale failed to raise enough funds to allow him to file for the Presidency. Such leaders seem to fail to attract a well-balanced support base that includes those that might not necessarily self-define as born-again or have strong Christian commitments.

At the time of elections, PC leaders avoid endorsing political leaders with the exception of people like Bishop Peter Ndhlovu and Reverend David Masupa who endorsed former President Banda during the 2011 elections.¹⁷² They encourage members to exercise their right to vote and ‘avoid falling victim to power-hungry politicians who do not care about the welfare of ordinary Zambians according to Bishop Mbulo’.¹⁷³ Bishop Ndhlovu was quoted in a Newspaper article stating ‘the Church should support the government of the day (MMD) because leadership is ordained by God.’¹⁷⁴ They justify the advantage of being non-partisan as helping pastors to be in a position where they can shepherd everyone.¹⁷⁵ According to pastor Chansa:

¹⁷² ‘Why Bar the Media ICOZ Asks,’ *SufzStand up For Zambia*, 00011, July 15-21/2011, 2. Reverend Masupa in this newspaper article was quoted saying ‘the Patriotic Front (PF), the opposition party should not be voted into power because they had failed to exhibit good governance because the media is the fourth state.’

¹⁷³ Nkolomba and Mfula, ‘Beware of Power-Hungry Politicians,’ 1; Mutale, ‘Church Don’t Shun Politics,’ 17.

¹⁷⁴ Nkolomba and Mfula, ‘Beware of Power-Hungry Politicians,’ 1.

¹⁷⁵ Similarly, a joint press statement was issued by the three umbrella bodies after an incidence that happened at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in September of 2012. Cadres from the ruling party, Patriotic Front and opposition party UPND were engaged in violence during a requiem mass for Betty Kaunda’s funeral (former President Kaunda’s wife). The statement issued reiterated the fact that they were non-partisan and urged political parties to take full responsibility of their party cadres. Their statement stated, ‘on our part as the church, we take pride and delight in bringing people from all walks of life and political persuasions together. We are committed to provide time and space for all Zambians to reason and pray together in the spirit of one Zambia, one nation. Indeed our churches should be that neutral place that brings all people on an equal basis in the presence of God. This sacred place should not be invaded by partisan

If Mugabe and Banda have a crisis, they need a Joseph not to take over but to father them, and we pastors should be in a position to be there for them in providing leadership, guidance and counsel without being partisan.¹⁷⁶

According to Reverend Elliot Chalwe:

I am very interested in politics. I read articles and profiles of the political leaders so that I know their stance. I do not have a favourite figure because I might end up being biased. This would mean that I might end up endorsing someone while preaching which I would hate to do. So I would safely remain neutral and be able to analyse what any candidate brings to the fore.¹⁷⁷

Pastor Chansa however, supports the idea of endorsing leaders as part of the church's prophetic role:

In this nation we do not even have someone as a final voice to say who the right candidate is. I believe looking at our current political situation we need men of God who will rise up and say which party is right and which candidate is ready and tell the people who to vote for. This is because the Bible says in Israel everyone made up their mind to declare David as King. That's my theological stance.¹⁷⁸

politics or hijacked by people with selfish motives. In order to maintain a solemn atmosphere, imbued with a sense of national unity, we hereby declare that any church service hosted by that said three church mother bodies shall not condone any form of politicking. We shall not condone any party regalia to be worn during church'. 'A Press Statement of the Three Church Mother Bodies,' *The Challenge of Christian Living Today*, September 25, 201, 16-17.

¹⁷⁶Interview with Pastor Eddie Chansa. He continued by saying, 'The word church in Hebrew and Greek means people. For me building the church is not building the four walls but the people. They must be the dwelling place of God. If they are that, then they will become the expression of God in politics, economy, sport and technology but the church in its current structure cannot contain that concept. So Pentecostals think to be spiritual is to just go and pray and scream at the demons but look at Joseph, one man who understood his God didn't just appear anyhow. Joseph becomes a solution to Egypt, a picture of the world and makes a statement when he says God has made me a father to Pharaoh. Their whole family consent, so Joseph doesn't take over Pharaoh. Pharaoh has a position without solutions. As long as Joseph was around Pharaoh, Pharaoh's problems are sorted out.'

¹⁷⁷ Reverend Elliot Chalwe.

¹⁷⁸ Pastor Eddie Chansa.

These statements demonstrate the conflicting views about the support for political leaders held by PC leaders. Chansa's stance may be risky because once leaders are in power it is inevitable that their experience of power will affect them. The one who is endorsed as God's choice may, with time, turn into a dictator. The onus would then be on the church to justify their chosen leader's actions, which would breed all kinds of divisions and misunderstandings. A lot of lessons were learnt during Chiluba's Presidency because when corruption was rampant, church leaders were divided. Those that remained loyal blamed the devil's attacks on the state of Zambian society.

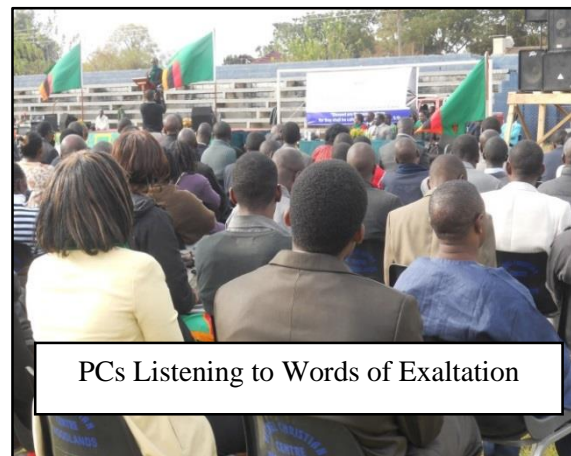
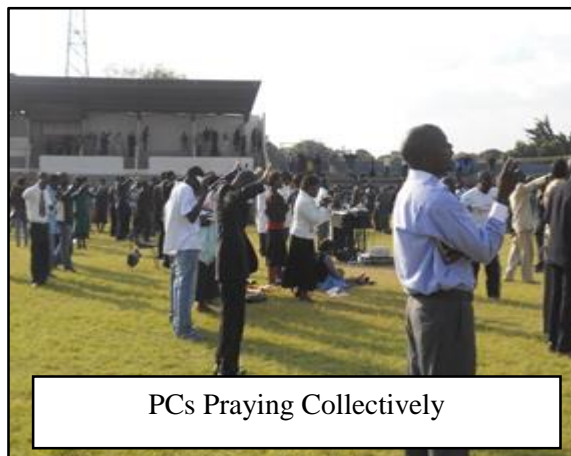
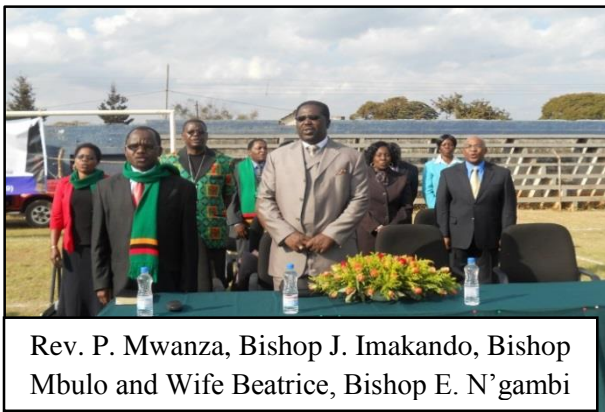


Plate 12 EFZ National Peace-Building Initiative Prayer Meeting for the 2011 Presidential Elections: Woodlands Stadium, Lusaka

A number of PC Christians have a vision of a country that is guided by the fundamental values of Christianity. Many pastors interviewed see Zambia as a chosen nation by virtue of the declaration. Because the declaration is regarded as a covenant with God, many envisage a country that should be ruled by Godly leaders who would then work to create God's kingdom on earth. Such dynamics provide insight into the religious culture and mind-set of those that support the declaration. This statement however does stereotype everyone who calls themselves PC. Yet since 1991, three Presidents have come and gone, and Zambia is far from being God's kingdom on earth. Without minimizing the importance of godly leaders, the focus should be on exercising their prophetic voice in order to keep leaders in check. Even first world countries that are seemingly more successful than developing ones have their fair share of weaknesses, yet feature civil society groups that are constantly taking their states to task as soon as they notice areas of poor governance.

5.4.8 Politics Through Development Programmes

In line with the broader understanding of politics, it is important to recognise that PCs have influenced politics in a number of ways that are not confined to traditional political activism. This influence largely been seen through the development and expansion of various faith-based organizations (FBOs). Due to economic problems within Zambia, FBOs have helped to sensitise, build capacity and provide aid in various parts of the country, which falls within socio-political action. Examples of Zambian PC FBOs include the Expanded Church Response (ECR), Jubilee Christian Centre (JCC) and numerous other sustained community development programmes that have come out of their training. EFZ also develops similar projects in rural areas focusing mainly on church planting and evangelism. ECR and JCC have strong capacity building programmes that aim to empower people in rural as well as urban settings to help transform their communities. ECR

works mainly in the area of HIV/AIDS through the mobilization of resources both financial and material from a variety of sources like USAID through PEPFAR; Global Fund, EU, UNICEF and World Vision). They help to build capacity through training programmes for communities, and thereafter provide them with grants and training to establish various projects.¹⁷⁹ Once these projects are established and self-sustaining, ECR then moves on to help others. Jubilee Christian Centre works mainly with orphans and vulnerable children. It also offers education on human rights. For example in July 2012 they called in a representative from the International Justice Mission in Lusaka to educate the young people they support on Street Law and Protection Policy to teach them where to get help.¹⁸⁰ Jubilee Centre also mobilizes churches in low income communities through integral missions (providing spiritual and practical support). The centre works with over 94 churches which are PC as well as other 'mainline' churches. Jubilee Centre helps these churches identify the areas that need change in their communities by firstly helping them develop a Biblical definition of the church and to ask questions relating to the role of the local church. What kind of leadership is God looking for? The kind of mission and vision needed to drive their church to do what it needs to do are discussed, together with the development of visions and mission. For many churches, the needs they seek to address include HIV/AIDS, crime and lack of water. Jubilee Centre also works in conjunction with schools in the United States. For example in 2011 they had 10 students from a Presbyterian church in the United States who came and built a house for a person with HIV. Upon completion, they asked how else they could help

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Annie Banda, Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS, Programmes Manager on 25/07/11; The ABC's of The Expanded Church response: Equipping The Church to Touch Lives More Deeply (Booklet). ECR's mission statement states, 'An Empowered and Compassionate church, Transforming lives and communities, uprooting all impediments like HIV/AIDS, poverty, ignorance, and inequality, achieving physical, emotional and spiritual wholeness through the love, wisdom and power of Christ.'

¹⁸⁰ Reverend Pius Chisha.

and Pastor Temfwe drafted them a letter, which they took home with them and gave it to their Senator in order to put pressure on the Zambian government. The Senator sent the letter to the Zambian government and due to that action, Jubilee Centre is now able to feed children with HIV/AIDS. This is one way in which transnational networks are used to facilitate programmes that help feed vulnerable children.

The absence of state welfare systems, poverty, unemployment and underdevelopment which are continually faced by those on the margins and in low income communities help to explain why these churches are investing their time in meeting the practical needs of people in their communities.¹⁸¹ In a nation where the Prosperity Gospel has found a home in the last two decades, this emphasis counteracts the claim that the Prosperity Gospel deters people from civic engagement.¹⁸² In September 2001 the heads of state from 186 countries from across the globe gathered together under the umbrella of the United Nations to develop a fifteen year plan to reduce poverty, hunger and disease in developing countries. They agreed eight goals which they called Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The target was to meet these goals by 2015.¹⁸³ The goals included the reduction of poverty and hunger by half, ensuring all children complete primary education, reducing child mortality by two thirds, reducing maternal mortality by three quarters, stemming the spread of HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability and developing a global partnership through Heavily Indebted Poor Countries

¹⁸¹ Juliet Mukwama, 'Celebrating 11 Years of Bringing deliverance to the Afflicted: Deliverance Church,' *Christian Herald* 001/3, September to October 2010, 4.

¹⁸² Gifford, *African Christianity* (1998); Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, (2007).

¹⁸³ For more information on the MDG, see their website, United Nations, Millennium Development Goals: We can End poverty 2015, accessed November 29, 2012 <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>.

(HIPC) and Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI).¹⁸⁴ In 2006 Pastor Temfwe was head of an Evangelical Christian Campaign group originating from the United Kingdom (although it promotes itself as an international/global organization) called the Micah Challenge,¹⁸⁵ which worked on MDGs.¹⁸⁶ According to Temfwe, the MDGs are exactly what Micah 6:8 and Isaiah 58 promotes. He argued that this should be seen as the world borrowing from God's hand for His total redemption'.¹⁸⁷ Members of the Micah Challenge in Zambia began by mobilizing 300 churches, which later grew to 1000 based on the 2011 EFZ annual report. Their aim was to persuade the government to adhere to the goals they had signed up for.¹⁸⁸ Initially, the churches were ignorant of the commitment the government had made. Therefore, the Micah Challenge team sensitized churches as well as encouraged them to be part of the challenge. Jubilee Christian Centre identified three issues to focus on: HIV/AIDS, servant leadership, youth and child development. In the area of servant leadership they encourage churches to work as a team to meet the needs of their communities rather than dealing with issues in isolation. This follows the practice of the leadership of Jesus who came not to be served but to serve.¹⁸⁹ In 2010 the media expressed concern over Zambia's possible failure to 'attain the aspirations and targets set out' in the year 2001.¹⁹⁰ In 2011 Professor Nkandu Luo expressed concern over the fact that Zambia was failing to meet the health targets set by the Millennium Development Goals (MDG).¹⁹¹ She saw evidence of this failure in

¹⁸⁴ Muyunda Mwangala, 'Zambia Might Miss 2015 MDG's,' *New Vision*, 102, June 20120, 12.

¹⁸⁵ Developed by Micah Network and the World Evangelical Alliance. It is headed by Joel Edwards. For more information on these organizations see <http://www.micahnetwork.org/> and <http://www.worlddea.org/whoweare/introduction>.

¹⁸⁶ Micah Challenge is not a Pentecostal but Evangelical initiative. In this case it is pastor Temfwe's involvement which is relevant.

¹⁸⁷ Pastor Lawrence Temfwe.

¹⁸⁸ EFZ Annual Report, 2011, 12.

¹⁸⁹ Pastor Lawrence Temfwe.

¹⁹⁰ Mwangala, 'Zambia Might Miss,' 12.

¹⁹¹ Moses Kuwema, 'Zambia Going Backwards on Health MDG Says Luo,' *The Post*, 19/06/11, 9.

the rising number of malnourished children and adults across the country. It is such retrogressive reports that continue to persuade organizations like the Micah Challenge to lobby the state in relation to the alleviation of human suffering. During the EFZ General Assembly held on the 28th April 2011, the work that the churches involved in the Micah Challenge were doing was mentioned in the minutes as ‘making major contributions to direct community development and relief programmes’.¹⁹² However, EFZ deemed their programmes ‘invisible as a political force on poverty and justice issues’ a number of church-based organizations being successful at advocating human rights and constitutional reforms, there has been no attempt to share best practice.¹⁹³

5.5 Tangible Issues

Among other issues affecting Zambia is the question of mining. Uranium mining in Zambia caused a stir within the CCZ. This is because it was seen as not benefiting indigenous Zambians financially. Furthermore, it was seen to be detrimental to their health due to mismanaged fumes affecting communities around the mines.¹⁹⁴ A number of irregularities were discovered through this research and that drove CCZ to write a comprehensive document which pointed out how the state had failed and things they needed to do for the benefit of the locals. They pointed out that ‘under current legal and regulatory arrangements Zambians had not seen an improvement in their

¹⁹² Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia Minutes of the General Assembly, 28th April 2011, held at Gospel Outreach fellowship in Lusaka.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ For more details on this see CCZ, *Prosperity Unto Death: Is Zambia ready for Uranium Mining? Review of Uranium Mining Policy in Zambia* (Lusaka: Council of Churches in Zambia, 2010); Mutale Kapekeke, ‘CCZ Urges Uranium Policy That Will Benefit Locals,’ *Business Post*, 24/08/10, 5.

The Council of Churches in Zambia did some research into mining and the detrimental effects it had on the indigenous Zambians working there as well as living close to the mines. It was discovered that though the government offered these foreign investors licence to mine uranium in the country, it did not ensure that the investors had done enough to protect the health of the workers. A number of irregularities were discovered through CCZ research and that drove them to write a comprehensive document which pointed out how the state had failed and things they needed to do in the benefit of the locals. This document was circulated to the general public and the state.

living standards during the copper boom,’ and uranium mining would not offer anything different because ‘it was operating under the same legal parameters’.¹⁹⁵ This document was circulated amongst the general public and CCZ urged the state to ‘develop a clear policy on uranium mining and have the current regulations to govern it. This was because there was no specific policy relating to uranium exploration and mining. Due to its peculiarity and dangers, this was worrying.’¹⁹⁶ In 2011, an article was published by a representative from the uranium mining industry in Zambia considering the inadequacy of current legislation in relation to uranium mining in Zambia.¹⁹⁷ As a result the Ministry of Mines took heed of what the church was championing.

This is an example of tangible issues that PC might become engaged in. Such activism can have practical effects and show a more advanced and informed level of engaging with the state. Based on an article in a *Zambian Christian magazine*, ‘avoidance of critical issues has left the church with influence only in the confines of their congregations.’¹⁹⁸ The author of this article claimed that only the Roman Catholic Church in Zambia appeared to have a consistent way of addressing the most pressing governance and economic issues faced by members. He gave an example of the Roman Catholic Church’s quick response to the invitation to make comments on the Draft Constitution published by the NCC in 2010. He criticized the Evangelicals and Protestants for not responding and for resorting to tagging along the Catholic response.¹⁹⁹ To some extent, society needs to exercise some patience with the PC movement because, according to Miller and

¹⁹⁵ P. Wazzi, ‘The Church Engaged: Launch of CCZ Uranium Report,’ *Christian Herald* 001/2, July-August 2010, 8-9.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ For more information see, Changwe Kabwe, ‘Zambia Now Ready for Uranium Mining: Despite Protests,’ *Christian Herald* 002/05, May 2011, 6.

¹⁹⁸ ‘Zambia Needs a Leader,’ 6.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

Yamamori, ‘many churches are still putting bandages on problems and only recently began to think structurally in terms of social issues’.²⁰⁰

On 21st August 2010 I attended a breakfast meeting organized by the Roman Catholic Church through the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR). This meeting was initiated to create a debate entitled ‘Should the church be involved in politics?’²⁰¹ Among the invited guests were Bishop Joshua Banda, Hon. Felix Mutati (MP Minister of Commerce Trade and Industry), Fr. Pete Henriot (JCTR), Dr Choolwe Beyani (University of Zambia), Reverend Susan Matale (Council Churches in Zambia) and Mr Sebastian Kopulande (Director for Southern-African Development Community SADC). These influential speakers had different religious affiliations. Each put forward their views on the proposed topic based on their beliefs. Topics concerning church and state relations in elections, the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) campaign and debt sustainability were debated. Bishop Banda was the only Pentecostal in that panel and he supported church-state collaboration. Basing his arguments on a scriptural standpoint he did not appear to directly confront evils perpetrated by the state but offered insights into the role the church can play in supporting and guiding the state and its leaders.

In both examples, it is clear that the issues being tackled were considered from various perspectives. If PCs could gather people and have such discussions as well as engage in similar research as on uranium mining this would contribute to their effectiveness as well-informed people as well as people of prayer. Since prayer meetings and empowerment conferences are more

²⁰⁰ Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 213.

²⁰¹ Roma Cathedral Parish, Invitation as Discussant at Breakfast Meeting on 2/07/10.

common and attract more attention, it is important to ask how many PCs would be interested in discussions of this nature which may not be considered spiritual. Prayer meetings seem to attract more attention and it is common practice for PC churches to send calls to pray for the nation on national radio and television. An example includes the Standing in the Gap prayer network that organizes all night prayer meetings within Zambia every Wednesday and Friday. In an interview with Pastor Paul Tembo who is the Vice President, he stated that prayers for the nation are top of the agenda at these gatherings.²⁰² Such gatherings reinforce group solidarities and emotional links among PCs. Each week those that attend SITG have the opportunity to pray for whatever political issue affecting the nation is in that week. Such dedication creates a sense of responsibility within individuals and a belief that their prayers count as an aide to the reformation of social ills. There is however, need for more dedication to a balanced spirituality that privileges both prayer and direct political action more so by exercising their prophetic voice in challenging, reminding and collaborating with the state. Such an approach will make the PC voice louder in the community.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the dynamics that have characterized direct and indirect PC political activism in post Chiluba Zambia. Their weakened prophetic voice, fragmented voice as a movement and those characteristics that encourage and impede civic engagement are among the issues identified as detrimental to their cause. However, this chapter has also demonstrated some successes in their directly and indirect interaction with issues of civic concern. It is clear that although Pentecostalism ‘is not inherently political’, but more of what David Martin describes as

²⁰² Pastor Paul Tembo.

a ‘cultural revolution’,²⁰³ this chapter has demonstrated that PCs are making efforts to make political contributions within Zambia. Adjustments to their identity have acted as a catalyst driving their attitudes towards their presence on the public domain. Though it may appear that PCs have adopted non-political identities over the last decade, this is far from the case. Even those that choose not to engage directly in politics do so informally through prayer initiatives as shown. The fact that this movement has not attracted enough academic attention creates room for research into other areas such as how their religious culture is driving their socio-political participation. This kind of research would cast light onto reasons why they would pull out of lobby groups like the Oasis Forum and privilege prayer over direct political engagement and a more direct exercise of their prophetic voice. It would continue to serve their best interests if PCs continue to be heard on issues regarding good governance, rural development, corruption and job creation. Such work requires more people that have courage with the assurance of PC backing.

Moving on from political process, the next chapter will develop a discourse that will analyse the issue of HIV/AIDS as a political issue. By engaging Drooger’s three dimensional model, Chapter six will demonstrate how PC churches, in their communion with the transcendent (transcendental dimension) have been able to organise themselves through their leaders and members (internal dimension) in order to influence what was going on, on the public domain (external dimension: medical field).

²⁰³ Martin, *Pentecostalism*, 167.

Chapter 6. ‘Zambia Shall Be Saved!’ Pentecostalism and HIV: Towards an Evaluation of the Church’s Response to HIV/AIDS.

For our current context provides us with both a moment of truth in critical and dangerous times as well as a moment of grace and opportunity. Yes we live in critical and dangerous times and our HIV positive world challenges our theology, our traditions, and our cultures. It forces us to seek new understandings of God and God’s work in the world and to find ways of living as a church that are redemptive both to men and women.¹

6.1 Introduction

Contemporary sociology of religion is very intriguing because it critiques the arguments of leading nineteenth century psychologists and sociologists such as Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx and Emile Durkheim about the place of religion in civil society.² They vehemently promoted secularised ideas that would place science over religion. Having predicted that ‘religion would become increasingly individualised, demoted to the private sphere of life thus having little influence on the public policy, moral principles governing business, medical research and other areas in the public domain’,³ post-secular studies have challenged this notion as they have argued against the predicted decline of religiosity and proposed instead a renewed interest.⁴ This renewed interest has been seen in various forms. Pentecostals and Charismatics (PCs) across the globe have

¹ Beverly Haddad, ‘We Pray But We Cannot Heal: Theological Challenges Posed by the HIV/AIDS Crisis,’ *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, 125 (2006): 81.

² Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, 1927; Karl Marx, *Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right*, 1843; Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Paris: F Alcan, 1912.

³ Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Engagement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 35.

⁴ Justine Beaumont and Christopher Baker (eds.), *Postsecular Cities: Theory and Practice* (Manchester: William Temple Foundation, 2011).

increasingly become involved in the creation of different types of social ministries and in some cases have become leaders of extensive social and health programmes. For the purpose of this chapter, HIV/AIDS intervention will be privileged over the other projects in which these churches engage.

Within the Zambian context, and specifically in the area of HIV/AIDS, examples can be drawn from social ministries like the Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS Trust in Zambia (ECR) whose duty encompasses mobilising congregational responses to matters of HIV/AIDS; Chreso Clinic and Circle of Hope Clinic. These projects are all owned by Pentecostal churches, providing professional services that diagnose, treat and track HIV/AIDS. Being centres that are also involved in the distribution of free Antiretroviral (ARV) drugs, Chreso Clinic and Circle of Hope Family clinic have become a part of the redemptive work that Antiretroviral drugs have achieved through prolonging the lives of those living with HIV/AIDS. According to van Dijk, 'Christianity is becoming one of the most influential factors in the engagement of AIDS in some African countries',⁵ including Zambia. This thesis would be incomplete if the issue of HIV/AIDS was not addressed. This is because HIV/AIDS has reshaped the face of health-care in Zambia and Sub-Saharan Africa since the early 1980's, leading to 'adverse psychosocial and economic consequences' that have left many disillusioned.⁶ In 2004 the World Health Organization estimated that 22.0 million out of the global 33 million people living with HIV were in Sub-

⁵ Ruth Prince, Philippe Denis and Rijk Van Dijk, 'Engaging Christianities: Negotiating HIV/AIDS, Health and Social Relations in East and Southern Africa,' *Africa Today* 56, 1 (2009): v.

⁶ Maxine E. Ankrah, 'The Impact of HIV/AIDS on the Family and Other Significant Relationships. The African Clan Revisited'. *AIDS Care* 5, 1 (1993):5.

Saharan Africa.⁷ Zambia has been ranked seventh among the most infected countries in the world,⁸ with a prevalence of 14.3% based on the 2007 Demographic Health survey.⁹ The UNAIDS Global Report in 2012 recorded one in seven adults were living with HIV/AIDS in Zambia.¹⁰ Although the HIV/AIDS pandemic is a health issue, it is equally a political (statecraft) issue because it has forced the government, church and other voluntary and non-governmental organisations to work together in order to contain its spread. From its inception, HIV/AIDS has contributed to ‘crippled production in institutions having claimed highly skilled personnel in Zambia’.¹¹ In 2002, it was declared a national emergency, for having contributed to food shortages that had affected Zambia at that time.¹²

6.1.1 Pentecostal and Charismatic Responses to HIV/AIDS

The first cases of AIDS in Zambia were recorded in 1984 and due to inadequate intervention through medication and sensitization, numbers of cases continued to rise rapidly.¹³ The initial

⁷ World Health Organization, *Summary Country Profile for HIV/AIDS Treatment Scale-up, 2004*, Ministry of Health, *Basic Antiretroviral Therapy Clinical Training Course: Referencing Manual* (Ministry of Health, Lusaka, May 2010), 1.2.

⁸ PEPFAR, ‘Zambia Operational Plan Report: FY 2012’, p 2, accessed November 29, 2013, <http://www.pepfar.gov/documents/organization/212853.pdf>

⁹ ‘Zambia Demographic Health Survey’, March 2007, p. 228, accessed November 30, 2013 [http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/FR211/FR211\[revised-05-12-2009\].pdf](http://www.measuredhs.com/pubs/pdf/FR211/FR211[revised-05-12-2009].pdf)

¹⁰ UNAIDS, ‘Global Report 2012: AIDSinfo’, accessed November 23, 2013, <http://www.unaids.org/en/dataanalysis/datatools/aidsinfo/>

¹¹ In 2006, Ndola city itself had a prevalence of 24.7%. Charity Musa, ‘HIV/AIDS Contributes to Industrial Inactivity,’ *Zambia Daily Mail*, March 18, 2006, 3; Barbara Mukuka, ‘Cops Wives Join HIV/AIDS Fight,’ *Zambia Daily Mail*, March 18, 2006, 3. The IMF in 2002 stated, ‘the epidemic is as much likely to affect economic growth as it is affected by it.’ IMF, ‘Zambia Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper 2002,’ March 2002, accessed November 22, 2013, <http://www.imf.org/External/NP/prsp/2002/zmb/01/>

¹² BBC News, ‘Zambia Declares Food Disaster,’ May 30, 2002, accessed November 22, 2013 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/2016168.stm>

¹³ Avert, ‘HIV/AIDS in Zambia,’ accessed November 20, 2013, <http://www.avert.org/hiv-aids-zambia.htm>

responses from the general public and the church stigmatized sufferers.¹⁴ Not much is heard about PC responses to HIV/AIDS during the 1980s. The first time Pentecostals responded on a national level to the pandemic was in 1988 through the joint statement written on HIV/AIDS by the three umbrella religious bodies. Bishop Joseph Imakando (a Charismatic pastor) was then Executive Director of EFZ. The statement, *'Choose to live: Reflections on the HIV/AIDS Crisis from the Christian Churches in Zambia,'* gave the church's perspective on AIDS, which, by this time, had become a national and global crisis.¹⁵ The document contained scientific facts about the disease, ways in which AIDS is transmitted as well as what the Christian attitude should be towards AIDS. It emphasised sexual promiscuity as the main cause of its transmission and called for sexual activity to be confined to married couples.¹⁶ It stressed chastity for Christians before marriage and encouraged people to exercise 'responsible sexual behaviour'.¹⁷ It recommended that those that were already infected and facing death should find comfort in knowing that, even in suffering, the message of the cross and the resurrection of Christ still had 'meaning and value'. All Christians were encouraged to show love to the sick. It challenged public authorities and the community to work hard to find solutions to this problem through education (especially among the youth). Condoms were condemned as 'giving people a false sense of security and encouraging promiscuous behaviour'.¹⁸ The document further suggested the proper treatment of AIDS patients,

¹⁴ For a detailed look at the impact of HIV/AIDS in Lusaka, see Naar M'fundisi, 'From Stigma, to Intervention: Pentecostals in the Fight Against HIV/AIDS in Zambia and Subsequent Effects on the Family,' *PentecoStudies* 10.2 (2011): 215-238.

¹⁵ M. J Mazombwe (ZEC), P. Simichoba (CCZ) and J. Imakando (EFZ), 'Choose to live: Reflections on the AIDS Crisis from the Christian Churches in Zambia: January 1988,' in *The Social Teaching of the Catholic Bishops and Other Christian Leaders in Zambia: Major Pastoral letters and Statements 1953-2001*, ed. J. Komakoma (Ndola: Mission Press, 2003), 197.

¹⁶ Ibid 197.

¹⁷ Ibid, 206.

¹⁸ Ibid, 209-212.

rather than leaving them in isolation due to the stigma the disease carried. Patients were to be given ‘moral, medical and spiritual support’.¹⁹ In relation to prostitutes, the document advocated rehabilitation and vocations that would keep them off the streets.²⁰ Foster homes and other institutions were to be provided to support those disadvantaged by AIDS, including orphans and the elderly.²¹ People working in the medical field were encouraged not to lose heart as they continued to witness high mortality rates.²² Unborn children were not to be aborted even when born with AIDS and people about to get married were strongly encouraged to get tested.²³ Finally, prayer was encouraged by everyone for God to grant strength to help people live a moral life. It also encouraged people to pray for the dying so that according to Revelation 21:14, ‘God may come and help them to enter the New Jerusalem, where there will be no more death, mourning and sadness’.²⁴ HIV/AIDS continued to carry a stigma during this period and unfortunately, even people within the church were dying because anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) were not accessible due to extortionate prices. Once one had acquired the virus, it was equal to a death sentence.

6.2 Aims

For those churches that have embraced a response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic as part of their calling to social ministry, their journey has involved overcoming their initial stigmatization of those that were infected due to issues of immorality attached to the illness. The realization that HIV/AIDS was not an illness confined to sinners outside the church walls and that it was embedded

¹⁹ Ibid, 213-214.

²⁰ Ibid, 214.

²¹ Ibid, 214.

²² Ibid, 215.

²³ Ibid, 215-217.

²⁴ Ibid, 217.

even among the church membership was a wakeup call. This challenged a mind-set that saw the church as being detached from matters of sexual immorality, which the church considered was a direct cause of HIV infection. Because of this, churches went through years of silence and denial over the presence of HIV/AIDS within Christian communities. With time, people have had to rethink their attitude towards the illness and now seek to offer hope to those that have been infected and affected. Ezra Chitando argues that, ‘rather than condemning, churches have now become competent in the area of HIV/AIDS’.²⁵ Zambia today boasts a wide array of faith-based local and international organisations working in the fight against the pandemic. The aim of this chapter is to explore the significant contribution of PC churches to the fight through examining two case studies.

6.3 Data Collection for Case Studies

Research for Chapter six focused on two Pentecostal churches: Northmead Assembly of God (PAOGZ) and Gospel Outreach Fellowship (GOF). These churches were selected because of the scale of their active engagement in HIV related issues as exemplified by the HIV/AIDS projects they own (including stationary and mobile clinics within and outside Lusaka). Bishop J.H.K Banda of Northmead Assembly of God and Pastor Helmut Reutter of Gospel Outreach Fellowship, both Senior pastors of their churches, are co-founders of the Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS in Zambia ECR is an organization that is responsible for mobilising churches interested in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Interviews were conducted with both leaders, who are the visionaries behind these projects.²⁶ They provided information based on their theological

²⁵ Ezra Chitando, *Living With Hope, African Churches and HIV/AIDS I*. (Geneva, WCC Publications, 2007), 4.

²⁶ Interview with Pastor Reutter, Founder and Senior Pastor of Gospel Outreach Fellowship, Lusaka Zambia, 18/08/10 and Interview with Bishop Joshua Banda, Senior Pastor of Northmead Assembly of God, Assistant Bishop

understanding of the transcendent in relation to the internal dynamics of their churches and how that relates to the social work in which they are engaged. Andre Droogers' three dimensional model comes to play here.²⁷ This three dimensional model helps us understand that peoples' beliefs of the transcendent influence the activities that occur in the internal and external dimensions. How people interpret their beliefs in God varies and usually drives them in various ways. Furthermore, experiences with the sacred motivate people to act in ways they believe are in sync with what God expects of them. Similarly, the experiences that people have whether knowingly or unknowingly do have an effect on how the transcendent may be understood. It will be evident in this chapter that the HIV/AIDS clinics that were created by the two PC churches were birthed out of their leaders' experiences with the transcendent as well as their negative encounters in their various social contexts. These experiences, which could begin with an encounter with the sacred or the external dimension, have a massive impact on how churches reform and reorganise themselves in order to play a positive role in the public domain. It is this interrelation between the three domains that has allowed the churches under study to gain a better understanding of the need for social engagement. It is with his understanding, that the three dimensional model was used as an analytical tool for this chapter. In order to have a well-rounded understanding of the motivation behind the formation of these clinics as well as other projects run by these churches, interviews were conducted with the senior pastors and staff working at the HIV/AIDS clinics owned by the two churches. Semi-structured and respondent-led interviews were held with administrative staff,

to the Chief Bishop of PAOG, former Principal of Trans-Africa theological College (PAOGZ), a board member for EFZ, Senior Pastor of Northmead Assemblies of God PAOGZ and founder of Circle of Hope Clinic on 28/08/10 and 21/08/10

²⁷ André Droogers, 'The Power Dimensions of the Christian Community: an Anthropological Model,' *Religion* 33.3 (July 2003): 263-80.

project managers, community nurses and volunteers. In August 2011, I had the opportunity to go to a remote town called Chisamba, where staff from Circle of Hope hold a mobile clinic once a month to treat, track and provide treatment for people with HIV and related illnesses.²⁸ Considering the fact that all the staff are Christian, it was interesting to find out how their spiritual understanding and experiences affect the way in which they work with those that are suffering. Mr Frederick Chitangala stated, ‘as a church we realised that a person isn’t just spirit, but has a body that also has emotions and needs. This is why our aim is to meet people’s needs holistically’.²⁹ Mrs. Chambwa, a counsellor from Circle of Hope family clinic also stated, ‘the church should be at the forefront meeting people’s physical and spiritual needs. This is where God wants me to be and I pray for my patients every day before I come to work’.³⁰ They also provided information about how the clinics operate and their experiences as Christians working for faith-based organizations. Qualitative data was collected through a range of literature addressing HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, literature written on the HIV/AIDS intervention projects owned by these two churches as well as other literature looking at faith-based responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa were also collected.³¹ These stationary and mobile Clinics within Lusaka and rural areas provide Voluntary Counselling and Testing centres (VCT), HIV treatment through the provision of free Anti-retroviral Drugs (ART), Education, Home Based Care Support as well as other health

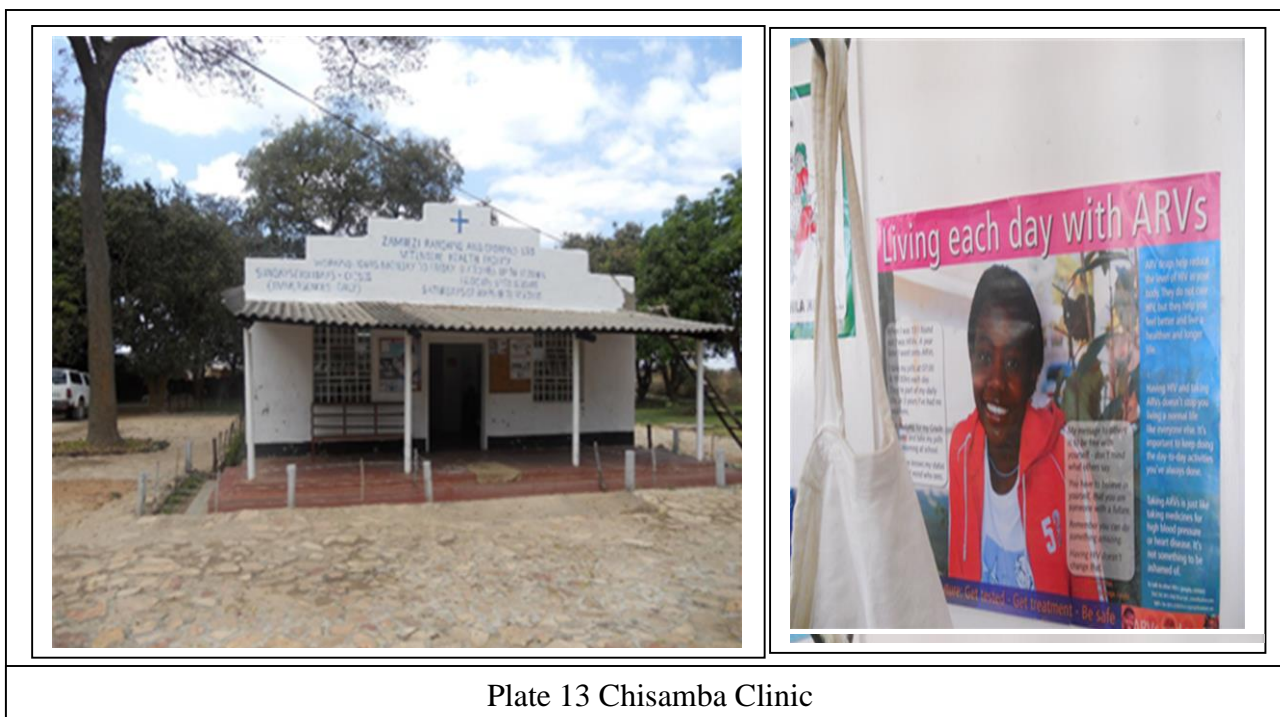
²⁸ This was on the 18/08/11.

²⁹ Interview with Mr. Frederick Chitangala, Programs Director for Chreso Ministries in Lusaka on 18/04/2011. I also interviewed Mrs. Maureen, site manager for Chreso Ministries in Lusaka on 18/04/11.

³⁰ Interview with Mrs. Chambwa, a counsellor at Circle of Hope Family Clinic in Makeni, Lusaka on 19/04/11

³¹ Felicitas Becker and P. Wenzel Geissler (eds.), *Aids and Religious Practice in Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Chitando, *Living With Hope*; Ronald Nicolson, *God in AIDS? A Theological Enquiry* (London: SCM Press LTD, 1996); Prince, Philippe and van Dijk, ‘Introduction to Special Issue: Engaging Christianities: Negotiating HIV/AIDS, Health and Social Relations in East and Southern Africa.’ *Africa Today* 56, 1 (2009): 5-18; Afe Adogame, ‘HIV/AIDS Support and African Pentecostalism. The Case of Redeemed Christian Church of God RCCG,’ *Journal of Health Psychology* 12, 3 (2007): 476-498.

related programmes that present an understanding of the practical ways in which the church has become a significant contributor to the management of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Zambia. Interviews with patients were not carried out, for ethical reasons and the purpose of maintaining confidentiality.



6.4 State Responses to HIV/AIDS

Most countries in Africa now have HIV/AIDS policies and structures designed to co-ordinate policy development and program implementation. The national policies of most countries include the statement about community responsibilities. These tend to stress the importance of home based care for HIV Infected individuals and care for orphaned children by the extended families and communities.³²

³² Commission on HIV/AIDS and Governance in Africa, *The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Families and Communities in Africa* (Ethiopia: Addis Ababa, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 2003), 31.

The statement above underpins the fact that HIV/AIDS cannot only be seen as a health issue but also a political matter. The first case of AIDS in Zambia was reported in 1984, and even though former President Kaunda reported that his son had died of the disease in 1987, government and the press would not readily mention it.³³ This reluctance to acknowledge the reality of HIV led to delayed and insufficient efforts by government to intervene in ways that would help combat the disease.³⁴ In many African countries, governments feared that this acknowledgement would hamper tourism, while at the same time accepting conspiracy theories that claimed that westerners had connived to wipe out the black race by creating the virus.³⁵ The toll that HIV/AIDS had taken in the first two decades of its discovery could be likened to the West African slave trade, although with the high numbers of those infected and dying, largely in East and Southern Africa,³⁶ one might think that it was these regions' turn to experience a disaster of this magnitude.

In the early 1990s HIV cases were rampant in Zambia, with a prevalence rate of in one in five. These staggering figures led the World Health Organization WHO to order the institution of the National AIDS Advisory Council in Zambia to take action.³⁷ 'The disease was crippling progress at personal, family, community and national levels. In severely affected nations, economic growth and political stability were also threatened'.³⁸ According to Ezra Chitando it was at the beginning

³³ 'HIV and AIDS in Zambia.' Avert, accessed March 18, 2011 <http://www.avert.org/aids-zambia.htm>.

³⁴ Africa Recovery, 'Famine and AIDS Batter Southern Africa.' News release February, 2003, accessed March 19, 2011 <http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/newrels/lewis.htm>.

³⁵ Ezra Chitando, *Living With Hope*, 1.

³⁶ Japhet Ndhlovu, 'Combating HIV: A Ministerial Strategy for Zambia Churches' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 2008).

³⁷ 'HIV and AIDS in Zambia.' Advertisement accessed March 3, 2011 <http://www.avert.org/aids-zambia.htm>.

³⁸ Ezra Chitando, quoting Peter R. Lamprey, Jami L. Johnson and Marya Khan, 'The Global Challenge of HIV and AIDS', *Population Bulletin* 61 (2006), 3. Some efforts begun to be made and in 1991, a newspaper article stated, 'efforts are being made on national level to try by all means to coordinate AIDS activities. The National Aids and Prevention and Control Programs draw members from medical professions and come up with a number of

of the new millennium that a rapid shift in government efforts and attitudes towards the fight against HIV/AIDS occurred.³⁹ Many new governmental, non-governmental and faith-based organizations began to spring up to confront the epidemic. The National HIV/AIDS/STD/TB Council began its operations in 2002 securing high status when ‘Parliament passed a National AIDS bill that made it a legally established body eligible to apply for funding from the World Bank. The council was responsible for coordinating the actions of all segments of government and society in the fight against HIV/AIDS and in charge of guiding the implementation of the National HIV/AIDS strategic framework from 2006-2010’.⁴⁰ The issue of HIV/AIDS became a more important item on the political agenda when, in 2004, the late President Mwanawasa declared HIV/AIDS a national emergency, promising ‘to provide free Antiretroviral drugs (ARVs) to 10,000 people in that year’.⁴¹ This target was exceeded by far and free ARVs were provided to 100,000 people by the end of 2005.⁴² In 2010, a report was produced that monitored the declaration of commitment to HIV/AIDS by the government.⁴³

Increasing corruption and mismanagement of funds by the health authorities in Zambia which contributed to the loss of over 17 Million US Dollars of Global Fund money tailored to tackle

strategies to help Zambians fight AIDS’. Mary Namakando, ‘Zambia’s AIDS Policy Now Better Defined.’ *Times of Zambia*, April 11, 1991, 1.

³⁹ Kennedy C. Mulenga, ‘Empowering Church-Based Communities for Communities: A Pastoral Response to HIV/AIDS in Zambia’ (MA Diss., University of Pretoria, 2007), 10.

⁴⁰ ‘HIV and AIDS in Zambia.’

⁴¹ *Ministry of Health, Basic Antiretroviral Therapy Clinical Training Course: Referencing Manual*, 1.0-1.4.

⁴² ‘HIV and AIDS in Zambia.’

⁴³ For more information on this see, Government of the Republic of Zambia, ‘Zambia Country Report: Monitoring the Declaration of Commitment on HIV and AIDS and the Universal Access Biennial Report,’ April 2010, accessed October 2, 2013 <http://www.unaids.org/en/Regionscountries/Countries/Zambia/>.

AIDS, TB and Malaria.⁴⁴ A number of faith-based organizations were recipients of these funds. However this report did not include them among those that mismanaged funds.

6.5 HIV/AIDS and the Church in Zambia Today

Because the disease was connected to sexual immorality, many churches in Africa and across the globe initially condemned those with the illness, which they depicted it as retribution from God.⁴⁵ There was ignorance about other causal factors, such as social factors and economic changes like poverty' that had contributed to the spread of the illness alongside what was deemed to be sexual immorality. However, in the past two decades, religious communities in Zambia have multiplied their efforts to provide practical solutions to issues at the core of Zambia's civic concerns.⁴⁶ More churches in Zambia today have embraced a holistic gospel that meets the spiritual and the physical needs of the community. The Biblical mandate in Matthew 25:31-40 to care for the sick, feed the hungry and visit those that are in prison has become more of a practical reality in many churches in Zambia today than ever before.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ 'Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. Country Audit of Global Funds Grants to Zambia', *Office of The Inspector General*, 5 October 2010. This money is in the process of being reimbursed to Global Fund by the government. 'Zambia: The Repercussions of Spending Aid,' IRIN, accessed May 09, 2009 <http://www.org/Report.aspx?ReportId=86299> .

⁴⁵ Ezra Chitando, *Living With Hope*, 2.

⁴⁶ Amy S. Patterson, 'Church Mobilization and HIV/AIDS in Ghana and Zambia: A Comparative Analysis'. *African Journal of AIDS Research* 9 (4), 2010., Rose Nankala Zambezi, 'Church-Based Intervention for HIV/AIDS Prevention in Ndola, Zambia' (MA dissertation, Rollins School of Public Health (Emory University), 2005); Audrey Matimelo, 'The Impact of Faith Healing Pentecostal Churches on Health and Welbeing among Health Seekers in Ndola, Zambia' (MATheology Diss.University of Kwazulu Natal, 2007); Benedicto Tembo, Church Takes Lead in VCT Initiative. *Afrigator, I'm an African Blogger* October 27, 2009, accessed February 23, 2011 <http://www.gndhlovu.blogspot.com/2009/10/church-takes-lead-in-vct-initiative.html> ;Thebisa Chava,'Congregational Breakdown and HIV/AIDS Among Rural Zambia's Salvation Army', *Voices From Africa* 10, 2010; Anthony Kunda, 'Zambia's Churches Win Fight Against Anti-AIDS Ads', *Christianity Today* (chirstianitytodaylibraray.com) accessed <http://www.ctlibrary.com/ct/2001/januaryweb-only/56.0.html>.

⁴⁷ Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism* , 58.

Part of the reason for this could be that globalisation has created free markets and a freer economy where access to international support has become easier in Zambia. This became more the case after Zambia became a democratic state under President Chiluba (1991-2001). During the tenure of President Kaunda, his one party state created strict commercial laws that made the creation of charitable projects as well as the acquisition of donor funding difficult as the majority of such activities would have to go through rigorous government checks before clearance. The turn towards democracy in Zambia accompanied the liberation of the economy and business. International organizations as well as small and large scale companies and community projects became more prevalent. Kaunda's regime believed that the West had the duty to take care of Zambians as they had stolen from the people through colonialism. He believed the Europeans owed Zambia a living.⁴⁸ In contrast, Chiluba encouraged people to be self-sufficient and to work hard for themselves. He discouraged the attitude of blame which fostered laziness. Hence people were liberated to start businesses as well as other charitable organizations.

The church, which former President Kaunda deemed to be one of the 5 pillars of Zambia,⁴⁹ was to be a part of this national transformation. The registration of churches, which in the UNIP era was a complicated task was liberalised. The number of PC churches grew during the Chiluba era, meaning that they too could engage in projects that would help to meet the practical needs of the communities in which they were planted. Registered churches and other organisations now had the opportunity to could make independent proposals to international donor agencies for funding that would help run their various community projects. Some critics have labelled some of these

⁴⁸ Pastor Reutter.

⁴⁹ The other four being the Judiciary, Legislature, executive and the press.

faith-based organisations as money making schemes, with some justification. However, it is also the case that positive results demonstrated through statistics and personal testimonies have shown the positive impact that these organisations have had in the lives of many Zambians. Northmead Assembly of God and Gospel Outreach Fellowship are two Pentecostal churches chosen for this case study that benefited from this new liberalised system and influx of funds from donors.⁵⁰ Therefore, developing transnational networks in order to gain donor funding has been key to the successful development of projects initiated by these two churches.

6.6 Initial Reaction of the Religious Community to AIDS: The Interface Between Pentecostalism and Public Health

Responding to a church leaders' consultation in Gaborone facilitated by humanitarian and ecumenical organisations like Cafod, Norwegian Aid and the Salvation Army in September 1999, Thebisa Chava painted a picture of the initial church attitudes towards HIV/AIDS (focussing on rural areas). The attitudes noted were evident in urban areas as well.⁵¹ The pandemic was rarely mentioned in congregational settings even though the illness was very evident in the lives of church members. Home visits to the sick made no reference to AIDS. At the funerals of church leaders, AIDS was never mentioned as a cause of death.⁵²

⁵⁰ Hansjorg Dilger, 'Doing Better? Religion, the Virtue-Ethics of Development, and the Fragmentation of Health Politics in Tanzania' *Africa Today*, 56.1 (Fall 2009), 89-110; Alessandro Gusman, 'HIV/AIDS, Pentecostal Churches, and the 'Joseph Generation' in Uganda,' *Africa Today* 56.1 (Fall 2009): 67-86.

⁵¹ Lee Chinyelu Kambui, 'The Secular, The Sacred Heart and The Sick. The Church and the Politics of AIDS in Malawi' (PhD Diss., Yale University, 2007); Amy S. Patterson, 'Church Mobilization and HIV/AIDS in Ghana and Zambia: A Comparative Analysis,' *African Journal of AIDS Research* 9 (4) 2010.

⁵² Thebisa Chava. 'Congregational Breakdown and HIV/AIDS Among Rural Zambia's Salvation Army', *Voices From Africa* 10, 2010.

Gradually church leaders re-evaluated their position and decided HIV/AIDS was a problem that affected everyone. 'If you are not infected, you are affected' according to Bishop Banda.⁵³ Pretending to ignore the presence of HIV/AIDS in congregational settings was not helping the situation as numerous funerals would be conducted in a year which would have a significant effect on church membership. This would be more noticeable in smaller congregations. In these cases, the loss of 10 congregants would drastically affect church numbers. It is for this reason that Pastor Reuter and Bishop Banda decided to re-evaluate their church's position on HIV/AIDS and consider ways in which they could intervene.

6.7 Pentecostals in the fight against HIV: The Interface between Religion and Science.

Northmead Assembly of God and Gospel Outreach Fellowship are two of numerous churches that are actively engaged in the fight against HIV and AIDS. Though based in Lusaka, they have gone beyond influencing the capital city alone but also work in rural areas where the need is far greater.⁵⁴ These churches have large congregations and both run a number of projects that serve to better the lives of not only members of their congregations but also those of the general public. Their activities allow them to cross denominational and faith barriers as their prime aim is to better the livelihoods of people regardless of their religious backgrounds.⁵⁵

6.7.1 Science and the Spirit⁵⁶

⁵³ Bishop Joshua Banda.

⁵⁴ Interview with Mrs. Masozi Ndhlovu, National Projects Manager at Circle of Hope Clinic in Makeni, Lusaka on 19/07/11; Mr Frederick Chitangala.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Title adopted from book edited by James K.A. Smith and Amos Yong, *Science and the Spirit. A Pentecostal Engagement with the Sciences* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2010).

PCs have moved past a reliance on national health services for the provision of health care and begun to build their own health care facilities. This is quite an achievement in the global south, especially for a movement that has always placed a greater emphasis on pneumatological manifestations. This interface between PC Christianity and science in the global south stimulates a number of questions in relation to prayer and the reliance on the power of God to heal. Questions that may follow may be related to; does the building of health care facilities challenge God's ability to heal the sick? Should churches build healing homes rather than clinics for people to come and seek God's healing? Yong would also include questions like; 'Is the Holy Spirit less active in charismata, the wondrous and the marvellous and more in the still small voice and in the mundane things of this world? Is the Holy spirit now healing through doctors and pharmaceutical devices instead of miraculous interventions?'⁵⁷ Smith and Yong in their book on *Science and the Spirit* present an analysis that would seek to answer these questions. The book looks at science and Pentecostalism as 'two globalizations' as both have brought about significant changes across the globe.⁵⁸ Taking note of things like satellite dishes, television stations, cash machines within mega church buildings and sophisticated PA systems and musical instruments, banks, private jets, universities, medical provision and health care facilities owned by some PC churches, they argue that 'these sorts of developments suggest that the commonly accepted picture of Pentecostal backwardness in the face of scientific progress is not true to the facts on the ground'.⁵⁹ Pentecostals

⁵⁷ Amos Yong, 'How Does God Do What He Does? Pentecostal- Charismatic Perspectives on Divine Action in Dialogue with Modern Science,' in *Science and the Spirit: A Pentecostal Engagement with the Sciences*, eds. James K.A. Smith and Amos Yong (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2010), 51.

⁵⁸ Smith and Yong, *Science and the Spirit*, 1. Referencing Pentecostalism as form of Globalisation, Smith and Yong quote, D. W. Murray, et al (eds). *The Globalization of Pentecostalism. A Religion Made To Travel* (Oxford: Regnum, 1999) and Karla Poewe, *Charismatic Christianity as a Global Culture* (Colombia: University of South California Press, 1994).

⁵⁹ Smith and Yong, *Science and the Spirit*, 2.

in the global south, even in the context of Zambia, have embraced science whether they realise it or not.

Discussion about the interface of the scientific and Pentecostal paradigms is fairly new. It is mainly confined to western academics like Smith and Yong. It is therefore possible that Pentecostals in the global south do not yet see their activity in public health as having anything to do with science. In their fight against HIV/AIDS, Northmead Assemblies of God and Gospel Outreach Fellowship have become very much involved with science by; having fully fledged facilities to diagnose, treat (through the administration of ARVs) and track HIV/AIDS, employing medical professionals,⁶⁰ providing HIV counselling and education on health, providing information on nutrition as well as partnering with hospitals and major health organizations like WHO, UNAIDS and Zambia's HIV/AIDS Council.⁶¹ This interface with science raises further concerns about the probability of what Yong describes as 'neutralising' the power of God as well as 'eliminating the talk about divine action altogether'.⁶² Within the three dimensional model, this interface with science would fall within the internal and external dimension. This is because, on the external front, the churches would have to interface with other organizations which may be faith-based or secular in order to

⁶⁰ Chreso Ministries Website, accessed February 23, 2011 <http://www.chreso.org/>; Northmead Assembly of God- Programmes website accessed February 23, 2011 http://www.northmeadassembly.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id= .

⁶¹ Jane Morse, (USINFO staff writer), 'African HIV Sufferers Get a Chance at Futures : Laura Bush Says Anti-Retroviral Drugs Provided Under U.S Plan offer Hope to Millions', *America.gov-Engaging the World*, accessed February 23, 2011 <http://www.america.gov/st/washfileenglish/2007/july/20070726133435ajesroM0.87774>, Benedicto Tembo , 'Church Takes Lead in VCT Initiative', *Afrigator, I'm an African Blogger* October 27, 2009 <http://www.gndhlovu.blogspot.com/2009/10/church-takes-lead-in-vct-initiative.html> 23/02/2011., M. Michael, 'Making an Impact', *GSK communications* March 31, 2009 <http://www.morethanmedicine.us.gsk.com/blog/2009/03/>; Chreso Ministries Website <http://www.chreso.org/> 23/02/11, Northmead Assembly of God- Programmes website, accessed February 23, 2011 http://www.northmeadassembly.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=.

⁶² Yong, *How does God Do*, 51.

attain social and financial capital to set up these clinics. Within the internal dimension, the leaders would have to organise themselves based on the information gathered and the connections made in order to create a functioning institution. At present, it appears that despite the interface with science, there remains an expectation of divine or miraculous healing.

The interviews with both leaders were intended to deepen an understanding of their personal and theological backgrounds as well as their church involvement with HIV/AIDS programmes.⁶³ Both pastors expressed a strong conviction in their beliefs about the transcendent, stating that what they were doing was exactly what God had called them to do. This was not only to preach the gospel but to also to holistically transform the lives of people through acts of kindness. With both churches actively engaged in various projects pertaining to public health and education we can see a reflection of the transcendental (how they relate to God), internal (operations within the church) as well as external dimensions (how the churches relate to others outside their domain) at play. These dynamics serve to influence the way in which the churches engage with the wider community. Their theological orientations as well as the manner in which they understand the scriptures also motivate the internal and external religious participation and the commitment that the church members have.

In trying to understand the purpose and form of PC engagement with civil society, beliefs, values and experiences (both with the transcendental and external dimension) need to be addressed, as these serve as catalysts driving them to be compassionate to the needy and show selfless concern

⁶³ Bishop Banda and Pastor Reutter.

for the welfare of others. A look at theological orientations of PC social ethics and strategies in the transcendental, internal and external dimensions of the church is central. In churches where the senior pastor is the founder as well as the visionary of such projects, an analysis of this nature may risk privileging the opinion of the visionary, who is not answerable to anyone, unlike the case in ‘mainline’ churches.

6.8 Gospel Outreach Fellowship (GOF)

Pastor Reutter, the Senior Pastor of Gospel Outreach Fellowship and his wife Ruth came to Zambia in 1982 from Germany under the Apostolic Faith Mission. This is one of the strongest Pentecostal churches and has roots in South Africa. Pastor Reutter and his wife worked with AFM as Pentecostal Pastors for 10 years after which they felt they had a mandate from God to start their own church. Before they could set it up they began to engage with public health. Pastor Reutter’s wife Ruth was a trained nurse by profession and whilst their ministry was taking root, they lived at a mission station in a farming area called Lusaka West. Pastor Ruth started a small dispensary which would eventually become a clinic and then later a mobile clinic. From 1984-1985 the dispensary was located in a small room on the premises until 1986 when they decided to move. Considering the lack of medical facilities in their present location Pastor Reutter and his wife decided to leave their mobile clinic in the hands of the Ministry of Health.

Pastor Reutter’s wake-up call to the severity of the HIV/AIDS pandemic was quite similar to that of other pastors across the country. Despite the fact that the presence of HIV/AIDS was evident, it was the succession of funerals within the church that sparked a response.⁶⁴ Pastor Reutter’s

⁶⁴ Tebisa Chava, *Voices From Africa*.

experience in this case started with the external dimension. The reality he encountered with the rate at which HIV/AIDS was salvaging the lives of the national population spurred him into action. From the early 1980s when HIV was discovered, mortality rates were on the rise especially among young people. The problem was made more intense because both the state and civil society were still in a state of shock and were still trying to find ways in which to deal with the situation. Many people were dying and there was a lack of adequate understanding of the causes, effects and treatment of HIV/AIDS. It was a while before the government recognized the HIV/AIDS pandemic as a national issue needing government intervention. When treatment was finally available, it was only accessible to the rich as ARVs cost about 10-15,000 US dollars a month.

Pastor Reutter opened his church in Lusaka and called it Gospel Outreach Fellowship. Amidst his ministerial duties, he realized he could not escape the reality of HIV/AIDS and decided to engage with it. A small side room attached to the main church building was designated to training people in counselling. It was felt that this was all that the church could do because they lacked the capacity to do more. Counselling was very helpful because it provided people with an opportunity to talk to someone in confidence about their illness and the challenges that came with it. Many came from communities where they were stigmatized and marginalized even by their own families. Also receiving counselling at Gospel Outreach Fellowship gave people an opportunity to receive comfort from the word of God.

Counselling alone was inadequate and based on this dissatisfaction Pastor Reutter decided to do more. Nutritional counselling was introduced in an effort to advise people on the kind of diet they needed to follow to improve their health. Out of this experience and with the aim of expanding

their services, Gospel Outreach Fellowship created Chreso Ministries in 1996. With the help of volunteers from the church, Chreso Ministries initially began with counselling, prison and hospital ministries at Lusaka's University Teaching Hospital (UTH) and Chainama Mental Hospital. This involved bedside counselling as well as the provision of basic necessities like food, soap and nursing kits. Some of the counselling was carried out in a back room on the church premises. This went on for four years and at the dawn of the new millennium in the year 2000 GOF decided to employ a newly qualified Psychiatric Nurse to spearhead new programmes that would expand Chreso Ministries' impact in the community. With the help of Pastor Reutter's German roots, the German government helped the church erect a building tailored to house all health related programmes which still stands today.

6.9 Chreso Clinic

Today Chreso clinic is a fully equipped medical centre which comprises professional medical staff and is fully equipped with the latest technology to fully diagnose, track and treat HIV and AIDS.⁶⁵ It is located in the capital city, Lusaka. Having had other health related structures in place like a mobile clinic in the rural areas of Lusaka, GOF was able to incorporate some of the same structures into the new site. GOF was one of the first Pentecostal churches to build an HIV/AIDS clinic and was the first church organization to run mobile Voluntary Counselling and Training (VCT) in Zambia. These are running in Lusaka, Kabwe, Siavonga and Livingstone.⁶⁶ In relation to its

⁶⁵Chreso Ministries in Lusaka Zambia, Video Link accessed February 23, 2011
http://wn.com/chreso_ministries_in_lusaka_zambia

⁶⁶Chreso Ministries website accessed February 23, 2011 <http://www.chreso.org/>; 'Northmead Assembly of God-Programmes' accessed February 23, 2011
[http://www.northmeadassembly.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=.](http://www.northmeadassembly.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=)

interaction with external organizations through interfaith dialogue GOF, has also been in a position to pass on its expertise to other initiatives like Latkins Outreach and New Start Centres which also provide mobile VCT.

This facility is fully staffed with indigenous Zambians under the Director of programmes, Frederick Mulenga Chitangala. On a web video link tailored to publicise the work done by Chreso, it is claimed Chreso Ministries 'have been consistently proven to be the leaders in the fight against HIV and AIDS to the people of Zambia'.⁶⁷ Pastor Reutter's links with external local and international organisations as part of social capital have served this project positively. Its success



Plate 14 Gospel Outreach Fellowship

⁶⁷ Chreso Ministries in Lusaka Zambia, Video Link accessed February 23, 2011 < http://wn.com/chreso_ministries_in_lusaka_zambia >

⁶⁸ The main provider of all ARV's at Chreso clinic, Jane Morse (USINFO staff writer), 'African HIV Sufferers Get a Chance'.

These social networks with such renowned organizations have helped to further the vision of Gospel Outreach Fellowship through the provision of funding and expertise. Such connections have also provided them the experience on how to write proposals that help to solicit the type of funding and resources needed. Within the Zambian context, Chreso is also considered a link in social capital as other churches and organizations looking to initiate similar projects seek advice and training from them. This kind of ‘networking and norms of reciprocity’,⁶⁹ and ‘resources gained from mutual acquaintance’ is how Putnam and Bourdieu understand social capital to be.⁷⁰ Being a faith-based organisation, Chreso attributes its success of is to the faith aspect of care because the organisation believes this gives sufferers a sense of hope and purpose’.⁷¹

6.10 Northmead Assembly of God PAOGZ

Early in his life, Bishop Joshua Banda sensed that God had put a call on his life not only to preach the gospel in a church setting but specifically to do mission work.⁷² He claimed to have begun to prepare himself mentally for this work because his passion for social engagement was so strong. For example while he was in the United States on the 6th of May 1988, he said he had a major encounter with the Lord in a vision.

⁶⁹ Robert Putnam, ‘Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America,’ *Political Science and Politics*, 28.4 (1995): 665.

⁷⁰ P. Bourdieu, ‘Forms of Capital’ in J.C Richards (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1983):249.

⁷¹ Mr. Chitangala and Mrs. Maureen.

⁷² For example, while he was in the United States on the 6th of May 1988 he said he had a major encounter with the Lord in a vision (This can be likened to an interview done by Donald Miller and Tsetsunao Yamamori of a Medical Doctor working among the poor in Ethiopia. She believed she received this call from God through a dream, in Miller and Yamamori, 41). God showed him the continent of Africa and told him that he had called him to do mission work. He was thereafter given the mandate to mobilize God’s people across the continent and across the nations.

Bishop Banda believes that everyone has been given an assignment on this earth and that one has to grow in life in order to know their assignment. One of the key things that he believes he received from the Lord and identified as a passion was social engagement (this links in with the sacred dimension). In the early days of the onset of HIV, there was little talk about it in the church. Just like Pastor Reutter, he observed that he too was losing people through HIV/AIDS in his own congregation. He recounted conducting three to five funerals a month. This being the case, his passion for social engagement was stimulated.

In 1999 he was selected as one of 63 African leaders to attend an HIV/AIDS awareness conference in Kenya and Uganda organized by UNAID and the Salvation Army. This was accompanied by field visits to Kibera (the largest slum on the continent of Africa). It is here that he saw the devastation of HIV/ AIDS. This was to be his turning point as he determined within himself that he would break his silence and talk about HIV/AIDS within and outside the church. While in Kenya, Bishop Banda claimed that the Lord began to give him messages which he turned into sermons upon his return to Zambia. From these he compiled a series of sermons entitled '*Death, Dying and Grief*'.⁷³

The trip to East Africa inspired another leadership gathering in Botswana where church leaders looked into ways of enabling the church to respond to HIV/AIDS. This team worked in conjunction with the Salvation Army, with Tebisa Chava and Dr Ian Campbell. Dr. Campbell coordinated

⁷³ Ibid.

global HIV/AIDS programmes for the Salvation Army from 1990-2007.⁷⁴ Chava and Dr. Campbell had the experience of working across the South and Eastern region of Africa spreading awareness in order to encourage churches to respond to this pandemic. This was coupled with human capacity building that would empower people who would never have had the experience of interacting with people suffering from HIV. As a result of this kind of exposure, Bishop Banda began to cultivate his own understanding and decided to focus on the issues he felt were central. He started to raise awareness in his church and on one occasion dedicated six months to Bible study about the Christian response to HIV/AIDS. He invited social workers, clinicians and doctors to talk about the clinical side of the HIV pandemic. He tackled the Christian response from a Biblical standpoint. Banda's activities link in with the organization that happens within the internal dimension. As a result of his awareness, many within his church were willing to be a part of this vision. The importance of volunteers as part of social capital comes to the fore. Volunteers come in solely on the basis of trust, linking in with Putnam.⁷⁵ He stresses the importance of volunteers in the formation of development in society. It is this trust that is said to hold members working for a common cause together. Without this mutual trust and co-operation based on Putnam's understanding of human capital, Northmead Assemblies of God would have had to incur financial costs in starting up these projects, which may consequently delay the process in order to solicit funds. This was to be the beginning of the development of other projects to do with civic engagement within Northmead Assemblies of God.

⁷⁴Prior to this position he was a medical officer of a Mission Hospital in Zambia. His wealth of international experience on HIV/AIDS related issues, led him to start an organization called Affirm Facilitation Associates, a practice that serves as a consulting agency for faith based groups in a quest to respond to HIV/AIDS in their local communities. Inter-health website, accessed <http://www.interhealth.org.uk/about-us-our-team-doctors.html>> 8 March 2011.

⁷⁵ Martti Siisasiäinen, 'Two Concepts of Social Capital: Bourdieu vs. Putnam' (paper presented at ISTR fourth international conference, Dublin, Ireland, July 5-8, 2000), 18.

The latter resulted in the formation the Lazarus project (1999) which was spearheaded by his wife. Operation Paseli is another project that resulted from a 6am call he received from young people who were in an all-night prayer meeting at his church. They had found two people having sex at 5:30 in the morning, 10 meters from the church premises. This led to a call for street outreach which led to the recruitment of young ladies who were sex workers for skills training programmes. Over the years Operation Paseli grew and many that graduated from this programme shunned prostitution and became resourceful women according to Bishop Banda.⁷⁶

With this model in place, Banda began to interact with UNAIDS, an agency which had usually complained that the church was not doing enough to respond to matters of HIV/AIDS. This surprised Banda because he and his church felt they were doing something. It dawned on him that while Zambia has *Churches Health Association of Zambia* (CHAZ, a faith-based organization that works alongside the government's Ministry of Health providing 'curative and preventative' health provision and education to those that are less privileged),⁷⁷ a specific congregational based response to the HIV/AIDS pandemic was missing. This was the gap he intended to fill. In 2000 he worked with Pastor Reutter with the support of World Vision and started the Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS Trust in Zambia. Northmead Assembly of God runs Circle of Hope Family Care Anti-Retroviral (ART) Centre as well as Touch-A-Life Social Thrust which empowers people to evangelize as well as take part in social action.⁷⁸ This in itself answers questions concerning the relationship between evangelism and social responsibility. Furthermore, this builds on the effect

⁷⁶ Unfortunately he did not have a record of these to hand.

⁷⁷ 'Churches Association of Zambia', *Annual Report*, 2009, 3.

⁷⁸ Northmead Assembly of God website accessed February 12, 2011

http://www.northmeadassembly.org/ndex.php?option=com_content&view=article&id= .

that the external dimension (links with other external organizations) would have on Northmead Assemblies of God's internal dimensions. Banda's interface with other organizations made him rethink the organizational structures of his church and what he and his leaders could do to fill in the identified gap.

6.10.1 Touch-A-Life Social Thrust (TALST)

In order to help church members understand their purpose on earth from a scriptural standpoint, Touch-A-Life (a Northmead Assembly Of God initiative) seeks to train people on the inseparability of evangelism and social action.⁷⁹ The creation of such programmes reinforces the idea that Pentecostals are reshaping their theology and understanding of social engagement. Educating the church on the importance of social engagement can be likened to the educational programmes in Johannesburg run by Pastor Geoff Brand of Highway Assembly of God - 'a transplant from the Presbyterian church.'⁸⁰ Colleen Walters is employed by the church and runs 'over eighteen 'Safe and Sound' Pre-schools in townships in the surrounding areas'.⁸¹ In an interview with Miller and Yamamori in January 1999, Colleen bemoaned the length of time it took to educate members of AOG on the importance of peaceful education and social responsibility. Up to that point, she admitted that social programmes in AOG churches in South Africa had only been running for 10-15 years. She suggested that the AOG was more faith oriented than the Catholic

⁷⁹ 'Northmead Assembly of God- Programmes, Touch-A-Life Social Thrust', accessed February 23, 2011 http://www.northmeadassembly.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=52&Itemid=57.

⁸⁰ Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 75.

⁸¹ Ibid.

Church and other mainline churches that were works oriented. From the outset, it is evident that the AOG was more interested preparing people for heaven.⁸²

As an academic Bishop Joshua Banda understands the importance of education as a vehicle of enlightenment. Looking at the objective of TALST, it is clear that he uses scriptural backing to answer questions about the relationship between Pentecostal spirituality and civic engagement. Looking back at the initial days of civic engagement at Northmead Assembly of God, it is evident that TALST began after Bishop Banda compiled the sermon series, 'Death, Dying and Grief'. It was then that he began to propose the mandate on Christians from a Biblical standpoint on the importance of social outreach. What Banda was doing was developing an example of a theology of social engagement focusing on HIV/AIDS. This would then equip the congregation with an understanding of how scripture, coupled with individual spiritual experiences, prepare them for civic engagement. In turn, participation in civic engagement would also modify and strengthen their theology and experience because they would have been influenced by the lives they would have transformed through outreach. Also having a Bishop who has carried a burden for mission work from his early years of ministry means that many of his sermons would carry a mission and civic engagement flavour.

Touch-A-Life Social Thrust programme is very relevant in a society that is laden with burdens stemming from civic ills, as is the case in Zambia. With problems relating to poverty, hunger, street children, orphans and HIV/AIDS, NAOG believes that there is an urgency that Jesus Christ

⁸² Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, DVD on field research, An interview with Colleen Walter of Highway Assemblies of God, coordinator of 16 Safe and Sound Pre-schools.

set upon the church. With reference to Matthew 28:18-20 (the Great Commission), the church through TALST believes ‘these scriptures make imperative that leaders and the church come together in order for God to speak afresh and re-commission them for the task ahead’.⁸³

6.10.2 Circle of Hope (ART) Family Clinic

The Circle of Hope Family clinic owned by Northmead Assembly of God is another example of a fully equipped medical facility that deals with HIV/AIDS related problems. Just like Chreso clinic, Circle of Hope is not only a centre that provides free Anti-retroviral treatment (ARTs) to thousands of Zambians but also provides voluntary counselling and testing before people are put on HIV treatment. It is currently based on a small rented property in the outskirts of Lusaka and they hope to build a facility with the capacity of a District Hospital to house it. With an aim of providing 25-50 beds, the new Circle of Hope clinic will also include ‘both general outpatient and in-patient medical services while sustaining current free antiretroviral therapy’.⁸⁴

6.10.3 Choosing Hope Radio Programme

In a mission to continue to reach out to people that have either been infected or affected by HIV/AIDS, Northmead Assembly of God has a radio programme called Choosing Hope. Using Jesus Christ as the answer to human need, the programme is designed to reach out to families in a way to encourage them and offer words of hope from a biblical standpoint. Choosing Hope showcases discussions that involve not only the sufferer but the family around them. Some of the

⁸³ ‘Northmead Assembly of God- Programmes’.

⁸⁴ ‘Northmead Assembly of God- Programmes: Circle of Hope (ART) Family Clinic’, accessed February 23, 2011 http://www.northmeadassembly.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=58&Itemid=56.

issues that have been discussed in the past include; ‘the responsibility of parents to talk to their families of the issues of sex and HIV’.⁸⁵

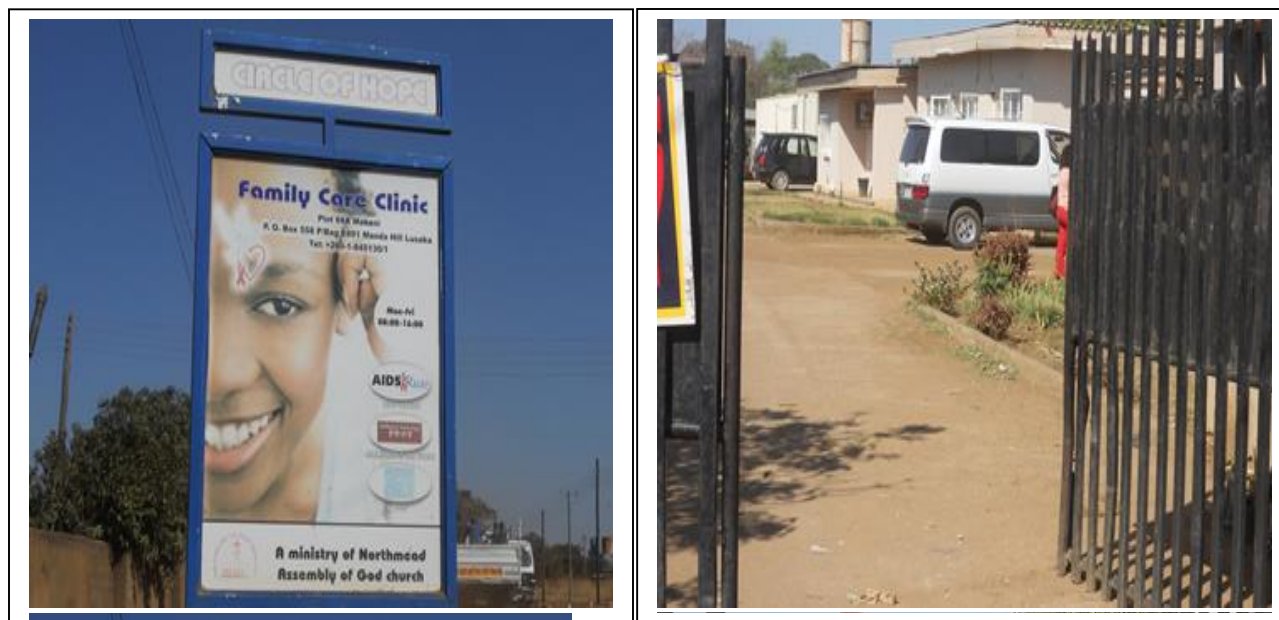


Plate 15 Circle of Hope Family Clinic in Lusaka - Makeni

6.11 Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS Trust in Zambia⁸⁶

Expanded Church Response (ECR) is a faith-based organisation founded in 2003. It was one of the first Christian organizations in Zambia that encouraged the church to ‘take collective action to confront the HIV/AIDS pandemic’.⁸⁷ Their mission statement asserts that ‘ECR empowers and equips the church to have an expanded, comprehensive, coordinated and compassionate response

⁸⁵Northmead Assembly of God- Programmes: Choosing Hope’ accessed March 24, 2011 http://www.northmeadassembly.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=57&Itemid=53.

⁸⁶ Most of the data was collected through an interview with Annie Banda, Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS Programs Manager on 27/07/11.

⁸⁷ ‘Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS: Equipping the Church for an Expanded, and coordinated response. Modeling Christ’s Compassion, Love and Care in Every Community of Zambia’, accessed March 2, 2011 <http://ecr.echrtrust.org/link>.

to the HIV/AIDS crisis in every community in Zambia'.⁸⁸ Using examples from model churches like NAOG and Gospel Outreach Fellowship, ECR 'provides information and skills building' to empower church leaders that have never had such training. Many church leaders came from a history stigmatizing people suffering from HIV/AIDS. This kind of awareness provides churches with skills that would better help them as they try to implement these changes within their congregations. ECR has a membership of over 14,000 individual churches that also have many volunteers.

ECR was founded by Bishop Joshua Banda, Pastor Helmut Reutter, Reverend Mulenga and Reverend Troy Lewis, a Baptist from the United States. The role of ECR is to mobilise financial and material resources from different sources. Currently the main funders are USAID through PEPFAR. ECR has a grant from the Global Fund through Churches Health Association of Zambia (CHAZ) and has also obtained grants from the European Union, UNICEF, World Vision and Oxfam. ECR mobilises these resources and then identifies churches or FBOs.⁸⁹ These groups are given small grants after training to help them to implement programmes. ECR's main focus is HIV/AIDS prevention. They have five programmes in areas which involve HIV and vulnerable orphans support by ensuring that sub-recipients are providing support to orphaned or children made vulnerable due to HIV. The different services that are provided to these children include education support in case children have left school, psychosocial support, healthcare (through links with government clinics) and support to children that are enrolled and already have HIV and shelter

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Annie Banda.

support.⁹⁰ Bishop Banda and Pastor Reutter, their positions as leaders of large churches and their willingness to participate in both politics and social welfare have given them prominence among government officials, clergy from both Pentecostal and mainline churches, and the general public.

The ECR is a trust that works to mobilize the church to develop congregational responses to HIV/AIDS. This idea grew out of the thinking of Bishop Banda who had a real burden based on the growing dissatisfaction of the scale at which the church was and was not responding to the HIV/AIDS Pandemic. This dissatisfaction also led to his academic pursuits. Bishop Banda pursued a Masters in leadership but he felt that this was an area he was already familiar with. He therefore decided to apply for another Masters with a Mission and Development practice focus, which would prepare him more for social engagement. He wanted to learn more about social engagement and the social sciences and found the Oxford Centre of Mission Studies in the United Kingdom to be suitable for this purpose. Upon completion in 2006 he was encouraged by his supervisors to pursue a PhD. In 2007 he enrolled into a PhD programme with a working title of ‘the Impact of HIV and AIDS on Congregationally Based Church Programmes in Zambia, Focusing on Abstinence and Marital Fidelity’.⁹¹

Besides issues relating to HIV/AIDS, ECR equips churches with poverty reduction strategies as well. Other developmental strategies designed to support member organizations include ‘organizing national conferences; conducting needs assessments and information sharing visits; training church leaders and peer educators; distributing educational materials; spearheading

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Northmead Assembly of God- Programmes.

campaigns on stigma reduction; providing grants to FBOs; and developing strategic partnerships for delivery of HIV/AIDS care and treatment services'.⁹² ECR endeavours to follow up on what the church is doing to address HIV/AIDS issues by doing nationwide surveys. This helps the organization assess the effectiveness of their programmes.

ECR is supported by member organizations and numerous volunteers.⁹³ It has been a success because it works with many churches across the country especially in rural areas. Its presence is effective even in very remote areas that other NGOs and FBOs may struggle to reach. ECR prides itself on the fact that its staff are highly qualified 'with extensive experience and a history of successful grant management in HIV/AIDS programming'.⁹⁴ Among the programmes implemented are 'both USAID and non-USAID programmes including Global Fund programmes, in conjunction with the Christian Health Association of Zambia (CHAZ), Swedish Caritas, AIDS Relief, RAPIDS, ZPCT in conjunction with Family Health International (FHI) and FABRIC, also with FHI'. ECR, 'with its focus on rural communities, has built the capacity of over 94 FBOs and health facilities, which has resulted in the delivery of high quality care, support and treatment to more than 28,270 beneficiaries in five of Zambia's nine provinces'.⁹⁵ ECR is very extensive that it runs on an annual budget of \$1.5 million.⁹⁶ It is working to ensure that the number of people that are HIV negative continues to grow. It hopes to achieve this by using two major approaches: to help everyone that is positive to think of ways to not infect others. This is achieved through training

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Annie Banda.

and basic care support, integrating economic strengthening and asking HIV positive people to make a social contract with themselves to say they will not infect another person.

In order to ensure that a number of people know about their HIV status, ECR has trained counsellors to carry out mobile testing. They go into people's homes with test kits and those who want to are counselled and tested. It works alongside the Ministry of Health who provide them with test kits as they are certified with the Zambia Counselling Council. In terms of capacity building, PCs came on board much later than other churches. However, Annie Banda the projects manager at ECR, believes it has been positive to see a lot of PC churches involved. She notes that now they have more demand from them than the other churches. ECR builds the capacity of these churches by training its caregivers and hopes that even when they have left the work will continue in the communities. ECR works with churches in 17 districts and expansion is dependent on the amount of donor funding they are able to access. Reverend Troy, the Executive Director of ECR has been instrumental in strengthening ties with other churches in the United States. The Baptist Global Response has consistently provided money for certain projects. ECR is not directly involved in providing ART. However it ensures that their clients are linked to adherence support so that when they collect the ARVs, someone can ensure they are taken correctly, regularly and at the right time. This is where Chreso and Circle of Hope clinics come in.

Whenever ECR moves to a district, the first thing the team does is ensure that church leaders and other community leaders and workers are trained about stigma and discrimination. A curriculum developed by World Vision called Channels of Hope is used as a good stigma and discrimination

prevention tool. Before the ECR provides these churches with caregiver kits, it makes the churches mobilise and visit the sick.

In recent years, there has been a huge campaign to encourage men in Zambia to be circumcised as another way of protecting them from catching STIs that would be hidden in their foreskin. ECR has been supporting that indirectly by ensuring that its service agents make sure that communities and households are linked to places providing these services. They do not promote condoms as an organization, and this because Bishop Banda has always spoken against them because he believes they encourage promiscuity among people that are not married. While they do not distribute condoms, they encourage sub recipients and care givers to link up with health services and ensure that households that need condoms are able to access them. The demand for ECR is overwhelming. According to Annie Banda they have so many churches that want to do things and ECR supports over 20,000 children through the various projects.

6.12 Pentecostals and Condoms

What is the church's stance on the use of condoms in the fight against HIV? Is abstinence the only option? The advocacy of abstinence and fidelity is very common among churches. Laura Bush visited Africa to support the fight against HIV/AIDS through PEPFAR for victims in Senegal, Mozambique, Mali and Zambia.⁹⁷ She was particularly impressed with the ABC (Abstinence, Being Faithful to One Partner and Correct and Consistent Use of Condoms) model for prevention which was championed by African leaders. She praised the model for having a positive effect in

⁹⁷ The main provider of all ARV's at Chreso clinic; Jane Morse, (USINFO staff writer), 'African HIV Sufferers Get a Chance at Futures.'

countries like Uganda, Botswana, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Zambia.⁹⁸ Focussing only on Abstinence, Pastor Reutter and Bishop Banda have openly voiced their opinions in the media on the promotion of condoms and the importance of sexual abstinence until marriage.⁹⁹ In a statement written on his church website, Bishop Banda spoke against what he calls the Condomisation in many conferences and on commercial adverts as degrading the moral uprightness of any society.¹⁰⁰ An example can be drawn from a time when Christian leaders won a bitter fight against government in opposition to adverts that promote the use of condoms in the fight against HIV.¹⁰¹ Such occurrences are an example of church and state relations at work in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Despite the fact that they both advocate different ways of tackling the problem, it is clear that HIV/AIDS is an issue affecting civil society whether within or outside the church. This collective response is also an example of interfaith relations at work as both Roman Catholics and Pentecostals issued similar statements condemning these adverts. Fr. Ignatius Mwebe (then Secretary General of the Catholic Church) claimed that ‘the advertisements justify casual sex using a condom’. In light of this, Bishop Joshua Banda, who was then superintendent of the Pentecostal churches in Zambia, in an interview argued, ‘the adverts promote the wrong moral values and promiscuity’.¹⁰² He said he was not advocating a ‘blanket ban’ on condoms because they can be used as contraception by married people. Fr. Mwebe suggested that adverts giving facts about the dangers of AIDS were more appropriate. Reverend Thomas Lumba, Executive Director of EFZ said ‘people should be told to avoid casual sex; after all condoms are not 100% safe’.¹⁰³ These

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Northmead Assembly of God-Programmes.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Anthony Kaunda, ‘Anger at Anti-AIDS Ads’ *BBC News Africa*, accessed March 3, 2011 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/1108182.stm>.

¹⁰² Anthony Kaunda, ‘Anger at Anti-AIDS Ads.’

¹⁰³ Ibid.

clergy also believed that matters of sex should be addressed to older people and expressed disappointment at the use of young people in these adverts. They believe that young people should not have anything to do with sex at that age. This leads to the question, at what age does the church recommend that people think about sex? Is the church living in utopia on matters of sex when in reality more young people are increasingly engaging in sexual activities? Is the church's stance on abstinence solving the problem or leading people to secretly engage in sexual acts and live under false pretences in the church? For those that are successful in abstinence until marriage, what are the chances that they will meet partners that have equally abstained and are not infected with the virus? These are some of the difficult questions that cannot be solved by a general ban on the use of condoms. The fact that people continue to be infected by HIV on a daily basis demonstrates that people will continue to engage in sexual activity unless one addresses it by other means.

Mr Enock Kavindele who was Health Minister in 2001 condemned these clergymen's statements saying that this kind of attitude was doing nothing to tackle a disease that had infected one million Zambians out of a population of 9 million. He speculated that 'the prospects of pastors preaching in empty churches are very high'.¹⁰⁴ He also claimed that the call to abstinence is not practical because people will have casual sex anyway. Mr Kavindele who was a church goer at that time was warned by clergy that if he refused to remove the adverts, they would seek an audience with the President Frederick Chiluba who being a firm supporter of Pentecostals also advocated the same position as the church.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

6.13 Questions and Conclusion

HIV/AIDS continues to be present in Zambia and numerous people continue to be affected. According to statistical reports, one in seven adults is living with HIV and average national life expectancy has been reduced to 39 years.¹⁰⁵ The contribution that the two PC churches are making to the fight against HIV/AIDS as presented is quite significant. According to Chitando, ‘the church in Africa is undoubtedly a significant presence in the spiritual, social, political and economic lives of people. It is thus strategically placed to make a difference in contexts of HIV/AIDS.’¹⁰⁶ The results are positive in that the help given to an infected person has a ripple effect on their family at large, who may be burdened with their care or put at a socio-economic disadvantage due to the illness of their bread winner.¹⁰⁷ In an article written in *PentecoStudies* journal I provided an analysis of the effect that these PC medical facilities have on the individual and their families.¹⁰⁸ The conclusion was that the HIV/AIDS clinics and sensitization programmes that are run by these clinics owned by Pentecostal churches are bringing hope to numerous families within and outside Lusaka.¹⁰⁹ ‘The free provision of ARVs, counselling and support through home-based care have helped to reduce the number of deaths as people are now living longer. The chances of family disintegrations and the danger of creating a generation of orphans has been reduced’.¹¹⁰ Many refuse or delay medical attention due to the belief that they have been bewitched and visit the *n’ganga* instead. Others, despite the fact that ARVs are free, remain in poor health due to poverty,

¹⁰⁵ ‘HIV and AIDS in Zambia.’

¹⁰⁶ Chitando, *Living With Hope*, 5.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Mr. Miti, Social Worker and Adherence and Outreach Officer at Circle of Hope Family clinic in Lusaka on 19/04/11; Interview with Mr. Hangoma, Outreach worker at Circle of Hope Family clinic in Lusaka on 19/04/11.

¹⁰⁸ M’fundisi, ‘From Stigma, to Intervention. 215-238.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Mr Murray Nyirenda, Finance Administration Manager at Circle of Hope Family clinic in Lusaka on 19/04/11.

¹¹⁰ Mrs. Masozi Ndhlovu.

because taking ARVs requires one to have a decent diet.¹¹¹ Another great danger is posed by pastors that discourage people from seeking medical attention, deeming it to signify a lack of faith when they have been prayed for.¹¹² Susan Chambwa, a counsellor at Circle of Hope clinic narrated this story in relation to this.

A man that was brought into Circle of Hope Clinic moments before his death from advanced Herpes Zoster which left his skin rotten and smelly with flies crowding around him. He did not come for treatment because his pastor stopped him from doing so after he prayed for him. When his pastor brought him here their car was full of flies and as soon as he dropped the patient off, he drove off speedily. We tried to run after him but to no avail. Immediately we tested his wife and she was found positive. However she refused to be put on the treatment claiming her pastor told her not to.¹¹³

Such examples raise questions about the ways in which PC beliefs and the fundamentalist attitudes of some pastors hinder progress in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Research to pursue this would be beneficial and based on my journal article on Pentecostal HIV/AIDS clinics, some of the questions that such further research would need to address are: What are Pentecostal pastors who have leading HIV/AIDS clinics like Chreso and Circle of Hope doing to challenge other pastors that are stopping their members from attaining lifesaving treatment by claiming that they have been healed? Are there any specific HIV/AIDS Pentecostal conferences geared to sensitize church leaders on the dangers of not allowing their infected members to seek treatment? Does the fact that no male Pentecostal Pastor has come out in the open to acknowledge their illness except Pastor

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Interview with Susan Chambwa. She narrated a story of a patient that was brought in minutes before his death by his pastor who had discouraged him from seeking medical treatment claiming he had been healed by God. When the man was brought in, his skin had started to rot due to untreated Herpeszoster.

¹¹³ Ibid.

Elfiedah Musambazi discourage other infected pastors from seeking medical treatment for fear of stigmatization?¹¹⁴ How do those churches that offer counselling to members with HIV maintain confidentiality especially in an environment where all church members know each other and might have personal relationships with those that are infected? Does the fact that homosexuals fail to disclose their sexuality when they seek treatment mean homophobia is still rampant in these faith-based medical organizations?’ Do their restrictions on condom distribution to only married people limit their access to certain funders that may have the capacity to help them expand their efforts?’¹¹⁵

As the issue of HIV/AIDS remains a national concern there are a number of ‘programmes on Radio, Television and the community geared towards sensitizing people.’¹¹⁶ According to Murray Nyirenda, the Circle of Hope Finance Manager and Miti one of the social workers, ‘the downside of over-sensitization is that gradually people might lose interest and revert to activities that put them at risk of infection’.¹¹⁷

This chapter serves as an important part of this thesis because a discussion of the church in Zambia without reference to its interface with the HIV/AIDS pandemic would be incomplete. HIV/AIDS is a disease that has stimulated ecumenism among different faith groups, as well as the church in general, working together with the state, civil society groups as well as non-governmental

¹¹⁴Pastor Elfiedah Musambazi is a well-known female preacher in Zambia. She claimed she was once HIV/AIDS positive and was healed by God.

¹¹⁵M’fundisi, ‘From Stigma, to Intervention,’ 236.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 235.

¹¹⁷ Mr. Miti.

organizations in the fight against it. The issue of HIV/AIDS has unwittingly caused different groups to cast aside their beliefs, orientations and ideologies and to raise their profile in civic engagement either on an individual or interfaith/interreligious basis. Such a shift has been seen amongst Zambia's PCs and has benefited greatly from financial, physical as well as human capital.¹¹⁸ The interrelation between the transcendental, internal and external dimensions had been a critical factor in the creation of these clinics. This interrelation was not a linear one, but one that either started with the leaders understanding and experiences with the sacred, or the unique encounters with situations affecting civil society, in this case, the HIV/AIDS pandemic. It is these two dimensions that propelled leaders of these two churches to look into the internal dimensions of their churches and see what human, social and financial capital could be utilised in order to carry out their mission. These churches had to organise themselves by delegation and distribution of power to those that would volunteer their time and expertise in order to have these projects up and running. Challenges were inevitable; however, Chreso and Circle of Hope Family Clinics serve as examples of how faith-based organizations are actively engaged in matters of civic concern and use the transcendent and civic matters as inspiration for their altruistic behaviours.

¹¹⁸ Alejandro Portes, 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology,' *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 24 (1998): 1-24 (15).

Chapter 7. Conclusion

7.1 Significance

This thesis has endeavoured to answer the following question: *What significance has the interface between Pentecostal/Charismatic Christianity and the wider religious, political and social realities had in Zambia?* The analysis involved an exploration of the history of PC Christianity in Zambia, the nature of their beliefs and practices, their influence on personal transformation and their impact on civil and religious culture and national development. Andre Droogers' three dimensional anthropological model was used to explain PC civic engagement. The model was used to assess how the sacred/transcendental dimension (Pentecostal experiences, altruistic sentiments, missionary zeal, prosperity gospel, healing), combined with the internal dimensions (leadership, organizational structures, gender), influence their external dimension (civic engagement, media use, ecumenical relations, transnational networks, support of certain politicians, inter-religious relations, mission, evangelism).¹ Focus was placed on expressions and dimensions of PC spirituality and how these have influenced civic engagement, and conversely how experiences of civic engagement have influenced the shape of PC spirituality. While there has been a growing academic interest in the nature of PC civic engagement in Africa and across the globe,² Zambia has not attracted significant attention.³ Therefore, this research provides

¹ And how their engagement with the external dimension in turn, affects their sacred/transcendental and internal dimensions André Droogers, 'The Power Dimensions of the Christian Community: an Anthropological Model', *Religion* 33.3(July 2003): 263-80.

²Donald E. Miller and Tetsunao Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism. The New Face of Christian Social Engagement* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2007); Eldin Villafane, *The Liberating Spirit: Towards an Hispanic America Pentecostal Social Ethic* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1993); Amos Yong, *In the Days of Caesar: Pentecostalism and Political Theology* (Cambridge: Wm. B Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2010); David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford and Maiden: Blackwell Publishers, 2002) especially Chapter 4; Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers Ltd., 1998), Paul Gifford, *Christianity and Politics in Doe's Liberia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Paul Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America* (Cambridge:

useful insights by articulating the contribution that PCs in Zambia have made to civic engagement within African Christianity. In line with the main thesis question, a number of related questions were considered. Firstly the thesis was divided into three different eras, namely: the post-colonial with President Kaunda (1964-1991), the President Chiluba democratic era (1991-2001) and the post Chiluba era (2001-2012). Within these periods, the religious dimensions of social life were analysed in order to determine PC presence and ability to offer solutions to some of the difficult circumstances which Zambians face on a daily basis. It became clear that the wider church in Zambia has continued to move beyond the boundaries that were placed on religion relegating it to spiritual matters. In the area of politics, Burgess, in his research on Nigerian PC churches argued that ‘religion had re-emerged as a potent political force and dominant feature in the national and political culture’.⁴ This thesis has demonstrated that religion has always had an influence on politics in Zambia. PC Christianity has certainly embraced spiritual, as well as socio-political issues, which were initially deemed to be ungodly.⁵ Based on interviews with PC leaders it was shown that these churches are moved not only by their moral passions, but their desire to preach a holistic gospel. While religion has continued to

Cambridge University Press, 2001); Jeff Hynes (ed), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World* (Hampshire and New York: McMillan Press, 1999); Terence O. Ranger (ed.), *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa. Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in the Global South*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

³ Austin M. Cheyeka, *Towards a History of the Charismatic Churches in Post-Colonial Zambia*, in J. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola, *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 145; John Mutunda Kapenda Lumbe, ‘The Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal Church Movements in Zambia between 1989-2000’ (Master’s thesis, University of South Africa, 2008), 5.

⁴ Richard Burgess, ‘Practical Christianity and Public Faith: Nigerian Pentecostal Contributions to Intercultural Theology’ in Mark J. Cartledge and David Cheetham (eds), *Intercultural Theology: Approaches and Themes* (London: SCM Press, 2011), 160.

⁵ Interview with Bishop Harrison Sakala, Overseer of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia PAOGZ on 9/08/11; Interview with Bishop Sky Banda, Senior Pastor of the first Pentecostal Assembly of God Canada (PAOGC) church built in Ndola called Maranatha and former General Superintendent of PAOGZ on 6/08/10; Interview with Pastor Eddie Chansa, Senior Pastor and Founder of Lifeline Community Fellowship in Lusaka, 10/08/11.

retain its status as the moral consciousness of the country,⁶ for decades mainline churches in Zambia have been involved in areas of education and health. In the sphere of politics the church has set a standard by which the sacrality of the nation can be maintained, ensuring that whoever is elected shows an allegiance to the transcendent. This is why the Presidents since Kaunda have been professing Christians. The scrutinizing of the spirituality of every presidential candidate is commonplace within the Zambian context. Unfortunately the scandal of corruption in the Chiluba era has made it clear that it is not a Christian President or a righteous nation that will make Zambia a safe haven but the prophetic voice of the churches that is necessary to keep the state accountable for its duties when it is seen to neglect the virtues of the people, ethics and polis.

This chapter will summarise what has been argued so far by highlighting some discoveries that have been made as well as the challenges that the PC movement continues to face in Zambia today. The picture of PC Christianity in the 21st century in Zambia is different from that of the late 20th Century. The difference lies in the fact that having previously eschewed socio-political engagement in favour of prayer and evangelism, the late 20th and early 21st century has seen PCs move to a more positive and engaged attitude. Miller and Yamamori argue that, ‘as opposed to a Social Gospel tradition espoused by mainline churches, the PC movement has sought a more balanced approach that encompasses evangelism and social action by emulating Jesus’ ministry’.⁷ They attribute this to what they call a maturing of Pentecostalism from being other-

⁶ Ted Olsen, ‘One African Nation Under God,’ *Christianity Today* 46 (2) (4 February 2002): 2.

⁷ Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 212.

worldly, to a this-worldly force that has contributed to the reshaping of Christianity across the globe.⁸

7.2 Summary and Observations

In the first stage of this thesis, the questions asked related to the extent to which civic engagement was part of PC religious consciousness. The second stage focussed on the reasons for a growing interest in socio-political issues. The final part of the thesis focused on the public role that PC Christianity has developed in Zambia's public domain, especially through its work with HIV/AIDS. As the decade post-Chiluba saw an increase in social ministries, the questions concerned what was motivating this shift, what PCs were doing to play an active role and how they were developing this new focus. Having examined this progression, the final two chapters examine the actual change that has happened in the area of political interest and social ministries. This was coupled by a look at the impact of human, financial as well as social capital in networking and gathering of resources to aid the development of their civic engagement.

Chapter two provided an overview of PC history, including a survey of the establishment of various PC churches in Zambia. Initially, some PCs were apolitical in their views due to their emphasis on 'eschatology, salvation and radical holiness ethic which viewed politics as dirty business tainted by its association with traditional religion and occult forces and linked to corruption and violence'.⁹ Secondly, their beliefs and practices were examined in order to tease

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Burgess, 'Practical Christianity,' 161; Richard Burgess, Nigeria's *Christian Revolution. The Civil War Revival and its Pentecostal Progeny 1967-2006* (Carlisle: Regnum/Paternoster, 2008); Ruth Marshall, *Political Spiritualities: The Pentecostal Revolution in Nigeria* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); Ruth Marshall,

out their initial attitudes in relation to social concern. It cannot be denied that they met needs within their congregational settings as they arose. However, what was considered was whether they engaged with the wider context of their communities. This was to become the point of reference from which to examine the seven decades that were to follow. In Chapter two, a brief summary of the histories of the main Zambian PC churches is given. No such overall history of the Zambian movement has previously been attempted. Indeed, many of the Zambian PC churches (with the exception of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (PAOGZ) have not formally compiled their histories.

The history given in Chapter two indicates that it took a surprisingly long time for Pentecostals to establish themselves on the religious landscape in which ‘mainline’ churches had existed since the late nineteenth Century, in all parts of the country through various mission stations that had schools and hospitals. It is such facilities that made it more likely for people to be drawn to these churches. This is why even today the dominant church in an area is one that initially planted a mission school or hospital. Unfortunately, upon arrival Pentecostal churches had little or no influence because, being small, they could not influence people in the middle and upper classes. Similarly, they had nothing significant to offer their communities besides an alternative form of spirituality. As other churches became aware of their beliefs and practices, coupled with the fact that most of their leaders had minimal or no pastoral and theological training they were further marginalised. Their strong beliefs about the imminent return of Christ led them to distance themselves from things they deemed unnecessary in preparation for Christ’s return. Bishop Harrison Sakala stated ‘we looked down on the other mainline churches and their interest in

God is not a Democrat: Pentecostalism and Democratisation in Nigeria,’ in *The Christian Churches and the Democratisation of Africa*, ed. Paul Gifford (Leiden: E.J .Brill Publishers, 1995), 239-260; Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-Time Army; Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006)

socio-political issues because we deemed that as carnal'.¹⁰ The fact that they had few resources can also be attributed to this indifference. This then created a context from which the movement was to evolve in the coming 70 years to become what Lumbe called, 'agents of change by actively engaging in matters of civic concern like politics and social issues like HIV/AIDS'.¹¹ This also set a stage to draw attention to the general growth in active socio-political engagement in subsequent chapters.

In Chapter three it is argued that it was during the latter part of Kaunda's rule that the presence and voice of Pentecostals was recognized and heard. This began when President Kaunda decided to introduce humanism, scientific socialism and Eastern religions that were deemed contrary to the Christian message. All churches were firmly opposed to this and Pastor Danny Pule and Bishop Joshua Imakando played a part in condemning these religions by publicly voicing their opinions.¹² This was a combined effort with other churches and the result was that these ideologies were not accepted or adopted within the country. Nevertheless, overall the church played a pivotal role in Kaunda's tenure. He had a strong Christian background, and described religion as one of the five pillars of the nation as well as a mirror and moral consciousness of the society.¹³ He built very strong ties with mainline churches and Cheyeka writes about the many instances when Kaunda initiated thanksgiving services, visited churches and even preached.¹⁴ It is in this chapter that I argue that Kaunda was the first to declare Zambia as a Christian nation based on an article he wrote in 1964. This is an interesting contribution made to the wider

¹⁰ Bishop Sakala and Bishop S. Banda. Interview with Reverend Simon Mwale, former General Superintendent of PAOGZ on 10/11/09. The phrase 'carnal Christian' was commonly used among early Pentecostal in Zambia to refer to Christians who involved themselves with societal issues, which in their eyes were worldly.

¹¹ Lumbe, 'The Growth of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal', 3.

¹² For a detailed account, see chapter 3.

¹³ Gifford, *African Christianity*, 194

¹⁴ Cheyeka, *Towards a History*, 7.

discussion where all scholars thus far have labelled Chiluba as the one who initially made such a declaration.

In the later part of Kaunda's tenure, though still marginalized, Pentecostals were no longer obscure. However, during this time, there was no development of a Pentecostal culture of civic engagement or theology of culture. The rise of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the national outcry to move from a one party to a democratic state precipitated public PC participation in social action. I argue that the dethroning of Kaunda and enthroning of Chiluba- a self-claimed Pentecostal - was the combined ecumenical effort of churches and civil society groups. However, if Chiluba had not been a Pentecostal, it is highly unlikely that the Pentecostals' enthusiasm for this act of political engagement would have been as significant as it was. Having been marginalized since independence, the PC movement realized that Chiluba's enthronement would provide them with a platform on which to begin to exert their influence and attract numerical growth. A number of authors also saw this development as coinciding with the democratization and liberalization of many African states in the 1980s which saw Pentecostals as active participants in these processes.¹⁵ It would be overzealous to claim that Pentecostals instantly altered their views on political engagement during the transition to multi-party democracy as it was national unrest that precipitated this united interest in political affairs. This is why as soon as Chiluba stepped into office and Zambia was declared a Christian nation, the EFZ made a statement that expressed their desire to distance themselves from political affairs.¹⁶

¹⁵Ranger (ed.), *Evangelical Christianity*, (2008); Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*.(2007); J. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola, *One Zambia, Many Histories: Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia*(Leiden: Brill, 2008); Ogbu U. Kalu, *African Pentecostalism. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁶ But not necessarily from Chiluba.

Chapter four covers the dawn of a democratic Zambia, in which a Pentecostal was to be the new leader. PC presence on the political scene was obvious: for the first time, PCs were working in the government holding significant positions. During this time there was an explosion of PC churches with some churches receiving funds directly from the state to build bigger churches. It is argued that that just like the Kaunda era, the church continued to play a significant role, but that this time ‘the church’ included PCs. A number of PC pastors were close to Chiluba at that time. However, despite their presence, they did not use their relationship with the head of state to initiate significant development projects to better the lives of the people in their communities.¹⁷ The fact that maintaining a Christian nation was their main focus underpins the idea that even when they had the opportunities to influence socio-political change, it was not natural for them to think of development as an appropriate form of civic engagement because this was still not part of their religious consciousness. Unfortunately their ties with the President brought about divisions among them. As issues of corruption continued to taint Chiluba’s government, divisions became rampant between those that supported Chiluba and those that did not. This demonstrates how power can be legitimized by the church even when leaders act outside moral expectations. Cheyeka gives an example of a Pastor Mwewa of Reach Out Bible Ministries who on the main news of 11 November 1996 argued that ‘leadership is God given and that the church in Zambia needed to recognise a God fearing government and as a church to support Chiluba’.¹⁸ Despite the fact that members of the EFZ played a role in support of the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, the following year (1992) they issued a statement ‘appealing to the church in Zambia to restrict itself to those matters which were within its competence and to maintain a

¹⁷ Pastor Eddie Chansa.

¹⁸ Cheyeka, *Towards a History*, 160.

reasonable distance from the government'.¹⁹ According to Bishop Sakala, this was to avoid people losing sight of their role as a church.²⁰ Besides maintaining the sacrality of the nation by defending the declaration, PCs enjoyed their newly found status but made little effort to engage significantly in tangible socio-political issues. (Exceptionally, Bishop John Mambo of the Church of God became one of Chiluba's biggest critics in a tenure where corruption began to be the order of the day. Ironically he had been one of Chiluba's supporters at the start of his tenure.) PC civic engagement began to grow towards the end of Chiluba's tenure when he decided to alter the national constitution (one that he created) in order to run for a third term. This is an action that caused tension amongst the general public, civil society organizations and the church. In this case, it is also argued that it was not because of any formal alterations to their theology that PCs became involved. Once again, this inadvertently happened at a time when intervention was inevitable from the general public. Despite Chiluba's flawed reasoning in relation to his attempt to change the constitution to suit his plans, other PCs still defended him, claiming he was still the chosen one. Reference is made to the Independent Churches of Zambia (ICOZ), an umbrella church organization formed of Charismatic churches to counteract all churches that were against the third term bid. This body did not carry the same influence that the other more established mother bodies held. ICOZ was unpopular as it was seen as a group of churches used as puppets for the state at that time.

By the end of the Chiluba era, PC churches had grown in number. This thesis argues that it was not the correlation between Chiluba's political agenda and his personal beliefs that had an impact on the explosion of PC churches in Zambia. Though this could be the case, I propose that with or

¹⁹Chalwe, 'An Evaluation of the Mission History,' 121.

²⁰ Bishop Harrison Sakala .

without Chiluba PC churches would have grown, due to the exponential global growth of PC churches.²¹ However Chiluba's presence was a great aid as he liberalised PC church building projects and the registration of churches. In relation to the impact that the PC pastors in government had on the body of PC Christians, this thesis argues that this may have helped to alter negative attitudes towards politics and may have inevitably boosted their self-confidence having emerged from the margins. Besides politics, another contribution within civil society was seen when Pastor Danny Pule, Minister of Information, became instrumental in making arrangements to have Trinity Broadcasting Network, a North American Christian television station (the only other television channel in Zambia) aired in Lusaka and the Copperbelt. Being the only alternative channel in the big cities people were more likely to switch to it out of curiosity or simply because it was the only other option Zambians had unless they had a satellite dish. Therefore, this was very timely and a good opportunity to proselytize through televangelism. Together with other PC leaders, Pule also helped to bring other televangelists like Benny Hinn, Reinhard Bonnke, Earnest Angley and Yongi Cho in Zambia to hold crusades at the state's expense.

Chapters five and six tie the whole thesis together and my major contribution here is to demonstrate the picture of current PC civic engagement in relation to their initial history. The first part of Chapter five answers the questions: What is motivating the shift to active civic engagement? Why are they doing what they are doing? How have they moved from a complete

²¹ For more information see Burgess, Stanley M. and Van der Maas, Eduard, M. (eds.). *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*: Revised and Expanded Edition (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002); Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Paul . Gifford, *African Christianity* (1998); Matthews A. Ojo, *The End-Time Army; Charismatic Movements in Modern Nigeria* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2006); Ogbu U. Kalu, *African Pentecostalism. An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

emphasis on the imminent return of Christ to engaging in matters of civic concern (politics), while waiting for his return? The various strategies being employed to accelerate their social and political efforts are also analysed. While the main focus of chapter five is political, chapter six explores the ways in which PC churches have engaged in addressing the issue of HIV/AIDS. The issue of HIV/AIDS is looked at not just as a health issue but as a political issue as well. It is these two chapters that demonstrate how PC Christians in Zambia fit into what Miller and Yamamori call progressive Pentecostals. It was evident that some churches are more engaged in social ministries than others depending on their level of commitment and the resources that are available to them. This links back to Droogers' three dimensional model: linking their transcendental, internal and external dimensions. Their success depends on financial, human and social capital coupled by how much their beliefs about God and their internal organizational structures influence the impact they have on their wider communities.

The first part of Chapter five looked at the characteristics of PCs that encourage and hinder political activism, and the extent to which they privilege prayer over direct political activism. This has been problematic because such an attitude has led them to spiritualise everything by blaming spiritual forces of the dark world as being responsible for all manner of socio-political issues negatively affecting the country.²² The minimal exercise of their prophetic voice as well as its fragmented character has also contributed to their minimal impact, as has the tendency of some PC leaders to be easily co-opted by government by certain favours.²³ Unfortunately PCs

²² Ayo Oritsejafor, 'Dealing with the Demonic' in C. Peter Wagner and Joseph Thompson (eds.), *Out of Africa* (Ventura, CA: Regal, 2004), 80-85; J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, 'African Charismatics: Current Developments Within Independent Indigenous Pentecostals in Ghana,' *Studies of Religion in Africa* 27 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005) especially chapter 5 and 6.

²³ David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World their Parish* (Malden: Massachusetts, Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 151.

have remained unpopular because the few that have attempted to form political parties like Brigadier General Godfrey Miyanda, Nevers Mumba and Simon Mwale have failed miserably in all national elections. It is also the case that there are still no initiatives at the level of civil society spearheaded by individual churches or the EFZ that empower Christians to engage in politics in various ways or platforms where political issues are debated and discussed. As part of a research project funded by the John Templeton Foundation (University of Southern California) doing a comparative study between socio-political engagement in Nigeria and Zambia I became aware of a very strong level of political engagement in Nigeria where prominent pastors were in the forefront of campaigning for a desirable leader endorsed by the movement, or were themselves wanting to be elected. Furthermore, they also have political projects geared to train PC potential leaders. This level of commitment has not yet developed in Zambia. The reasons for this include the fact that numerically PCs in Zambia are still insignificant. Secondly, besides the few that have run for political office, there are no projects designed specifically to train PC political leaders. Furthermore, the idea of seeing politics as dirty due to perpetual corruption continues to taint Zambian politics. Miller and Yamamori cite the disillusionment of a Roman Catholic priest who was deeply involved in the Charismatic renewal movement in Latin America but then decided that religion was a little more than an opiate unless it was connected to forms of political organizing that have the potential to reverse unjust social policies.²⁴ Therefore, I argue that as long as such programmes are not created, PCs will continue to have very little to contribute to the political affairs of the nation. It is imperative that PCs think critically about governance and formulate strategies that will ensure their contribution to ensure the state remains committed to their duty of care for the needs of citizens and those most vulnerable. On the other

²⁴ Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 214.

hand, they have developed various collaborations with other church mother bodies especially through joint statements to speak out on matters of national interest.²⁵

On an individual basis PC churches have helped to change people's attitudes towards wealth based prosperity doctrine. This thesis identified trends within some forms of the prosperity message in Zambia, which promote a more balanced approach to wealth gain and promoting altruistic behaviour. The different trends were identified - from magic to entrepreneurship and personal enrichment to altruism. It is clear that the focus of the prosperity doctrine does not solely rest on personal enrichment or a magical approach. The magical approach in some cases has been substituted with an entrepreneurial spirit that is encouraging upward social mobility and is contributing to economic growth. Substituting personal enrichment with altruism through various ministries has meant that money is also being channelled into various practical church projects like feeding programmes, health care, schools, orphanages and prison ministries. This answers the question of how PC churches are addressing and dealing with social ills. This mind-set makes PCs contributors to the reshaping of society as well as the religious culture in Zambia.

Chapter 6 explores the contribution that PCs have made to the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS. It is evident from the questionnaire survey that 100% of the churches are dealing with the pandemic in varying degrees depending on their resources and capacity. This thesis proposes that just like any other forms of civic engagement, there is need for the creation of an indigenous PC theology of HIV/AIDS that will take into account the socio-cultural and

²⁵ For a detailed look at such examples see J.Komakoma (ed), *The Social Teaching of The Catholic Bishops and Other Christian Leaders in Zambia: Major Pastoral Letters and Statements 1953-2001* (Ndola: Mission Press, 2003).

theological issues surrounding the Zambian PC context as well as guide their work from a strong Biblical standpoint. During interviews with the various leaders, it was discovered that although many want to meet the needs of their communities holistically, a well thought through theological standpoint as a guide to their work is missing. Having one will not only solidify their stance on the pandemic but will also give them good standing among the mainline churches that have always been in the forefront in the provision of health care since colonial times. To a greater extent however, PCs have broken the monopoly that other churches like the Roman Catholics held in the areas of education and health provision.

This thesis has made a number of contributions to the understanding of PC civic engagement in Zambia. Interviewing a number of PC leaders that are very influential not only within PC circles but public figures representing PC churches helped me to glean first-hand information from people representing the movement. Some of the interviewees were pioneers who helped to establish Pentecostalism in Zambia, in its initial stages. Whilst other researchers have done research on PC Christianity in Zambia they focussed mainly on a handful of leaders. I was able to provide a balance by engaging with leaders from all the major Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, many of which were present in all three eras that have been analysed within this thesis. This provided an added advantage because they were able to provide first-hand information on their experiences during the Kaunda, Chiluba and post Chiluba era. Many of these leaders have successful churches, which have developed social ministries and have had some political influence. The questionnaire survey had an 89% response rate and was very helpful in collecting responses from PC church members from various churches. This complemented the interviews because people from a grassroots level were able to provide their insights about civic

engagement in relation to the social ministries in their respective churches. It is these social ministries that demonstrate the place of PC Christianity in Zambia's public arena. Some interviews were conducted in the local languages with interviewees who would have otherwise felt limited if the interviews were carried out in English. I also had the advantage of understanding of some less obvious cultural dynamics that may have affected the interview process like the fear of casting some Christian leaders in a bad light. Being a fellow Zambian and a woman, it was easy for interviewees to open up freely and air their views. This is an advantage that ethnography brings into cultural interpretation. According to Fetterman, 'cultural interpretation involves the ability to describe what the researcher has heard and seen within the framework of the social group's view of reality'.²⁶ No other researcher to date has done a robust sequential analysis and historical account of PC civic engagement in Zambia dating from colonial times. The fact that I was not imposing change but allowing PCs to take note of their strengths and weaknesses and propose change they would like to see based on their own perceived shortcomings is a great contribution that this thesis makes to the wider discussion.

Another contribution made from my observations is that it was evident that significant changes have occurred within the movement's attitude towards civic concern. Based on the interviews held both formally and informally with pastors around the city of Lusaka, the capacity to engage in some form of social ministry was considered very desirable among these churches. Some fail to do so due to lack of finances and resources. In a casual discussion with me Pastor Lydia Mukandawire of Chunga compound lamented their church's lack of access to the funds that

²⁶ David M. Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step By Step* (California: Sage Publications, 1989), 28.

would help them meet the ever increasing needs within their church community.²⁷ The same comment was made by Pastor Saviour Nkoma, the senior pastor of a small PAOGZ church in the same area.²⁸ There was something striking about the PCs encountered during the field research. They seemed to have a hopeful spirit and a desire to be part of the social changes happening in Zambia. They believe that God is using them to bring hope to the hopeless. And even those lacking resources were hopeful and looking to God to provide means by which to impact communities.

On the other hand, PCs have received their fair share of criticism especially in relation to the prosperity gospel. Many have claimed that PCs were responding to the pressure enforced by a dynamic materialistic, consumerist culture by associating with the forces of globalization, promising personal health and prosperity.²⁹ Society profanes something that was meant to be sacred. I argue that the prosperity gospel has also had positive implications within Zambia. It is true that to some extent, the advent of prosperity teaching in the mid-1980s compounded a tendency within many PCs to adopt a conservative and non-critical stance.³⁰ As a religious force that supports social mobility, PC Christianity has witnessed an increase in the number of people from middle and high class society attending their congregations. In chapter 5, I articulate the trends that have developed within the prosperity gospel arguing that the entrepreneurial aspect of the doctrine has created a breed of sober, honest and hardworking employees and business men and women.³¹ Empowerment summits that have become a common feature among mega

²⁷ Interview with Pastor Lydia Mukandawire, Assistant Pastor at Spirit Filled Global Ministries on 17.07.11.

²⁸ Interview with Pastor Saviour Nkoma, Senior Pastor of Great Exploits Church PAOGZ on 14.07.11.

²⁹ Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 19-22.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 213.

churches are developing generations of leaders who are being developed and equipped with leadership and character skills to use within their workplaces and homes. Miller and Yamamori reinforce the fact that ‘the prosperity gospel may be a little more than an opiate for the masses although we do not want to underestimate the potential since once the desire for upward social mobility is awakened, it is possible that repeated failures of magical intervention might be harnessed into a radicalised social movement especially given the size of charismatic leadership driving some of these churches’.³²

Besides their inherent desire to proselytize, PC altruism leaves them more visible in their communities. All of the pastors interviewed as well as respondents to the questionnaire agreed that their churches were involved in different forms of social ministries at varying capacities. The reasons given for their interest in civic engagement varied from being a transcendental call, to the rise in the HIV/AIDS (which has left all Zambians either infected or indirectly affected through family members, friends, acquaintances or associates infected by the illness) and the need to preach a holistic gospel.³³ As mentioned, the level of civic engagement varies depending on the church’s capacity and the influence their leader has to solicit funds and initiate social programmes within the church. In a country like Zambia, a person’s level of influence puts them at a greater advantage in relation to donor funds. The churches that have major projects are the ones that are more visible in the media and command influence in the socio-political arena. Such examples are churches have leaders like Bishop Joel Imakando, Bishop Joshua Banda, Pastor

³² Ibid, 219.

³³ PCs in Zambia fit Miller and Yamamori’s description of current PC churches as Progressive Pentecostals (Christians who claim to be inspired by the Holy Spirit and the life of Jesus, who seek to holistically address the spiritual, physical and social needs of people on their communities) contrasted with earlier generations of Pentecostals who were quite sectarian, fleeing any real engagement with the world except for the purpose of proselytizing, Miller and Yamamori suggested that PC civic engagement embraces responding to humanitarian issues and engaging in activities that foster national development. Ibid, 213.

Helmut Reutter, Bishop Samson Ndhlovu etc. As for those churches that are smaller and perhaps have smaller social ministries, their capacity has not been a deterrent in their ability to impact their communities. Many churches are still in the process of developing other ministries. References were made to projects that are still in the process of being developed or have broken down due to circumstances and are in the process of being put back together again.³⁴ Yet still it was interesting to note how underdeveloped the social ministries arm was for a big church like the Pentecostal Holiness Church. In areas of national development, certain projects are being run by organizations like Jubilee Christian Centre, Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS and EFZ which are not solely there for the purposes of proselytising but to help rural churches to impact their communities through development projects.³⁵

This thesis concludes by suggesting that PCs reflect more on their praxis. Having examined the reality of social oppression, poverty, injustice, war, and different forms of discrimination faced by many societies in the global south, Dhan Prakash suggests that Christians need to continue to ask themselves about their responsibility in responding to social evils. People have sometimes accused the church of doing little and the PC churches have borne the brunt of much of that

³⁴ Bishop Sky Banda; Interview with Bishop Chrispine Zulu, Conference Overseer of the Southern Conference and Assistant National Overseer of the Pentecostal Holiness Church (PHC) in Zambia on the 18/07/11; Interview with Reverend Pius Chisha, Senior Pastor of Lakeroad Destiny Centre in Lusaka on 29/08/10; Interview with Reverend Elliot Chalwe, Founder and Senior Pastor of Christian Assembly of God in Lusaka on 12/07/11; Interview with Pastor Harold Gondwe, Assistant Pastor of Living Hope Church in Woodlands, Lusaka on 12/07/11; Interview with Pastor Chisenga, Senior Pastor of Hope of Glory Tabernacle PAOGZ in Lusaka on 14/07/11; Interview with Bishop Eddie Mulenga, Senior Pastor and Founder of Liberty Christian Centre in Lusaka on 6/08/11.

³⁵ Interview with Pastor Lawrence Temfwe, Founder of Jubilee Christian Centre on 23/08/11; Interview with Annie Banda, Programmes Manager for Expanded Church Response to HIV and Aids on 25/7/11; Interview with Bishop Joshua Banda, Senior Pastor of Northmead Assembly of God, Assistant Bishop to the Chief Bishop of PAOG, former Principal of Trans-Africa Theological College (PAOGZ) and a Board Member of EFZ on 27/08/10; Interview with Reverend Pukuta Mwanza, Executive Director of EFZ in Lusaka on 08/08/11.

criticism.³⁶ The history of PC civic engagement in Zambia testifies to that. This thesis has uncovered a gradual change. PC activities may not equal those of other more established churches with a much extended history of civic engagement (which was among the pillars of their religious consciousness). However, a shift in mind-set has certainly occurred. Engaging in matters of social concern was not part of their history, and they needed time to make adjustments to their beliefs and practices to enable them to balance their anticipation of the imminent return of Christ as well as directly participate in social action. Prakash blames what he deems a 'lack of theological understanding within early Pentecostalism which led to the dichotomy between their beliefs and practices.'³⁷ Caution is given for those that may want to discredit early Pentecostals for not developing a theology of civic engagement but favouring the distribution of tracts, magazines, sermons and books about the coming kingdom, as Prakash sees that as what may have been relevant at that time. However, he suggests that social concerns have become an even bigger necessity in recent decades due to the growth of the unending social ills.

When interviewing many pastors (predominantly those that have yet to fully develop social ministries) it became apparent that they did not feel useful until they had practical means by which to help their communities. On one end you have churches like Gospel Outreach Fellowship that runs a number of schools as well as a fully-fledged HIV/AIDS clinic catering to thousands of people, and on the other end of the scale is Reverend Samuel Nkandu who pastors Tabernacle of Prayer PAOGZ in a shanty compound in Bauleni saying:

³⁶ Dhan Prakash, 'Toward a Theology of Social Concern: A Pentecostal Perspective', *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 13,1 (2010): 65.

³⁷ Ibid, 66.

Two years ago we started an orphanage and we have now opened a school. We are supporting 20 orphans by giving them a meal at lunch time and free education. Sixteen of the children are double orphans and the rest have lost one parent. Our school runs from baby care to pre-school. Other children have never been to school, for example, a 14 year old who has never been to school is trying to learn with the little ones. The school is progressing well and the church is supporting it with the help of a white lady who I work with. She has been assisting us by paying the wages for two school teachers as well as rent for the two rooms we are using for the school. When that white lady was in South Africa, she used to work with Pentecostal churches and when she heard that we are about to start an orphanage, she came on board to try and help us.³⁸

This reveals the different contexts in which PC churches are engaging with the needs of their communities on a local and national scale.

I would like to conclude with the words of former President Kaunda who in 1964 addressed the church on their role in society:

The Christian church must identify itself with the people and not sit in judgment on individuals and nations. The church must become active and lead our people... Is the church going to content itself with the role of criticizing political parties for misleading the people or is the church going to accept this as part and parcel of the problem of our society and the place it serves with the nation not only here in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), but elsewhere where such problems exist? The life of any church becomes a danger to society if it starts and ends with the seat of judgment. By all means, as a member of

³⁸ Interview with Reverend Samuel Nkandu, Senior Pastor of Tabernacle of Prayer in Bauleni Compound in Lusaka on 25/08/11.

society let it criticize, let it judge if it wishes to do so but let it also swing into action in a positive manner.³⁹

According to Dr Kaunda it is the action that follows condemnation that creates change. In as much as Zambia remains constitutionally a Christian nation, the new generation of PC leaders need to ensure that they are not only aware of the issues affecting civil society but also need to develop enough confidence to rise up and challenge matters at the core of their communities. PC churches need to engage with those that ask the state difficult questions that those on the margins cannot ask due to their place in society. Unfortunately the exercise of their prophetic voice is one area which remains underdeveloped. Pastor Eddie Chansa reinforces this by emphasising ‘we want to see the Daniels and the Josephs that went into their communities and challenged their day and changed the course of their history’.⁴⁰ PCs have come a long way. Their history of civic engagement has not been attractive but, with the turn of the century there is a clear change in focus. More than ever, they need to be in the forefront, spearheading programmes of national interest that benefit the community as well as training their members to be those that are aware and are proactive to act on issues. With regards to political affairs, I would also like to propose that PC churches create a tangible theology that can guide their civic engagement because without this, divisions will continue to arise between those that are pro government and those that are not. While this would be easier to implement for Pentecostal churches that are more institutionalised like the PAOGZ, Pentecostal Holiness, Church of God, and Assemblies of God, such theologies may be difficult to enact due to the various strands of Pentecostalism as well as the newer Pentecostal churches that are not institutionalised. This means that PCs will continue

³⁹ ‘Address to the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation’s conference June 1964,’ quoted in Colin Legum, *Zambia Independence and Beyond: The Speeches of Kenneth Kaunda* (London: Nelson, 1966), 118.

⁴⁰ Interview with Pastor Eddie Chansa, Senior Pastor and Founder of Lifeline Community Fellowship in Lusaka on 10/08/11.

to speak out in their individual capacities over socio-political issues, maintaining a fragmented voice and attending occasions that EFZ may have encouraged its members not to. An example is given of the controversial 2010 National Constitution Commission when PC leaders including EFZ board of directors who asked EFZ members not to attend, actually attended in their own individual capacities.

7.3 Conclusion

Whether it is possible for Christians to enter politics and maintain a coherent message or not is a subject that continues to be debated amongst Christians. However, based on the questionnaire survey results 85% agreed that Christians should run for political office with 59.2% agreeing to have voted in the previous elections.⁴¹ There is no doubt that PC Christians have become drivers of change especially in the areas of health, education and the care of orphans. What they now need is a hermeneutically solid theology that will guide and drive their praxis. It is evident that they have embraced a growing approach to social change. However, a major recommendation is that they need to develop a more united voice and actively take part in ‘structural critiques of social issues because this will enable them to offer systemic solutions to problems created by unjust systems’.⁴² This will go beyond providing cosmetic solutions to problems, to developing critical engagement and the questioning of leaders responsible for making decisions that affect the country as a whole.

7.4 Recommendations for Future Research

⁴¹ See Appendix 3 Frequency Table 351.

⁴² Miller and Yamamori, *Global Pentecostalism*, 216.

In the study of history and contemporary issues, this thesis contributes to the ongoing study of African Christianity and its role within the global and local contexts. Possible areas of future research include studies of smaller local churches, especially those in shanty compounds. This is to enable an analysis of their interaction with the constant changing socio-political and religious realities within the Zambian context. These smaller churches, despite their marginal resources still have to cope with the challenges their congregants bring to the fore, linking to health and economic issues. Similar studies need to be done in relation to the impact that mega churches have in rural areas of Zambia. And finally an evaluation of the impact and influence that female PC leaders bring to socio-political, religious and health issues either independently or with the support of their husbands ministries.

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Interviews and Activity Schedule 2009-2013

01.07.09 Interview with Reverend Joe Kapolyo, Senior Pastor of Edmonton Baptist Church in North London. He is former Principal for All Nations Christian College in the United Kingdom and is former Principal of Theological College of Central Africa in Ndola, Zambia.

03.08.10 Interview with Dr Isaac Phiri. Mass Communication lecturer at the University of Zambia. He has published papers on church and state relations in Zambia. He was critical on this matter.

03.08.10 Visited Campus Crusade for Christ in Lusaka, a non-denominational ministry which partners with a number of denominations and other Christian organizations in a bid to share the gospel.

04.08.10 Interview with Denis Mwetwa, Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia. Was given a summary of the History of EFZ and what they do.

05.08.10 Visited the Theological College of Central Africa TICCA (Ndola) - A Pentecostal Bible College in Ndola. There was no one there for me to interview as it was during their term break.

06.08.10 Visited Trans-Africa Theological Seminary for the PAOGZ (Kitwe) - I was due to interview the Principal (Dr Chalwe) but he had travelled to Lusaka for a funeral unexpectedly.

06.08.10 Interview with Bishop Sky Banda the Senior Pastor of Maranatha Church PAOGZ in Kitwe. He was one of the first pioneers of Pentecostalism in Zambia in the 70's. He has a large following and currently, the church does not have any projects besides prayer and counselling sessions for those that need it for various problems. He was very supportive of the declaration of Zambia as a Christian Nation. He also appeared on the video produced on the declaration speaking on the benefits of it.

08.08.10 Interview with Bishop Imakando is the Presiding Bishop of Bread of life church Lusaka. BOL is one of the largest charismatic churches in Lusaka. This brief meeting was to seek permission to conduct research at his church. Bishop Imakando, who also travels extensively to preach the gospel is a very well-known preacher and Author. His voice is very prominent in the Zambian media as he is usually quoted speaking on matters relating to the church, civil society as well as government. He once served as Executive Director of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ), a body that unifies Evangelical as well as Pentecostal churches in Zambia. He has served as an advisor to government as commissioner of inquiry.

Bread of Life Church owns a School of Ministry which started in 1997 with a curriculum that centres around Hermeneutics, Homiletics, Principles of Leadership, Old Testament Survey, Comparative Religion, Bible Doctrines, Church Planting & Growth, Church History, Family Life, Counseling, Praise & Worship, New Testament Survey, Spiritual Life, Evangelism & Discipleship. What I have not established yet is if at all the curriculum used is one that has been formulated by the church or a foreign one. Lecturers are Bishop Imakando, Pastors from his church as well as other churches. One of the objectives of this school is to not only equip

students for ministry, but to also train people to ‘take the lead in leadership in spheres of spiritual, political and economical influence.’¹ It will be interesting to explore the content of these teachings as they relate to matters of civic concern. According to the church website, the church has also decided to open up their school of ministry to members of other churches as well as people from outside Zambia, a strategy that is geared to increase church numbers.² Upon completion, students can attain a Diploma in Church Ministry.

Bread of Life Church also runs a Nursery and Basic (from grade 1 to 9) school which is situated on the church premises. These have been running since 1995. Children from all backgrounds are enrolled. The church motto is ‘to provide education in a Christian environment.’³ There are also counselling and deliverance sessions mid-week when congregants can also come for counselling as well as prayer for deliverance from demonic oppression.

Bishop Imakando has authored books namely; *The Key Ingredients to success*, *Dreaming your Destiny*, *Prayer our Secret Weapon* and *The Power of Favour*. He is also a motivational preacher and writes mainly on empowerment and success. His church also broadcasts his sermons on National television.

08.10 Visited The Jesuit Centre of Theological Reflection- A Catholic centre in Lusaka with a well-stocked library. Father Henriott who is the director is a very prominent man who speaks quite openly on civic issues in Zambia. He writes extensively and has published a number of books based on various topics related to civil society and the Catholic Church.

10.08.10 Interview with Pastor Reutter, Senior Pastor of Gospel Outreach Fellowship (Go Centre). Go Centre has a number of projects geared to tackle Education and Health. The church owns a Primary School, a University, a Clinic (Chreso Clinic), HIV/AIDS Counselling Clinic and Centres that distribute Antiretroviral Drugs (ARVs). Pastor Reutter is also known to speak out on matters of civic concern. He co-founded Zambia Elections Monitoring Committee ZEMCC, which brought together civil society as well as church organizations in 1991, to help with the smooth transition from a One-Party State with Dr Kenneth Kaunda to a Democratic State with former President Chiluba.

Pastor Reutter is saddened by the fact that Pentecostals seemingly shy away from hard work and thus failing to make a mark when it comes to civic engagement. He believes that it is not enough for believers to have the gifts of the spirit, but what matters the most is when the fruits of the spirit are visible because that is what makes a mark in society. Reutter believes that the manifestation of the fruits of the Spirit are what help believers engage with civil society. In terms of the Prosperity Gospel, he believes he is not a traditional Prosperity Preacher, but he does believe that it God’s will for his people to prosper when they work hard. He confesses to have problems with the typical American style of preaching when it comes to the Prosperity Doctrine.⁴

¹ Bread of Life Church International

<http://www.blci.info/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=34&Itemid=34> accessed 26/10/10

²Ibid.

³ Ibid

⁴ Information based on interview held on 18/8/2010

10.08.10 Interview with Bishop George Mbulo, Senior Pastor of Capital Christian Centre in Lusaka. He too was one of the first Pioneers of Pentecostal Assemblies of God Canada in Zambia in the 70's. He attained a Master of Divinity at Fuller Theological Seminary as well as a Master of Business Administration at Pepperdine University in California. He has big Pentecostal Church in Lusaka with quite an affluent congregation. They do not have their own church building and meet in the biggest government-owned conference centre in Lusaka.

The church has a twenty year plan during which they hope to build a big complex which will not only have an auditorium for worship, but also a University, a Hospital, a Media and Youth Centre. Currently, the church has a number of ministry departments for married people, the intercessory team, men (Men of Promise) and the Media team. The interview was mainly to gather information on the history of the PAOGZ. Bishop Mbulo is one of Lusaka's City Fathers and serves on the EFZ board. He is not known to speak out on political issues.

11.08.10 Visited Winners Chapel in Lusaka (midweek service). The church was very Nigerian in nature but filled with Zambians. The Senior Pastor is Nigerian and all his followers are Zambian except his wife and children. The interesting thing is that the worship style is Nigerian, especially their songs. The indigenous subordinate pastors try to imitate Nigerian accents as well as mannerisms. The church has a large following and has a media ministry which makes copies of sermons and sells them to congregants. The church also has a Bookshop which is plastered with Bishop Oyedepo's books. The church currently focuses on ministries within the church which involve prayer for deliverance from demonic attacks, prayer for the sick and counselling.

15.08.10 Attended a Sunday service at Bible Gospel Church in Africa BIGOCA, which broke away from the Reformed Church in Zambia. The breakaway was due to the fact that there were people that wanted to practice gifts of the spirit and were not allowed within the reformed church. Hence there was a massive breakaway. This is the church where former president Chiluba now attends Sunday services.

12.08.10 Interview with Mrs Nalishuwa, Deputy National Co-ordinator for Jesus Cares Ministries. This organization bases its mission on Luke 4:18 and endeavours to follow the footsteps of Jesus. This organization with workers that are mostly charismatic or Pentecostal focuses on the welfare of the poor, the dispossessed and those in prisons. They provide food and clothing to people in hospitals, prisons as well as the community. They work with street kids and take them to transit homes where trained teachers teach them. They also treat scabies in prisons. For example, when there was an outbreak of scabies at Mwembeshi Prison in 2009,⁵ the ministry rounded up a number of medical professionals who provided medicines to treat the prisoners and they also raised money to buy soap, new uniforms, and disinfectants. This organization considers this as another opportunity to evangelise and many give their lives to the lord in the process. This raises a number of questions that might question the

⁵Human Rights Watch. Unjust and Unhealthy , HIV, TB and Abuse in Zambian Prisons.

<http://arasa.info/sites/default/files/Zambia%20Prisons%20Report_zambia0410webwcover.pdf> accessed 18/8/10

genuineness of these peoples salvation. Are Christians in this case targeting the weak and helpless, offering them what they need the most and then selling the gospel to them? Chances are that these people will accept whatever they are told, some out of genuine conviction but as for others, out of courtesy. But whatever the case is, this organization believes in reaching out to the poor and offering them a sense of hope even when a prison sentence leaves them hopeless. The Jesus Cares ministry team also look out for pregnant women in prisons. Just after a mother gives birth, they come in and take the baby away and place it in the hands of a carer who looks after the child until the mother leaves prison. The baby is often taken to be seen by the mother.

The ministry also provides transport money for patients that are discharged from The University Teaching Hospital U.T.H, in Lusaka. This is the biggest hospital in the country and many people with challenging illnesses are referred there from all over the country.

16.08.10 Interview with Bishop Weluzani Jere leader of Community for Jesus First Mission in Mufulira. He became pastor in the Apostolic Faith Church in the 1950's that emanated from South Africa. He runs an orphanage in Luanshya on the Copperbelt province. I did not get a chance to visit the orphanage as it was in the rural area, far from the nearest town. Transport was not easily accessible to the place and it would have been very difficult to do a day trip. Initially, I secured the interview to collect information on the history of Apostolic Faith Church in Zambia. It was during the interview that I discovered that Bishop Jere run an orphanage.

19.08.10 Had a brief informal chat with Father Henriott, a Catholic Priest who is head of the Centre for Theological Reflection in Lusaka (Jesuit Centre). Father Henriott has written extensively on the Catholic Church in Zambia and matters of civic engagement. He has close contacts with many Pentecostal leaders and is close friends with Bishop Joshua Banda who he calls upon often for speaking engagements.

19.08.10 Interview with Pastor Pius Chisha, Senior Pastor of Lake Road Destiny Centre in Lusaka. His church has a feeding programme that supports people from a shanty compound (Bauleni) which is very close to the church. He was a very good source of information in terms of current events linked to Charismatic and Pentecostal civic engagements.

21.08.10 Attended a discussion breakfast on the theme 'Should the church be involved in politics.' This was organised by the Catholics and was held at Romma Parish Council. The panellists included Bishop Joshua Banda, Father Henriott, Dr. Choolwe Beyani, Reverend Susan Matala, Hon. Felix Mutati and Sebastian Kopulande.

27.08.10 Interview with Bishop Joshua Banda the Presiding Bishop of the biggest and oldest Pentecostal church in Lusaka, Northmead Assembly of God PAOGZ. This church is considered to be one of the three flagship churches of Pentecostal Assemblies of God Canada. The other two Maranatha and Eastly are on the Copperbelt in Kitwe. Bishop Banda is very well known around Zambia. He is very influential in both government and church circles. He has served as advisor to the three successive Presidents in Zambia and is always called upon to speak on numerous issues pertaining to the church as well as government. He is always

seen on national television speaking on various issues concerning the nation. Northmead Assembly of God runs a number of projects including the Lazarus Project (for orphans), Operation Paseli (targeted to reform prostitutes), has a weekly news letter, an informative website that showcases weekly sermons, runs a home-based care programme for people with HIV/AIDS. The Circle of Hope Clinic offers free Antiretroviral therapy as well as counselling for people who want HIV testing. Touch-a-Life Thrust is a programme that helps believers understand evangelism and social action) and a nursery school called Sonshine. Among these, is a TV programme called the Liberating Truth showcasing weekly sermons by Bishop Banda. This programme is transmitted to 12 other countries within the SADCC Region.

Bishop Banda who is also Deputy Bishop of the Council of Bishops of the PAOGZ, is Chairperson of the Expanded Church Response to HIV/AIDS also serves on the National AIDS Council (NAC) of Zambia board.

08.10 Took part in the Jesus Cares for Souls march which had a theme 'Winning 100000 souls in 100 days. Prominent Pentecostal leaders were present. As well as their mandate to win souls, there were prayers for government as well as for elections.

22.08.10 Attended a church service at Bread of Life Church International

12.07.11 Interview with Reverend Elliot Chalwe of Christian Assembly of God. Questionnaires were left at his church. Not very happy with Pentecostal Charismatic political engagement

12.07.11 Interview with Pastor Harold Gondwe, Assistant Pastor of Living Hope Church in Woodlands, Lusaka. Questionnaires were left at his church. He believes the Pentecostal/Charismatic church are doing enough to engage in political affairs. Has very positive outlook on PC civic engagement.

12.07.11 Interview with Pastor Pius Chisha of Lakeroad Destiny Centre, discussion on the National Constitutional Conference (NCC). Very critical of PC political involvement.

14.07.11 Interview with Pastor Saviour Nkoma, Senior Pastor of Great Exploits Tabernacle (PAOGZ) in Chunga, Lusaka. Questionnaires were given to his church. He faces many challenges pastoring in that area as he pastors on no pay and receives no support from PAOGZ HQ. Believes PC churches can do more on matters of political and social engagement.

14.07.11 Interview with Pastor Chisenga, sSenior Pastor of Hope of Glory (PAOG) in Lusaka. Questionnaires were given to his church. Feels the PC church in general should do more in politics. Has visions to develop community programs on church premises.

14.07.11 Interview with Pastor Walubita Siyanga Senior Pastor and founder of Kingdom Gospel Church. Questionnaires were given to his church.

14.07.11 Reverend Samuel Nkandu Senior Pastor of Terbanacle of Prayer of PAOGZ in Bauleni, Lusaka. Questionnaires were given to his church. Faces similar challenges as Pastor Saviour though he is based in Bauleni. Bauleni is another shanty compound. His church runs a small school for underprivileged children. They have a volunteer teacher whose rent is paid

for by the church. The Pastor has many ideas and training but fails to implement them due to lack of finances

15.07.11 Interview with Pastor Eddie Chansa Senior Pastor of Lifeline Community Church in Kaunda Square, Lusaka. He is a board Member of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia. He pulled out of PAOGZ and started his own independent ministry. Very charismatic in character and critical about church-state relationships and the role of the PC church in society. He speaks of a lack of leadership within the nation and the need to train young Christians so they can enter in areas of influence. This interview an eye opener to current affairs in the PC church and the state.

17.07.11 Attended a church service at Lifeline Community Church in Kaunda Square, Lusaka with Pastor Eddie Chansa as Senior Pastor. I also give out questionnaires. Unique service though the format is the same as many PC churches, what was striking was that people walk to the front anytime during the service to place their offering in offering plate. Questionnaires were handed out.

17.07.11 Attended a church service at Lakeroad Destiny Centre in Nyumba Yanga Lusaka for participant observations and to give out questionnaires.

17.07.11 Attended an Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia National Peace Building Initiative at Woodlands Stadium in Lusaka. It was an event to pray for peaceful upcoming elections as well as other issues concerning the nation.

18.07.11 Interview with Bishop Chrispine Zulu, Pentecostal Holiness Church Overseer in the Southern Conference.

19.07.11 Interview with Mrs Masozi Ndhlovu the National Projects Manager at Circle of Hope Clinic in Makeni. This is an HIV/AIDS clinic belonging to Northmead Assembly of God in Lusaka. I was granted permission to go on a rural trip with their staff in Chisamba. Was given updates on rumours of nationwide ARV shortages that were experienced at the beginning of the year. Furthermore, information was given on the interfaith HIV/AIDS relations as well as collaborations with other clinics and hospitals on the same.

20.07.11 Interview with Bishop John Mambo former Overseer of the Church of God for 19 years. He was also Regional Superintendent overseeing 9 countries in the region. He served until 2006 and after that he set up Chikondi Foundation for vulnerable children.

21.07.11 Attended a Reformers meeting at Gospel outreach Fellowship led by Pastor Eddie Chansa and Pastor Reutter

25.07.11 Interview with Annie Banda, Programs Manager at Expanded Church Response Trust Zambia (ECR) based in Lusaka. ECR works to encompass and mobilise congregational responses to matters of HIV/AIDS. The founders include Bishop Joshua Banda, Pastor Helmut Reutter and Reverend Troy Lewis from the USA. It works to build capacity and provide funding for churches and other organizations in rural areas working to fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic

25.07.11 Interview with Bishop Israel Simbaya Church of God Administrative Bishop in Lusaka.

29.07.11 Listened to a radio Programme Called 'Let the People Talk.' This is a radio talk show that showcases different leaders in various roles that discuss different topics that affect Zambia civil society. Today's program was on Politics and Church involvement. The facilitator was Frank Mutubila. The role of the church on political issues in Zambia is acknowledged greatly. One of the underpinning factors though some would deny, is the declaration. Many references were made to it as a reason why Zambians needed to behave sensibly during this time of elections.

02.08.11 Interview with Pastor Bruce Msidi, Senior Pastor of Mt Zion Christian Centre in Kabulonga, Lusaka. This church though still developing social programs, emphasises greatly on the need to develop and change a person's mindset as that is key to their success. One of the things the church does is organize an annual summit called Unleashing the Kingdom of God. These summits are geared to empower people to become successful in life materially and spiritually. The city fathers are usually invited to speak on spiritual matters as well as other entrepreneurs that teach on business strategies and ways of having multiple streams of income

02.08.11 Interview with Pastor Hannah Ndhlovu, in charge of administration, finance and the church calendar at Mount Zion Christian Centre.

03.08.11 Was invited to have a talk about my work at a Theological College in Lusaka run by Global University. Afterwards I handed out questionnaires to the students.

04.08.11 Attended a Reformers meeting at Gospel Outreach Fellowship. Pastor Eddie Chansa was the speaker. In this meeting he tackled some of the PC beliefs and practices that do not tally with the word of God. For example he saw pleading the blood of Jesus on things as wrong teaching as the only time the blood was used in the Bible was when the Israelites were encouraged to smear blood on their doorsteps to avoid the angel of death entering their homes. He spoke intensively on the idea of leaders developing sons that would help them run their ministries effectively as well as bring ideas that would help the church work effectively

05.08.11 Interviewed Pastor Fortune Mwiza, Senior Pastor of Deliverance Church in Kalingalinga, Lusaka. Questionnaires were left at his church.

08.08.11 Interview with Reverend Pukuta Mwanza, Executive Director of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia.

08.08.11 Interview with a member of Staff at Chreso Clinic who I did not know was HIV positive until he said it in the interview.

9.08.11 Interview with Bishop Harrison Sakala (Chief Bishop of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God Zambia for 15 years) in Lusaka at the PAOGZ HQ. He is in charge of 13 Bishops of PAOGZ). Was General Secretary for 2 years, District Bishop for 6 years. Pastors a PAOGZ church at Findeco House in the city centre. He provided me with the history of PAOGZ.

9.08.11 Listened to a radio programme called 'Let the People Talk.' The topic was on Social Protection

09.08.11 Interview with Pastor Elfredah Musambazi. She is one of the prominent female Pastors in Lusaka. She co-pastors a church called Barak Ministries in Lusaka with her husband and is the founder of a women's group called Women of Influence.

12.08.11 Attended 5TH Quadrillennial Conference for Pentecostal Holiness Church. This was a conference to discuss matters relating to governance of the church and as well as the election of leaders. The aim was to look out for any mention relating civic engagement. Unfortunately nothing was mentioned in relation to social projects or ministries.

12.08.11 Interview with Bishop Caddie Ngambi, Overseer of Jesus Worship Centre Churches (Pentecostal churches). He is a fully trained counsellor on HIV/AIDS.

15.08.11 Interview with Pastor Paul Tembo (Baptist), Standing in the Gap Vice President. Standing in the Gap is an interdenominational prayer ministry.

15.08.11 - Interview with Bishop Chihana, President of International Fellowship of Christian Churches (a mother body with over 1000 members). He has a Diplomatic Status in the country. He was very close to late President Chiluba. He claims to have been the first person to prophecy to Chiluba that he was going to be president when he met him on a plane.

16.08.11 Interview with Pastor Edgar Ngambi, Senior Pastor of Praise Christian Centre and is part of the board at the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia.

16.08.11 – Interview with Pastor Dorothy. She is the senior pastor of Beteli Mission Ministry Centre in Chainama, Lusaka. The churches started in 2002. It is not a break away or a branch of any church that sprung from interdenominational prayers. The church was recently given land in Itope after Chongwe area and they have begun to develop it and build a ministry centre. They have started a school and hope to dig a borehole and erect buildings for various ministries. The church provides exercise books and pencils for children in that area. The place has no school or clinic nearby. Itope is about 7km from the main road and to get there, Pastor Dorothy has to walk or use a Scotch Cart. The church has very little resources and are hoping to develop Itope with those resources. Last year they cultivated maize and harvested 18 bags which they took to the granary to sell. That money I was hoping to visit Itope but time constraints and finances would not permit me.

16.08.11 Interview with Bishop Eddie Mulenga, Bishop of Liberty Christian Centre in Lusaka. Questionnaires were given to his church.

17.08.11 Interview with Pastor Danny Pule Founder and Senior Pastor of Dunamis Christian Centre in Lusaka. Not only did he have a ministerial post in the MMD government, he was also instrumental in bringing an American Christian Television Chanel called Trinity Broadcasting Network in the 90's when President Chiluba was in Power. This channel showcases a number of American preachers whose doctrines have had an effect on the Charismatic and Pentecostal movement in Zambia. Local Pentecostal and Charismatic pastors would emulate those teachings and try to transpose them onto Zambia's religious culture.

18.08.11 Went on an HIV/AIDS Outreach trip to Chisamba with Circle of Hope Staff. Chisamba is very far from Lusaka and is in a rural area. The COH staff set up their weekly clinic there to provide VCT and provide ART to HIV patients. The clinic is on a farm that has approximately 3000 workers who live on the farm. It was built by the owner of the farm for his workers. That stopped them from travelling far to seek medical attention. When COH clinic is set up, it caters to people from the farm as well as other surrounding areas. On that day there wasn't a large turnout but I was told some other days the place is full of people.

19.08.11 - 21.08.11 Attended an Acts 8:1 Holy Spirit conference tailored for PAOG, AOG and Grace Ministries. This was a conference geared to re-emphasise the original intent of the Pentecostal movement. Very little was mentioned on civic engagement. Emphasis was placed on returning to the original way of being a Pentecostal church, making sure that all members were baptised in the Holy Spirit and seeing to it that more souls were being won to Christ. The meeting ended by PAOGZ and Grace Ministries making declarations of what they hope to achieve in line with the theme of the conference in the next ten years (the Decade of Pentecost). PAOGZ said nothing on civic engagement and Grace ministries made reference to the need to meet humanity's needs holistically by finding resources.

22.08.11 Interview with Mr. Musa Mwenye current president of the Law Association of Zambia (LAZ). He is a Pentecostal. Once spokesperson of the Oasis forum in 2007 (at that time he was honorary secretary of LAZ). LAZ is a statutory body created under an act of parliament called the Law Association of Zambia Act. It works to foster the rule of law, development of law and also individual human rights. It has 16 objectives and 11 talk about interfacing with the public and doing works that relate to the fostering the rights of individuals. They also look at the interest of the legal profession as a whole. LAZ has been seen as a pressure group championing human rights and individual freedoms. Mwenye expressed a lot of disappointment in the way PC have negatively engaged with political leaders which in turn silenced their prophetic voice. He also claimed that the EFZ could do more to speak out on political issues. He expressed disappointment when EFZ pulled out of the Oasis forum saying that was a platform available to them to help lobby the state on various issues negatively affecting the nation.

22.08.11 Interview with Pastor Fred Chanda who is in charge of Missions at Gilgal Pentecostal Assemblies of God in Chelstone

22.07.11 Listened to a Radio Programme called 'Let the People Talk,' the topic was on politics.

23.08.11 Interview with Pastor Lawrence Temfwe ordained by Bread of Life Church. He is the Director and Founder of Jubilee centre, an institution that mobilises local churches in low income communities to be the hope in those communities. This organization helps churches provide leadership in communities spiritually and practically. Temfwe is a very educated man and one of the EFZ board members. Every Monday he circulates via email what he calls 'Monday Issue.' Through MI he tackles current national issues and events that have a direct impact on the church and civil society. Using scripture as a point of reference, he always challenges the church to rise up and engage practically in matters of civic concern including politics.

24.08.11 Listened to a Radio programme on Radio Christian voice called 'Chat Back, on the National Constitutional conference.

24.08.11 – Interview with Bishop Peter Ndhlovu, Founder of one of the biggest Charismatic church called Bible Gospel Church in Central Africa BIGOCA. This was a break away from the Dutch Reformed Church in Zambia. He was very close to former President Chiluba who also attended his church and equally close to President Rupiah Banda. Ndhlovu recently showed his political leanings by endorsing President Banda as one that was to win the upcoming elections. Many Pastors condemned his actions claiming it made it apparent that he was feeding from the kings table. He claimed to provide leadership to Rupiah Banda as that is the one thing that he claimed was lacking in the country. BIGOCA runs a number of schools and does a number of annual events that help to sensitize people on the HIV pandemic as well as the importance of VCT and ART (these services were once brought to the church premises and as people left service they were encouraged to go for VCT).

24.08.11 Interview with Pastor Godfridah Sumaili who is the founder and President of Jesus Cares Ministries. Jesus Cares Ministries is a faith based Non-Governmental Organization dedicated to working with and empowering the less privileged especially children and women through care and support, education, capacity building of HIV/AIDS incapacitated households, community mobilization and awareness raising, advocacy and gospel outreach in order to contribute towards the realization of an equitable and empowered society. Less privileged and vulnerable children include orphans, street children, children engaged in child labour and those at risk of entering the labour market, trafficked children and children affected and infected with HIV/AIDS. She worships at Bread of Life. Mrs Sumaili is very passionate about her work and despite the fact that we did not have enough time, she, in that little time shared how she started her ministry, how much it had grown and the passion that keeps driving her. She quit her senior managerial role at one of the big banks in Zambia to focus on full time ministry.

25.08.11 Attended a Reformers meeting held at Gospel Outreach Fellowship in Lusaka.

25.08.11 Interview with Mrs Mulaisho who has been working with a number of NGO's for many years. The purpose was to have an idea of how NGO's work and how they differ with FBO's. FHI 360

25.08.11 – Interview with Mr. Kelvin at FHI 360 an NGO which helps to build the capacity of various churches and groupings and provides them with funding to do various projects that would benefit the community. It is not church based. The reason for this interview was to have a take on how NGO's which are not church based generally function. Kelvin previously worked at Expanded church Response.

26.08.11 Listened to a Radio Programme called 'Let the People Talk' discussing the fact that the Churches are key stakeholders during electoral processes. Conversations surrounded how churches in general could help contribute to the smooth transition of elections.

25.08.11 Attended a Reformers meeting held at Gospel Outreach Fellowship in Lusaka.

27.08.11 Attended a women's conference called 'Woman of Influence Tea Party'. Women of Influence was founded by a prominent female preacher Prophetess Elfredah Musambazi. It is a ministry that empowers women to live a life of purpose and success based on Esther 4:14 . The atmosphere was charged with excitement as a number of women came up and testified of

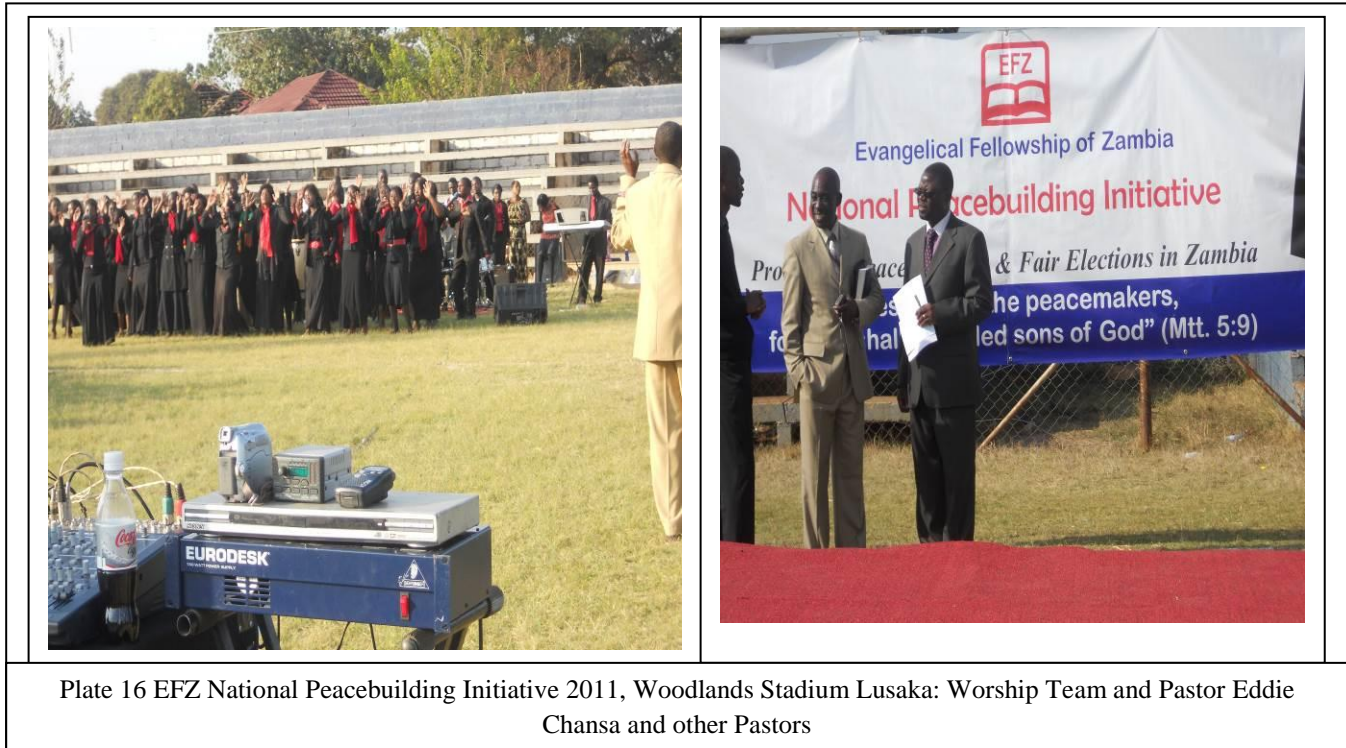
their successes having followed the teachings of Prophetess Musambazi. They in turn encouraged other women to keep trusting God to help them improve the quality of their lives.

29.08.11 Interview with Jackie, the Gender Program Development Manager at the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia. Not enough information given about her role, referred me to another man dealing with social justice but was not present.

25.07.13 – 27.08.13 Visited the Zambia National Archives in Lusaka reading through newspaper articles dating from 1964-2012.

APPENDIX 1

Plates



APPENDIX 1



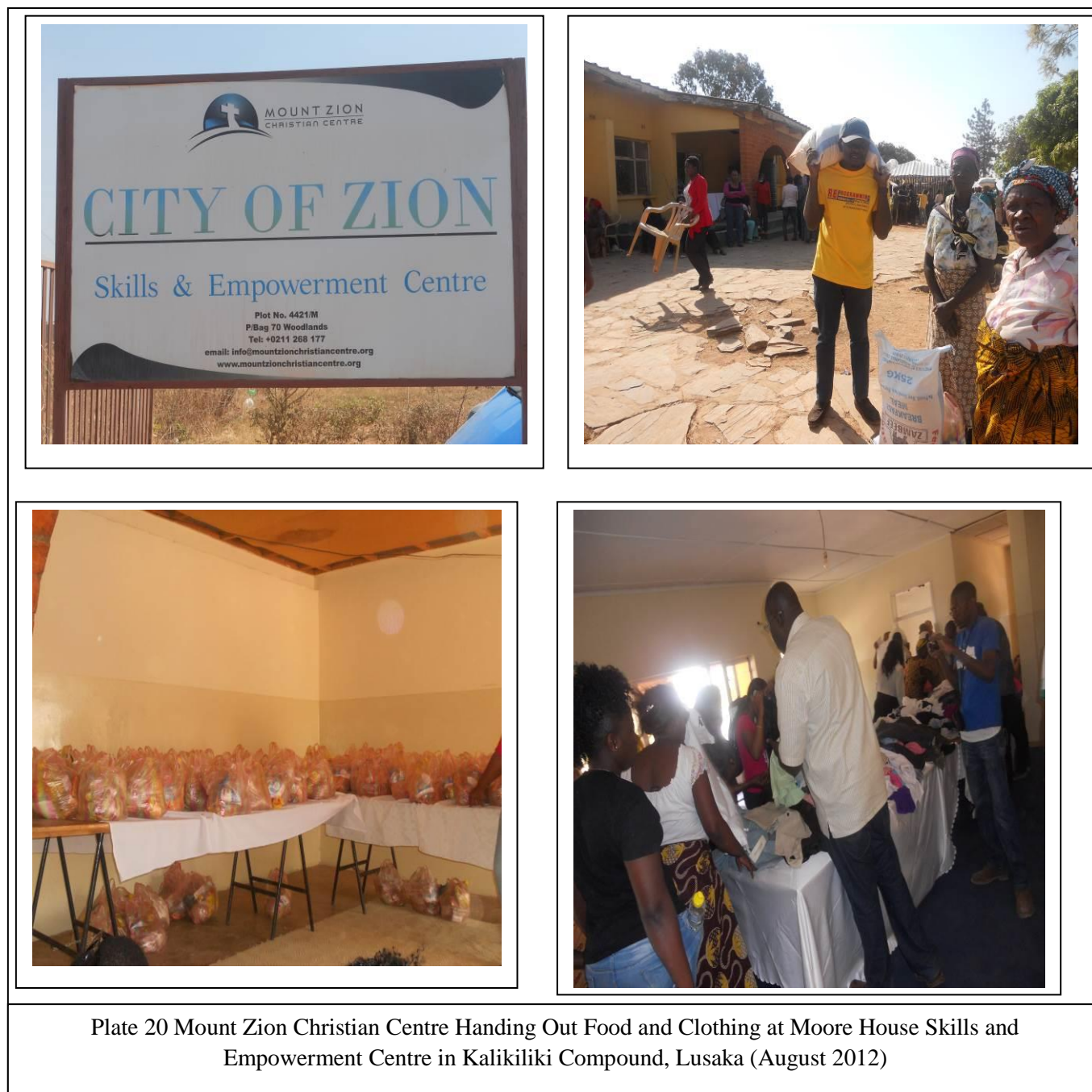
Plate 18 Women of Influence Tea Party 2011 at Barak Ministries, Massmedia - Lusaka

Pastor Elfredah Musambazi the Founder (Pastor of Barak Ministries) in Pink



Plate 19 Pastor Ruth, Founder of Beteli Church in Chainama - Lusaka

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Plate 21 Acts 1:8 Conference at Northmead Assembly of God PAOGZ, Lusaka



Acts 1:8 Conference, Finale at Grace Ministries Church

APPENDIX 1



APPENDIX 1



Plate 24 Radio Christian Voice, Massmedia - Lusaka



Plate 25 Lifeline Community Church, Hellen Kaunda and Deliverance Church in Kalingalinga - Lusaka

APPENDIX 1



Plate 26 Pentecostal Holiness Church in Zambia General Conference (August 2011) - Lusaka




Plate 27 Bishop Edgar N'gambi Founder of Praise Christian Centre - Lusaka

Congregational Survey


This survey is being given to church pastors and members in Zambia. It is part of a project in the Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham UK), funded by the John Templeton Foundation. The aim of the research is to study the beliefs and practices of churches in Zambia, and especially their civic engagement. The expected benefits associated with your participation are a better understanding of the ministry of different churches and a greater appreciation of their contributions to society. Please help by completing the questionnaire.

Contacts:

Ms Naar M'fundisi
Department of Theology and Religion
University of Birmingham
Birmingham, B152TT, UK.
Address in Zambia:
1 Nali Rd, Chilenje, South Lusaka, Zambia



Dr Richard Burgess
Department of Theology and Religion
University of Birmingham, B152TT, UK.



Your answers will be treated in confidence. If you need any further information about this survey please contact Ms Naar Mfundisi or Dr Burgess.

APPENDIX 2

Congregational Survey

INSTRUCTIONS: Please tick the appropriate boxes and write answers where requested.

PART ONE: Personal Information & Church Background

- 1) Are you male or female? 1 ☐ male 2 ☐ female
- 2) What is your age in years?
- 3) What is your marital status?

1 <input type="checkbox"/> single	2 <input type="checkbox"/> married	3 <input type="checkbox"/> widowed
4 <input type="checkbox"/> divorced/separated		5 <input type="checkbox"/> divorced/remarried
- 4) What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

1 <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school	2 <input type="checkbox"/> Degree	3 <input type="checkbox"/> Master's
4 <input type="checkbox"/> PhD	5 <input type="checkbox"/> other (specify)	
- 5) Are you a church pastor? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 6) Are you in full-time education? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 7) Do you have a secular occupation? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
If so, specify.....
- 8) Which ethnic/tribal group do you belong to?.....
- 9) What is your parents' religious faith?

1 <input type="checkbox"/> Christian	2 <input type="checkbox"/> Muslim	3 <input type="checkbox"/> traditional religion	4 <input type="checkbox"/> atheist/agnostic
--------------------------------------	-----------------------------------	---	---
- 10) What is the name of your church?
- 11) How many years have you belonged to your church?
- 12) Which of the following descriptions best applies to you? (*please tick only one*)

1 <input type="checkbox"/> Evangelical	2 <input type="checkbox"/> Pentecostal	3 <input type="checkbox"/> Charismatic	4 <input type="checkbox"/> Born-again
--	--	--	---------------------------------------
- 13) What year were you born-again/converted?.....
- 14) What was your religious faith before you became born-again?

1 <input type="checkbox"/> nominal Christian	2 <input type="checkbox"/> Muslim	3 <input type="checkbox"/> traditional religion	4 <input type="checkbox"/> other
--	-----------------------------------	---	----------------------------------
- 15) Which of the following contributed to your conversion? *You may tick more than one box.*

1 <input type="checkbox"/> church programme	2 <input type="checkbox"/> Christian friend(s)	3 <input type="checkbox"/> divine encounter	
4 <input type="checkbox"/> family member(s)	5 <input type="checkbox"/> experience of a miracle	6 <input type="checkbox"/> personal crisis/problem	

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16) Have you been baptized by the Holy Spirit? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no

17) Do you speak in tongues? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no

18) If you are a church pastor, what is your main ministry in the church? (*please tick only one*)
 1 ☐ teacher/preacher 2 ☐ evangelist 3 ☐ church planter 4 ☐ pastoral
 counsellor 5 ☐ administrator 6 ☐ youth worker 7 ☐ other.....

19) Which of the following best describes the main emphasis of your church? (*tick only one*)
 1 ☐ holiness 2 ☐ prosperity 3 ☐ deliverance 4 ☐ worship
 5 ☐ healing 6 ☐ missions/evangelism 7 ☐ social welfare

20) Please tick one box in each row to indicate how often in the past six months you have done the following things:

	none	1-6	7-12	13-18	19 +
spoken in tongues in public					
Given or interpreted prophecy					
given a word of knowledge/wisdom					
received a definite answer to prayer					
felt led by God to perform a specific action					
heard God through a vision or dream					
given a testimony about miracles					
prayed for healing/deliverance of specific people					
prayed for salvation of specific people					
talked with non-Christians about Christ					
invited a new person to a church activity					
invited a backslider to return to church					

21) Have you ever
 a. experienced or witnessed a divine healing of an illness or injury? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
 b. given or interpreted prophecy? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
 c. received a direct revelation from God? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
 d. experienced or witnessed evil spirits being driven out of a person? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
 e. read Christian books/magazines other than scripture? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
 f. listened to Christian radio or television programmes? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
 g. visited Christian websites on the internet? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no

22) How often do you:

a. attend church services?
 1 ☐ every day 2 ☐ more than once a week 3 ☐ once a week 4 ☐ less often
 b. read the Bible outside church services?
 1 ☐ every day 2 ☐ more than once a week 3 ☐ once a week 4. ☐ less often
 c. pray to God outside of religious services?
 1 ☐ every day 2 ☐ more than once a week 3 ☐ once a week 4 ☐ less often
 d. participate in prayer groups, Bible study groups or Christian education programs?

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- 1 ☐ every day 2 ☐ more than once a week 3 ☐ once a week 4 ☐ less often
- e. share your faith with non-Christians?
- 1 ☐ every day 2 ☐ more than once a week 3 ☐ once a week 4 ☐ less often
- f. listen to Christian radio or watch Christian television programs?
- 1 ☐ every day 2 ☐ more than once a week 3 ☐ once a week 4 ☐ less often

PART TWO: Civic Engagement

1) Which comes closer to your view?

- 1 ☐ most people can be trusted 2 ☐ can't be too careful in dealing with people

2) For each of the following, please say whether you feel that you can trust them a lot, some, only a little, or not at all.

a. people in your immediate family

- 1 ☐ a lot 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ only a little 4 ☐ not at all

b. people in your neighborhood

- 1 ☐ a lot 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ only a little 4 ☐ not at all

c. your city or local government

- 1 ☐ a lot 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ only a little 4 ☐ not at all

d. the media

- 1 ☐ a lot 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ only a little 4 ☐ not at all

e. our national government

- 1 ☐ a lot 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ only a little 4 ☐ not at all

f. the military

- 1 ☐ a lot 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ only a little 4 ☐ not at all

g. Muslims

- 1 ☐ a lot 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ only a little 4 ☐ not at all

h. people at your church or place of worship

- 1 ☐ a lot 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ only a little 4 ☐ not at all

3) Christians should:

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. not try to solve social problems – religion is a private matter | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| b. help fellow believers solve their problems | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| c. help individual non-Christians solve their own problems | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| d. engage in politics to solve social problems | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |

4) Does your church

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. provide food or clothing for people in need? | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| b. help people with finding a job? | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| c. help people find housing? | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| d. work together with Muslim mosques to solve community problems | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| e. have its own school? | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| f. have its own health clinic? | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| g. have a ministry to street children? | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |
| h. have a ministry to HIV/AIDS sufferers? | 1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> no |

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5) Are you personally involved in any of the following voluntary organizations & activities?

You may tick more than one box.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> street children ministry | 2 <input type="checkbox"/> hospital visitation | 3 <input type="checkbox"/> prison visitation |
| 4 <input type="checkbox"/> medical missions | 5 <input type="checkbox"/> HIV/AIDS ministry | 6 <input type="checkbox"/> helping the poor |
| 7 <input type="checkbox"/> orphans' ministry | 8 <input type="checkbox"/> widows' ministry | 9 <input type="checkbox"/> residents' association |
| 10 <input type="checkbox"/> educational programme | 11 <input type="checkbox"/> women's groups | 12 <input type="checkbox"/> political groups |
| 13 <input type="checkbox"/> other (specify)..... | | |

6) How important are the following factors in people's economic success?

a. hard work

- 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant

b. fate

- 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant

c. people's parents' economic situation

- 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant

d. faith in God

- 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant

e. government policies

- 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant

f. personal connections and contacts

- 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant

g. education

- 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant

7) In your view, should religious groups keep out of political matters – or should they express their views on social and political questions?

- 1 ☐ should keep out 2 ☐ should express their views 3 ☐ don't know

8) Which comes closer to your view?

- 1 ☐ The government should make Zambia a Christian country
2 ☐ OR there should be a separation between church and government

9) Which comes closer to your view?

- 1 ☐ It is okay if political leaders have a different religion than yours
2 ☐ Only want Christian political leaders
3 ☐ Don't know

10) Which comes closer to your view?

- 1 ☐ Islam and Christianity have a lot in common
2 ☐ Islam and Christianity are very different

11) Which of the following is most important to you?

- 1 ☐ your continent 2 ☐ your nationality 3 ☐ your religion 4 ☐ your ethnic group

APPENDIX 2

- 12) Did you vote during the last elections? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 13) Do you talk about politics several times a month or more? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 14) Have you contacted a public official in last four years? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 15) Are you an active member of a political group 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 16) Do you follow government 'closely'? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 17) Do you read articles on politics in the media? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 18) Have you attended a public meeting in last four years? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 19) Have you worked in a political campaign in last four years? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 20) Have you participated in a demonstration in last four years? 1 ☐ yes 2 ☐ no
- 21) Some feel that we should rely on a democratic form of government to solve Zambia's problems. Others feel that we should rely on a leader with a strong hand to solve our country's problems. Which comes closer to your opinion?
 1 ☐ Democratic form of government 2 ☐ Strong leader 3 ☐ Don't know
- 22) How important is it to you to live in a country where:
- a. you can openly say what you think and can criticize the government?
 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant
- b. honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties?
 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant
- c. there is a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way?
 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant
- d. you can practice your religion freely?
 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant
- e. there is freedom of religion for religions other than your own?
 1 ☐ very important 2 ☐ quite important 3 ☐ not too important 4 ☐ unimportant
- 23) Here is a list of things that may or may not be problems in Zambia. For each, do you think it is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem, or not a problem at all?
- a. Conflict between religious groups
 1 ☐ very big problem 2 ☐ fairly big problem 3 ☐ small problem 4 ☐ not a problem
- b. Corrupt political leaders
 1 ☐ very big problem 2 ☐ fairly big problem 3 ☐ small problem 4 ☐ not a problem
- c. Moral decline
 1 ☐ very big problem 2 ☐ fairly big problem 3 ☐ small problem 4 ☐ not a problem
- d. Unemployment
 1 ☐ very big problem 2 ☐ fairly big problem 3 ☐ small problem 4 ☐ not a problem
- e. Crime

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1 ☐ very big problem 2 ☐ fairly big problem 3 ☐ small problem 4 ☐ not a problem
f. Conflict between ethnic groups

1 ☐ very big problem 2 ☐ fairly big problem 3 ☐ small problem 4 ☐ not a problem

24) In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more,
1 ☐ Israel 2 ☐ the Palestinians?

25) Which of the following phrases comes closer to describing your view?

1 ☐ I favour the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism,
2 ☐ OR I oppose the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism.

26) How many Muslims friends do you have?

1 ☐ none 2 ☐ 1-5 3 ☐ 6-10 4 ☐ 11-20 5 ☐ 21-30 6 ☐ over 30

27) Do you feel that using violence against civilians in defense of your religion is:

1 ☐ Often justified 2 ☐ Sometimes justified 3 ☐ Rarely justified 4 ☐ Never justified

28) Do you feel that using violence in defense of yourself and your family is:

1 ☐ Often justified 2 ☐ Sometimes justified 3 ☐ Rarely justified 4 ☐ Never justified

29) How many Christians in Zambia do you think are hostile toward Muslims?

1 ☐ most 2 ☐ many 3 ☐ just some 4 ☐ very few 5 ☐ don't know

30) How many Muslims in Zambia do you think are hostile toward Christians?

1 ☐ most 2 ☐ many 3 ☐ just some 4 ☐ very few 5 ☐ don't know

31) In Zambia, how free are you to practice your religion?

1 ☐ very free 2 ☐ somewhat free 3 ☐ not too free 4 ☐ not at all free

32) How much influence do Muslim preachers and missionaries from outside Zambia have in your country?

1 ☐ a great deal 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ not too much 4 ☐ none at all

33) How much influence do Christian preachers and missionaries from outside Zambia have in your country?

1 ☐ a great deal 2 ☐ some 3 ☐ not too much 4 ☐ none at all

34) How often are Christians treated unfairly by the government in Zambia?

1 ☐ very often 2 ☐ somewhat 3 ☐ not too often 4 ☐ never

35) How much have the following helped you to understand your civic responsibility?

a. Church leaders	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much
b. Small group members	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much
c. Family members	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much
d. Friends	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much
e. Church meetings	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much

APPENDIX 2

f. Books/magazines/

newspapers	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much
g. TV/radio	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much
h. Internet	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much
i. audio/video tapes	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much
j. personal prayer	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much
k. Bible study	1 <input type="checkbox"/> very little	2 <input type="checkbox"/> a little	3 <input type="checkbox"/> quite a lot	4 <input type="checkbox"/> very much

PART THREE

INSTRUCTIONS: Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements by circling the appropriate answer (where AS = Agree Strongly; A=Agree; NC=Not Certain; D=Disagree; and DS=Disagree Strongly).

Christ is coming back to earth soon.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Born-again Christians who continue in sin may not make Heaven.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
God will grant health to all believers who have enough faith.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
God will grant material prosperity to all believers who have enough faith.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
God doesn't always give wealth/health to believers who have faith.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Poverty is sometimes caused by demons.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Poverty is sometimes caused by sin.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Sickness is usually caused by demons.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
A Christian who is sick should not go to medical doctors.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
All Christians need deliverance.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Divorce is wrong for Christians, except in the case of adultery.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Pastor who remarry after divorce should not continue in ministry.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Members who commit adultery should be disciplined.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Christians should abstain from drinking alcohol.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Women should be able to serve as pastors or priests.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
God fulfills his purposes through politics and elections.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
AIDS is God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Christians have a responsibility to work for justice for the poor.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
My church should be more involved in the community.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
My church should be more involved in meeting the needs of the poor.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
If enough people were brought to Christ, social ills would take care of themselves.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
If possible, churches should have their own schools.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Churches should not run their own health clinics or hospitals.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Christians should keep out of political matters.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Christians should pray for good government rather than participate in electoral politics.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Christians should pray for good government and participate in electoral politics.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Christians should run for political office if called by God.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Pastors should encourage their members to vote.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Pastors should give teaching on politics and the electoral process.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS

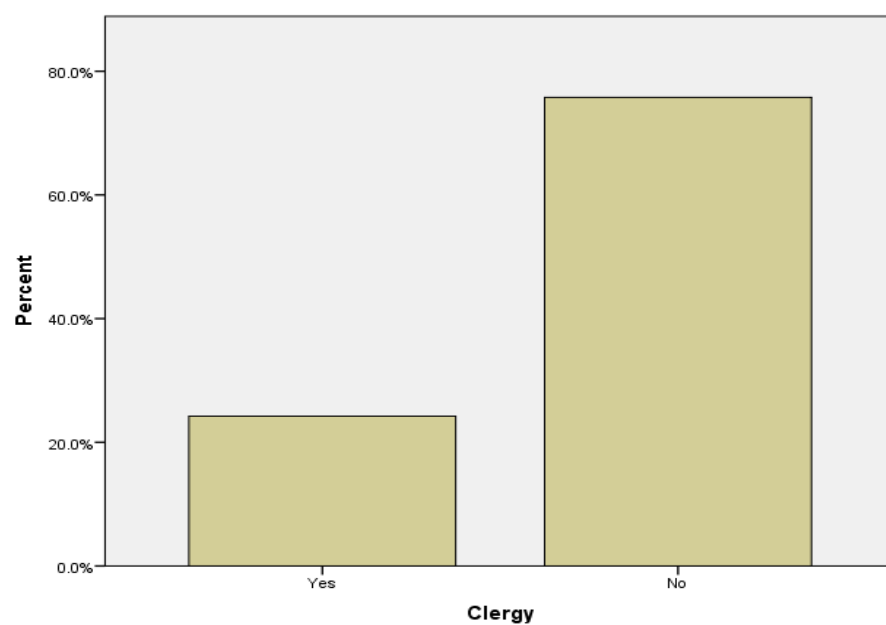
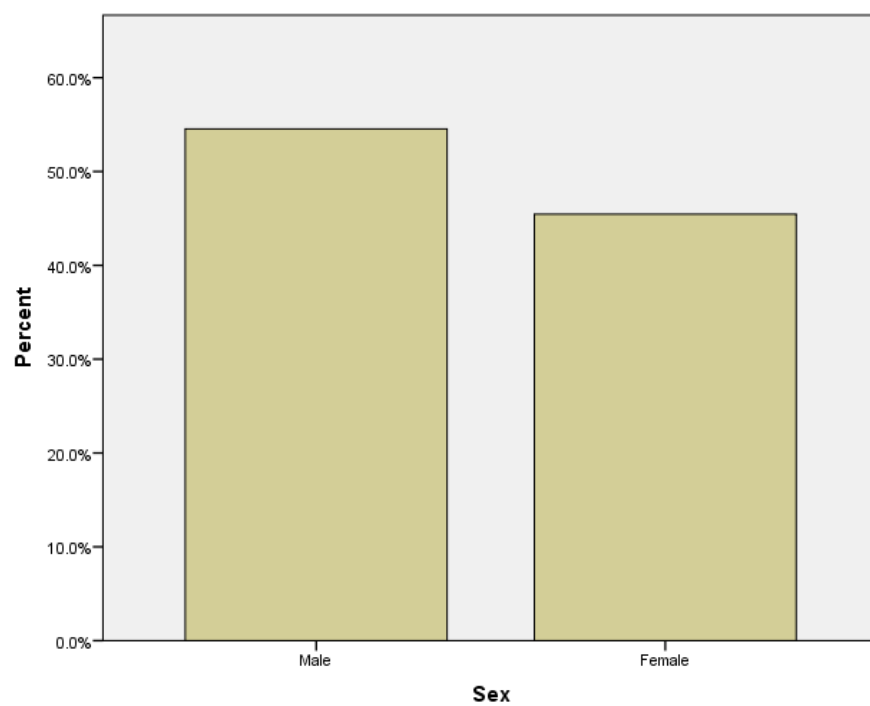
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Pastors should express their views on political questions?.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Pastors should run for political office if called by God.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Religious groups should express their views on social/political questions.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
There should be a separation of church and state.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Government should make Zambia a Christian country.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Political leaders should not have strong religious beliefs.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
It is preferable for political leaders to have Christian beliefs.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
It is okay for political leaders to have a different religion from yours.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Muslims should be free to establish sharia law in your country.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Christians have a duty to convert Muslims to Christianity.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Christians and Muslims should cooperate in making your country better.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
The Bible should be made the official law of the land in your country.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Christians are increasing their influence on life in Zambia.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Muslims are increasing their influence on life in Zambia.....	AS	A	NC	D	DS
Non-religious people are increasing their influence on life in Zambia	AS	A	NC	D	DS

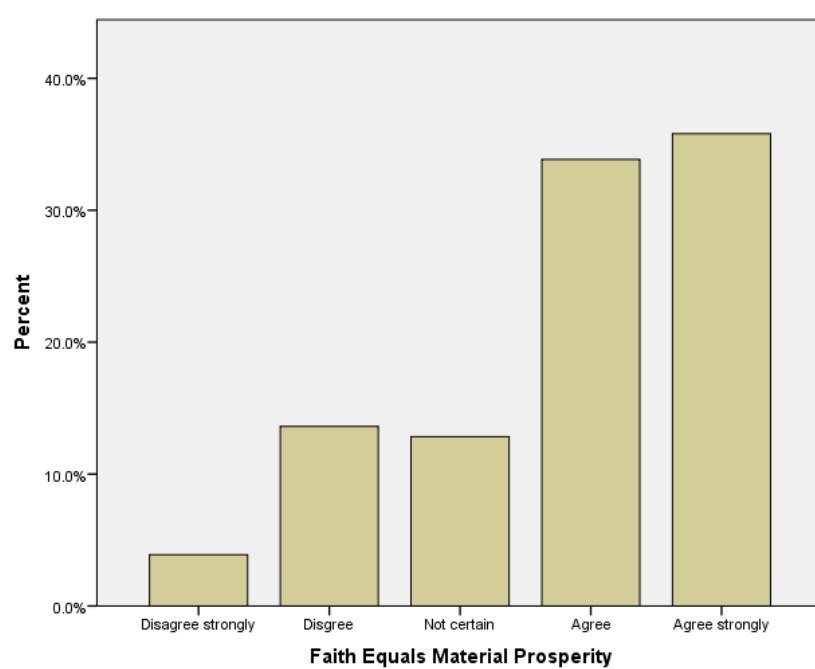
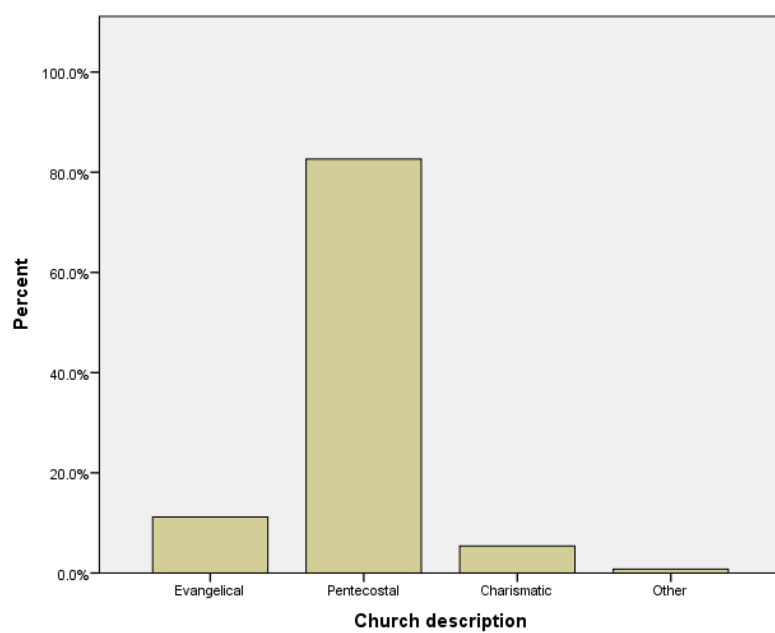
APPENDIX 3

Pentecostal and Charismatic Spiritualities and Civic Engagement in Zambia

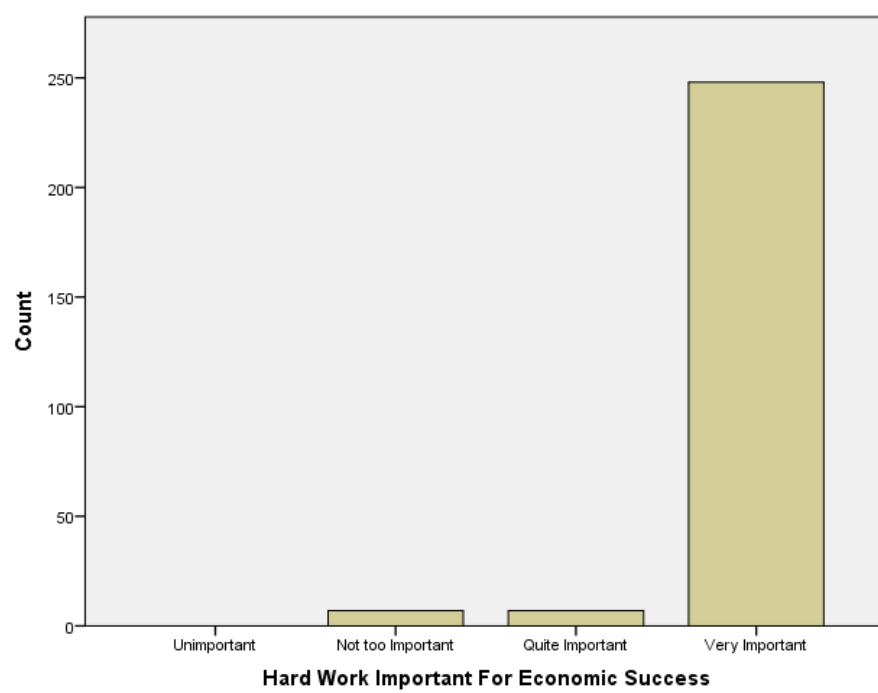
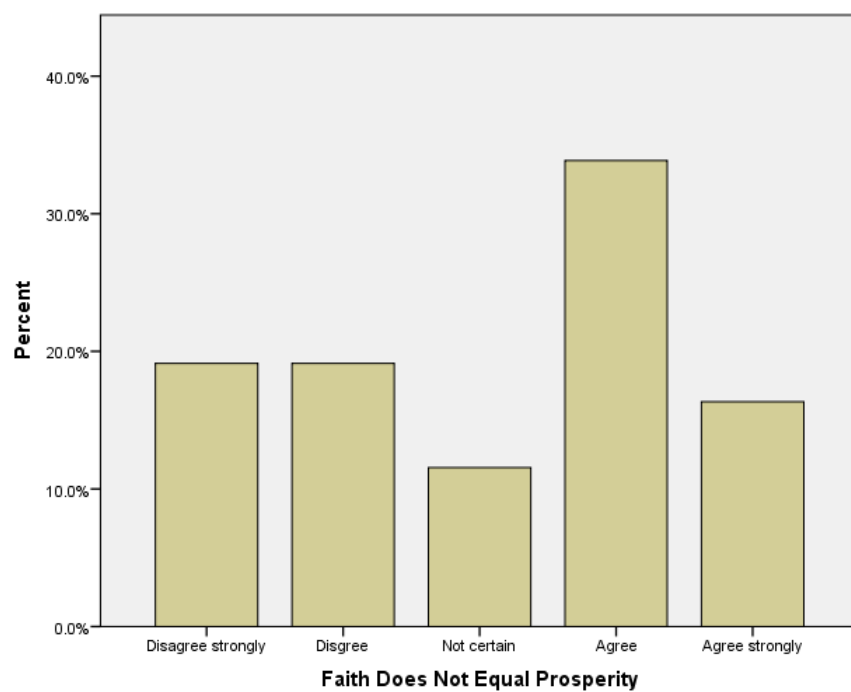
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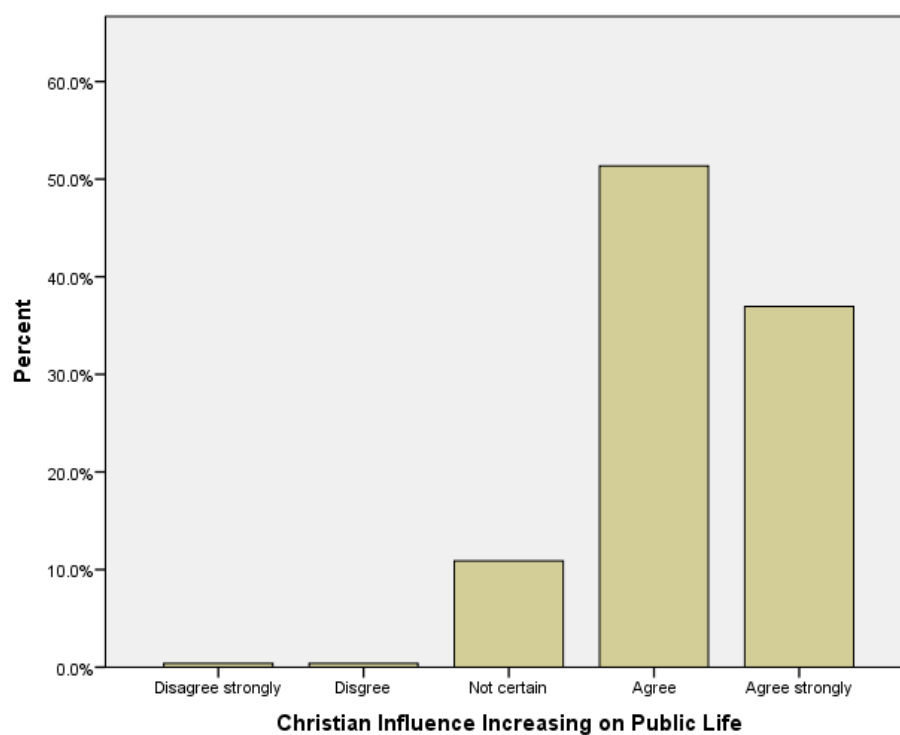
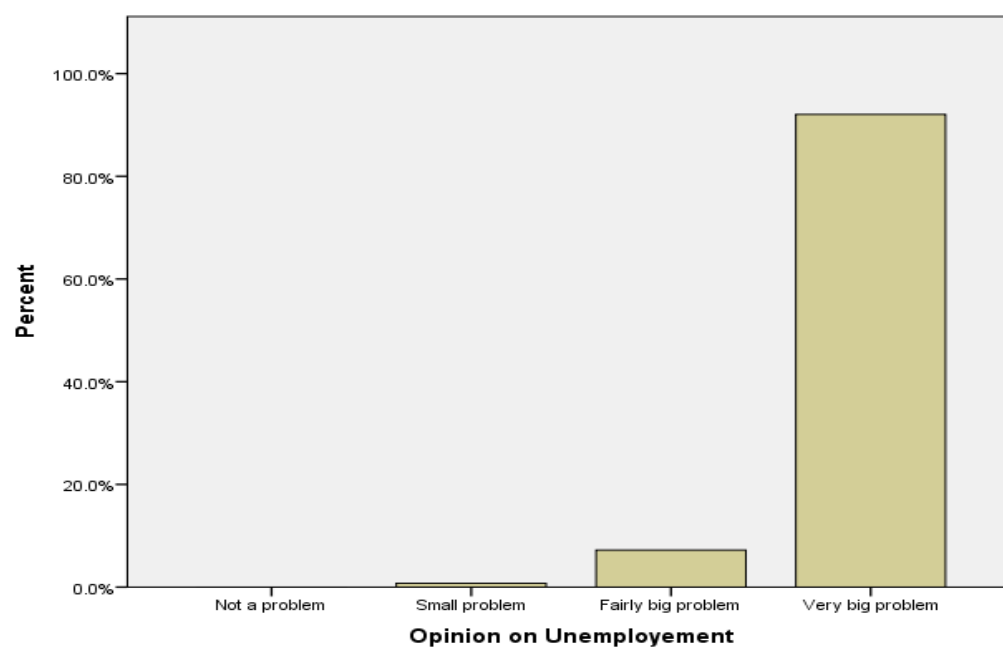
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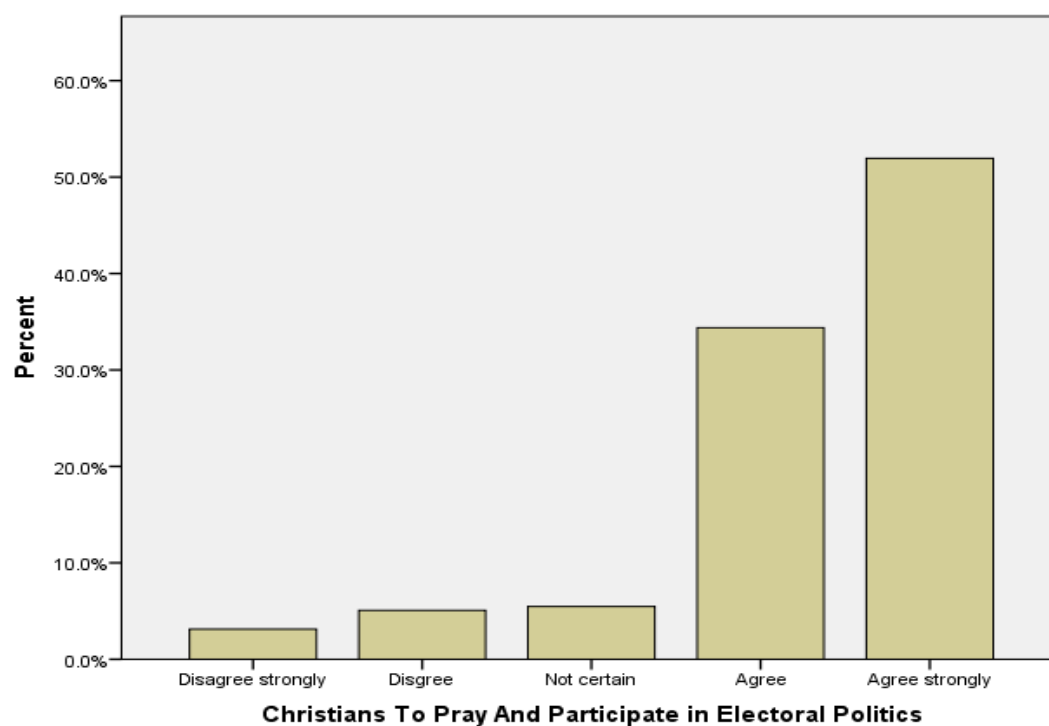
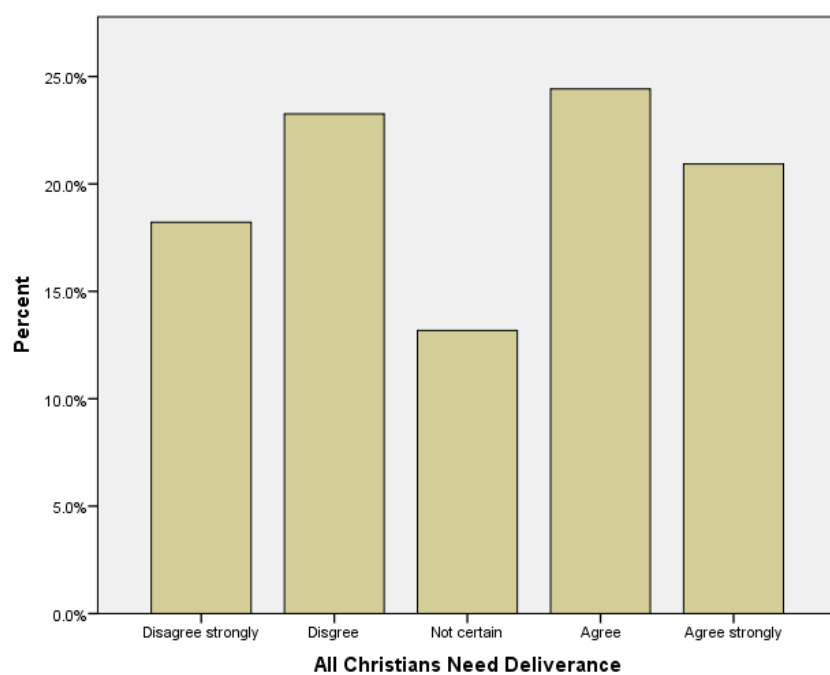
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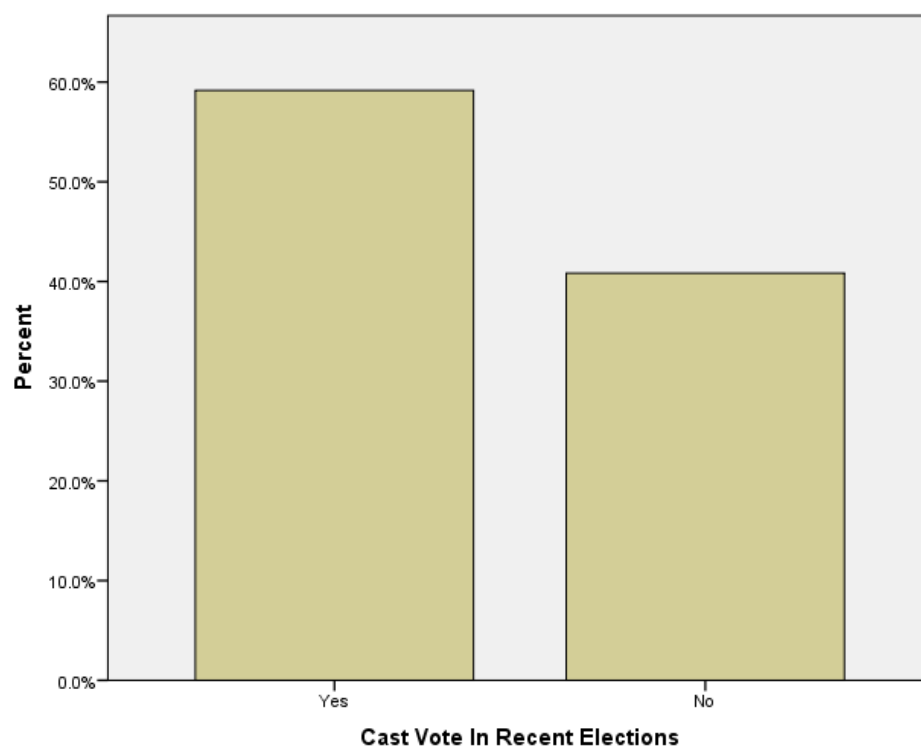
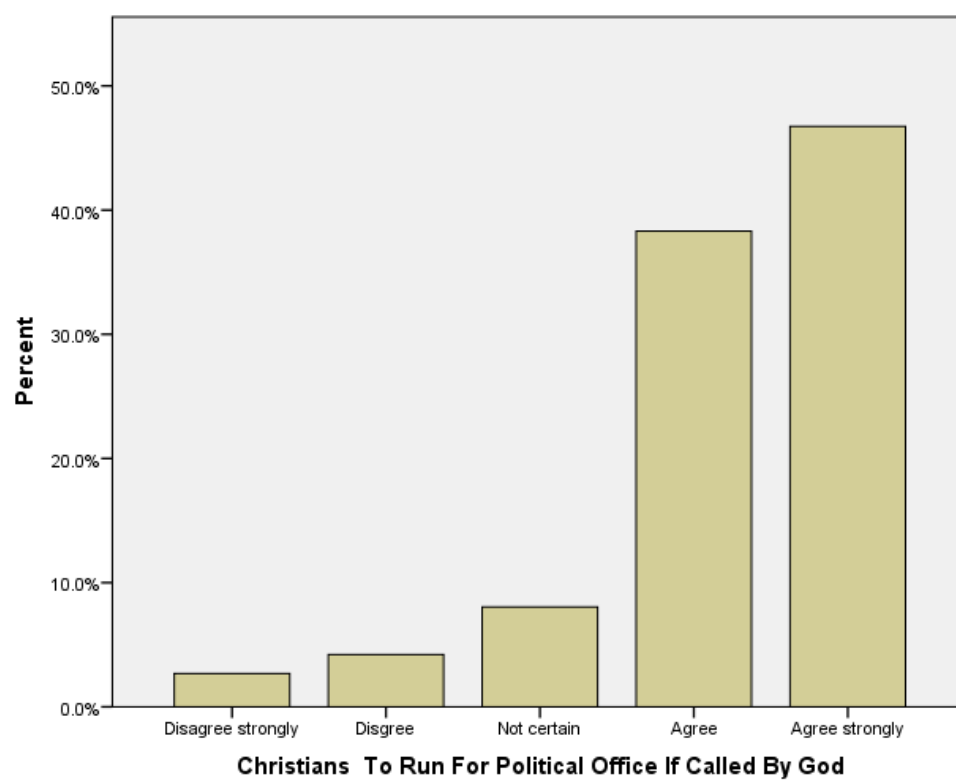
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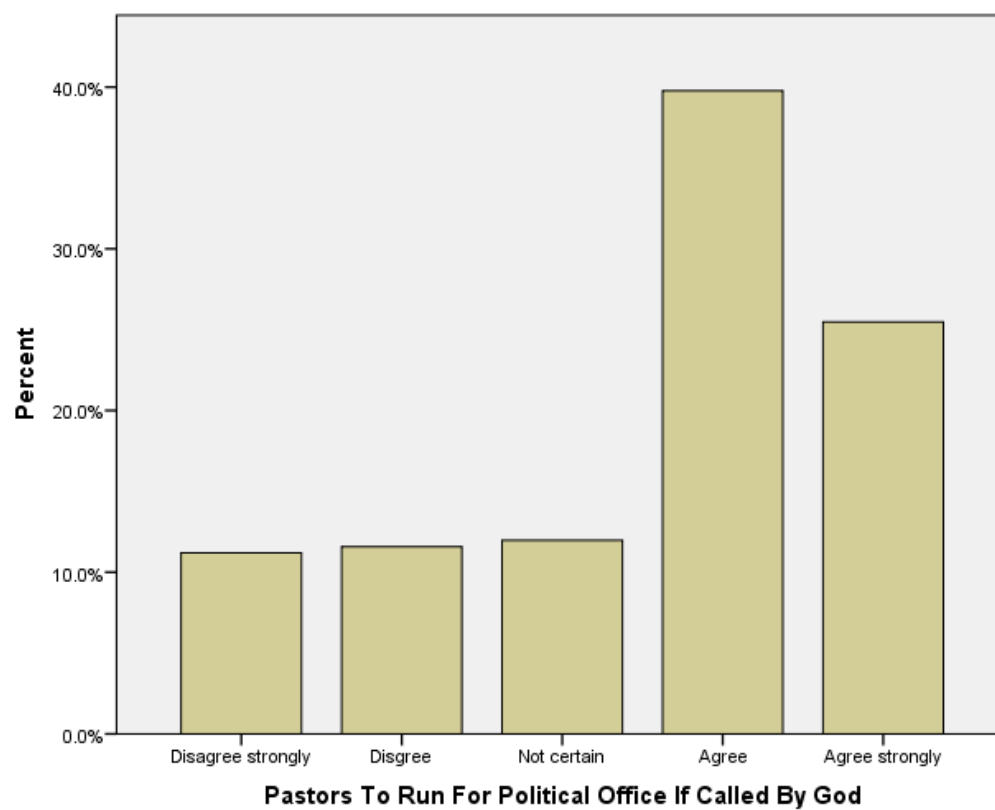
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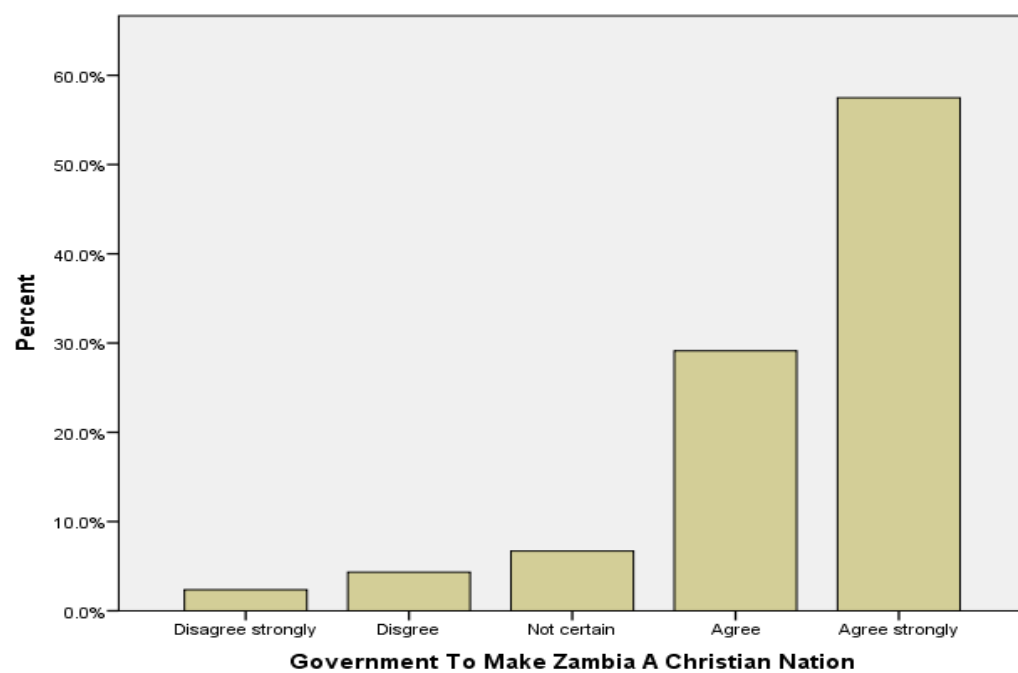
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APPENDIX 4

Church Development Projects 1972

Church	Approximate numbers	Developmental Programs
Africa Apostolic Faith Mission		none
African Gospel church (Basket Makers)	1300	A man should be prepared to learn a skill and work hard as carpenter, mechanic, tinsmith, shoe repairer and commercial farmer
African Evangelical church	50	None (Lusaka)
African Reformed Pentecostal Church		None
Amos Apostolic Church	100	None (Copperbelt)
Apostles in Zion Church also known as Apostolic Church of Zion	2000	None (Lusaka)
Apostolic church of Christ	5-150	women's clubs (Lusaka)
Apostolic Faith Church	700	Cooperating with Chawama council of churches in raising vegetables
Apostolic church of Pentecost	In Kitwe 63	None
Apostolic Faith and Acts Church	In Kitwe 7-30 150	None
Apostolic Faith (Born again) Church	150	None (Ndola)
Apostolic Church (Holy Gospel) Church	180	Women's clubs (Ndola)
Apostolic Faith Mission In Zambia	4700	Teaching people about literacy (Rev. Franz) and nutrition, providing young farmers with training on how to use Chunga Irrigation scheme, and training ministers in Vegetable gardening and Poultry, by a loan and agricultural expert, Rev. Hartman. Rev Franz. All this was done at Kasupe Mission
Apostolic Church of Pentecost	400	None (Kitwe)
Apostolic Faith Star church	8 People in Kitwe but generally 700	None
Children of the Sacred heart	3000	None
Christian Zion Church	250	None
Churches of Christ	6500	None
Church of our lord Jesus Christ	500	None N/W Province
Full Gospel African Church	Gwembe Valley 14 but generally 100	None
Full Gospel Church of God (affiliated with COG Cleveland	Kitwe 90 but generally 4000	None
Kimbanguist Churches	In Kitwe 70 but generally 2500	Women's clubs

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Pentecostal Assemblies Of God Canada	3000	Teaching people about Nutrition and sewing at Kanyama and Bola Vali, women's clubs.
Pentecost Association	20	None
Pentecostal Free Churches	19	Planning a home and training centre for the severely handicapped in Kitwe
Pentecostal Holiness Church	Kite 60, generally 600	Women's clubs and literacy classes in Kitwe
Pentecostal church of Zambia	245	None
Pentecostal church of God	50	None
Zambia True Gospel Church	23	None
Zion City Church	23	None

APPENDIX 5

A History of the Apostolic Faith Church (AFC)¹

On one night in 1957, while living in Choma in the Southern province of Zambia, Bishop Weluzani Jere (now Bishop of a breakaway from the Apostolic Faith Church called the Community for Jesus First Mission Church in Luanshya, Copperbelt Province) was awakened by the sound of people wailing. As he approached the door of the house where the wailing was coming from he was surprised at the sudden ‘Hallelujah’ spoken in unison by those who were inside. It was then that he realised the gathering was a religious one. His fascination led him in and he was received as a guest. He explained how for a while he had been hearing people crying and speaking with strange words at a distance (which he later understood as Glossolalia or ‘malilime’ in Nyanja). Jere immediately asked if he could be a part of the group and received Salvation. This group held their church services close to Nyampande Village in Choma.

In 1958 a letter calling AFC churches to an AGM in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) was received at Bishop Jere’s church. Until that moment he did not realise that there were other AFC churches in Lusaka and the Copperbelt province. He eventually discovered this when he got to Southern Rhodesia. It is estimated that the AFC may have entered Zambia in the mid 1950’s through South African Missionaries. However Bishop Jere could only speculate on this.² The meeting Bishop Jere was to attend was called at a time when there were talks about supporting the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (the Central African Federation), which started in 1953. This federation was established to amalgamate British territories in Central Africa, namely Northern (Zambia) and Southern (Zimbabwe)

¹ An oral history interview with Bishop Weluzani Jere, Bishop of Community For Jesus First Mission Church in Luanshya on 16/08/10. Bishop Jere is almost 80 and during this interview he relied on his memory to tell this history. Some dates are missing because he could not remember exact dates and years when certain events took place.

² Interview with Reverend Chisha in Kitwe on 16/11/09. He was converted when Bishop Jere prayed for his sickly daughter and got healed after failed medical attention. Reverend Chisha became a pastor in AFC but later left due to certain beliefs and practices within the church that he did not agree with. He went and joined Jimmy Swaggart Ministries.

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Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Malawi). The Federation was intended to continue to strengthen British control over these African states. This coincided with the rise of African Nationalists who vehemently opposed this federation, which eventually dissolved in 1963.³ This AFC meeting was attended by a Pastor Lee and Pastor Jack (both AFC leaders from South Africa) who wanted to persuade the Africans in the AFC to support the federation.⁴ During that gathering Bishop Paul Kalema (from Nyasaland) who was in charge of all AFC churches in Southern Rhodesia was banished by Pastor Robson the General Overseer of AFC to a far off town called Pumula in Bulawayo. This was because Kalema refused to support the federation. This resulted in wrangles in the meeting as the blacks saw no reason to support the whites when they had dismissed Kalema.

As people returned to their respective countries at the end of the meeting the disintegration of the AFC in Zambia began. Some people joined Paul Kalema who created the Apostolic Faith and Acts Church in Africa (AFACA is an example of a Zionist type African Independent Church with roots in Zimbabwe). In 1959 Pastor Robson came to Zambia from South Africa to try and close what he thought were AFC buildings now that people had become members of AFACA. When the matter was taken to the police it was discovered that the money that built these churches did not come from AFC in South Africa but from AFC members in Zambia. Those that did not join AFACA established their own independent churches, which included Apostolic Born-Again Church led by Pastor Robert Chinyama, Apostolic Faith Key Hole for Heaven led by Pastor Noah Sefu, Apostolic Faith Holy Gospel Church led by Bishop Kayata and Apostolic Faith Star Church led by Moses Chipumbu.

Splits continued in these churches, largely relating to power and leadership. Currently, it is not clear how many AFC or AFACA churches there are in Zambia due to the multiple

³ Zambia and Malawi gained their independence from British rule in 1964 and Zimbabwe in 1980.

⁴ My informant could not remember their first names.

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splits. It may be that they are concentrated in smaller and marginalised areas. Despite this, their history contributed to the development of the Pentecostal movement in the 1950's. Bishop Jere also broke away from AFACA after long service and formed Community for Jesus First Mission Church (CFJFMC) in the late 1970's.

Other Pentecostal churches in Zambia that arrived much later include the Assemblies of God Zambia (AOGZ) starting in the early 1980's under the leadership of Reverend Fackson Tembo. He was once a part of the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA) formed by Ezekiel Guti. Currently Bishop Mackson Mando is the Bishop of AOGZ.⁵ Assemblies of God USA (AOG USA) entered Zambia in 1997 with Jim and Becky Peterson as the first missionaries. This was after AOG USA had established relationships with AOGZ, PAOGZ and Grace Ministries Mission International in order make them members of World Assemblies of God Alliance in Africa.⁶ Nigerian Pentecostal Churches like Deeper Life, Winners Chapel and Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) have also gained a presence in Zambia. Of these the Winners Chapel in Lusaka has the largest membership with eight to ten thousand members. To date it has been run by Nigerian Pastors and services are very vibrant. In addition to the standard musical instruments used during worship Vuvuzelas, (long plastic horns that were commonly used during the 2010 World Cup in South Africa) are used. This has since become a common trend in most PC churches observed. Though almost all members are Zambian, Nigerian choruses were among the choruses that were sung when the researcher attended one of their services.⁷ It was also interesting to note that the Zambian junior pastors use Nigerian accents and expressions in their speech. It was a common feature for the senior pastor to sing Pastor Oyedepo's praises and request special prayers for him as their overseer.

⁵John and Dawn Elliot, Assemblies of God <http://jd-elliott.net/AG.htm> (Accessed 10 September, 2011).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Attended a Thursday prayer meeting, 12/08/10.

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Pentecostalism in Zambia according to Reverend Pius Chisha has gone through three stages.⁸ The first stage covered the period when various missionaries were active during the colonial era. Their impact during this time was minimal. The second stage covers the post-independence period in the 1970s and was accompanied by conservative types of worship with a greater emphasis on faithfulness, holiness, sincerity and carrying one's own cross.⁹ During this time, evangelism, camp meetings and crusades with evangelists like Jimmy Swaggart and Reinhard Bonnke were very common. A lot of choruses whose lyrics focused on heaven were popular. For example 'this world is not my home I'm just passing through,' 'Jerusalem is my home,' 'I'd rather have Jesus than silver or gold.' The third stage can be traced to the late 1980s. Alongside evangelism this period has emphasised other dynamic forms of worship such as the use of sophisticated musical instruments, worship bands with American style ad-libbing, the explosion of Gospel music and the use of hi-tech media equipment. The period has witnessed the propagation of the prosperity doctrine or Word of Faith, which states that God desires his children to be physically healthy and materially wealthy. This continues to be a controversial topic because many preachers have exploited desperate recipients by asking them to 'sow a seed' or give an offering in order for God to bless them. Some preachers and congregants especially in urban areas, choose to dress up whichever way they wanted when they attend services as the restrictions on clothing from the past are no longer an issue. However, churches like Deeper Life continue to have restrictions on the manner in which their members dress.

⁸ Interview with Reverend Pius Chisha, senior Pastor of Lakeroad Destiny Centre in Lusaka on 29/08/10.

⁹ Ibid