

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

GOSPEL OF PROSPERITY AND DEVELOPMENT: THE RISE OF THIRD WAVE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN ZIMBABWE

By

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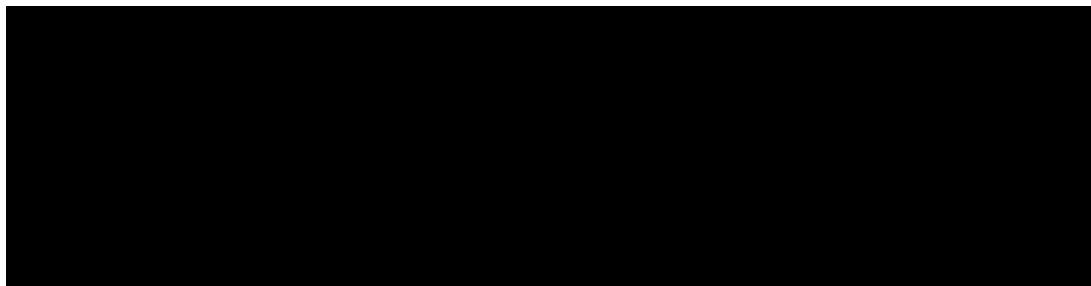
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Dedication

I hereby dedicate my work to Reverend Makahamadze for his unwavering support. He sacrificed his time acquiring the gatekeepers' letters and assisting with appropriate research participants during the snowball sampling and throughout the project. Thank you so much.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ABCD	Asset Based Community Development
AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
AICs	African Independent/Initiated Churches
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AOGA	Assemblies of God, Africa (AOGA)
ARDeZ	Anglican Relief & Development in Zimbabwe
ATR	African Traditional Religion
BLCC	Blood of the Lamb Christian Community
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CADEC	Catholic Development Commission
CSSD	Commission of Social Service and Development
DDF	District Development Fund
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FBOs	Faith-Based Organisations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FOG	Family of God
FWM	Faith World Ministries
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
GNU	Government of National Unity
GOM	Grace Oasis Ministries
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MeDRA	Methodist Development Relief Agency
MSU	Midlands State University
NLCC	New Life Covenant Church
NOCZIM	National Oil Company of Zimbabwe
NRZ	National Railways of Zimbabwe
NRM	New Religious Movements
NRRMs	New Religious Right Movements
NSSA	National Social Security Authority

PHD	Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries
PSMAS	Premier Services Medical Aid Society
PTC	Post and Telephone Communication (PTC)
SCOAN	Synagogue Church of All Nations
TWRRM	Third Wave Religious Right Movement
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UFIC	United Family International Church
UK	United Kingdom
UMC	United Methodist Church
UMCOR	United Methodist Committee on Relief
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe National Union-Patriotic Front
ZAOGA	Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa
ZCC	Zion Christian Church
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union
ZESA	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority
ZIFA	Zimbabwe Football Association
ZIMDEF	Zimbabwe Manpower Development Fund
ZIMSEC	Zimbabwe School Examination Council
ZUPCO	Zimbabwe United Passengers Company
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Party

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the nexus between NRMs' gospel of prosperity on sustainable and transformational development in Zimbabwe. The research was carried out in Harare, Zimbabwe, amongst the believers of the Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministries, Grace Oasis Ministries (GOM), and Emmaus Encounter (EE). The study was conceptualized within the social capital theory and the Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) approach. The study framed with the critical and social constructivist paradigm and it utilised a qualitative research methodology to provide a nuanced analysis of how the gospel prosperity intersects with sustainable and transformational development. The study conducted in-depth interviews with 18 participants and three focus group discussions, totaling 29 participants, 10 sermons and eight observations at the PHD Ministries and GOM. The major findings of the study highlight that NRMs have a complex and contested relationship with sustainable and transformational development. At one level, the individual initiatives of entrepreneurial activities inspired by the gospel of prosperity provide believers with increased incomes and access to basic goods. Believers are able to meet some of their everyday needs without necessarily transforming their lives. The ministry/institutional activities tend to benefit the pastor, his family and a few elites. Such activities often involve allegations of defrauding believers. The study concludes that there is a distinct difference between the teaching of the gospel of prosperity (hard work, entrepreneurship, saving, good life) and its practice (loss of money through sowing, fraud and theft to the pastor) within NRMs in Zimbabwe. In such a context, sustainable and transformational development cannot be achieved within NRMs as currently constituted as the practices of the pastors and prophets are often predatory.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study examines the relationship between the NRMs' gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development in Zimbabwe. It focuses on three distinct case studies to highlight the various experiences, activities, practices, and teachings that underpin our understanding of NRMs and their impact on sustainable development in Zimbabwe. NRMs in this study are understood as groups that have Christian origins that emerged from the global Pentecostal movement of the early twentieth century, popularized by various evangelists in America under the New Religious Right Movements¹ (NRRMs). Within literature, there is a distinct narrative that casts dispersion at the emergence of prophetic movements in post-2000 Zimbabwe (Marongwe and Maposa 2015). Such narratives argue that the upsurge in Pentecostal churches and prophets and prophetesses leading these movements cannot be separated from the socio-economic and political crises that have characterized post-2000 Zimbabwe (Chitando 2013). This study expands on this literature by focusing on the nexus of NRMs and development by providing a nuanced analysis based on firsthand narratives of people within the ministries in Zimbabwe. It goes beyond critiquing the gospel of prosperity by to exploring the inner workings of NRMs focusing on both the doctrinal teachings and practices of the gospel of prosperity.

A clear typology of the NRMs in Zimbabwe is contested. What is clear is that NRMs mushroomed soon after independence in 1980 and increased their presence in early 2000. Critical to this study is the emergence of young and charismatic Pentecostal prophets who rose post 2008. The period was defined by dilapidating economic crisis characterized by high inflation, unemployment, food shortages, and hardship which started in 2000 (Mlambo and Raftopoulos 2010:1). Young Pentecostal prophets became popular with their message of promising miracles, wealth, health, abundant life and prosperity appealing to a dejected community (Chitando

¹ Gifford (1988, 2004) and Anderson (2004) understood the New Religious Right in terms of the phrase coined by Kevin Philips in 1975, distinguishing this coalition from the network of older groups marching under the flag of conservatism. This term was used in the Republican Party in American politics, combining conservative politics with evangelical and fundamentalist teaching. It also referred to the far-right extremism of a religious faith characterized by a passion for God. Its initial vision and proclamation were political and radical transformation where followers are called "born again, redeemed, purged, and redirected people." This term will be dropped in this study going forward because the focus of the study is on African Pentecostalism within the Zimbabwean context. Focus will only be on the NRMs within the African and Zimbabwean Pentecostalism context.

2013:97). The Zimbabwean crises, context, and environment from Independence to 2017 presented fertile ground for the mushrooming of the NRMs.

Historically, Christian missionary activities in Zimbabwe was involved in development interventions such as health and educational facilities (Tomalin 2011:66; Kwaku Golo and Novieto 2021:73). Traditional churches have continued to play this role in post-colonial Zimbabwe. This study thus questions the role NRMs within this context of church led development in Zimbabwe. Traditional churches have development wings, including non-governmental organisations yet NRMs are forcing scholars to rethink the concept of church led development through new innovations based on the gospel of prosperity (Gukurume 2021:28). This study focuses on these emerging conceptual practices within NRMs and questioning how and whether they influence sustainable development. Such an analysis is conducted in a context where NRMs have courted controversies related to the extractive practices of the leaders through tithing, selling branded goods and business investments which have seen allegations of believers being defrauded. This chapter unpacks the statement of the problem, research questions and objectives, contribution of the study and an outline of the chapters.

1.2 Background to the Study

African Pentecostalism has presented a new wave of Christianity which focuses on the concept of the gospel of prosperity, which encourages poor people to think positively and give beyond measure, so they could prosper and acquire material possessions (Mashau and Kgatle 2019:1). The critical aspect of prospering is giving to God first, who then reimburses abundantly. Sin, sickness, and poverty are seen as lack of faith, and attributed to the devil (Chitando and Biri 2016:72-83). At the core of the prosperity gospel is faith, wealth, and health (Mashau and Kgatle 2019:2), which believers are called to claim or name (Togarasei 2011:344). The gospel of prosperity tends to ignore the political and economic reasons for so much poverty in Africa, where everything is reduced to faith (Gifford 1993:14).

In Zimbabwe, this new phenomenon mushroomed in the 1980s and gained increased momentum in 2000 and beyond when Zimbabwe continued to face economic meltdown with the loss of the local currency, severe droughts, unbudgeted spending, collapse of health systems, and abuse of human rights exacerbated by corruption and the mismanagement of resources. Bishau (2013)

notes how the gospel is geared towards seeding (give and you shall receive), naming and claiming things and miracles. These miracles include raising the dead, making barren woman to conceive and deliver within three days, having miracle money appear in congregant's bank accounts and instant weight loss among other things (Mapangura, Chitando and Gunda 2013). The Zimbabwean government failed to engage measures to ensure the proper use of state resources. In 2008, a fertile ground was created for the rampant proliferation of young charismatic prophets with their message of miraculous healing and deliverance, prosperity and health appealing to people who were drowning in poverty, unemployment and political and economic meltdown. Considering the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political situation and the mushrooming of NRMs, there is need to understand the NRMs' central teachings and how they understand and have responded to social, political and economic crises is necessary.

Togarasei (2011:337) explored the contrast between the rise of NRMs and extreme poverty in Zimbabwe, concluding that the gospel of prosperity's teaching on entrepreneurship leads to increased economic activities amongst the believers. The study provides an analysis of these economic activities to explore if they lead to sustainable and transformational development. There are scholars who have argued on the positive aspects of NRMs on sustainable development. Freeman (2012, 2015), for example, argues that the NRMs' teaching appears to bring about personal transformation, empowerment, and moral legitimacy for behaviour change that brings economic change and development. Other scholars argue that the gospel of prosperity within NRMs can help believers alleviate their problems and bring economic change and development (Meyer 2007; Togarasei 2011:336-350; Musoni 2013:80). In this study, my focus is to examine such assertions by examining the activities in selected NRMs in Zimbabwe.

This study, provides empirical evidence on the history, understanding and response to poverty, unemployment, political and economic crises and the contribution to sustainable and transformational development. The concept of development has been understood and defined in different ways (Todaro and Smith 2011:14), as has the concept of sustainable and transformational development. Sustainable development has been understood as development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the future generation's ability to meet their own needs (WCED 1987:43). Transformational development has also been understood as development which calls for the protection of human rights, rejecting any

condition, structure, or even system that perpetuates poverty, injustice, abuse of human rights, and destruction of the environment (Zeeland 2016:6). In this context, a need to explore the believers' understanding of the teachings, projects and activities of NRMs relating to their understanding of sustainable and transformational development is inevitable. The study is guided by the social capital theory of Putnam (2000) and Bourdieu (1985) and the Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) approach popularized by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993). Putnam's (2000) social capital theory sees social networks and norms of reciprocity as having value, where trust is built through social networks and connection. Bourdieu (1985) sees all forms of social capital reduced to economic capital, where there is access to economic resources. Kretzmann and McKnight's (1993) ABCD approach focuses on development that engages people and their assets to make decisions in the changes that they want to see in their lives.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Any discussion of NRMs in Zimbabwe leads to contestations around the meaning, lifestyles, practices, emergence, and popularity of these movements (Togarasei 2011, Bishau 2013, Marongwe and Maposa 2015, Chitando 2013, Mangena and Mhizha 2014, Madzokere and Machingura 2015). Whilst these debates have provided important insights into NRMs, there is a lacuna in knowledge on the nexus of these movements with sustainable and transformational development. The studies focusing on NRMs tend to provide a narrow focus on institutional level economic activities (Freeman 2012), social development projects (Maxwell 1998) or narrowly focus on one ministry (Musoni 2013). This study provides a more comprehensive analysis of three ministries at different levels in terms of size, years of operating and popularity in Zimbabwe. It also focuses on NRMs that uniquely emerged out of the Catholic church and thus have specific features that are shaped by the church. The role of this study is thus to provide new conceptual insights into the relationship impact of NRMs (in particular the gospel of prosperity) on sustainable and transformational development.

1.4 Key Research Question

The main research question of this study is: To what extent does the NRMs' gospel of prosperity promote or hinder sustainable and transformational development?

1.4.1 Research Sub-Questions

Research sub-questions are:

1. What is the informants' understanding of the emergence of the selected NRMs and their theology in Zimbabwe?
2. How have the selected NRMs understood and responded to poverty, unemployment, and political and economic crises in Zimbabwe from the independence period to 2017?
3. What is the informants' perception of the current understanding of sustainable and transformational development?
4. What is the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development?

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

1. To explore the emergence and theology of the selected NRMs in Zimbabwe.
2. To examine NRMs' understanding and response to poverty, unemployment, and political and economic crises in Zimbabwe from the independence period to 2017.
3. To analyse the informants' understanding of the concept of sustainable and transformational development.
4. To explore whether there is a relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development.

1.6 Contribution of the Study

This study makes a contribution to academic scholarship on the following key aspects: documenting the history of the selected NRMs, understanding the concept of confirmation, doctrinal and practical aspects of NRMs and novel theoretical insights. The study documents the history of the PHD Ministries, GOM and Emmaus Encounter. These three ministries were all founded by former Catholics, in contrast to the common understanding that NRMs emerge from Pentecostal churches. As such this study provides a new dimension to the emergence and typologies of NRMs in Zimbabwe. It expands on Chitando's (2013:97) three-dimension typology of the NRMs in Zimbabwe, in particular the third one which focuses on Pentecostal prophets who rose after 2008. Little or no attention has been given to modern-day flamboyant prophets who emerge from mainline churches such as the Catholic Church.

Another contribution to knowledge is on the notion of confirmation within the emergence of the PHD Ministries and GOM suggesting the significance of Catholic Church origins. The study

demonstrated that T.B Joshua confirmed Prophet Walter Magaya's call to prophethood. There was a prophecy from Prophet Uebert Angel on Prophet Walter Magaya's founding of the PHD Ministries and the claim from Pastor Tinashe's call that Prophet Walter Magaya confirmed the founding of GOM. The founder of Emmaus Encounter, Reverend Makahamadze, worked with Walter Magaya and guided Pastor Tinashe in founding his ministries. The resemblance of confirmation from the Catholic church was common in the emergence of selected NRMs. The third contribution to knowledge noted is a shift in the sense of belonging and doctrine. Unlike traditional churches, NRMs emphasise that believers must not suffer but accumulate resources. There is more emphasis on prosperity and miraculous accumulation of resources. A shift to pneumatic manifestation as a solution to the problem of traditional worship is witnessed. Many people left the Catholic Church and other mainline churches joining NRMs searching for answers to everyday struggles of living through economic crises in Zimbabwe.

The first contribution to theoretical insight was in the context that pastors or prophets encouraged believers to empower themselves and become entrepreneurs. Believers managed to implement various projects which helped them meet basic needs such as food and shelter, and access to basic income. This thesis, however, examines the extent to which these activities led to sustainable and transformational development. The study shows that NRMs gave individuals access to valuable networks for employment and social cohesion and various forms of information sharing. The activities and individual projects are such as buying and selling perishables and non-perishables, clothes, chicken and goat rearing, selling bottled water and airtime. The second theoretical insight is that some of the institutional projects implemented by various NRMs created access to economic resources for the pastors. Some of the pastors who implemented institutional projects such as housing, farming, mining, and beekeeping showed that they ended up corrupt, abusive, and defrauding believers (Mashau and Kgatle (2019:1). Some believers remained poor, unemployed, and lacking necessities, while some pastors lived an extravagant lifestyle. The study acknowledges that the central teaching of the gospel of prosperity and its religious and economic aspects in their strict and uncompromised state contribute to meeting basic needs of believers (Togarasei 2011 and Freeman 2015). Even if some of the implemented individual and institutional projects within the selected NRMs failed to promote sustainable and transformational development, the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development is complex and contested.

1.7 Outline of Chapters

Chapter One focuses on the background and overview, presenting the basis for the study, the research problem and objectives, and the contribution of the study. Chapter Two focuses on the literature review including the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political context. Chapter Three focused on the history of New Religious Right Movements (NRRMs), gospel of prosperity and in particular the emergence of African Pentecostalism. It also the history of Christianity in Zimbabwe and examines at how missionary churches, Pentecostal churches, African Independent Churches have responded to poverty, unemployment, and political and economic crises in Zimbabwe. Chapter Four pays attention to the concept of sustainable and transformational development and the relationship between religion and development. It also focuses on the theoretical framework. This includes a discussion on social capital theory and the Asset Based Community Driven (ABCD) approach and how they are applied in the study. Chapter Five provides an overview of the methodological processes undertaken in this study. It highlights that the study used the qualitative methodology. This chapter includes the critical and constructivist paradigms, case study, snowball sampling, personal interviews, observation, and focus group discussions.

Chapter Six focuses on the first part of the research questions on the history of the selected NRMs (PHD Ministries, GOM, and Emmaus Encounter). This chapter contributes to the body of knowledge, in particular, documenting, the history of the selected NRMs which emerged from the Catholic Church. The chapter also addresses the second part of research question one on the characteristic features of the selected NRMs. Chapter Seven of the thesis deals with the gospel of prosperity teaching and the governance structures of the selected NRMs. Chapter Eight pays attention to the individual and institutional achievements of the selected NRMs. It also focuses on research objective two on how the selected NRMs understand and have responded to poverty, unemployment, and the political and economic crises. Chapter Nine considers research objective three on the informants' understanding of sustainable and transformational development and the contribution of the selected NRMs to sustainable and transformational development. Chapter Ten provides the conclusion of the study. It focuses on the NRMs in Zimbabwe, the gospel of prosperity, the research methodology used, and the study's main findings. The contribution to knowledge is also discussed.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter gives a brief background to the study, the statement of the problem and the key research question. It also looked at the sub-research questions and objectives of the study. The introduction also presented the empirical and theoretical contributions of the study which focused on both literature and theoretical insights. The contribution to the literature showed that the selected NRMs emerged from the Catholic Church, a unique phenomenon in the history of the NRMs, the notion of confirmation and doctrinal shift within the selected NRMs. There was a positive theoretical insight noted on access to valuable networks for employment and social cohesion and various forms of information sharing. Chapter One provided a foundation of understanding the central research question and how the study is framed. It highlights how the study was necessitated by the lack of empirical and theoretical studies on the nexus between NRMs that emerged out of a mainstream church (Catholic), sustainable and transformational development. The next chapter looks at the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political context from 1980 to 2017.

CHAPTER TWO: THE ZIMBABWEAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the introduction of the study paying attention to the statement of the problem, key research questions, research objectives, contribution of the study and the outline of chapters. This chapter provides a context of the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political situation from independence to 2017.

2.2 The Zimbabwean Socio-Economic and Political Context from Independence to 2017

Chitando (2013:97) argue that in order to understand the NRMs in Zimbabwe, there is a need to understand the overall socio-economic and political context of Zimbabwe. In 1980, Zimbabwe gained its independence. It inherited some of the economic challenges from the Rhodesian government. Such challenges included Britain and international economic sanctions, oil-shock-inspired global recession, the government's unsustainable economic policies, and administrative controls on social services, health and education. Most of the black population remained marginalized, limiting both the growth of domestic demand and black entrepreneurship (Makina 2010:103; Shumba 2018:40). It was conclusively noted that Mugabe and his government had to deal with many issues which led to the collapse of the socio-economic and political environment in Zimbabwe. Such issues included land and agriculture, the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), scandals, militarisation of state, formation of the Movement for Democratic Change, the use of foreign currency and bond notes and other issues related to the abuse of power leading to the fall of President Robert Mugabe.

2.2.1 Land and Agriculture

Norman (2015:101) argued that soon after independence in 1981, Zimbabwe's economy was booming. A great deal of the population depended on agriculture, with 39% of the land owned by a few white farmers, while 4% was owned by black farmers, 41% comprised communal land where most black people resided, and 16% fell under national parks and forests. However, soon after independence, Mugabe initiated a land reform programme, which was an effort to equitably distribute land between local subsistence farmers and white Zimbabwean Europeans. Unfortunately, ministers and Mugabe's friends looted state resources and grabbed land, leading to a series of scandals and corruption, which Mugabe failed to address (Norman 2015:102).

Mlambo (1997:42) highlighted that Zimbabwe's crisis was worsened by two severe droughts in 1982-83 and 1984-85 which affected agriculture and the economy.

2.2.2 Gukurahundi

The word *Gukurahundi*, which translates ‘early rain that washes away the chaff before the spring rains’, demonstrated the post-independence, longstanding tensions between the liberation war armies of ZANU of Mugabe and ZAPU of Joshua Nkomo (Cameron 2018:1). It is widely known that the so-called ex-combatants were accused of being anti-Mugabe, who, in return, responded with a major security crackdown on Matabeleland and parts of Midlands provinces between 1982-1987, ushering in intense brutality, torture of thousands of civilians, rape, and pillage of entire communities (Cameron 2018:5). This political and military violence resulted in massive loss of life with an estimate of 20 000 civilians killed, property looted and destroyed, and economic development destabilized in the affected areas (Shumba 2018:42). This study notes that the Gukurahundi massacre ushered in the beginning of the state’s attack on any opposition against Mugabe and his government as it will be demonstrated with the formation of Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) opposition party.

2.2.3 Economic Structural Adjustment Programme and International Monetary Fund

Another Zimbabwe context which helps one to understand the environment which NRMs laid their foundation is the ESAP which involved a reduction in the size of the civil service, social spending on education and health and other government ministries, leading to severe job cuts and poverty in both urban and rural areas (Campbell 2003:131; Shumba 2018:43 and Norman 2015:103. Bond (1998:381) highlighted that this was one of the first crises which involved IMF and World Bank; its recommendations around energy, transport, health, education and ESAP were challenged as controlling, collapsing and creating more problems for the country. Most manufacturing companies failed to compete on the market, leading to closure and an increase in unemployment and poverty (Shumba 2018:43). Such a scenario was worsened by drought and its effects.

2.2.4 Scandals

While Zimbabwe’s economy was severely deteriorating, by the early 1990s, corruption had reached its zenith. Meredith (2002:97) points out that "corruption has become so pervasive and civil servants so venal and rapacious" to the extent that no service was provided without

"kickbacks cuts". From the time Zimbabwe implemented ESAP to the late 1990s, corruption even became worse. The economic growth collapsed, and the ruling party ZANU PF abandoned the commitment to IMF and World Bank recommendations on neoliberal reforms. Shumba (2018:43) argued that state policies became increasingly capricious to appease critical constituencies and maintain popular support. Such a period witnessed various scandals and corruption. Examples of such corruption involved minister Kumbirai Kangai inflating transport charges², and Enos Nkala and Maurice Gumbo inflating vehicle prices³. During that same period, various parastatals⁴ were all struck by gross mismanagement and faced massive theft and looting, which was never questioned or interrupted by the government; rather it ended up protecting corrupt and scandalous people (Nyoni 2017:286; Meredith 2002:98). Hill (2003:104) argued that senior officials⁵ working at NOCZIM embezzled over a billion dollars of the nation's fuel funds. NOCZIM ran out of money to pay oil imports, and this was also worsened by Solomon Tawengwa, the executive mayor of Harare⁶ in 1995. It is believed that the mayor constructed a luxurious mayoral mansion worth Z\$65 million while the city was experiencing challenges in public health facilities, sanitation, hospitals, and transport (Norman 2015:107). Hospitals become death traps shunned by patients because of a shortage of drugs, equipment, food, and qualified staff – most of whom left the country for better positions abroad (Meredith 2002:97).

2.2.5 Militarisation of State and hyperinflation

What led to parastatals' gross mismanagement was that the government became constrained by a lack of skills at the height of the economic crisis and replaced office bearers with former liberation heroes and military officers (Shumba 2018:45). However, professional competence was ignored as the economic crisis deepened, exacerbated by the departure of professionals in

²Nyarota (2018:40) pointed out that this was known as the Paweni corruption scandal. It involved minister Kumbirai Kangai, who was responsible for the inflation of transport charges for food relief supplies to rural areas after the 1982 drought.

³ The Willowvale motor car industry scandal involved President Mugabe's counterparts, Enos Nkala and Maurice Nyagumbo, who inflated prices, breached government control of vehicles and made profits for their benefit (Meredith 2002:98, Nyarota 2019:41).

⁴ These parastatals include Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA), District Development (DDF), National Social Security Authority (NSSA), Post and Telephone Communication (PTC), National Oil Company of Zimbabwe (NOCZIM), Air Zimbabwe and Grain Marketing Board (GMB)

⁵ . This scandal involved Enoch Chikore and other cabinet ministers. Interestingly, there was no successful prosecution as these were Mugabe's allies. In February 1999, ZESA became insolvent due to the misappropriation of funds and continuous corruption (Norman 2015:112).

⁶ Harare was formerly known as the cleanest city in sub-Saharan Africa, but it became a dirty street with rubbish, potholes, uncollected refuse, and burst pipelines. Meredith (2002:97) argued that the mayor mismanaged funds, causing a backlog in housing, such that many people resorted to living in shacks and squatter settlements.

search of a better life in other countries. Retired and serving military and other security personnel were then appointed in government and parastatals, as shown in the Appendix 1. Mlambo and Raftopoulos (2010:2), analysing Zimbabwe's multi-layered crisis, point out that the economic hardships sparked by some of these developments led to enormous discontent among the working class, leading to the civil servants strike of 1996. From the beginning of 1997, the crisis began to worsen, and the hyperinflation became inevitable. As Makina (2010:99) indicated, the economic crisis could be traced back to the so-called 14 November 1997 Black Friday's crash of the Zimbabwean dollar. Shumba (2018:72) argues that the Zimbabwean dollar fell from around Z\$10 to below Z\$30 to the US dollar within four hours of trading.

2.2.6 War Veterans' Gratuities and the Democratic Republic of the Congo War

The collapse of the Zimbabwean dollar was worsened by President Mugabe's unbudgeted payment of gratuities to the liberation war veterans⁷ and his silence on corrupt leaders and top officials⁸ who made several war veteran compensation claims (Makina 2010:106 and Norman 2015:108). Several lines of evidence suggest that a war veteran compensation fund set up was later suspended after the misuse of funds (Meredith 2002:145; Meldrum 2004:97; Norman 2015:107). It is evident that the War Veterans scandal contributed to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe, which was worsened by an autonomous decision from Robert Mugabe to send Zimbabwean soldiers⁹ to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (Darnolf and Laakso 2016:104). The soldiers were to support the government of Laurent Kabila, which was under attack from local opposition forces supported by Uganda and Rwanda (Meldrum 2004:108; Meredith 2002:148; Norman 2015:109). Raftopoulos and Savage (2005:84) suggest that the flood gates were opened for private accumulation of wealth for Zimbabwean army personnel and their relatives. Special allowances were paid to Zimbabwean soldiers for serving in the Congo (Norman 2015:109). Shumba (2018:103) points out that Zimbabwean government's

⁷ Previous research from Meldrum (2004:97) established that each war veteran was to get a gratuity payment of Z\$50 000 (equivalent to US\$4 500), and pension worth Z\$2 000 every month. The amount of US\$ 40 million (Z\$450 million), allocated for a year, was spent within eight months.

⁸ Chenjerai Hunzvi awarded himself Z\$517,536 for impaired hearing and sciatic pains of the thigh, while Reward Marufu, brother-in-law of Mugabe, was awarded Z\$822,688 for scars on his left knee and ulcers. Many high ranking officials were paid large sums of money for conditions such as skin allergy and mental stress disorder, causing a massive drain on a bankrupt economy (Norman 2015:107).

⁹ Meredith (2002:148), Norman (2015), and Raftopoulos and Savage (2005) reveal that the August 1998 sending of 3000 troops, which increased to 11000 along with combat aircraft and armed vehicles, led to an expenditure of US\$1 million per day. It was, however, clear and evident that the government had no money to fund the war. Hence the question would be, at whose interests were the Zimbabwean army sent to DRC and who were they trying to protect?

involvement in the DRC war epitomized the shift towards predatory accumulation that benefited political and military elites¹⁰.

The economic cost of the DRC war intensified the economic crisis. A budget revealed by the Finance Minister Herbert Murerwa in 1999 that Z\$35 million a month was spent in 1998. It increased to Z\$70 million a month in 1999 (Darnolf and Laakso 2016:191). However, the government of Zimbabwe lied to the IMF, arguing it spent US\$3 million a month while it had spent US\$25 million per month on the DRC war (Darnolf and Laakso 2016:6-7; Tambudzai 2005:15). In September 2000, the new finance minister Simba Makoni pointed out that Zimbabwe spent US\$ 263 million on the DRC war, and it was unsustainable (Shumba 2018). The beginning of 1999 saw the misappropriation of vast sums of funds on the DRC war and panic from the ruling government over the formation of an opposition party.

2.2.7 Formation of the Movement for Democratic Change, Land Reform and Invasion

The formation of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 was influenced by civil society and the workers who were disgruntled by the government's behaviour and attitude towards its people (Mlambo and Raftopolous 2010:2). Norman (2015:115) The formation of MDC, persistent economic hardships, dissatisfaction among working class and several strikes against the government and the massive migration of Zimbabweans to other countries, mainly Europe and South Africa demonstrated that Zimbabwe had turned into an international pariah. MDC caused confusion and panic within ZANU-PF, leading to a ruthless effort to demolish the opposition through the use of violence, which led to the loss of lives of many people (Mlambo and Raftopolous 2010:2). This new political party created an environment that threatened Mugabe and his party's plans to initiate a fast-track land reform programme and invasion. A referendum¹¹ process could not allow Mugabe to implement the land reform program which ended up as land invasion¹² where abuse of human rights was witnessed (Shumba 2018:74). The

¹⁰ This included among 54 top individuals responsible for looting minerals in DRC were army Commander General Vitalis Zvinavashe, and then-Speaker of Parliament Emmerson Mnangagwa, the current President of Zimbabwe (Shumba 2018).

¹¹ A referendum for a draft new constitution was held in the year 2000. The draft constitution was meant to legalize compulsory land acquisition without compensation. Many people voted 'NO', disapproving of Mugabe and his patronage policies.

¹² Many white farmers were forced to relocate to neighbouring countries. The seizure of white-owned farms and their departure led to the collapse of agricultural production, income, growth, and economic development (Mlambo and Raftopolous 2010:2).

land invasion had many ripple effects throughout the national economy, leading to the closure of factories, declining outputs and foreign currency earning, and massive unemployment (Mlambo and Raftopolous 2010:3). In 2002 the general elections were tainted with bloodshed, violence and rigging, to the extent that MDC was charged with treason. The political environment became so tense, such that the ruling party was unable to crush the opposition party completely. The government thus came up with a new strategy of dispersing MDC supporters who resided in cities through 'Operation Restore Order' (Murambatsvina), which destroyed all the illegal houses and business structures (Shumba 2018:74).

2.2.8 Operation Restore Order (Murambatsvina) and Inflation

Before *Murambatsvina*, by the beginning of 2003, when Zimbabwe started experiencing an economic crisis, it adopted a look east policy, which welcomed Asian investments into the country (Hogwe and Banda 2017:240). The relationship between Zimbabwe and China was based on investment, aid, and trade though this marriage could not be sustained because of the deepening economic crisis. The coming in of China had an influence on the market, which became flooded with cheap and low-quality clothing, building materials, and other household equipment, cheap labour, and cheap infrastructure, which affected Zimbabwean entrepreneurs. In July 2005, the government launched 'Operation Restore Order'¹³ popularly known as *Murambatsvina*, meaning 'driving out rubbish'. Dzimiri and Runhare (2012) argued that Anna Tibaijuka, a United Nations special envoy on Human Settlement Issues in Zimbabwe, reported in a fact-finding mission to assess the scope and impact of Operation Restore Order, that more than 700 000 people were left homeless.

The Zimbabwean situation continued to deteriorate, while many people left the country to live abroad or in neighbouring countries such as Botswana and South Africa. Around 2007, inflation was believed to have risen to 8000%. Such a situation clearly showed that the economy of the country had melted down. Its currency counted up to quintillions, which were also worthless (Mlambo and Raftopolous 2010:3). During that time, by 2009, unemployment rose to 90%. This was also witnessed in the crumbling of other social services and infrastructure, the unavailability

¹³ Murambatsvina wiped out the informal settlements and informal markets through forced evictions, thereby ruining sources of livelihoods (Mlambo and Raftopolous 2010:5). Cuneo, Sollom and Beyrer (2017:253) pointed out that with Operation Murambatsvina in 2005-2006, many people, especially those from the opposition party, were displaced from their homes. In other words, this exercise was meant to demolish all the illegal urban area structures that were reliable opposition strongholds.

of electricity with constant power cuts, and untreated water for consumption, which led to an outbreak of cholera and claimed many lives (Mlambo and Raftopolous 2010:3).

2.2.9 Cholera in Zimbabwe

The outbreak of cholera can be traced to ZANU PF's rigged elections in 2008. The change in existing policies caused the cholera crisis. The implementation of new policies led to the redirection of dirty sewer water back into the communities, especially in Harare, due to the unavailability of funds to purify the water (Cuneo, Sollom and Beyrer 2017:253). The year 2008 also witnessed hyperinflation. The economic crisis was the result of ZANU-PF's poor economic governance, fiscal indiscipline, and destruction of property rights following the implementation of the *jambanja* ('direct action') policy, state-sponsored lawlessness and violence in 2000 (Cuneo, Sollom and Beyrer 2017:253). Moreover, the once celebrated and admired primary health care system also collapsed (main hospital in Harare, Parirenyatwa, was forced to shut down) as drug and staff shortages led to the threat of rising of HIV and AIDS infections, loss of lives, and other crises around the mortality rate (Cuneo, Sollom and Beyrer 2017:256). The education system also collapsed with schools closing because teachers were no longer able to go to work as their salaries became worthless due to inflation, which was shooting up daily if not hourly. The harassment of people in urban areas and mounting challenges on the education and health sector exacerbated the Zimbabwean dollar's devaluation, forcing the country to adopt a multi-currency system.

2.2.10 The Use of Foreign Currency and Bond Notes

The election debacle, violence, and an illegitimate government of Robert Mugabe led to the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in September 2008. This agreement slowly began to stabilize the country's economic situation with the introduction of multi-currency. The rapid disappearance of hyper-inflation, reduction in political violence, and the sudden availability of resources in critical sectors such as education and health were witnessed. In 2014, same old challenges re-emerged. The banking sector experienced various challenges, including failure to regain loans, a fragile economy, external deficit, and low international foreign reserves. During the same period, government and parastatals were exposed, including their Chief Executive Officers who were earning exorbitant salaries. Cuthbert Dube of Premier Medical Services Medical Aid Society (PSMAS) was earning US\$ 230 000 per month with an

allowance of US\$270 000, amounting to a total of US\$500 000 per month, while 72% of the population were surviving on less than a dollar a day (Rusvingo 2015:12). A cash crisis began to emerge due to the US dollar's unavailability, leading to the adoption of bond notes in 2016.

The unavailability of cash in the country led to increased corruption. Such a scenario, however, also affected many people who had funds in the banks but were unable to withdraw the funds. The political crisis worsened the economic crisis. Grace Mugabe, the wife of President Robert Mugabe, became the secretary of the women's league, replacing Ophah Muchinguri. She then began nationwide campaign rallies and meetings, launching brutal attacks and character assassination against Deputy President Joice Mujuru and accusing her of plotting to topple President Mugabe. Emerson Mnangagwa then replaced Joice Mujuru at a ZANU PF national congress (Rusvingo 2015:13). The political and economic turmoil in Zimbabwe and the cash crisis invoked unhappy memories of 2007 and 2008 when the economy shut down, to the extent that a trillion Zimbabwean dollar note was not worth enough to buy a loaf of bread.

2.2.11 Abuse of Power

In recent years, there have been serious allegations of abuses of power and outright looting by the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development, Professor Jonathan Moyo, as the trustee of the Zimbabwe Manpower Development Fund. (ZIMDEF). He was accused of misusing US\$450 000¹⁴. Other abuse of funds were witnessed in the construction of tarmac road¹⁵ to the Harare International Airport and the mining of diamonds¹⁶. Shumba (2018:111) argues that President Mugabe re-deployed his agents involved in illegal informal mining and trade. In addition to that, several political figures and military elites were also involved in Marange diamond mining. These were given mining claims and exempted from paying tax obligations, thereby constraining the state's fiscal capacity. The use of political

¹⁴ The Minister arrogantly stated to the effect that either the money misused was either too little or had been used to fund national events (Chisaira 2016).

¹⁵ The construction of a Harare International Airport 20km stretch of tarmac took over six years to complete, costing a scandalous US\$80 million to finish. Reports produced by the Comptroller-General for the financial year ended in December 2010, stated that constructing a road should not exceed US\$500 000 per km. Interestingly, a road that should have cost US\$10 million was said to have cost US\$80 million.

¹⁶ There was an issue of \$15 billion in diamond money, which was reported missing in 2016. No single quantitative study of the impact of such leakages on Zimbabwe's economy or any attempt to recover or investigate into the matter was made.

mileage and abuse of power was witnessed within the banking, transport, finance, and energy sectors, thereby precipitating the economic crisis.

2.2.12 The Fall of President Robert Mugabe

The economic challenges, coupled with the political crisis worsened by Grace Mugabe's involvement in ZANU PF's warring factions, led to the dismissal of Deputy President Emerson Mnangagwa. This escalated a new level of intraparty conflict, leading to military involvement¹⁷ masterminded by Commander General Constantino Chiwenga (Nyarota 2018:13). At the end of 2017, a coup against President Robert Mugabe replaced him with the exiled former Deputy President Emerson Mnangagwa (Asuelime 2018:6). On 14 November 2017, Robert Mugabe's 37-year controversial rule was dislodged. Emerson Mnangagwa, exiled to South Africa, made his way back to Zimbabwe, where an emergency meeting was held on the 19th of November 2017. In that meeting, Robert Mugabe was dismissed as President and Secretary of the party and given 24 hours to resign as the President and Commander in Chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Forces (Nyarota 2018:174). After 37 years in power, on 21 November 2017, Robert Mugabe (1924–2019) at the age of 93, resigned as the President of Zimbabwe, paving the way for Emmerson Mnangagwa, the former Deputy President. He was then sworn in as the new President of Zimbabwe. After the deposition of Robert Mugabe, several ministers¹⁸ were arrested on corruption charges. A new dispensation came giving many people hope, though the cash crisis and economic challenges continued to affect the whole country. Emmerson Mnangagwa appointed his new cabinet, bringing back his comrades into the government through the appointment of war veterans, serving military and security personnel to key positions, as seen with Mugabe's appointments in 2008 and beyond.

2.2.13 The New Era of Emmerson Mnangagwa and Military Appointments

President Emmerson Mnangagwa's government was reported to have invited Zimbabwean businesspeople in the diaspora to come back home and help to rebuild the nation. Soon after his appointment, he elevated Commander General Constantino Chiwenga to Vice President, a move criticized by England, USA, and other European countries. Robert Mugabe's strategy of appointing serving military and security personnel to key positions was adopted in President

¹⁷ The military was centre stage when Mugabe was forced to resign, avoiding parliamentary impeachment, which seemed inevitable if Mugabe had refused to resign.

¹⁸ Ignatius Chombo, one of the right-hand men of Robert Mugabe, who was charged for corruption. Upon arrest, he was found with US\$10 million cash in his house. Several ministers and individuals who were supporters of Mugabe were arrested for corruption charges.

Emmerson Mnangagwa's strategy. See new appointments as from 12 December 2017 under President Emmerson Mnangagwa, Appendix 2. Before the end of 2017, the President appealed for patience from citizens as he promised to recover the economy and rebuild the nation (Nyarota 2018:175). The year 2017 ended as *annus horribilis* (a horrible year) for Mugabe and his supporters and *annus mirrabilis* (excellent year) for Mnangagwa and many citizens who aspired for change. A wait and see attitude was then adopted for Mnangagwa's government, giving it a chance to create a new legacy. It is within this economic and political context from independence to the fall of Robert Mugabe in 2017 that the many NRMs emerged from and responded to the needs of its followers.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter paid attention on the socio-economic and political context of the Zimbabwean situation from independence to the fall of President Robert Mugabe in 2017. The government's involvement in autonomous decision making, corruption and abuse of power created space for horrendous activities which plundered the socio-economic and political context of the country. It was within this context that soon after independence, Zimbabwe witnessed the mushrooming of NRMs from South Africa in 1980 spreading into Zimbabwe around 1982. The NRMs scattered and created various offshoots attracting those who experienced relative deprivation. The next chapter pays attention to these NRMs tracing back from the American type of Pentecostalism to African Pentecostalism and a typology of NRMs in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER THREE: THE HISTORY OF THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political context. It demonstrated that there were series of events which led to both socio-economic and political crises leading the country into an international pariah state. This chapter focuses on the history of NRMs paying attention on the American type of Pentecostalism and the proponents of the gospel of prosperity. While there is an overlap on the history of Pentecostalism, the chapter provides a clear context of the contemporary African Pentecostalism and a clear typology of NRMs in Zimbabwe. A critical analysis of the prosperity gospel, and its positive and negative effects will also be examined.

3.2 The American Type of Pentecostalism

The history of Pentecostalism shows that there has been the first (missionary evangelism) and second (classical Pentecostalism) wave of Christianity which overlap with the African Independent/Initiated Churches. The third wave gave birth to another form of Charismatic Christianity influenced by classical Pentecostalism and the charismatic movement (Meyer 2007; Anderson 2001:18). The third wave, an American type of Pentecostalism, is well known for its emphasis on 'the gospel of prosperity'. Its origins have also been linked to the healing revivals of the 1950s in the USA with evangelists such as Essek William Kenyon, Kenneth and Gloria Copeland, A.A. Allen (1950s), T.L. Osborn and W. Branham (1960s), Kenneth Hagin (1970s) Oral Roberts, John Avanzini, Morris Cerullo, Fred Price and many more as champions of a prosperity gospel (Cornelio and Medina 2020:66).

Gifford (1988:2) and Togarasei (2005:350) agree that the origins of the gospel of prosperity are within the context of the New Religious Right Movement¹⁹ (NRRM) in (USA) in the 1970s. In

¹⁹ Anderson (2001:18-20) and Gifford (1988:1) argued that the term 'New Religious Right' was coined by Kevin Philips in 1975 using it to distinguish a coalition or network of different groups marching under the flag of conservatism in the USA. Gifford (1988:1) believes that the term was used in American politics within the Republican Party, where a combination of conservative politics and evangelical and fundamentalist teaching took center stage. This implies that the term was used by politicians who were Christians and wanted to separate themselves from other politicians, with their passion for God and an extremely conservative attitude. Interestingly, the term was picked up by the United States national media and started to be used in different ways (Diamond 1990). Leibman and Wuthnow (1983) in *The New Christian Right* see the term referred to as a movement in the context of broader conservative politics. However, the term was also used in a broad way to include all sorts of different groups within the full range of political and religious understanding.

1975, Kevin Philips coined the terminology within the context of American conservative politics and evangelical fundamentalist the term may not shed light on the dynamics in Africa) teaching (Gifford 1998:1). The NRRM had a political agenda that was maintained through its spread to Latin America. A paradigm shift was made in the socio-political ideology of NRRM when it spread to Africa. To understand the ‘gospel of prosperity’ also known as ‘seed faith’ (Bishau 2015:5) or ‘faith gospel’ (Gifford 2004:171) and the history of the ‘Third Wave’, it is important to provide an understanding of the teachings of the key authors.

3.2.1 Kenneth Hagin

Kenneth Hagin, the father of the gospel of prosperity²⁰ was born on August 20th 1917 in McKinney, Texas. His theology is based on his own testimony of being healed by God.²¹ It is said that soon after the healing, Kenneth Hagin started preaching and later left the Southern Baptist church, joining Pentecostalism and focusing on divine healing. He preached that ‘reality was created in the minds and affirmed in the speech of believers. In his book *Redeemed from Poverty, Sickness and Death*, (1983), Hagin writes ‘Do not ever tell anyone sickness is the will of God for us. It is not! Healing and wealth are the will of God for humanity. If sickness were the will of God, heaven would be filled with sickness and disease.’ He taught that Christians could get rich if they had enough faith. He also preached that ‘those words spoken in faith related to health and wealth must be fulfilled because God is required to honor the words’ (Hagin 1987:14ff). Hence, he emphasised that his believers should ‘say it, do it, receive it, tell it’. Hagin used media to spread his teaching and began broadcasting his teaching on his radio program called ‘Faith Seminar of the Air’. He then founded the Kenneth E. Hagin Evangelistic

New Religious Right referred to the far-right extremism of religious faith, which exhibited a robust conservative attitude defined by passion and zeal for God. It is within this context that a collection of world changers, visionary politicians dedicated to combating enemies of the gospel truth, formed the New Religious Right. They pronounced judgment on the present change of affairs with the vision and proclamation based on political and radical transformation. This is the reason why this group or movement calls itself born again, redeemed, purged, and redirected people (Diamond 1994). Poverty and unemployment play a role in this phenomenon, as do anti-abortion, anti-pornography, anti-gay rights, and other different values, which makes these movements different from social movements (Gifford 1988:22).

²⁰ Mumford (2011:372) highlighted that this assertion that Hagin is the father of prosperity gospel was questioned since it was pointed out that Hagin plagiarised E.W Kenyon’ Word of faith doctrine whose teachings were from Christian science and new thought, making him the father of the Word of Faith movement.

²¹ Kenneth Hagin in ‘New Thresholds of Faith (Tulsa, OK: Thema Bible Church, 185) 3-4 argued that God healed him of a deformed heart at birth arguing that after reading Mark 5:34. Mumford 2011:372 narrated that a story is told that Hagin grew up as a sickly child who was bedridden with a deformed heart without the expectation that he would live long. His testimony says that after reading Mark 5:34, where Jesus healed a woman who had been bleeding for twelve years, he was completely healed.

Association and published his teachings in a magazine entitled 'Word of Faith' which gave birth to the word of faith movement²². Kenneth Erwin Hagin's teaching was based on the divine economy that God wants to provide his people with material prosperity, through sowing the seed.

3.2.2 Essek William Kenyon

Considering that a school of thought argues that Hagin plagiarised E.W Kenyon's theology of prosperity, it is ideal exploring what Kenyon taught. In the 20th century, Essek William Kenyon (1867-1948), an ordained minister of the Methodist church, started preaching the prosperity gospel. Kenyon (1968:30) argued that he left the Methodist ministry and established many churches²³. He came in touch with the ideas and teachings of the 'New Thought' founded by Phineas Parkhurst in 1838 who argued that the mind could heal the body. Such an understanding which influenced Kenyon was supported by the Christian Science movement started by Mary Bakes Eddy who argued that sickness, sin and death are illusions and thus can be cured through right thinking. Kenyon's teaching was that Christians could make a positive confession to bring emotional and physical desires into being arguing that what one possesses, he or she should possess. Kenyon believed that the spread of his teaching about the power of the human mind to overcome sin and sickness would result in human beings who would not be affected by evil spirits or by illness or poverty.

3.2.3 Oral Roberts

Oral Roberts refined Hagin's emphasis on prosperity theology, who believed that prosperity teaching is centered on the understanding of God's relationship to everyday life 'divine economy'. The divine economy firstly focuses on health and wealth or human prosperity. It requires positive thinking, leading to socio-economic ascent that could experience real-life changes. Roberts teaches that God is in the lives of the poor to provide them with physical and financial prosperity. Secondly, divine economy offers an economic vision that relies on an open system of endless goods and resources provided by the earth. This prosperity is realised through 'sowing and reaping' or the 'seed-faith.' Roberts believes that first, God becomes the source of all human needs when people turn to him. Secondly, followers or believers need to make

²² Hagin is believed to have published more than 120 books and many audio tapes and founded Rhema Correspondence School in 1968 and the Rhema Bible Training Centre in 1974.

²³ Mahohoma (2017:2) also highlighted that when Kenyon left the Methodist ministry, he founded many churches linking them with the Baptist church establishing good relationships with the pioneers of the Pentecostal movements in the USA .

sacrifices such as time, money or energy and seed through which a giver reaps from God – a harvest of return²⁴. Then, finally, the sower can live in expectancy of a miracle following the act of sowing.

Roberts quoted Luke 6:38, which states: "Give, and it shall be given unto you; a good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be a measure to you again." Another scripture verse is from Matthew 7:7, which says, "Ask, and it shall be given unto you; seek and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened for you. For every one that asks shall receive, and he that seeks shall find, and to him, that knocks it shall be opened." The literal translation taken by Roberts meant that God gives back a hundred-fold what has been given away.

3.2.4 Kenneth and Gloria Copeland

Copeland is believed to have helped restructure and organise the prosperity gospel movement, arguing that faith is a force that brings material results when confessed aloud. He argued that poverty is a curse, and the Bible says that people have been redeemed from it (Copeland 1994:21). Copeland (2017:9) argued that "Poverty is not a money problem. It is a spiritual problem. You can throw as much money as it as you want and when it get finished, the poverty will still be there. President Lyndon Johnson proved this. Back in the 1960s, he spent billions of dollars in his 'war on poverty, yet more people in this nation live below the poverty level now than back then. The president's intentions were good; he did not realise that poverty, as a spiritual problem, requires a spiritual solution." Gloria Copeland in 1994 argued that "Your future is stored up in your heart! It is not dictated by your history or your current circumstances. You determine your future. Now, consider this: Who stored up the evil things in the evil man's heart? Obviously, the man himself did it. Who stored up the good things in the good man's heart? Again, the man himself did" (Copeland 1994,8-9). Gloria Copeland commented on Mark 10:30: "truly there is no one... who will not receive a hundredfold now in this time – you give \$1 for the gospel's sake, and \$100 belongs to you" (Gifford 1988:23). Therefore, it can be argued that the gospel of prosperity aligns with welfare and class. Moreover, asking for support from the government is tantamount to heresy, and those who do so are not strong enough to make God's promises manifest. Kenneth Copeland argued "God's financial system transcends the national

²⁴ Extracted from Roberts , *The Miracles of Seed-Faith*, (Tulsa, OK, 1970),37

economy, the stock market and any company's layoff plan. He wants you and your family to take advantage of it.”

3.2.5 Summary on the proponents of gospel of prosperity

Bowler (2013:3-7) identified four distinct elements of the gospel of prosperity and these include faith, wealth, health, and victory. Gifford, in all his writings about the history and understanding of the third wave, argued that the gospel of prosperity teaches that God has met all the needs of human beings in the suffering and death of Christ, and that every true Christian should now share in the victory of Christ. This victory is over all forms of sin, sickness, and poverty. It is believed that a believer has the right to the blessings of good health and wealth won by Christ. Blessings are obtained by merely making a positive confession of faith (Cornelio and Medina 2020; Gifford 1990, 1998, 2008). Swoboda (2015:394-411) highlighted that wealth, health, and financial blessings are seen as signs of God's hand of blessing. While there are positive distinct elements of the gospel of prosperity, it is pertinent to note that other scholars such as Gifford (1991:65-66) are of the opinion that the doctrines expounded by Oral Roberts, Kenneth Hagin, Kenneth and Gloria Copeland have a negative effect on Africa shifting attention away from the socio-structural causes of challenges within the region. This, however, does not dismiss the reality that the gospel of prosperity teaching has remained a significant force in the public space within Africa.

3.3 Contemporary Pentecostalism in Africa

The contemporary Pentecostalism in Africa needs to be understood through a detailed history of NRMs in Africa highlighting examples of these neo-Pentecostals and the characteristic features within the African context.

3.3.1 History of Neo-Pentecostalism in Africa

The gospel of prosperity also tends to mean different things to different proponents of this teaching, though standard features can be identified. The prosperity gospel has also led to various new forms of Christianity. Different names have been suggested by different scholars to define and differentiate these new religious movements. Kalu (2008:5) coined the term Third Wave

Religious Right Movement (TWRRM)²⁵ which this study will refer to as NRMs. Some scholars refer to this type of Christianity as fundamentalist independent groups, which often consider themselves as 'Bible Christians, Born Again and Charismatics'. In addition, they vehemently proclaim that they are not 'Pentecostals' (Kalu 2008:5). 'Third wave' implies there was a first and second wave. Various scholars have contested Kalu's categorization of these stages or waves of Christianity, as these forms of Christianity, especially 'Pentecostalism', overlap as noted in section 3.2. What is common is that this form of Pentecostalism was seen as the most dynamic and fastest-growing sector of Protestant Christianity that has the influence of the American gospel of prosperity (Casanova 2001:435).

The third wave of Pentecostalism in Africa focuses on neo-Pentecostal churches. They are also referred to as Charismatic Pentecostalism, Charismatic Churches, Charismatic Ministries, Christian New Religious Movements (CNRMs), New Religious Movements (NRMs), New charismatic churches or Modern Pentecostal churches or born-again Christians (Togarasei 2011:337; 2012: 259). They differ from the first two waves of Pentecostal experience in Africa. As noted earlier, the first wave started with the Azusa Street Revival in Los Angeles. In contrast, the second wave of Pentecostalism is believed to have started in the 1960s with Charismatic Pentecostal-inspired movements. Asamoah-Gyadu (2005:4) pointed out that the distinctions between neo-Pentecostal churches and the first and second waves are marked with a modern outlook, relaxed dress codes, internationalism, innovative use of the modern media, and contemporary forms of worship. Other scholars²⁶ share the same views about these neo-Pentecostal churches hereafter referred to as NRMs.

²⁵ The first wave was missionary evangelicalism of the 19th century, which included mainline churches such as Catholic, Anglican, and Methodist. The second wave begins with the 1906 Azusa Street movement, which gave birth to Pentecostalism, including churches such as Apostolic Faith Mission and its offshoots, including Assemblies of God, Family of God and Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa-ZAOGA.

Some scholars, however, classify African Independent/Initiated Churches (AICs) under Pentecostal churches while others separate them. AICs are a combination of African initiatives in Christianity that flourished on communality and the local people's culture. Ethiopians, Zionists, and Charismatics were the African initiated or independent churches that evolved within this second wave. Daneel (1987) in *Quest for Belonging: Introduction to the study of African Independent Churches*, and Daneel (1970) *Zionism and Faith Healing in Rhodesia, Aspects of African Independent Churches*, writes about this other phenomenon, focusing much on Zion Christian Churches and apostolic sects, arguing that these churches focus on the gift of the Holy Spirit.

²⁶ Meyer (2007:113) refers to neo-Pentecostal churches, the third wave as 'more recently founded Pentecostals-charismatic churches organised as 'global megachurches which use media technologies to spread their gospel message and endorse the prosperity gospel. Togarasei (2011:338) describes these churches as having 'transnationalism and internationalism association with urban areas, preaching the gospel of prosperity, spiritism and associated with modernity'.

Gifford (2015) argues that there is diversity within African Christianity which I believe also extends to African Pentecostalism. Even if there is diversity²⁷ amongst the NRMs, Anderson (2004) and Hollenweger (2004) argue that there are three broad categories of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity which include classical Pentecostals, charismatic and neo-charismatic²⁸. What makes a clear distinction of these movements is that they usually evolve around one charismatic visionary who is the founder, leader and embodiment of the vision of the church. Gifford (2008:214) pointed out that the founder is highly elevated and understood as the effector of scripture and an exemplar of scriptural blessing. Gifford (2011) and Asamoah-Gyadu²⁹ agree that the earliest inspirer and promoter of the gospel of prosperity in Africa is the late Nigerian Archbishop Benson Idahosa. Examples of such churches are Archbishop Duncan-Williams' Action chapel international (Ghana), Pastor Mensa Otabil's International Central Gospel Church (Ghana), Bishop Oyedepo's Living Faith Church or Winners Chapel in Nigeria, Chris Oyakhilome's Believers' Love World Ministries or Christ Embassy Church in Nigeria, Alph Lukau's Alleluia Ministries International (South Africa), Redeemed Church of God in Nigeria, and other Pentecostal churches (Swoboda 2015:397).

3.3.2 Africa's socio-economic and political context and the NRMs

The NRMs mentioned above became popular within a certain Africa's socio-economic context. Gifford (2004:171) pointed out that the generation that brought independence to many African countries was mostly products of mission schools, and they remained loyal to various mission churches that nurtured them. However, the younger generation does not feel more inclined to the mission schools that have also begun to adapt and cater to the younger generation. Even if mission churches have adjusted to the needs of the younger generation, it is pertinent to note that although many African countries gained independence between 1950 and 1990, the economic situation of most African countries has remained fragile. State, non-governmental, and church organisations have remained the biggest employers in Africa, implying that opportunities lie

²⁷ Freeman (2015:3) highlighted that a huge variety of different Pentecostal and charismatic churches in Africa exist to the extent that it is impossible to group them all as one.

²⁸ Classical Pentecostalism refers to churches with links to the early American and European Pentecostal churches emphasising on speaking in tongues as evidence of baptism by the holy spirit. Charismatic Christians are those members of mainline denominations such as Catholic, Presbyterian, Lutheran and so on who also experienced the gift of the Holy spirit in the form of speaking in tongues, spiritual healing and miracles. The third wave or neo-charismatics is post-denominational churches and fellowships that have exploded onto the scene since the 1980s.

²⁹ Asamoah-Gyadu, J.K. Born of Water and the Spirit : Pentecostal/ Charismatic Christianity in Africa' In : Kalu, O.(ed), (2007). *African Christianity: An African Story*, Trenton: Africa World Press, 339-358.

within these institutions. African Christian expansion has, hence, been driven by the faith gospel which encourages believers to seed or give to God's representatives, thereby raising enough funds for the growth and expansion of NRMs. African Pentecostalism is influenced by American Pentecostalism, whose ethos, rhythms and idioms have swept many Africans off their feet. Many people, especially the youth, feel at home at the NRMs because of their use of modern ways of worship.

NRMs in Africa became famous with their transition witnessed from what would start as a fellowship to a church or denomination. The leaders would begin with a title of a brother or sister, to a general overseer, a man of God, Bishop, Archbishop, Prophet who then move around with bodyguards as a symbol of status. African Pentecostalism seem to replicate rather than challenge the dysfunctional structures of patrimonialism and unaccountability witnessed within Africa's political systems (Gifford 2004:175). I suppose it then makes sense why the NRMs dropped the political aspect of the American religious right movement which challenged the politicians. In Africa, most NRMs leaders became silent and part and parcel of the existing government without challenging any moral responsibilities of the government to its citizens. Everything is shifted to the individual who then needs to make ends meet. The NRMs mushroomed in Africa with their gospel of prosperity within this African context.

3.3.3 Characteristic features of the NRMs within the African Context

The NRMs share the same characteristics that show positive effects, particularly on preaching the gospel of prosperity or health and wealth. NRMs also focus on spiritualism manifested in glossolalia. They are international transnational self-presentation with a business approach to worship and prominent use of modern media technology (Togarasei 2012:259). Mashau and Kgatle (2019:2) added that faith is another distinct element concerning the prosperity gospel. Believers are encouraged to exercise their faith as a means through which they can unlock their wealth and health. Gifford (2004:169); Togarasei (2011:338), and Asamoah-Gyadu (2007:439) all share the same understanding that these new charismatic churches (NRMs) are found in most major cities in Africa operating in public spaces such as school halls and cinemas. In addition, these scholars agree that the NRMs appeal to young people and middle-class professionals, urban centre congregants and use modern media technologies to disseminate the faith-positive mindset theology and prosperity. Billboards, stickers and banners tend to be everywhere advertising

upcoming activities while their productions explode radio and television. Other characteristic features of NRMs within the African context are detailed below.

3.3.3.1 Salvation and Baptism

Concerning salvation, God has given salvation as a gift to human beings through faith witnessed in the experience of conversion (Dube 2019:25). Such conversion is once and for all as it brings salvation through genuine belief in Jesus. It is believed that once one is saved, it is impossible to fall from grace if one's conversion is genuine. Salvation is emphasised as acts of deliverance, healing, transformation, and empowerment against the backdrop of the difficult socio-economic and under development in Africa (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005). Gifford (1991: 13-14) made it clear that the prosperity gospel has socio-political effects telling people that material prosperity will be provided by a miracle working God ignoring the political and economic reasons for so much poverty in Africa. The NRMs believe in two baptisms; that is, the baptism with water, and baptism with the Holy Spirit. Interestingly, neither of the two is the source of salvation. Baptism in water is regarded as a rite commanded by Jesus, hence it is done to fulfil the commandment, while baptism in the Holy Spirit is a gift from God received when one is born again. After that, the NRMs believe that the life of grace makes progress in the sanctified individual and reaches its consummation at the second coming of Christ (Coleman 2011:23-45). Though the NRMs believe in baptism, very few of these churches baptize people with water. A true confession that 'Jesus is the Lord and personal saviour' is considered as a form of being accepted into the communion of believers.

3.3.3.2 Healing and Deliverance theology

The gospel of prosperity focuses on deliverance theology, highlighting that the spiritual forces hold Christians from success and wealth (Gifford 2004:172). Mumford (2012:379) points out that the gospel of prosperity teaches that believers have the right to the blessings of health and wealth, as noted earlier by Swoboda (2015:394-411). Coleman (2011:23-45) argued that health and wealth contribute to the believer's salvation. Asamoah-Gyadu (2013), describing African Pentecostalism from within, emphasised similarities with the worldwide Pentecostal movement. He argued that within African Pentecostalism, there is an emphasis on the accent on personal transformation, the experience of the holy spirit in worship, healing, deliverance and prayer. There is also a pneumatic manifestation within the Pentecostal movement, which comes as a solution to the problem of traditional worship that no longer meets the needs of the African

people. Asamoah-Gyadu (2015:18) argues that many people in Ghana have left the traditional churches seeking pneumatic experience on worship witnessing the living and transforming God. This pneumatic experience occupies a key place in Pentecostal theology, where the Holy Spirit overrides all other spirits shattering covenants with demonic and oppressive spirits and free converts (Chitando 2007:116). It is then believed that healing and deliverance occur when the divine and humans encounter each other in worship. African Pentecostalism is also peculiar because it shares the same theological concerns expressed by the AICs throughout the 1970s. The presence of spiritual forces cannot be ignored and have a simple explanation for the misfortune (Asamoah-Gyadu 2007:440).

3.3.3.3 Sowing the Seed

Reading Luke 6:38 on sowing and reaping, Nwaomah (2012:1) noted that NRMs teach that whatever a Christian desire, he or she needs to sow that first and God will give abundantly in response and in proportion to the seed sown. In addition to that, the gospel of prosperity on seeding teaches that if one needs love, one must sow love; the same as if one needs time, one will need to sow time. There is much emphasis on the 'law of harvest' where God is said to multiply and return any gift that members give to the church. The gospel of prosperity can be understood in the analogy of a farmer who places a single seed in the ground. The seed germinates and multiplies, such that the farmer collects in return many times what was initially sown. It is believed that when someone gives a gift or money, God will multiply the money and return it to the giver.

Members of the church tithe 10% of their income to the church. Coleman (2011:23-45) noted that pastors always urge followers to give to the church, trusting that God will abundantly reward them for an act of faith. Asamoah-Gyadu (2015) also speaks about the principle of sowing and reaping which he regarded as 'transactional giving'. He argued that the relationship between God and an individual is determined by the way one tithes, a principle linked to the theology of prosperity. Togarasei (2011:341) argued that for one to be delivered from poverty and sickness, one needs to sow a seed generously so that one would have a big harvest. This is derived from 2 Corinthians 9:6-11, which teaches that "whoever sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and whoever sows generously will reap generously." Therefore, members are always encouraged to sow the seed by giving generously to the church and thereby to receive back generously.

3.3.3.4 Accumulation of Resources and Entrepreneurship

It can be argued that the prosperity gospel can address issues around poverty in Africa. This theology encourages entrepreneurship as a road to sustainable development, for God wants his people to earn an income, not a salary (Togarasei 2011:337). In other words, members are rather encouraged to start their own businesses and become employers. This assertion is also supported by Freston (1995 and Meyer (1998).³⁰The term 'JOB' is interpreted to mean 'Just Over being Broke' or a month away from poverty (Togarasei 2011:340). Those who are poor are told that they are on their way to prosperity. In a way, this message teaches believers to be hopeful and have faith in God. Maxwell (1998:353) also argued that NRMs teach that God wants his children to eat the best food, wear the best clothes, drive the best cars, and have the best in everything. This is supported by Gifford (1990:2) who highlighted that NRMs argue that God also wants his believers to accumulate wealth and luxury goods, which is a real sign of God's blessing. Hence, material possession distinguishes the gospel of prosperity from other teachings (Coleman 2011:23-45). It appeals to the more impoverished people who wish to possess various goods in life. Freeman (2015:3) argues that the NRMs have an American influence and yet fit extremely well with African ontologies and sensibilities such as the acceptance of African traditional beliefs in spirits and demons ignored by earlier forms of Christianity. Believers are called to be delivered from the spirit of poverty and satanic impediments to prosperity such as African traditional beliefs and rituals. Kalu (2007:347) argues that NRMs see African traditional rituals and the activities of territorial spirits as hampering development in Africa.

3.3.3.5 Testimonies, Prayer and African Traditional Culture

Asamoah-Gyadu (2007:448) argues that testimonies within African Pentecostalism provide people with opportunities to relate how God has turned their lives and fortunes around to shame their enemies and the devil. Testimonies occupy a more important place than the Bible (Zimunya and Gwara 2013:192; Gifford 2008:215). Such testimonies give people the assurance, hope and energy to pray. The NRMs also focus on the belief and motivation in bringing about success, which is also emphasised in the names of the churches, for example, Victory Bible Church and Winner's Chapel. Success emphasis is also displayed on bumper stickers, labels given to each

³⁰ Freston (1995:132) and Meyer (1998:173) pointed out that the gospel of prosperity encourages believers to start their own business and become entrepreneurs rather than remaining employed by someone else. Through entrepreneurship, believers are encouraged to accumulate more and more resources, for their God is good and wants them to be productive.

year with a theme, and hymns mainly focusing on winning. Mumford (2012:371) sees success as the genuine mark of faith.

Asamoah-Gyadu (2013:33) believes that the spread of African Pentecostalism is through its charismatic nature of worship which is not dry and cold. Gifford (2008:206) argues that praise and worship and lengthy sermons form part of this phenomenon. Hence, African Pentecostalism is viewed as a movement that meets people's needs in the spirit. Prayer plays a role in fighting against the evil that exists within the African traditional culture and does not happen by chance. Hence, NRMs see traditional culture as the devil's work, thereby failing to pay respect to it (Zimunya and Gwara 2013:192-194). Believers are urged to turn away from their culture, traditional religion, spirit possession, and witchcraft, a life that is identified with paganism for these churches in the African context. Those troubled by evil spirits are usually called to be delivered from these spirits during church services (Chibango 2016:67). Believers are encouraged to remain vigilant and protect themselves from evil forces which need to be domesticated (Chitando 2013:30). African Pentecostalism hence pays attention to the whole life of an individual and prayer, which overcomes all the challenges.

Freston (1995:119-133) highlighted that all forms of African Traditional Religion are regarded as devil worship, and believers should not get involved in them. There seems to be a parallel between the NRMs and the ATR with the need for exorcising evil spirits. Believers who face challenges in life tend to attribute all the social problems such as misfortune, adultery, hatred, and lying and other challenges to evil spirits (Gifford 1991:9-20). The need for exorcism and deliverance from evil spirits emphasized in the gospel of prosperity convinces many people facing social problems to realise the need for prayer as the remedy to their problems. The NRMs hence seek a society of born-again Christians with the church as the domain of God where victory, success, hope and achievement are witnessed (Gifford 1991:9-20; 2008:207) However, despite ATR regarded as evil by some NRMs, in his recent writings, Gifford (2020:70) argue that Christians of any sort are today very reluctant to fault any aspect of African culture, for African culture has become something sacrosanct. Maxwell (2005:4-32) argued that NRMs teach that believers' bodies are the Holy Spirit's temples, and they must be kept clean so that God can always reside in their hearts. Such hearts are of Africans born in an African culture which is now

deemed as holy. However, the above characteristics of the NRMs give answers to socio-economic problems which the country or individuals face every day.

3.4 History of Christianity in Zimbabwe

The history of Christianity in Zimbabwe begins with the origins of the two dominant tribes in Zimbabwe, namely the Shona people who occupy the northern part of the country and the Ndebele in the south. In relation to the origins of the Shona and Ndebele people, Beach (1994) proposed two theories which involve the migration of the Bantu speakers of South Africa and the diffusion from the hunter-gatherer community. Both schools agree that these were the Bantu people who migrated from North-East Africa to Southern Africa then moved up to Limpopo, settling in present-day Zimbabwe. The Ndebele tribe originates in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. It was originally led by Mzilikazi of the Khumalo clan, who rebelled against King Shaka Zulu, then moved from KwaZulu-Natal, passed through Limpopo and entered, then settled, in the south-west of present-day Zimbabwe (Isichei 1995; Sibanda and Dube 2018:44). There are many clans and dialects in Zimbabwe, which existed since the 9th century, but the Shona and Ndebele remain dominant in Zimbabwe. These two tribes have played a pivotal role in the history of Christianity in Zimbabwe (Beach 1994). Several missionary attempts to convert local people were made. The first and second attempt failed. A third successful and final attempt was made to Christianise and then colonize Rhodesia – present day Zimbabwe – in 1889 with the Pioneer Column³¹ of Cecil John Rhodes.

Several empires for both Shona and Ndebele existed before 900 CE. Vambe (1972) has argued that empires or kingdoms brought peace, wealth, freedom, and stability to their citizens. In these kingdoms, trade routes for silver, gold, ivory, and copper emerged (Beach 1994) giving rise to the arrival of Arabs and Portuguese within various kingdoms. One of the kingdoms, named *Munhumutapa*, was known to have received Portuguese missionaries, in 1559 leading to the introduction of Christianity into the empire through Reverend Fr. Gonzalo da Silveira, a Jesuit

³¹ The Pioneer Column was a force comprising missionaries and colonists gathered by Cecil Rhodes and his British South Africa Company in 1890 to seize the territory of Mashonaland, reached Salisbury now (Harare) on 17 September 1891. raised the British flag, and occupied Mashonaland. It was accompanied by the Jesuits led by Fr Andrew Hartmann, Canon Balfour from the Anglican Diocese of Bloemfontein, Dominican sisters under Mother Patrick Cosgrave, missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, the Wesleyan Methodist Church with Owen Watkins and Isaac Shimmin, the Salvation Army under Captain John Pascoe, and RH Scott and the American Board of Commissioners consisting of eight Americans (Zvobgo 1996:5).

missionary sent from Goa to convert the *Munhumutapa* Empire to Catholicism (Hastings 1994:73). Fr. da Silveira's missionary efforts were, however, unsuccessful, and disastrous as converts lapsed soon after the missionary had left (Chirenje 1973:36-48 and Vambe 1972). After the death of Fr. da Silveira, the Dominican Friars also made attempts to Christianise the natives under Munhumutapa (Denis 1998).

During that same 16th century, Mzilikazi moved to Bulawayo in the south-west of present-day Zimbabwe conquering the Rozvi Empire and other Shona groups, reducing them to vassalhood (Sibanda and Dube 2018:44). Bhebe (1979:41-43) argued that the Ndebele and Shona began to interact, intermarriages resulted, and trade routes were revitalised. Sundkler and Steed (2000:445) argue that the 'missionary road' was initiated by three Scottish missionaries, namely Robert Moffat, David Livingstone, and John Mackenzie, who were under the London Missionary Society (LMS). They worked hard from 1850 to 1880, trying to convert the local Ndebele people but could not win a single soul. The Society of Jesus (Jesuits) under Fr Peter Prestige also laboured for twenty years without winning converts (Zvobgo 1996:1). This led Fr Prestige to comment that "Until the Matabele are put down by brute force... they will never improve" (Zvobgo 1996:5). Fr Prestige's famous quote on brutal force was then witnessed in the third phase which was in the colonial era between 1888 and 1952. With the Pioneer Column, Rhodes recruited a team (Jesuits and Dominican missionaries) that dedicated their lives to serving the Shona people who had been conquered by the Ndebele under Mzilikazi (Linden 1980:8).

The history of Christianity in Zimbabwe demonstrates three phases of church planting: mission churches, Pentecostal churches, and New Religious Right Movements, (NRRMs) later referred to as New Religious Movements (NRMs). The first phase was the missionary evangelism of the 19th century, which included mainline denominations such as Catholic, Anglican, and Methodist churches. The second wave began with the 1906 Azusa Street movement that gave birth to Pentecostalism. It includes churches such as Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), Assemblies of God (AOG) and Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa/ Forward in Faith (ZAOGA). Some scholars classify African Independent/Initiated Churches (AICs) under Pentecostal churches while others separate them. AICs include the Ethiopians, Zionists, and Charismatics. The third wave gave birth to another form of Charismatic Christianity influenced by American Pentecostalism, a

movement of revival. These three phases of the history of Christianity in Zimbabwe faced different challenges.

Four challenges which affected the history of Christianity in Zimbabwe were noted. Firstly, the challenge was around the African worldview on the reality of evil spirits, demons and witchcraft which many African people have had to deal with on their day-to-day lives (Mahohoma 2017:8; Gifford 2001). People believe that evils spirits negatively affect their search for employment and their family life. All these problems are attributed to demons or evil spirits that people need to be delivered from through healing and deliverance (Chibango 2016:67). Secondly, the mission churches felt the effect of the first liberation war (from 1896 to 1897), which was fought between the white colonizers under the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and the indigenous Shona and Ndebele communities. The second liberation war, referred to as the guerrilla war (from 1966 to 1979) upon which Zimbabwe gained its independence in 1980, also affected the mission churches.

Thirdly, poverty and unemployment in Zimbabwe has always been a problem, from the pre-colonial period to the present day. As Mpofu (2013:253) highlights, the Zimbabwean environment has failed to provide decent jobs over the last two decades, causing fear and anxiety among people searching for jobs in a context of abject poverty. Fourthly, the economic crisis which hit Zimbabwe in 1994 resulted in the political and economic crises which include failure to pay salaries for civil servants, high unemployment rates, closure of various companies, the collapse of health care services, shortage of food and drugs, and health personnel leaving Zimbabwean in search of new employment opportunities.

3.4.1 History of Mission Churches and Response to Challenges Faced

The above-mentioned challenges affected the mission churches. The Catholic Church's involvement in responding to poverty and unemployment was characterized by extensive missionary involvement in education and health. The Jesuits and Dominicans were known as the best educationists in Zimbabwe (Baur 2009:288; Weller and Linden 1984). They established institutions or missions such as Chishawasha, Empandeni, Gokomere, Silveira mission, Driefontein, Hwange training centre, Silveira house, Triashill and many more (Weller and Linden 1984). Catholics also played a critical role in evangelization and addressing poverty and

unemployment during the colonial era (Rogers 2012:171). The church set up a Commission of Social Service and Development (CSSD) which later on changed its name to Catholic Development Commission (CADEC), then Caritas Zimbabwe and became a member of Caritas Internationalis- an international developmental arm of the Catholic Church in the whole world. Between 1982-1984, the Catholic Church focused on rural development, rural self-reliance and priority was on education and reconstruction processes. Caritas continues to do humanitarian and development work, empowering the needy and vulnerable communities in Zimbabwe. Within the Catholic Church, there exists the Catholic Charismatic Renewal³², a spiritual movement within the Catholic Church that incorporates aspects of both Catholic and Charismatic movement practice. Some teachings of Protestantism and Pentecostalism tend to influence this movement with an emphasis on having a personal relationship with Jesus and expressing the gift of the Holy Spirit (Csordas 2007: 295-314). It is to this group that Walter Magaya belonged before the founding of the PHD Ministries.

The Anglican Church in Zimbabwe was permitted to operate in Manicaland in St Augustine-Penhalonga where five evangelists, including Bernard Muzeki and Frank Ziqubu, started working at Mangwende and Makoni. Bishop Gaul's coming to Mashonaland brought more teachers, and the establishment of more schools including St Augustine and St Faith Boys high, and St Monica Girls high in Manicaland (Zvobgo 1973:76). The Anglican church also established the Anglican Relief & Development in Zimbabwe (ARDeZ) which provides humanitarian assistance, children/youth counselling, education/training on environment, gender, HIV and AIDS, health support, microfinance, poverty alleviation, rural development and vocational training.

Methodism came in two forms: the British Wesleyan Church centred in Harare (Epworth) in 1891; and the American United Methodist in Old Mutare in 1898 (Baur 2009:289). A favourable response from several chiefs allowed Mr. Isaac Shimmin and Owen Watkins to found stations

³² This started as a group of students at a retreat in 1967 led by Professor Ralph Keifer and Patrick Bourgeois at a Catholic university in Pittsburgh in the USA where they received the baptism in the Holy Spirit and began to speak in tongues. From that time, the spread of the movement has involved the setup of prayer groups all over the world with a strong commitment to spiritual ideals. These spiritual ideals are based on a born-again spirituality of a "personal relationship" with Jesus and direct access to divine power and inspiration through "spiritual gifts" or "charisms", including faith-healing, prophecy, and speaking in tongues (Csordas 2007:295-314).

for the British Wesleyan Church in Waddilove, Hartleyton, and Kwenda. The Wesleyans opened their hospital at Kwenda Mission in 1913 and a teacher training department at Nenguwo (Waddilove) Mission (Weller and Linden 1984). The Methodist Episcopal Church believed that the primary vehicle of missionary strategy was an industrial mission where preaching was complemented by a literary education, and training in trade skills (Weller and Linden 1984). Towards the end of 1901, there began among the Manyika a movement in favour of Christianity in Old Mutare. New stations were opened in Mutambara (1905), Marange, Nyakatsapa, Murehwa (1909), Mutoko (1911), and Nyadiri (1923) (Zvobgo 1996:74). The Methodist Episcopal Church paid attention to the demand for education and health as a tool for the evangelisation. Schools and a hospital were addressing the needs of the people.

3.4.2 History of Pentecostalism and Poverty and Unemployment

The second wave began with the 1906 Azusa Street movement that gave birth to Pentecostalism. Chitando (2013:97) argues that there are three critical dimensions relevant to understanding Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe. Chitando argues that Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe first forms part of a significant global phenomenon that has remained one of the fastest-growing religious phenomena in the contemporary period. It all started and expanded from the USA, emphasising the Holy Spirit's role, speaking in tongues and miracles (Cornelio and Medina 2020:65). Within this first critical dimension suggested by Chitando (2013), it has commonly been assumed Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) gave birth to various churches including Assemblies of God (AOG), Family of God (FOG), and Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA) (Matikiti 2017:138-142; Gifford 1988:2; Maxwell 1998:355; Togarasei 2005:350; Mumford 2012:372; Bishau 2015:5). Walter Hollenweger and American Pentecostal Harvey Cox included the African Initiated Churches (AICs) in the Pentecostal family while others separate them. Chitando (2013), however, argues that the AICs contributes to the second critical dimension of African Pentecostalism which interacts with the global phenomena but giving an African flavour of its African view of the universe, its beliefs in myriad of spirits and powers. The third critical dimension relevant to understanding Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe is centred on Pentecostal prophets who emerged after 2008. This third critical dimension will be discussed in section 3.4.4 on the history of NRMs in Zimbabwe.

The AICs are African initiatives that have flourished with their focus on communality and the amalgamation of facets of Christianity with the culture of the local people (Hastings 1994:118; Sundkler and Steed 2000:816). Ethiopians³³, Zionists³⁴ and Charismatics³⁵ were the African initiated or independent churches that evolved within the second wave of classical Pentecostalism even though an overlap was witnessed. Pentecostalism and the Azusa Street movement in 1906 gave context to classical Pentecostalism while other AICs even emerged before, during, and after the emergence of Pentecostalism. Because of the overlap witnessed between classical Pentecostalism and AICs, I decided to place AICs after classical Pentecostalism to link them to neo-Pentecostalism or African Pentecostalism.

Considering that the history of Pentecostalism has always been difficult to trace, scholars distinguished different types of Pentecostalism using different names such as modern Pentecostalism, traditional Pentecostalism, charismatic Pentecostalism, third-wave Pentecostalism, and neo-Pentecostalism (Maxwell 1998:355, 2006:38; Togarasei 2005:349; Anderson 2004:103-104). Followers of these Pentecostal churches call themselves 'born again' Christians, a common feature of African Christianity. They emphasize the workings of the Spirit, both on phenomenological and on theological grounds (Anderson 2004:103-104). By definition, the Pentecostal phenomenon emphasizes speaking in tongues and the Holy Spirit (Anderson 2004:103-104; Togarasei 2005:349). Chibango (2016:71) highlighted that much focus is placed on miracles, speaking in tongues, healing, and prophecy.

William Joseph Seymour started the Apostolic Faith Mission on 312 Azusa Street in 1906. Pentecostal missionaries were sent out worldwide from Azusa Street, reaching over 25 nations in two years (Anderson 2004:43). Togarasei (2006:1) pointed out that the Pentecostal movement reached South Africa two years after the Azusa revival and then moved to Zimbabwe where focus was put on AFM, ZAOGA and FOG. The history of these three Pentecostal churches shows

³³ Even if the Ethiopian movement can be classified under second wave of classical Pentecostalism, it is pertinent to note that Ethiopians appeared long before Pentecostalism emerged as a structured church movement. Hence Ethiopianists belong to the late 19th century.

³⁴ Daneel (1970) *Zionism and Faith Healing in Rhodesia, Aspects of African Independent Churches*, writes about this other phenomenon, focusing much on Zion Christian Churches and apostolic sects, arguing that these churches in particular Zionists focus on the gift of the Holy Spirit. The Zionists belong to the early 20th century.

³⁵ These Charismatics are a combination of African initiatives in Christianity that flourished on communality and the local people's culture. They include the Apostolic sects such as Joane Marange and Joane Masowe and they are different from the Charismatics influenced by the American Pentecostalism.

how they responded to poverty and unemployment differently from how missionary or mainline churches dealt with the same issues. Due to mining activities in South Africa, many migrants from Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia were hosted and were believed to have embraced Pentecostalism in South Africa. Upon returning home, it was believed that the migrants preached the same gospel in Zimbabwe.

In 1915, in Gwanda, Zacharias Manamela, laid the foundation of AFM (Maxwell 2006:38; Togarasei 2010:21). Other missionaries, such as Reverend G.J. Booysen and Mr. Kgobe, who succeeded Mr. Manamela, tried to gain official recognition but failed (Togarasei 2010:21). Emphasis was on glossolalia and faith healing. The church was denied official status in Harare because the church was roaming all over the districts without respecting the missionary boundaries which had been put in place by the colonial government (Togarasei 2016). More so, there was an uneasiness caused from the preaching and activities around glossolalia, healing, and speaking in tongues which was different from the mainline formalized worship (Togarasei 2016:4). AFM challenged spiritual issues such as witchcraft and evil spirits possession, which the mainline churches dealt with differently. By doing so, this movement could have caused anxiety as it addressed challenges that had been ignored by the missionaries.

Maxwell (2006:38) and Togarasei (2006:2, 2016:5) argue that Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe gave birth to several African Initiated or Instituted Churches (AICs) and the rise of other Pentecostal churches. Other scholars such as W. Hollenweger (2004:125-137) and H. Cox (1993:29-34) included AICs in the Pentecostal family based on Anderson's (2004) definition of Pentecostalism, which describes all churches and movements that emphasize the working of the spirit both on phenomenological and theological grounds (Anderson 2004:103). The official recognition of the AFM in 1943 led to the proper coordination and administration of the church, activities, establishment of order, and discipline which also led some members to leave the church voluntarily or by expulsion (Togarasei 2016:5). The mass exodus of people from the AFM saw other people form apostolic churches, which became the AICs, developing their theologies differently from the AFM teaching. Of interest, the AFM gave birth to the ZAOGA, a church which Maxwell (2006:60) saw as a church for young zealots who are focused on being prosperous. These young Pentecostal zealots included Joseph Choto, Raphael Kupara, Lazurus Mamvura, James Muhwati, Priscilla Ngoma, Caleb Ngorima and Abel Sande, who formed a

prayer band and choir around the charismatic evangelist Ezekiel Guti who is well known as the founder of ZAOGA Forward in Faith.

ZAOGA Forward in Faith operated in urban areas and moved into the rural areas paying attention on making the best of rapid social change and guarding Pentecostals against falling into poverty and destitution (Togarasei 2016:6). The church has extended social services to the running of schools, orphanages, hospitals, television stations, and a university in Bindura (Musoni (2013:80). Other Pentecostal churches that became popular in Zimbabwe include the Family of God (FOG) founded by Andrew Wutawunashe in 1980. FOG has attracted those seeking both success and prosperity, with the bulk of followers coming from high-density suburbs. The FOG targeted schools, colleges, and urban centres with its outreach programme based on where members reside, and crusades were then done in those areas (Togarasei 2016:6). It emphasised on breaking away from the appeasement of ancestral spirits, the unveiling of tombstones and other traditional practices (Togarasei 2010:356). The church, however, attracts youth from the age group from 22-35 years calling them to be successful in business and aiming to become millionaires. The gospel of prosperity remains central to the FOG as believers are called to be delivered from the spirit of poverty, and healing from witchcraft and evil spirits, issues that the mainline churches ignored.

3.4.3 History of African Independent Churches and Poverty and Unemployment

With the spread of Christianity in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, another type of Christianity was born from within classical Pentecostalism. As noted earlier that there has been an overlap where the Ethiopian movement appeared long before classical or missionary Pentecostalism emerged as a structured church movement. The phenomenon of AICs is complex. These churches are not homogeneous by any standard, and it is not easy to give a clear label for these movements. Several independent churches, however, included Ethiopians, Zionists, and Charismatics (Daneel 1970:14). This type of Christianity or Church is commonly known as the African Independent or Initiated Churches. By the 1920s, churches and schools belonging to Ethiopian churches were established. A good example is the Ethiopian African Congregational Church in Zimbabwe, which seceded from the American Board Missions in Zimbabwe. The church became centralized among the Ndaу people in Manicaland in 1942 and reached out to the whole country under Moses Ruwana. In the 1960s, the church had about 8000 members, with six ministers and a substantial body of sub-leaders (Sundkler and Steed 2000:60).

Zionism began in South Africa as the Zion Apostolic Church under Bishop Elias Mahlangu in 1917 (Daneel 1987:56). The church had significant influence and significance for Shona migrant labourers in South Africa. In 1923, two Shona migrant labourers, Samuel Mutendi and Andreas Shoko, were baptized in the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission of Edward of Basutoland. There were a series of breakaways within the Zion Apostolic Church in South Africa. Mutendi returned to Rhodesia and founded the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), where he attracted many people at the national level (Daneel 1987:58). Mutendi's Zion Christian Church was well known for providing food and support to the guerrilla fighters and teaching people who were out of school. The other AICs were Johane Marange and the Charismatics of Johanne Masowe whose followers were moving from Zimbabwe to South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. They became another powerful institution within Southern Africa (Hastings 1994:118). These independent churches were a wandering community, with an extended family living together, worshiping, and working together. They moved together over numerous countries, evangelizing people (Daneel 1987:58). The method of conversion used by Johane Masowe and Johane Marange made it easier for people to accept Christianity as their way of life. What they preached was not foreign to the local people. Poverty and unemployment affecting the local people was lived and shared by the Charismatics and Ethiopians (Sundkler and Steed 2000:816).

The AICs created a wandering community of extended families living together, worshiping and healing, and working together bringing food (Sundkler and Steed 2000:816). Founders of these Apostolic churches and the ZCC emphasized the importance of industry, thrift, and profit (Denis 2012:727). They were involved in creating jobs around carpentry, basket making, cloth-making, wholesale retail, food retail, hawking, building, money lending, transport, vehicle repair, vegetable production, and most importantly, informal healing (Denis 2012:729). All this was meant to cater to the poorest of the poor, encouraging one another to find work and offering mutual assistance rather than preaching instant fortunes, which tends to dominate the American type of Pentecostalism.

3.4.4 History of the NRMs in Zimbabwe

A clear typology of NRMs in Zimbabwe has proved to be a challenge. As noted in section 3.4.2, Chitando (2013:97) suggested three critical dimensions relevant to understanding Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe. While the first critical dimension involved AFM and the second paying attention to African Pentecostalism with its worldview, myriad of spirits and powers, the third critical dimension pays attention to NRMs which emerged after 2008. Based on the above critical dimensions, Mapuranga (2013:172) agrees with Togarasei (2010:20) that the emergence of Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe was primarily facilitated by the AFM. Many schisms developed, leading to the formation of more Pentecostal churches though not all of Pentecostal churches emerged directly from the AFM. A considerable amount of literature published on Pentecostalism and AFM show that the churches which came from the AFM had their reasons for the breakaway. What is common is their emphasis on the gospel of prosperity. While some mainline churches in Zimbabwe have challenged the government on socio-economic and political issues, the contemporary home-grown Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe influenced by the American Pentecostalism, rarely challenged the state (Gifford 1988:1, 1998:315).

Before moving to Chitando (2013)'s third critical dimension to understanding Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe, I have observed that providing a clear typology of NRMs in Zimbabwe requires much-deserved attention on the American televangelists who came to Zimbabwe in the 1980s. Shumba (2015:154) argues that the emergence of the gospel of prosperity in Zimbabwe was also witnessed during its prominence in the 1980s with American televangelist such as Jim Bakker and Jimmy Swaggart. Gifford (2004:13) argues that one of its diffusions was Bonnke's fire conference in Harare in April 1986 which drew 4000 delegates from 41 African countries. Kenneth Copeland conducted one of the key seminars on the gospel and prosperity. During that period, Jimmy Swaggart Ministries, Christ for All Nations, Youth with a Mission, and Full Gospel Businessmen's Fellowship International came into Zimbabwe focusing on anti-communism and an anti-socialism prosperity gospel, capacitating local churches, and relief work (Gifford 1988:46-82).

Sundkler and Steed (2000:812) noted that the Zimbabwean independence ushered mushrooming of NRMs. Some of the NRMs during that time included Campus Crusade which came to Zimbabwe in 1979 as Life Ministries, providing chaplaincy at the University of Zimbabwe and

focusing on those students who had no pastors, distributing food, providing seminars, and giving retreats to businesspeople (Gifford 1988:50). The Rhema Bible Church held its first service in Zimbabwe in April 1982. It ran various programmes focusing on prosperity. The church prioritized youth, prisons, hospitals, and audio- and video-taped ministries. Around 1996, Tom Deuschle changed the name Rhema Bible Church to Hear the Word Church (Deuschle 2003). At present, the church is well known as 'Celebration Ministries'. Deuschle (2003) pointed out that the church's focus is mainly on transforming the lives of people through different sectors within Celebration Ministries. Another church that focuses on transformation is New Life Ministries founded by Tundo Bismark and his wife, ChiChi. It was formerly Jabula – New Life Ministries International in 1989, an extension of New Life Covenant Church in Harare. The vision of New Life Ministries is to establish God's kingdom by transforming people and transforming nations with a philosophy of empowerment.

The 1980s showed that there has been an increase in the numbers of the NRMs. Some founders emerged from Zimbabwe and Nigeria, with many Zimbabweans trained under prominent West African preachers who were well known for performing miracles. Such pastors include T.B Joshua of Synagogue Church of all nations, Pastor Victor Kusi Boateng of Ghana, Pastor Chris Oyakhilome of Christ Embassy (Vengeyi 2013:30). Gukurume (2021:7)³⁶ argues that the Pentecostal explosion in Zimbabwe coincided with a protracted socio-economic and political crisis from the beginning of the year 2000. Chapter two has demonstrated that Zimbabwe's socio-economic and political crisis can be traced back to the 1980s soon after independence.

The third critical dimension relevant to understanding Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe, as suggested by Chitando (2013:97), is the emergence of young Pentecostal prophets after 2008. Gunda (2012:335-336) and Anderson (2001) suggested that young Pentecostal prophets must be linked to the 'spirit type' prophets of Apostolic, Zionist and charismatic AICs³⁷ who emerged in Zimbabwe in the 1930s. Asamoah-Gyadu (2012) detects a move from 'prophetism to

³⁶ This is a newly established journal for Religion and Development

³⁷ Their founders are generally charismatic and younger men and women who are respected for their preaching and leadership abilities and relatively well educated, though not necessarily in theology. These churches tend to be more sharply opposed to several traditional practices than is the case with prophet healing churches. They often ban alcohol and tobacco, symbolic healing objects, and the wearing of uniforms. The membership consists of younger, less economically deprived, and more formally educated people. They are often seen, particularly by the older AICs, as mounting a sustained attack on traditional African values (Anderson 2001:19)

Pentecostalism while Chitando (2013:98) argues that the two could co-exist though older apostolic prophets seem to have been overtaken by young, charismatic Pentecostal prophets preaching about prosperity. After the 2008 crisis in Zimbabwe (as noted in chapter two section 2.2.9) witnessed by hyperinflation, economic and political crisis and increasing poverty, unemployment, high death rates, and hopelessness, a new type of gospel of prosperity emerged. This new type of gospel of prosperity is coupled with its young and famous prophets, miracles and miracle workers (Zimunya and Gwara 2013:187). Their message of promising wealth, health, abundant life and hope was very appealing to a dejected society. Solace was sought in religion, and the Pentecostal prophets preached that God had grand plans for Zimbabweans gaining popularity in the face of severe socio-economic challenges (Chitando 2013:98).

Gukurume (2021:30) refers NRMs founded by youthful charismatic leaders from 2008 and onwards as the fourth wave of the Pentecostal category. He argues that fourth wave is marked by strong emphasis on the prophetic and miraculous accumulation of material wealth in the here and now rather than the life after death. In addition, it is largely initiated in Africa by young and charismatic prophets who deploy spectacular power in demonstrating the power of Jesus Christ in a battlefield world where Christians engage in perpetual spiritual warfare fight against the work of evil forces (Gukurume 2021:31). While Gukurume (2021) considers these youthful charismatic leaders as fourth wave Pentecostal category, I argue that these youthful prophets still form part of the third wave, emphasising on the gospel of prosperity. What makes them unique is their age and emphasis on miraculous wealth and healing³⁸ and the period (2008 onwards) in which they were bound to emerge within the Zimbabwean context. Vengeyi (2013:31) made it clear that these miracles and prosperity gospel is not entirely new to Zimbabwe. Prophets in AICs, traditional healers, E.H Gutu of ZAOGA, Andrew Wutawunashe of FOG and Matthias and Mildred of Matthias and Mildred Church all claimed that they perform miracles. It is in this context that Pentecostal churches have sprouted or mushroomed offering a much-needed solace. Pentecostal churches have offered hope in desperate situations. Many Zimbabweans claimed to have witnessed miraculous signs performed by the prophets while others kept joining these new churches claiming to have their physical and spiritual problems supposedly solved.

³⁸ The healing component of the Pentecostal AICs was meant to fill the gap left by mainline churches, which focused on physical healing at the expense of spiritual healing. Oduro (2006:2) classified the AICs as a 'potpourri of African churches' though maintained that there are conservative, charismatic, and reformed AICs.

The above-mentioned youthful charismatic prophets within the NRMs in Zimbabwe include the United Family International Church of Emmanuel Makandiwa, International Denominational School of Deliverance of Oliver Chipunza, and Heartfelt International Ministries of Tavonga Vutabwashe. They also include Spirit Embassy of Uebert Angel, Life House International Church of Talent Chiweshe, Glory Covenant Church of Cecil Muzavazi. These NRMs also include Passion Java of Kingdom Embassy, Adventure Mutepfa of Revival Centre World Ministry and Oliver Chipunza of Apostolic Flame Ministries of Zimbabwe (Vengeyi 2013:28). Within this study the focus will be on Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries of Walter Magaya, Grace Oasis Ministries of Pastor Tinashe and Emmaus Encounter of Reverend Makahamadze. All these new churches arose after 2008, a period often characterized as the lowest point in the Zimbabwean crisis (Chitando, Chikowero and Madongonda 2015:2). To date (2019), Zimbabweans are battling with such economic crises, worsened by the political crises.

3.4.4.1 Unique Features of the NRMs in Zimbabwe

The characteristic features of the NRMs in Zimbabwe are similar those highlighted within the African context on section 3.3.3. The young and famous prophets, however, pay more attention to miraculous wealth and healing have enticing many poor, young urban middle class, elite and educated Zimbabweans who experience severe economic challenges (Togarasei 2011:341; Mangezi and Manzanga 2016). The gospel of prosperity tends to give immediate answers to people's problems with preachers emphasising physical and spiritual breakthroughs on health and well-being, business development and employment opportunities, wealth creation and general prosperity (Mangena and Mhizha 2014:138). Prophets claim to perform 'extra-ordinary' miracles which contradict nature. Between 2010 to 2013, Zimbabwe witnessed a range of 'miracle money' where money was believed to fill pockets and wallets and hands of believers with gold nuggets. Prophets also claim to heal cancer, HIV, AIDS, and raise the dead. These prophets have been known for performing other miracles such as instant weight loss, full teeth growth after falling out, miracle babies, refueling the cars without going to the service station, and making predictions of events that would happen the near or distant future. Such miracles are closely linked to the one claimed by TB Joshua of Synagogue Church of all nations, pastor Victor Kusi Boateng of Ghana, Pastor Chris Oyakhilome of Christ Embassy (Vengeyi 2013:30). Healing and deliverance also feature prominently in the NRMs worship and naming of some

churches. Of interest in this study is Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries and Grace Oasis Ministries and Emmaus Encounter.

Another unique feature of NRMs in Zimbabwe is what Cornelio and Medina (2020:65) call prosperity ethic popularly known as the gospel of prosperity. This new prosperity ethic is backed by a religious belief of individual work ethic that promises financial returns. It has two features which involves sacralising self-help and celebrating consumption. Furthermore, it is individualistic in nature as opposed to a collective effort. It sacralise work ethic with the conviction that God wants to bless his people so that they can be rich and successful while ensuring financial growth and freedom from debt (Cornelio and Medina 2020). What is unique about this phenomenon is that the old prosperity gospel is miracle-oriented providing a message of hope for the poor and preaching breakthroughs by giving and positive confession while asking believers to simply believe, profess and give money to the prophets or pastors thereby witnessing miraculous blessing. Such an old prosperity gospel is still common within the Zimbabwean NRMs. However, Cornelio and Medina (2020:70) see the new prosperity ethic as the one that teaches believers to adopt practical skills related to investment, financial management and religious innovations that address economic insecurities and build on personal aspirations for spiritual growth and material success.

It is pertinent to note that the prosperity ethic is an unapologetic enjoyment of good life here and now while responding to the situation of an emerging middle class with emphasis on self-help and consumption to benefit from the economy using biblical and Christian principles (Cornelio and Medina 2020:71). The above proposed prosperity ethic which seems to be unique within the NRMs in Zimbabwe together with the well know prosperity gospel seem to share the difference in content. The old or common prosperity gospel seem to rely heavily on the promise of financial miracle, which is activated through the power of confession and giving, and the prosperity ethic emphasizing on financial growth through self-help and other practical tips about investment and resource management. As a result of these emphases, the old prosperity gospel and the new prosperity ethic have attracted different audiences. The former is a message of hope for the poor. The latter works for the aspirational middle class (Togarasei 2011:341; Mangezi and Manzanga 2016; Mangena and Mhizha 2014) though I believe that this phenomenon targets both the poor and middle class in Zimbabwe.

3.4.4.2 NRMs' Response to Poverty and Unemployment in Zimbabwe

While the NRRMs which came from America were political and anti-communist in their approach, they focused on relief work, responding to war victims and the day-to-day needs of the people, and mainly the gospel of prosperity teaching. The NRMs offered hope in desperate situations. Many Zimbabweans claimed to have witnessed miraculous signs performed, quick solutions to physical and spiritual problems (Zimunya and Gwara 2013:191). Mission churches, however, taught about suffering and perseverance in life. The NRMs responded to poverty, unemployment, and other challenges through chaplaincy to university students, food distribution, relief work, retreats for businesspeople, giving hope to the believers through encouraging empowerment and entrepreneurship. Mpofu (2016:248) highlighted that NRMs' sermons are motivational, enlightening, and address practical problems that many people encounter in their day-to-day lives. The promised economic emancipation within the gospel of prosperity is used to lure people into escaping economic challenges. NLCC has been involved in empowerment projects, humanitarian projects, educational scholarships, and other development-related projects. Celebration Church has also been involved in hospital ministry, youth ministry, building people's dreams, transforming people through different sectors, training leaders, education, health relationships amongst members, relief and development projects (Deuschle 2003). UFIC has also been engaged in donating in cash or kind to the underprivileged. It has assisted families to meet their basic needs, income generating projects, educational support such as scholarship, and community infrastructural development (Gukurume 2021:34).

Considering what Togarasei (2011:343) noted arguing that the gospel of prosperity appeals to both those who want to be wealthy or successful and those who are already successful, making rich people feel comfortable and confident within the NRMs, it shows another way which the NRMs have responded to poverty, unemployment, and other challenges. The hope which the gospel of prosperity gives to the poor majority that they will also be rich one day makes sense to believers who have faith in God. The NRMs have encouraged church followers to start their businesses, sow the seed to the church, and get involved in several development projects that create employment for others. Togarasei (2011:345) highlighted that NRMs have contributed to poverty alleviation in Africa through encouraging entrepreneurship citing examples of believers, such as Strive Masiwa, the founder of Econet Wireless in Zimbabwe, who has contributed to development through employment creation and offering scholarships to many Zimbabweans.

Some preachers emphasize that God does not want his believers to be employees but to be employers. Believers should deliver themselves from a salary mentality to an 'income mentality'. All these responses to poverty, unemployment and other necessities need to be understood in African philanthropy.

3.4.4.3 Gospel of Prosperity and Philanthropy

Fowler and Mati (2019: 724-737) defined philanthropy as the desire to promote the welfare of others, expressed predominantly by the generous donation of money to good causes. In Africa, gifting and philanthropy practices are characterised by a reciprocal obligation dynamic, which initiates a cycle of giving and receiving counter-gifts. However, motivation for giving varies and gift-giving is variously theorised. Giving can be theorised in three forms³⁹. The first form of gift-giving is characterised by reciprocity among social collectives (such giving could be time, money, personal returns such as higher level of happiness, self-satisfaction, mental or physical well-being). Within the African context, direct giving happens at the community level involving mutual exchanges by people with similar socio-economic characteristics giving to each other, a phenomenon seen as horizontal philanthropy. The second form is for the benefit of a greater number motivated by anticipation for a reward. The third perspective is on gifts motivated by altruism or the need to help without expecting a reward.

Religion is one of the most important predictors of philanthropic behaviour. Giving to and serving other human beings is cardinal tenet in all faith (Fowler and Mati 2019). Hence, faith plays a role in the way people give and it has a role in the reproduction of *habitus*⁴⁰. For Bourdieu (2015), *habitus* mediates how the socio-symbolic structure of society becomes deposited inside a person in the form of lasting dispositions. I suppose that the idea behind establishing a charity

³⁹ The first is the formulation associated with the works of among others Mauss (1990), Lévi-Strauss (1969), Simmel (1950), and Bourdieu (1977). They see gift-giving as primarily characterised by reciprocity as part of widespread norms of solidarity among social collectives (Barman, 2017). An obligation could influence it, reciprocity, a realisation that someone needs help or someone encouraging the other to give etc. A second perspective sees gifting as a purely utilitarian markets-based exchange between individuals motivated by the giver's anticipation of a reward (Barman 2017). This view is mainly in corporate philanthropy, where there is a favour with customers, employees, and the local community to improve a company's bottom line. It is seen as risk management with reputational benefits instead of moral compulsion (Fowler and Mati 2019). The third form is about a behaviour enthused by considerations for the needs of another individual rather than by one's rewards. This could also be in religious terms where one gives to total strangers anonymously.

⁴⁰ Bourdieu defined *habitus* as an embodied way of thinking and behaving or internalised dispositions and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinant ways. These are enduring patterned ways of being often transferable and reconfigured in various socio-economic and political contexts.

fund or institution responsible for philanthropic work is to ensure a formalised structure or systematic manner. It will also motivate other people to give more. This will also ensure that there is adequate tracking of the effectiveness of the gift. Gukurume (2021:29), attempting to differentiate between charity and philanthropy, argues that charity is viewed as easing immediate and immanent suffering. In contrast, philanthropy focuses on amending structural causes of social ills. In other words, charity is all about giving in cash or kind towards the most vulnerable and suffering. The two terms are sometimes used interchangeably. They are used as acts of altruism and generosity without the expectation of reciprocity from the receiving party.

Within the NRMs, the first form of giving seem to define the believers' philanthropy where the pastors or prophets seem not to emphasise much on horizontal philanthropy. The first form seems to define African spirit of helping each other or the spirit of *ubuntu*⁴¹. It is within the second form of philanthropy that NRMs encourage the believers to give through sowing the seed with an expectation that God will reimburse what would have been sown. The second form of giving seem not to apply to the pastor who is the receiver of all that is sowed. The third form of giving tend to define giving performed by founders or pastors of the NRMs. Some pastors within NRMs give to believers and total strangers who need school fees, food, accommodation, and income-generating initiatives without expecting rewards. While the gospel of prosperity emphasises giving and responding to the needs of the less fortunate in the communities, members are the ones mostly encouraged to give generously. More so, giving within NRMs can be seen as motivated by self-centeredness as the giver gives in expectation of returns as emphasised in the teaching of the gospel of prosperity though Togarasei (2011:347) argues that believers are called to give irrespective of their intention. However, the intention is clear that believers are told to give to God so that they will be reimbursed abundantly. The NRMs' response to poverty, unemployment and crises in Zimbabwe tend to have been influenced by the third form of giving and such activities could be regarded as charity not philanthropy. However, such terms are used interchangeably. Gukurume (2021:28) argue that philanthropy and charity mediate and drive development processes. It is within such a context that this study examines the contribution of the selected NRMs on sustainable and transformational development.

⁴¹ Ubuntu speaks of humanity and connectedness, and recognises that the wellbeing of an individual is deeply tied to the wellbeing of others.

3.5 Critical Analysis of the Gospel of Prosperity

Critical analysis of the gospel of prosperity focuses on the positive and negative effects of the NRMs. Some scholars have noted that NRMs have empowered congregants, encouraged them to become entrepreneurs and invest back into their community, and provided a sense of belonging. However, other scholars have seen corrupt tendencies within the gospel of prosperity, while others have observed the promotion of capitalism within the teaching and view it as an insult to the poor man or woman who has failed in life, and as an impetus for delusion.

3.5.1 Negative Effects of the Gospel of Prosperity

This study provides a critical assessment of the NRMs and demonstrates that the negative effects of the gospel of prosperity outweigh the positive effects. The economic situation in most African countries make people work hard to find ways to survive. Therefore, starting a business within the NRMs becomes a deliberate profit-making action for the believers making it questionable if the gospel of prosperity promotes entrepreneurship. There are also various adverse effects and aspects of the gospel of prosperity within the NRMs as noted below.

3.5.1.1 Corruption Tendencies, Extravagant Lifestyle and Social Responsibility

Soboyejo (2016:7) highlights that the gospel of prosperity is another example of corruption as it attempts to pursue self-enrichment. In a way, the gospel of prosperity promises what is not real. Some pastors are very corrupt and live an extravagant lifestyle while the poor people preached to remain poor, and the little they have is taken away from them through seeding. Mashau and Kgatle (2019:3) noted that many pastors in South Africa, such as Pastors Mboro and Bushiri, live an expensive lifestyle. The question could be: who should feed the other, between the pastor and believers, in light of the story of Jesus feeding the 5000 people? Pastors tend to ask the 5000 who are the believers to feed one man of God. This seems opposite to what Jesus taught in the gospels.

Gifford (1991:9-20) pointed out that the gospel of prosperity encourages an inactive acceptance of disasters, calamity, and lack of social responsibility, leading to poor, if not absent commitment to development. There is a lack of social responsibility in the NRMs' teaching, where only Christians matter. Non-Christians or non-believers seem not to have what believers would enjoy, including good jobs, food, education, funds, and successful businesses. The NRMs tend to focus

on themselves and their believers whom they allegedly defraud and fail to engage in community development.

Maxwell (1998:358) and Gifford (1991:9-20) argue that the gospel of prosperity makes it hard to focus on Africa's economic and political issues. The NRMs ignore political issues and focuses on giving quick solutions and answers to social problems through the gospel of prosperity and directing all human and social problems to evil spirits and demons. Mumford (2012:379) argues that the prosperity gospel is individualistic with its emphasis on entrepreneurship. The gospel of prosperity tends to focus on individuals attaining and accumulating resources and becoming rich (Cornelio and Medina 2020:65). In addition, the prosperity gospel denies the existence of an oppressive system in which challenges caused by an oppressive government and affecting the whole country are attributed to one's lack of faith and the works of the devil.

3.5.1.2 Insult to the Poor

Despite Togarasei's (2011) assessment that the gospel of prosperity encourages entrepreneurship which leads to development, there is another negative observation made – that the gospel of prosperity is an insult to poor people who have failed to meet their basic needs (Gifford 1990; 1998). For Togarasei (2011), the gospel of prosperity has controversial positive and negative effects. However, his conviction is that the gospel of prosperity has the potential to contribute to poverty alleviation in Africa (Togarasei 2011:344). The negative effects of the gospel of prosperity show that it is only the rich who feel comfortable with this type of Christianity. The poor are so vulnerable that they use all that they have to sow the seed with the hope that God will bless them while the gospel of prosperity blames the poor and vulnerable for their sin and failure to seed more to God (Taylor, Meer and Reimer 2013). It can, however, be argued that poor people do not benefit from this teaching. To some extent, this teaching promotes laziness where believers seed their money to get abundant returns.

3.5.1.3 Impetus for Delusion and Anti-Christ Teaching

Taylor, Meer and Reimer (2013) argue that the teaching of the gospel of prosperity is seduction into a false delusion. It is very unrealistic in the way it deals with everyday life situations, contradicts the teachings in the Bible, and offers shortcuts to material success. Dada (2004:95-105) in Nigeria concluded that the gospel of prosperity is an impetus for delusion. Dada

researched whether the gospel of prosperity contributed to poverty alleviation and observed that it was only the founders and pastors who became rich at the expense of individuals. Believers are thought to be deluded in that they should wait for God to manifest wealth to true believers. Believers are seen as responsible for their lack of prosperity through sin and failure to sow a seed. McKnight (2010) argued this theology makes God a vending machine in which believers put in faith and out comes blessings in the form of cars, money, good children, and beautiful homes. Taylor, Meer and Reimer (2013) pointed out that the gospel of prosperity reduces God to a 'genie in the bottle', whose main task is to respond to human manipulation.

Within NRMs, Jesus is associated with material riches, not spiritual riches. Jones (1998) pointed out that the gospel of prosperity is 'theologically bankrupt' with anti-Christian teaching. In other words, the teaching of the gospel of prosperity is against what Jesus taught and the life he lived, which was expressed in his suffering and death on a cross. Hence, the teaching of the gospel of prosperity is anti-Christ. Traditional churches teach that Christians are called to live the kind of life in which Jesus lived. However, the gospel of prosperity teaches the opposite. Muehlenburg (2009) calls this teaching deficient and, at times, heretical. Mackay (2009) argued that the gospel of prosperity is damaging and wicked. It is believed that the mission of Jesus was to save people from their sin while the gospel of prosperity teaches that Jesus came to make people rich. The gospel of prosperity tends to be more about its teachers or preachers without considering the followers' needs. More energy is spent on working to raise funds than on working on presenting the true gospel that nourishes the spiritual health of God's people (Taylor, Meer and Reimer 2013). In a way, the gospel of prosperity focuses more on money than evangelization.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter paid attention to the history of NRMs from the American type of Pentecostalism and their proponents. It also focused on contemporary Pentecostalism in Africa, its characteristic features, and the history of Christianity in Zimbabwe, focusing on how the missionary churches, Pentecostal churches, AICs and NRMs responded to people's needs during the liberation struggle and after independence. A positive contribution of Christianity or Christian churches to development was witnessed. The missionary activities witnessed in the chapter showed its influence on development, especially on health and educational facilities, thereby demonstrating an aspect of a relationship between religion and development. African Pentecostalism and its

focus on giving quick answers to socio- economic challenges that people face without challenging the political sphere was noted. Such a quick response to addressing people's socio-economic frustrations and challenges characterises the gospel of prosperity within the African and Zimbabwean context. The next chapter focuses on the theoretical framework in-cooperating sustainable and transformational development.

CHAPTER FOUR: SUSTAINABLE AND TRANSFORMATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the history of the NRMs internationally, in Africa, Zimbabwe and how the mission churches and NRMs in Zimbabwe responded to poverty, unemployment and the needs of the people. This chapter explores the concept of sustainable and transformational development and the relationship between religion and development within the Zimbabwean context. This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework, which involves the social capital theory by Robert Putnam (2000), popularised in his book, *Bowling Alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. This theory has also been invoked by other scholars such as Bourdieu, Coleman and Fukuyama. Within this study, much focus will be on Putnam's formulation of social capital and aspects borrowed from Bourdieu's (1995) social capital which relate to the New Religious Movements (NRMs), as well as sustainable and transformational development. To complement the social capital theory, the Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) approach by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) will be used. The study acknowledges that there is a lot of work done by African economists, the African Development Bank and African sections of the World Bank. However, the study chose the social capital and ABCD approach to address elements that fit into the study, demonstrating how and why these theories were chosen to guide the research on the NRMs' gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development.

4.2 Understanding of Development, Sustainable and Transformation Development

The concepts of development, sustainable and transformational development have been understood by many scholars differently. Development has also been understood as a multidimensional process while different scholars have also defined sustainable and transformational development differently.

4.4.1 Concept of Development

The concept of development has also been seen as something slippery and confusing (Todaro and Smith 2011:14). Several scholars came up with numerous definitions of development, making it hard to develop one single definition of development. This study adopts Sen's (1999:14) understanding of development as that which is concerned with enhancing the lives

people lead and the freedoms they enjoy. Such an understanding of development as freedom sees development as advancing or expanding substantive freedoms and removing significant unfreedom sources, which could include poverty and deprivation of different forms (Sen 1999:20). The adopted definition of development is supported by Seers (2011:21) who emphasised on three core values: sustenance⁴², self-esteem⁴³, and freedom from servitude⁴⁴. Todaro and Smith (2011:21) pointed out that freedom must be understood in the sense of emancipation from alienating material conditions of life. Mabogunje (2015:43)⁴⁵ agrees with the above adopted definition of development. Todaro (2000, 2011:25); Kambhampati (2004:17); Sachs (1997); and Baker (2006:47) see development as a multidimensional process thereby adding further to Sen's definition of development. Development is or can be understood in the context of promotion of social change and justice, personal or communal growth that leads to progress, which shows sustainability. In conclusion, development is the expansion of initiatives that bring freedom, to the extent that such initiatives bring a sustainable change in someone's life.

4.4.2 Concept of Sustainable Development

It is also hard to define sustainability, as there are over twenty-four definitions of sustainability with more definitions being formulated. In this study, sustainability is understood in the context of sustainable development. This study adopted the famous Brundtland Report in 1987 (World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED 1987) which says that sustainable development is “that development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs”. Such a definition will help to understand the NRMs' gospel of prosperity's contribution to sustainable development. Just as Seers (2011:21) argued that there are three core values of development, McGrath

⁴² By sustenance, Seers meant the ability to meet basic needs or acquire the necessary goods and services such as food, clothing, and shelter that are necessary to sustain an average human being at the bare minimum level of living.

⁴³ Concerning self-esteem, he argued that a person should feel worthiness in a society that enjoys social, political, and economic systems and institutions that promote human values such as respect, dignity, integrity, and self-determination.

⁴⁴ Freedom from servitude means choosing a situation in which society has at its disposal a variety of alternatives from which to satisfy its wants, and individuals enjoy real choices according to their preferences.

⁴⁵ Mabogunje (2015) highlighted that development is primarily concerned with individuals' capacity to realize their inherent potential and effectively cope with the changing circumstances of their lives. Hence, development involves the total and full mobilization of a society's comprehensive commitment to changing lives and leading the kind of life an individual or society values.

(2018:197) argued that there are five core values associated with sustainable development goals. These five goals⁴⁶ include people, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnership.

What is critical in the adopted definition of sustainable development is that the present generation's decisions should consider the impact of such decisions so that there would be no negative impact on the future generation, as noted by Strange and Bayley (2008:24). Scholars such as Kirkby, O'Keefe, and Timberlake (1995:1) and Elliot (2012:8), Fox and Van Rooyen (2004:1), Atkinson et al. (2007:2), and Mudacumura et al., (2006) also support the famous Brundtland Report definition of sustainable development paying attention to its people centeredness, environmental sustainability, and intergenerational equity. Balancing the interest of the present and future generation is critical to the extent that emphasis is put on if a development initiative is not sustainable, then it is not development. There is an element of distributive concern that cuts across all the definitions.

4.4.3 Concept of Transformational Development

It is pertinent to note that there is no universal definition of transformational development. This study adopted Zeeland (2016:7)'s definition which calls for transformational development that includes protection of human rights, rejecting any condition, structure, or even system that perpetuates poverty, injustice, abuse of human rights, and destruction of the environment. Such a definition of transformational development ties in with religious transformational development which Myers (2011) sees as positive change in human life from a material, social, psychological, and spiritual point of view. Critical to transformational development is systematic and sustainable change, which involves a valid lasting change in people's lives (Heider 2016; Madvig and Roche 2016:4). These changes are enabled and sustained by creating just equitable, accountable, and environmentally sustainable social, economic, and political systems.

⁴⁶ The first goal, people, implies ending poverty and hunger, guaranteeing that people are capable of acquiring their dignity and equality. The second goal implies protecting the earth from degradation through the sustainable management of natural resources. The third goal focuses on prosperity; for everyone to enjoy prosperous and fulfilling lives in harmony with nature. The fourth goal, on peace, emphasizes the need to foster peaceful and just communities free from violence. The fifth core value involves a partnership emphasizing mobilizing various global partners to implement the sustainable development agenda (McGrath 2019:197).

Scholars such as Byworth (2003:108) and Schultheis (2005:97) agree with Zeeland and Myers' definition of transformational development. These scholars focus on social action, while Wilson (2011:103) pointed out that transformational development represents a holistic strategy for overcoming spiritual and physical poverty. Knighton (2003:91-103) and Wilson (2011:103) see transformational development as eradicating poverty and injustices, which cause suffering to people. Such a definition resonates well with sustainable development. A Christian understanding of the transformational development principle and practice involves people owning their development process, appreciating their own stories, and learning how to survive through spiritual self-understanding and knowledge (Myers 2011:8). Hence, transformational development focuses on people to realize that they are created in the image of God and are called to focus on protecting human rights, eradicate poverty, and protect the environment so that the current generation would protect the benefits of the future generation.

4.3 Relationship between Religion and Development

The relationship between religion and development influences the need to explore if there is a relationship between the NRMs' gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development. Swart and Nell (2016:1), in their writing on the rise of a bibliography on religion and development, argue that Ver Beek (2000:38-39) gave the impression that for over 15 years (1982-1998) there had been no articles which had the relationship between religion and development as the main theme. Since 2003, the new focus on religion and development took off, as witnessed by Jones and Peterson (2011:1294-1296). Such a bibliography shows that there is a relationship between religion and development.

Deneulin and Rakodi (2011:46) argue that religion remains a significant force in both public and private spheres while history has demonstrated that religion continues to exist, making a significant impact in Africa from the colonial period to date. This was also supported by Freeman (2012) and Tomalin (2011:66), who argue that development intervention has succeeded colonization, influenced by the missionary activities of imperial powers. Kwaku Golo and Novieto (2021:73) argue that the history of Christianity in Africa has showed how development was part of missionary activity with much emphasis on health and educational infrastructure. There is no doubt that religion remains a critical factor in development though it faces challenges. Thomsen (2017:28) argues that religion can never be irrelevant to development even if it can

either be conducive to or block development through its beliefs and ideas. Ohlmann et al., (2021:5), in the inaugural editorial of the new journal 'Religion and Development,' argue that there is no doubt that religion is becoming more and more relevant in the public arena, and various religious communities are taking several initiatives which promote development. What is clear is that religion can change the mindset of individuals, while religious leaders can also be the crucial stakeholders to development as agents of social change.

Freeman (2012) noted that just as much as mainline churches have established developmental wings, the NRMs radically bring new conceptions of development and broadcast them to followers, speaking of health, wealth and abundance when people pray, work hard and live upright moral lives. The NRMs teach that the devil wants underdevelopment, poverty, and suffering while development requires war against the demons (Bano and Deneulin 2009) and a type of change called development (Freeman 2015:6). Gukurume (2021:28) argues that NRMs offer a holistic contribution to sustainable development attending to the spiritual and material needs of people. In relation to the material needs of the people, Togarasei (2011:337) emphasised that the NRMs' gospel of prosperity encourages entrepreneurship as a road to sustainable development. This is supported by Maxwell (1998:358) who also argues that the gospel of prosperity is exceptionally effective at bringing about change that is often called 'development', which incorporates sustained social and economic transformation. However, this study probes whether this kind of development is sustainable and transformational.

On the other hand, religion or religious leaders can also de-legitimise new motivations, activities, and development. This suggests that religion can have both positive and negative effects on development. It is evident that Pentecostalism fosters hope in difficult times but may also produce the status quo by urging people to turn to God for solutions diverting attention from a government that has failed to offer basic services to its citizens (Gukurume 2021:34). Most NRMs accuse evil forces as the cause of misfortune and structural hardships, which contradicts the ethic of hard work and responsibility. Many NRMs spiritualise the problem of poverty, health and economic depravity such that practical avenues for solving such socio-economic problems are frustrated (Gifford 2015). Believers within NRMs are told to sow a seed to improve their socio-economic fortunes. There is the accumulation of capital or resources among a few, especially leaders within the NRMs and its negative effect on sustainable development (Kwaku

Golo and Novieto 2021:82). Individual wealth accumulation can curtail wealth distribution. Some of the church investments and social ministries turn out to be run purely as private profit-oriented institutions. They are privately owned by the leader (family) of the church (Eshun 2013:109,115). Hence, this challenges the gospel of prosperity and its commitment to development.

Some NRMs engender and enforce the theologies of prosperity and materialistic attitudes and lifestyles which are not sustainable. The NRMs, spend more time engaged in church activities during the week and weekends and most economic productive hours are lost to religious activities. At least three days and at least three hours each day during working hours lead to workers leaving their jobs to attend services (Gifford 1998). Such activities may constrain individual and household incomes with a rippling and cumulative effect on productivity, social change, and transformation (Kwaku Golo and Novieto 2021:83). Despite such challenges, it is pertinent to note that the gospel of prosperity emphasizes distinctive elements such as faith, wealth, health, and victory which sustainable and transformational development also emphasise paying attention to quality life from a material, social, psychological and spiritual point of view. In addition, a need to protect human rights, the environment and eradicating poverty is emphasised so that the current and future generation is sustained. It is within this context that this study seeks to examine the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development within the selected NRMs.

4.4 Social Capital Theory

The concept of social capital evolved with time. The history of the term ‘social capital’ traces back to classical economists and sociologists⁴⁷ who used social capital to emphasise the role of culture in economic development. It was the social theorist Alexis de Tocqueville (1835) in his book ‘Democracy in America’ who originally coined the term social capital integrating concepts of social cohesion and connectedness into the pluralist tradition. Other scholars in the eighteenth century explained social capital differently emphasising on community participation, tangible assets and the value of social networks⁴⁸. Tocqueville examined the democratic revolution that

⁴⁷ The economists include Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill and sociologists such as Karl Marx (1818–1883), Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), Georg Simmel (1858–1918), John Dewey (1859–1952), and Max Weber (1864–1920) (Guiso et al., 2006).

⁴⁸ Smith (2007) highlighted that in 1919, Lyda J. Hanifan explained social capital within the importance of community participation in enhancing school performance arguing that social capital are those tangible assets such

he believed had been occurring over the previous several hundred years. In 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont were sent by the French government to study the American prison system. His argument was that when Americans were meeting at as many gathering as possible to discuss all possible issues of state, economics or the world, high levels of transparency led to greater participation from the people and allowed for democracy to work. Hence, there is democracy when people meet as many times as possible. This argument was then further developed by Putnam who extensively wrote about social capital. Before highlighting Putnam's argument on social capital, it is rather ideal to define the concept of 'social capital' when it came into spotlight in the late 1980s with academic debates attributed to the works of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988), Putnam (1993; 1995; 1996; 2000) Fukuyama (1995), Lin (2001) OECD (2001) and the World Bank (2007) who have fine-tuned the concept.

In as much as various scholars have given some sense on what social capital is and being conscious that defining social capital remains complex and it is difficult to come up with a single definition that satisfies everyone. For this study, Putnam's definition of social capital was opted and considered as the best. Putnam (2000:19) who popularised the concept of social capital defined it as "the connections among individuals' social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" or "networks and norms of civic engagement", which creates space for people to trust one another, do business and allow democracy to flourish." Even though there are other scholars and organisations including Coleman (1990)⁴⁹ who agrees with Putnam's definition, Fukuyama (1995)⁵⁰ and Lin (2001)⁵¹ who provided a different definition,

as goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, social networks among individuals and families in their daily lives. Other various scholars such as Seely et al., 1956, Homans 1961 and Loury 1977 emphasised the value of social networks and the need to preserve them (cite the authors who wrote the article).

⁴⁹ Coleman (1990)'s definition of social capital agrees with Putnam's definition as there are similarities shared. Coleman (1990:302) defines social capital by its function as a combination of different entities which have two similar characteristics. Social capital is regarded as a social structure which facilitates certain actions of individuals who are within that structure. There are obligations, expectations, trust and information flows within those entities. For Coleman, social capital is a public good that exists in the relations among people. What is common with Putnam and other scholars is forms of social capital which Coleman identifies as reciprocity, information channels and flow of information and norms enforced by sanction.

⁵⁰ Fukuyama (1995:10) offered a different definition of social capital. He defined social capital in terms of trust arguing that it is the ability of the people to work together for common purposes in groups and organisations. It is also the existence of set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that allow cooperation among them. He also argued that mutual trust improves the cooperation between individuals and increases business transactions while reducing transactions costs. It is the quality of relationships (interpersonal trust, reciprocity, shared norms and understanding) which allows people to associate with each other developing social capital.

⁵¹ Lin (2001:19) also offered a different definition. He defined social capital as an investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace. Lin sees social capital as resources embedded in social networks which are attained and used by actors for action (Lin 2001:24-25). This implies that social capital is within social relations

the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2001)⁵² and World Bank (2007)⁵³ which agree with Putnam's definition and add further on, it is pertinent to note that Putnam's definition seems to encompass and provides insight for many definitions. The advantages and importance of Putnam's definition of social capital is within the development of his argument, its significance, explanatory power and effects which are discussed below.

4.4.1 Putnam's Social Networks

As noted above, Putnam's formulation of social capital develops from Alexis de Tocqueville (1835) whose argument was that when people gather to discuss various issues, transparency among people creates participation which then allows democracy to work. Putnam (1993) develops this argument in his first writing "Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy", arguing that success of democracies relies mostly on the horizontal bonds that make up social capital. Putnam writes that northern Italy's history of community, guilds, clubs, and choral societies led to greater civic involvement and greater economic prosperity while the agrarian southern part of Italy was less economically prosperous and democratic because of less social capital. In the North the crucial social, political, and even religious allegiances and alignments were horizontal, while those in the South were vertical.

Putnam's conclusion was that the governmental reform succeeded well in Northern Italy because it was supported by a florescence of "civic community". This was also the main reason for economic prosperity of Northern Italy in comparison with the southern part of the country. Hence, in areas with a well-functioning local government and a prosperous economy, the public activity of citizens has created an atmosphere of mutual co-operation, vital social networks, equal political relations and the tradition of citizen participation. Behind all this, is mutual trust between people who are seen as citizens in the Northern Italy and as subjects in the Southern Italy. In other words, in a situation where there are proper government structures there is high

not individuals and is accessed and used within the group. It can be seen as an investment by individuals in interpersonal relationships useful in the market. What makes Lin's concept of social capital different is its individualistic approach where actors engage in interactions and networking to produce benefits.

⁵² The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2001: 41) defines social capital as: "... networks together with shared norms, values, and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups." This definition implies real-world links between groups or individuals where networks and understandings engender trust enabling people to work together.

⁵³ The World Bank takes a broader view and defines social capital as: "... the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society—it is the glue that holds them together" (World Bank, 2007).

level of social capital and democracy increases for the civic community (Putnam 1993:130). The public activity of citizens creates an atmosphere of mutual cooperation, social networks, relations and citizen participation. Putnam's idea which seems to suggest that social capital has pro-democracy effects was rebutted by scholars who argued that civic associations have been associated with the rise of anti-democratic movements.

Considering the criticism of social capital having pro-democracy effects, Putnam developed his argument further and responded to his critics in "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital" (1995) and "Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community" (2000) measuring the decline of social capital. In these two books, Putnam argued that many traditional civic, social, and fraternal organisations had undergone a severe decline in membership while an increased number of people bowling was noted. He developed his argument highlighting that lack of homogeneity led to people withdrawing from their closest groups and relationships criticising the previous beliefs that exposure to diversity strengthens social capital. In other words, Putnam (2000) argues that while Americans have become richer, their sense of community has declined. This was so because people became too busy in their workspace, commuting to work and watching television and other activities alone without dedicating time to join community groups, socialising with neighbours, friends or family. It is in his book 'Bowling Alone', that Putnam (2000) argued that there has been a decline at the way Americans play 10-pin bowling a once famous league game where people no longer compete against each other but bowling alone. Hence, Putnam (2000)'s argument was that the decline of community networks that once led to Americans bowl together represented a loss of social capital.

Putnam (2000:21) argued that the core idea of social capital is that there is value in social networks. These social networks involve relationships and connections among individuals where norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness arise from and within these networks. In these networks, people would do things for other people hoping that the favour will be returned. Hence, there is specific reciprocity where there is an element of the same expectation of the same favour returned and generalized reciprocity where favour is extended to someone with the hope that somewhere another person will enjoy the same favour done by another person (Putnam 2000:22). Putnam (2000:22) argued that generalized reciprocity makes society efficient where

trustworthiness lubricates social life. In other words, when there is higher interaction amongst different types of people, generalized reciprocity is likely to be produced.

Putnam (2016) made it clear that there has been real strength and higher levels of social trust in the area of social capital though that declines too. Putnam (2000) acknowledges the decline in social capital and the challenges involved. He proposed specific reforms in seven spheres⁵⁴ deserving special attention. Considering all the proposed reforms, the fourth point on religion becoming both more influential and tolerant is critical in this study because NRMs have become the most prominent and influential phenomenon where social capital has permeated into all aspects of life. The NRMs create space for networking and socialisation while at the same time could restrict tolerance as expressed within bonding and bridging capital.

Even if it was noted that social capital could decline, Putnam (2000:28) highlighted that social capital "has many features that help people translate aspirations into realities." This statement is critical in this study as many NRMs emphasise on being ambitious and setting goals which turn into practical benefits. Putnam identified five such features arguing that social capital makes collective problems easier to resolve, makes business transactions easier, widens awareness of mutual connectivity, helps to increase, and speed up the flow of information and it improves health and happiness through both psychological and biological processes which require human contact. Such features will be used to explore the relationship between the NRMs' gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development.

Having demonstrated familiarity on Putnam's development of ideas, it is critical to highlight the importance of Putnam's social capital which has both positive and negative effects and operates as either bridging (inclusive) or bonding (exclusive). Putnam (2000:22) defined bonding social capital⁵⁵ as that which arises from social ties in small and homogenous groups, creating a high level of trust and reciprocity. Bridging social capital⁵⁶ involves social ties among people from

⁵⁴ Putnam suggested educational reforms, argued for a more family-oriented workplace, encourages further efforts at new urbanism, religion becoming more influential and tolerant, technologies that encourages face-to-face interaction, attraction from arts and culture and political reforms and decentralisation of power.

⁵⁵ Putnam argued that bonding capital occurs when one is socialising with people of same caliber, age, race, religion, politics and so on ensuring creation of a peaceful society. In other words, Putnam suggest that bonding social capital networks are inward-looking and reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups.

⁵⁶ Bridging capital however was seen as the opposite of bonding capital where one creates friendship with people who are not as same as an individual. Hence bridging capital is outward-looking incooperating diverse social cleavages.

different settings. Social capital acts as a lubricant and enables people to benefit from interactions with people from different groups (Putnam 2000: 22-23). In other words, bonding social capital is inward-looking, while bridging social capital is outward-looking. What is important in both bonding and bridging capital is that they both exist, support, and strengthen each other simultaneously while at the same time the decline would have the same impact which could lead to tensions and serious consequences.

Empirical studies have established the positive effect of social capital on health, educational outcomes, social welfare, and reducing tax evasion (UNESCO, 2002; Hombres et al., 2006). Social capital, thus, has a potential to serve as powerful means of development. There seems to be positive correlation between social capital and development. Putnam (1993) noted that social capital could facilitate co-operation and mutual supportive relations in communities and nations as a valuable means of combating social disorders in the modern society. In addition, Putnam's social capital shows that connections among individuals can be embodied in organisations such as churches, reading groups, or in less structured exchanges such as dinner with friends or chit-chat in the office, gym and other places. Such connections merit the name 'capital' because they have value in improving the productivity of individuals and groups. Putnam demonstrates that abundance of social ties makes it easier for people to find jobs, cope with stress and lead a more satisfying life. However, social capital could also be used by individuals to enhance their own career prospects rather than for the good of organisations.

Putnam (2000) argued that there is value in social networks, and these networks involve relationships and connections among individuals where norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness arise from and within these networks. Putnam's understanding of social capital was used to understand networks that exist among the community of believers where relationships and connections can be established. It was also used to understand how the community of believers is organized, and the dynamics around NRMs. Reciprocity and trustworthiness within the social capital helped to understand what binds the community of believers and what they share from a spiritual and developmental perspective. It is believed that NRMs teach believers that they should start their businesses and become employers. Believers within the selected NRMs were believed to do certain things for one another with the hope that the same favour will be returned

to a particular person or another person, leading to specific and generalized reciprocity as expressed by Putnam.

It is believed that within social capital, associations can be created within a community making it easier for the community to promote one another and do business amongst each other. Such cooperation and networking can be linked to norms of reciprocity. Within those norms, some values involve living a morally upright life, which NRMs teach believers, for God to bless them. The social capital theory of Putnam (2000) helped to understand the moral values in the NRMs and how they influence the teaching on the gospel of prosperity. Paying tithes and giving money to God who multiplies it in return is central to the NRMs. Such teaching implied a norm of reciprocity between the believer and God, where one gives US\$100 with the hope that he or she will receive a hundred-fold back from God.

There has been a massive growth of NRMs in Zimbabwe, particularly within and outside Harare. Many people joined various communities of believers within the NRMs. Bonding and bridging social capital were used to understand the increase and the dynamics around the rapid growth witnessed within NRMs. The social capital theory also helped to understand more extensive networks generated within NRMs, where some pastors have followers from other countries such as Botswana, South Africa, and England. At the same time, the founder resides in Harare at the headquarters. Through bridging social capital, NRMs have created a more extensive network. Social capital also focuses on the sense of belonging, which Daneel (1987) speaks of where believers associate themselves with individual pastors and claim to belong to a specific church, with cars branded with the pictures of their prophets. Soboyejo (2016:9) pointed out that some people have associated themselves with rich pastors to the extent that they would not listen to a pastor who is not rich. The social capital theory relates to these elements and addresses issues relevant to the study.

The effects of social capital are not always positive. Bonding social capital can create the rise of fascist movements, isolation, and ethnic marginalisation. Social capital can restrict freedom and tolerance if they are not values of the community though Putnam (2000:356) argued that this is not an inherent of social capital. Ethnic cleansing may also result if the relationship between different groups is so strongly negative. Mathie and Cunningham (2005:179) argue that bonding social capital could have adverse effects of alienating those outside the group with a potential of

producing sectarianism and anti-group antagonism. In other words, bonding capital can be a negative social capital and hinder people; for instance, tightly knit communities of migrants or churches may have strong social bonds where individuals rely heavily for support on relatives or church members who share either ethnicity or beliefs can turn into outsiders from the broader society, hindering economic progress. The exclusion of a small group from a bigger group inevitably leads to negative social capital. Social capital can practically produce or reproduce inequality while some people gain access to powerful positions through the direct and indirect employment of social connections. The study used bonding and bridging capital to understand how social capital forms within the selected NRMs. It was also used to identify how NRMs' believers relate amongst each other as 'born again Christians'.

Putnam's social capital theory is criticized for treating trust as an aggregated indicator of social capital and for the ways this is linked to associational participation, economic growth, and democratic ethos at regional and national levels. There can be trust amongst a gang or group where the result has severe or harmful consequences, leading to loss of life. It could be through trust that negative results can be produced. Such forms of harmful effects of social capital were used to understand how some gullible believers within the selected NRMs were allegedly defrauded, deceived, and fronted by some of the pastors. Besides, sometimes social capital can be created without having to trust the next person. Putnam argued that social capital can be a private good and public good and gave an example of a person in a neighbourhood who is never home and does not nod to other residents in the neighbourhood but benefits from a well-connected community (Putnam 2000:21). Hence, there is no absolute need for trust for social capital to exist. This implies that trust is not an aggregate of social capital. Further, Putnam failed to account for human agency within trust and network structures. The Italian mafia network created trust with opposing and conflicting interests among network members and the public community, hence what started as trust may end up as a constraint or liability, if not dangerous (Putnam 2000:23).

4.4.2 Bourdieu's Collective Assets

Pierre Bourdieu (1930 – 2002) a French sociologist and public intellectual was primarily concerned with the dynamics of power in society particularly the nature of culture and how it is reproduced and transformed, how it connects to social stratification and the reproduction and

exercise of power (Bourdieu 1986). His major contribution is on the relationship between different types of capital including economic, cultural, social and symbolic. Bourdieu's (1986:241-242) concept of social capital is based on the understanding that capital involves economic and social exchanges and profit in all forms of capital. His conceptualisation of social capital is within social reproduction and symbolic power.

Bourdieu saw social capital as a property of the individual derived from one's social position and status. In other words, social capital is a resource that is connected with a group membership and social networks. It can be accrued resources by individuals or groups through the possession of institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:119). Social capital is also attached to class and other forms of stratification which in turn are associated with various forms of benefit. It enables a person to exert power on the group or individual who mobilises the resources. Social capital is available to those who provide efforts to acquire it by achieving positions of power and status and by developing goodwill (Bourdieu 1986).

In an attempt to define social capital, Bourdieu distinguishes between three forms of capital: economic, cultural, and social. He defines social capital as: "... the sum of the actual or potential resources that are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition to membership in a group" (Bourdieu, 1986: 248). In other words, Bourdieu (1985:2284) defined social capital as a collective asset shared by members of a defined group. In addition, Bourdieu (1985) further described social capital as the participation of the group members and a mere disguise for economic capital, which he sees as the root of all other types of capital which members of a social network possess. For Bourdieu (1985:2285), all forms of capital are reduced to economic capital- an access to economic resources. Bourdieu argues that if all members can use capital as credit, then social capital becomes a collective asset endowing members with credits. The capital is maintained and reinforced if members continue to invest in the relationships and making use of the opportunities and advantages available to members from group membership.

Bourdieu's definition identifies three elements of social capital: (i) the social relationship that enables actors to gain access to resources possessed by their associates (resources embedded in

social connections); (ii) the amount of those resources produced by the totality of the relationships between actors, rather than merely a common quality of the group; and (iii) the quality of those resources. For Bourdieu, social capital involves resources that create access to group goods, which are regarded as assets. Profit gained within the membership in a group is seen as the basis of the solidarity, making profit possible. It is through an investment that social networks are built in an institution, whereby these networks are used as a reliable source of other benefits. Through group membership, social capital becomes a collective phenomenon where actors exploit their potentialities.

What makes Bourdieu's social capital different from other scholars is that it is not about having a large social network but having social position that creates social networks. Hence, social capital is in the individual and is linked to social connections that a person can utilise for advancement. It is manifested through benefits which comes from social networks, economic and cultural structures that create different power and status for specific individuals. Therefore, Bourdieu argued "it is not what you know but who you know that matters". This implies that social capital is linked to reproduction of class, status and power relations where social norms taken for granted create and reinforce advantages. It is within this context that the study will probe on understanding the positions of the founders of the selected NRMs and access their access to resources. Bourdieu argued that social capital creates both individual and collective assets and room for people to benefit from others without having to invest in the group. This assisted in the study addressing how the community of believers have benefited from one another with or without investing in the community. The economic capital of Bourdieu (1985) was then used to understand if there were various projects initiated by the founders of NRMs, if believers benefited without making any financial investment. In addition, Bourdieu (1985)'s economic capital was used to understand if founders or pastors of the selected NRMs initiated various projects which some of the believers requested to join or if some of the pastors benefited in some projects without having to invest.

Bourdieu's formulation of social capital theory has been criticized as reductionist for privileging economic capital as the ultimate source and eventual exchange form of all other capital (Alexander 2007; Jenkins 2014). Bourdieu is also faulted for attributing an interest-bound, utility orientation in all human action. In Bourdieu's formulation, social capital becomes highly context

specific as a direct consequence of the relativity among the social, cultural, economic, and symbolic fields (Adam and Roncevic 2003:161). It is pertinent to note that of interest in this research are Putnam and Bourdieu and the commonality of most definitions which emphasise that social relations generate productive benefits while their main different is that social capital is treated as either personal or social resource. Interestingly, there are various dimensions of social capital which lead to various definitions though they all fall within the broad framework of Bourdieu who emphasised on the quality of the resource not connections as expressed in the above-mentioned quotation “it is not what you know but who you know that matters.” Hence social capital can be regarded as a collective asset in the form of social relations, shared norms, and trust that create cooperation and collective action for mutual benefits.

Concerning sustainable and transformational development, social capital was found relevant in the study. Norms of reciprocity and associations within social capital were useful in understanding the concept of sustainable development. Such a concept of sustainable development involves a people-centred development with intergenerational equity, social equity, social change, the common good, and quality of life, which benefits the present generation without compromising the benefits of the future generation. The concept of transformational development was also understood in the context of social capital, where issues around social networks, cooperation, collaboration, norms, and values helped to understand social actions and networks which do not cause people to be poor within transformational development. The understanding of the concept of sustainable and transformational development was understood through interviews and focus group discussions. Social capital theory was used to interpret and understand the community of believers' perceptions on the gospel of prosperity and development.

4.5 General Challenges of the Social Capital Theory

In as much as social capital comprises several components and different aspects, it can be argued that networks and social interaction can cause illegitimacy, bribery, corruption, nepotism, and crime, as witnessed in the Zimbabwean economic crises. In addition, social capital could bring both economic growth and social cohesion and promote conflict at the same time. Social capital can be a hindrance to development, prevent business accumulation and success through religious, ethnic, and racial ties. More so, the lack of the principle of universalism makes business initiatives fail. Giving jobs to members of the community or family can prevent the best

candidates from getting a job while social networks could lead to discrimination and social exclusion. Non-group members can be seen as outsiders and refused to have access to networks within other groups (Fukuyama 2001:15). NRMs exclude those who do not accept or believe in the born-again experience. Sociologist Mark Granovetter (1985) pointed out that a group with loose and overlapping networks may be more economically efficient than the one with many static, self-regarding ones. Tightly connected groups may be hard to penetrate, or to change their way of thinking and doing things. Portes (1998:10) argued that social capital could create extremism. Considering the general challenges of the social capital theory, an Asset-Based Community Development Approach was employed to complement the social capital theory.

4.6 Asset-Based Community Development Approach, its Relevance and Appropriateness

The term Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) was coined by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993). ABCD is a community-based development approach that focuses on appreciating and mobilizing individuals and community talents, skills, and assets to express an integrated approach to building human, social, and economic capital. Its history starts with the journey of Kretzmann and McKnight when they travelled across north America to identify basic building blocks of healthy urban neighbourhoods and to understand how citizens and communities prevailed in low-income neighbourhoods despite multiple socio-economic and political challenges. Their research findings confirmed that low-income communities facing hardship can and often do become stronger and prosper because of the provided building blocks categorised as community assets⁵⁷. Such findings led Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) to first articulate the model known as ABCD. It describes a community development approach that recognises the importance of the capacities of individuals and their associations in building powerful local communities focused on strengthening relationships.

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) describe ABCD as a process of community building that starts with locating the assets, skills and capacities of residents, citizens associations and local institutions. In other words, it is all about what the communities do when they come together to effectively make things better despite their challenges. An ABCD approach considers first and foremost what assets the community has which also include people's gifts rather than their

⁵⁷ For Kretzmann and McKnight, people make meaning in free association with each other, and that neighbourhoods provided an opportune place for such connectedness; since it is there that people can collectively define their challenges and agree and enact the solutions that fit their local context.

deficiencies and how those assets can be mobilised in a way that improves community sustainability, wellbeing, and resilience (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993). Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) argue that communities can drive the development process by identifying and mobilizing existing assets, thereby responding to and creating local economic opportunity. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) proposed five key processes which include asset mapping, building relationships, mobilising assets, conveying, and visioning and leveraging resources. In relation to asset mapping, Kretzmann and McKnight highlighted that it involves collecting and recording physical and geographical location and availability of resources as a starting point to rejuvenate or empower the community. Within the first process, community mapping remains an ongoing process which locates and map all assets. Talents, abilities, and skills of individuals in a community are considered as a powerful community asset which can be mobilised through building relationships- a second process within ABCD approach.

Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) argue that a key process is building relationships among local assets for mutually beneficial problem solving within the community. The power of the community is seen when there is cooperation in local relationships and connections. The creation of connections and networks as building blocks of social capital and ABCD practice is critical. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) argue that within building relationships method, collaboration and combining resources create capabilities to generate benefits for the society. For Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) mobilising assets is the third process which involves mobilizing residents in a community to become self-organising and active through sharing knowledge and resources and identify common interests. Hence, the goal is to increase the capacity for a community to exchange its vital stories which then helps to rebuild the central nervous system of a community (Kretzmann and McKnight (1993:351). Common interests are also created as people begin to trust and cooperate, making decisions about their development, which ABCD seeks to achieve (Kretzmann and McKnight 1993:4-9).

Community convening and visioning is considered as the fourth process or method which involves bringing many people together to come up with a vision and plan which ensures a shared vision that can be sustained in the long run. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) argue that the importance of community visioning is well supported if a community development project is to have any longevity. Even if Cunningham and Mathie (2002) added another process called

storytelling⁵⁸, Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) argue that the final step in the ABCD method is leveraging external resources, activities and investments from outside the community to support asset based locally defined development. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) argue that the process of leveraging on external resources facilitates the mobilisation of internal assets that would have been identified.

Considering the ABCD approach and its five methodologies it can be argued that its advantages are that it maintains the principles and practice of participatory approaches where active participation and empowerment are the basis of practice⁵⁹. More so, the approach allows one to choose the frame of community work using an asset-based approach. This approach allows identifying, affirming, and calling upon the gifts, resources, skills, and knowledge that already exist in the community thereby contributing to a community's sense of pride and empowerment. The importance of the ABCD approach is in its strategy which shows that it provides a means of sustainable community driven development which is critical in this study. At the heart of ABCD are the associations and social networks that form the fabric of community life and collective effort. In addition, giving power to communities shows that people should be at the centre of the decisions about their development. The ABCD strategy proposes to identify and mobilise the local assets with particular importance on their interests, skills and talents of individuals. The strategy also pays attention to the assets inherent in social relationships as evident in formal and informal associations and networks⁶⁰. Having considered the advantages and importance of the ABCD approach, it is however critical to note that there are scholars who

⁵⁸Cunningham and Mathie (2002) propose that the collection of stories about community development practice successes is integral in early stages. Storytelling helps to identify factors for success and is core to community development practice of action and reflection. Sharing stories can create a sense of community. Hearing what people care about can build foundations for mobilising people to make changes to enhance wellbeing.

⁵⁹ In other words, ABCD is seen as a citizen-driven approach encouraging a proactive role for citizens, not passive dependent clients in the welfare services delivery model. It is the active citizens who mobilize the community and associations to identify their skills and assets.

⁶⁰ Mathie and Cunningham (2005:181) add on this aspect arguing that ABCD focuses on social relationships that are formal and informal and treated as assets, and also as the means to mobilize other assets of the community.

agree or support the ABCD approach⁶¹, those who do not agree⁶² while there are those who agree and add the approach further⁶³.

The ABCD approach has been criticized because it tends to ignore the non-local origins of many of the challenges facing disadvantaged communities, such as capitalism and globalization. ABCD is also based on the premise that communities must learn to survive within the current neo-liberal models of Western societies rather than challenging these economic systems. In addition, the ABCD approach does not directly confront issues around power and oppression, as it mainly focuses on the gifts and strengths of groups. Mathie and Cunningham (2005:184) have criticized the ABCD approach for lacking an evidence base, being flawed and far from conclusive, and suffering from a poor description of the independent variable and varied dependent measures. Mathie and Cunningham (2005:184) pointed out that ABCD does not clearly express the role of external agencies besides being facilitators in the initial stages. Giving power to the community to decide on the type of development they want tends to imply that the ABCD approach does not take responsibility for bringing development but shifts it to the community.

Though there are challenges associated with the ABCD approach, it was used to examine projects implemented by the selected NRMs and understanding the concepts of sustainable and transformational development within this study. The ABCD approach looks at what the community has, not what the community does not have. In other words, it looks at the assets,

⁶¹ABCD is an approach to community-based development that focuses on the principles of appreciating and mobilizing individuals and community talents, skills, and assets (Mathie and Cunningham 2005:181). It is development that comes from the community, initiated by the community rather than external agencies. Ssewamala et al. (2010) pointed out that ABCD denotes an integrated approach to building human, social, and economic capital, implying that it is a multidimensional approach to development. Similarly (Bergdall, 2003) describes ABCD as focused on the assets strengths and capacities of a given community while Green and Haines (2012) propose that it is a planned effort to build assets that increase the capacity of residents to improve their quality of life.

⁶² Those who do not agree with the ABCD approach noted challenges arguing that it is not well-defined appearing to be more of a set of methodologies and tools. Hence, it needs further conceptual clarity (Eltnnis and West 2010:406). In addition, many poor communities have few assets and need external support to start community action therefore not all community needs are to be considered from asset-based initiative. There is overreliance on local resources without paying attention to the regional and global resources available which could easily transform people's lives than local assets.

⁶³ Mathie and Cunningham (2005) also describe ABCD as an asset-based approach that uses methods to draw out strengths and successes in a community's shared history as its starting point for change and that it can be understood as an approach, as a set of methods for community mobilisation and as a strategy for community-based development. While Kretzmann and McKnight do not focus on sustainable development, Bergdall (2003) identifies that an ABCD approach rests on the conviction that sustainable development emerges from within a community, not from outside, by mobilising and building upon local resources.

associations, and skills which the community has. This approach was used to understand and examine the skills and assets within community of believers. The ABCD approach was also used to understand if projects implemented by the believers within the selected NRMs emanated from the believers or initiated by the pastors. The definition of sustainable development was understood in the context of ABCD, where the focus was on a people-centred development that benefits the current generation without compromising the benefits of the future generation. The ABCD approach helped to determine if the projects implemented by the selected NRMs contributed to sustainable development. ABCD looks at the internal dynamics and concentrates on building local people, associations, and local institutions. Such an understanding was used to understand the entrepreneurship development within NRMs' community of believers' perceptions of development. The ABCD approach helped to understand the meaning of sustainable development.

Critical to this research is also the meaning of transformational development. The ABCD approach to development shares the same people-centred elements as the ones within transformational development. The ABCD approach and transformational development focuses on human beings, their personal development in the community, and building those communities and change in people's lives sustained by the creation of a just social system and involving empowerment, taking responsibility for self and conditions around other people. Both ABCD approach and transformational development seek to empower communities, such that institutions can bring change that is sustainable. It is within the ABCD approach that communities, associations and institutions play an important part in bringing change that is sustainable, as emphasised within transformational development. Hence the ABCD approach was used to address sustainable and transformational development elements that were observed, and to link them to the understanding of how social capital and ABCD complemented each other and to the understanding of the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development.

4.7 Conclusion

Within this chapter, the social capital theory, with a particular focus on Putnam and Bourdieu, was found appropriate for the study. The ABCD approach complemented social capital theory with its focus on development initiated by the community for the community, where assets, skills, and associations play an important role in contributing to the understanding of sustainable

and transformational development. The social capital and ABCD approach provide context or framework in understanding the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development. The next chapter deals with the research methodology.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the theoretical framework guided by the social capital theory of Putnam (2000) and Bourdieu (1985), and the Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) approach popularized by Kretzmann and McKnight (1993). The previous chapters provided insights which demonstrated that this study is on religion and development and is framed within a social constructivist paradigm. The study seeks to construct the contribution of the NRMs' gospel of prosperity on sustainable and transformational development in Zimbabwe thereby identifying the relationship that exists between NRMs and development. The chapter discusses the qualitative methodology adopted to investigate the research problem for this study and justifies why the study chose the specific steps and methods adopted in studying the research problem.

5.2 Framing Paradigms

The research questions and the theoretical framework adopted influenced the paradigm and methodology employed. Chapter one provided the main research question which seeks to examine the extent to which the NRMs' gospel of prosperity promotes or hinders sustainable and transformational development. Critical to this study is the critical and constructivist paradigm. A paradigm is a net that has ethics, epistemology, ontology, and methodology and acts as a set of beliefs that guide the action of a research project as noted by Lincoln and Guba (2013). Ethics focus on being, and as a researcher, a moral person with respect for research participants' views, dignity, and rights. The ontology asks about the natures of reality and human beings in the world, while epistemology of a paradigm prescribes how such a reality can be known and methodology is concerned with the best ways for gaining knowledge about the world. The critical paradigm assumes that reality is determined by social structure. Hence, knowledge generated from the research can contribute to changing the current understanding of the gospel of prosperity, sustainable and transformational development, and the relationship between religion and development.

On the other hand, the constructive paradigm argues that the actor and researcher construct reality and that it is based on their world viewpoint created from their interaction with their surroundings (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba 2011). Objectives two and three of the study seek to

understand the structural issues within the NRMs and the Zimbabwean context on how those NRMs responded to poverty, unemployment and crises and how social actors within the selected NRMs understood sustainable and transformational development concepts. Therefore, the research is framed in the critical paradigm. The researcher needs to interpret the influence of the NRMs' gospel of prosperity on the community of believers and how they have responded to their day-to-day challenges.

Constructivist studies seek to understand and interpret the meaning attached to a phenomenon under study by interpreting the social actors' meaning of their lived experiences (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). In addition, constructivism interprets the actor's lived experiences to understand how meaning is created through embodied perceptions. Constructivism makes several assumptions that are mainly ontological and epistemological. The ontology of constructivism is that there are many realities in the form of mental constructions by individuals, and these are bound by time, context and the individual's judgment of their experiences (Denzin and Lincoln 2011).

It is pertinent to note that the researcher and the social actor co-construct knowledge from their subjective engagement in the latter's natural setting and influence each other. Knowledge is created in a transactional relationship between the researcher and the study participants (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). These assumptions guided the production and interpretation of the knowledge collected with the social actors within the selected NRMs in Harare. The social actors helped the research construct whether the projects implemented by the selected NRMs promoted or hindered sustainable and transformational development and the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development in Zimbabwe. Hence, critical and constructivist paradigms informed the qualitative methodology.

5.3 Qualitative Methodology

Qualitative methodology was chosen in this study because of its ability to interpret social experiences and individual constructs. The approach allows one to identify issues from the perspective of study participants and understand the meaning and interpretations that they give. Qualitative research also views the world as a subjective reality where reality is not considered an exterior object (Mottier 2005). The qualitative approach also assumes that reality is socially

constructed, external factors influence the worldview, and reality is constructed and lived by the actor. Qualitative methods are critical for this study because of the required critical and in-depth understanding of the relationship between NRMs and development. By probing deeply, the ‘why’ and ‘how’ of an issue, understanding an individual’s life experiences, beliefs, and attitudes around the gospel of prosperity and development will be enabled. Hence, qualitative research asks questions aimed at processing a theory rather than validating a theory.

This study also uses primary sources such as written materials, observations, and interviews (Bryman 2008:366). Qualitative methodology helped the researcher to see through the eyes of the people who were being studied and gave room to probe beneath surface appearances on the contribution of the NRMs on development. The study also adopted research styles that include case study and life history. A case study refers to a case or perhaps a small number of cases studied in detail using whatever method is appropriate (Silverman 2010). It allowed the researcher the liberty of using research information such as personal documents, diaries, interviews, sermons and observations as noted by Yin (1987:23). It made it easier to understand complex issues around the dynamics of the prosperity gospel theology of the NRMs and sustainable and transformational development. Three steps were followed in carrying out the case study, and these involved the purposeful selection of the case to be analysed, collecting data using data collection techniques such as observation, sermons, interviews, and document analysis (Merriam and Simpson 1995).

A community case study which deals with one or more people was adopted. The community of believers from the PHD Ministries, Grace Oasis Ministries and Emmaus Encounter Ministries within their locality formed parts of the case study selected for investigation. Considering that Emmaus Encounter had just been formed and has online services, the researcher only assessed its history, the believers’ understanding of the gospel of prosperity and crises in Zimbabwe. Participants were interviewed at their homes, offices, and places of worship. This ensured that there was no risk of harm to research participants. Such a selection of different people within their locality helped the researcher to get more valuable data and unbiased responses. Critical and constructive paradigm helped the researcher interpret the participants’ meaning of their lived experiences on the gospel of prosperity and their contribution to sustainable and transformational

development. Therefore, methods selected and applied are framed within the critical and constructivist paradigm.

5.4 A Life-history

The study used a life-history approach to understand the history of the selected NRMs in Zimbabwe. Bertram and Christiansen (2014:45) defined a life history as a story or account of a person's life or aspects of people's lives. It also allows people's voices to be heard. Through social constructivism, the researcher was seeking to understand the theoretical influences and relationship of the gospel of prosperity on sustainable and transformational development as well as from the theoretical framework. The life history approach provided information about the informants' real life. The researcher understood the social process in the informants' life at a specified period and a detailed description of specific acts, events, relationships, and circumstances as noted by Davis (2002:27). Open-ended questions with limited directives were used creating a room for lengthy explanations by the informants and those who understood other informants' life history. For instance, Reverend Makahamadze of Emmaus Encounter provided a detailed life history of Prophet Walter Magaya of the PHD Ministries. The researcher took one to one and half hours each interviewing Pastor Tinashe, the founder of Grace Oasis Ministries, and Reverend Abel, the founder of Emmaus Encounter, who was also interviewed on Prophet Walter Magaya of the PHD Ministries. The sample size was small and less easily generalized. The PHD Ministries' gatekeepers informed the researcher that he could not meet the prophet but could access an interview on the PHD Ministries' history on their website. The study used the life history approach to complement findings of other methods.

5.4 Population and Sample

Cavana, Delahaye and Sekeran (2001:27) defines a population as the entire group of people, events, or things of interest that the researcher wishes to investigate. It is the full group of potential participants to whom the researcher wants to generalize the study's findings. The target population in this research included pastors, church elders, gatekeepers, staff and believers within the selected NRMs. A sample can be defined as the segment of the population that is selected for investigation or a subset of the population (Bryman 2008:458). The total sample consisted of eighteen (18) personal interviews and three (3) focus group discussions comprising seven to eleven (7-11) people per group from the three selected NRMs.

5.6 Sampling Framework

Sampling involves making decisions about which people, settings, events, or behaviours to include in the study. There are various sampling methods used for collecting data. These include random sampling, stratified random sampling, snowball sampling, quota sampling, purposive sampling, and many more (Merriam and Simpson 1995). This research adopted snowball sampling.

5.6.1 Snowball Sampling

In snowball sampling, Cohen et al. (2013:158) pointed out that researchers identify a small number of individuals who have the characteristics in which they are interested. These people are then used as informants to identify or put the researchers in touch with others who qualify for inclusion, and these, in turn, identify yet others. This method states that the researcher makes the first contact with a small group of people relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others (Bryman 2008:184).

5.6.1.1 Snowball sampling of key interview participants

The researcher made initial contact with the founder of Emmaus Encounter, Reverend Makahamadze, who personally knew the founder of PHD Ministries and GOM. Upon meeting the founder of GOM and elders of the PHD Ministries, the researcher was then able to make contact with gatekeepers who, in turn, helped the researcher to make contact with staff within the PHD Ministries and GOM. Believers were also interviewed through the assistance of both the founders and staff of the relevant ministries. Contacts were established with the community of believers whose network proved more comfortable in enabling the researcher to gain access to participants. Since founders, pastors, and elders of the selected ministries were men, the researcher requested for a gender balance from the gatekeepers, staff, and church members. A total of 18 participants were recruited to be interviewed on the four research questions. See Appendix 3.

5.6.1.2 Snowball sampling of Focus Group Discussion (FGD) Participants

The reason for choosing to carry out FGDs was that some participants responded and built on the views highlighted by their colleagues. Social reality can also be influenced by others in

which people interact with each other. Three FGDs were sampled, relying on other members of the selected NRMs. The researcher did not recruit too many participants restricting each group from seven to eleven participants (Table 6.2). Gender balance was emphasized in the FGDs where the researcher requested the involvement of youth, women, and men. NRMs tend to attract youth, ranging from 18 to 30 years old. Out of the total of 18 interview participants and 29 FGD participants, 10 were females, while 19 were male. Those who participated in the personal interviews excluding Michael Lawrence Hood, also participated in the focus group discussion. Below is the breakdown of the various sample categories selected:

FGDs	Denomination	Gender and Number	Totals number of participants
1	GOM	Females - 5 Males - 6	11
2	Emmaus Encounter	Females -3 Males - 4	7
3	PHD Ministries	Females -2 Males - 9	11

Table 6.2

5.6.2 Advantages and Limitations in Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling was convenient as the researcher selected the participants, and the initial participant, Reverend Makahamadze, helped the researcher to find more participants for the study. Selected participants met the criteria with both knowledge and information around the topic and were easy to identify or locate. The challenges the researcher encountered were the bias of the influence of the initial contact which directed the researcher to the people whom Reverend Makahamadze knew and worked with in the establishment of their ministries. The prominence of Reverend Makahamadze and other interviewees who had left PHD Ministries did not skew their witnesses and opinions. All these interviewees were critical rather than biased on their understanding and interpretation of the gospel of prosperity, projects implemented by the selected NRMs and the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development. Reliance on these individuals struck a balance and helped the researcher to understand how the research participants constructed and interpreted the meaning of their lived experiences of the gospel of prosperity. These research participants were critical and able to speak freely on the selected NRMs. For instance, the gospel of prosperity teaching had some participants who were in support of it while those who had left were critical about it. Moreover, Reverend Makahamadze insisted

on understanding and interpreting the prosperity gospel with a sober mind. Hence his opinions and those who left PHD ministries were critical and useful.

Another limitation was that many selected participants were men at the expense of women. The researcher, however, requested for a balance of participants where possible. Hence most of the participants within the FGDs were female members. Failure to address gender imbalance could have negatively impacted the research. Hence, the researcher ensured gender balance. Participants' social networks were not random and as a result, the technique also had biased samples where most of the participants were connected and linked. This brought in the issue of trusting the participants. However, this added validity of the information gathered leaving little room for unreliable data. Some participants were not comfortable sharing information in the FGDs around the existing structures, critical analysis of events and projects within the selected NRMs. The researcher engaged participants individually and, in a dialogue, and probed beyond the given answers seeking clarity and elaboration, ensuring that responses were not the same.

FGDs helped to ensure that the information collected was triangulated with interviews and participants within FGDs were stimulated by others' experiences and shared their perspectives and experiences. The risk of whether the researcher could trust the participants and their fear of sharing private information was dealt with by the researcher's four research campaigns, which were carried out in December 2017, October and December 2018, September 2019 (which was affected by the cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe) and February 2020. Part of the third and the fourth research campaign ensured that participants were probed to give more detailed information on the structures, analysis of events, and projects implemented by the selected NRMs. More so, the first FGD was carried out on the 23rd of December 2017 and ensured that any other information which some believers could not share was then asked individually through the second and third round of interviews. The research campaigns will further be explained under section 5.7.6 below.

Snowball sampling could present significant ethical problems, especially if the research topic is sensitive or personal. In this study, some participants were kept anonymous while others allowed the researcher to use their real names. Surnames were used to ensure confidentiality. All the study participants did not object to using their social networks, and they liked being contacted

for participation. The researcher was aware that it was difficult to generalize findings because of sample size, and that the sample was unlikely to be representative of the entire population. Hence, information gathered was verified and analysed through various research instruments as documents, interviews, FGDs, sermons and non-participant observation.

5.7 Data Collection

The study embraced qualitative methods of data collection which form part of the critical and constructivist paradigms adopted by this thesis. The researcher collected data using various methods. Data collection refers to preparing and collecting data to obtain information regarding a specific topic for record-keeping, decision-making on important issues, and passing on information to others (Neuman 2000:124-125). Considering challenges to cost-effectiveness, the population size, required amount of data, audience location and accessibility of ministries members, and the required speed of data collection, the researcher used five data gathering techniques which include document analysis, interviews, FGDs, sermons, and non-participant observation to collect the data. The researcher collected data through audio recording and transcribed the audio recorded information. Interview questions were selected from the research objectives and questions.

5.7.1 Documents

The first method of data collection the researcher employed for this study was document analysis. The primary documents the researcher accessed and analysed included textbooks and articles on the history of Christianity in Africa, Pentecostalism, the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe, and development. These documents provided relevant data on the topic. The advantages of document analysis were that documents were accessed at a time convenient to the researcher and from various places. As written evidence, it saved the researcher's time and expenses of transcribing, as noted by Creswell (2009:180). However, some of the challenges which the researcher faced were that some information was not available for public or private use, and some did not relate to the research questions. Some of the current documents were not official publications. Many newspaper articles provided information on Prophet Walter Magaya allegedly defrauding believers.

5.7.2 Interviews

The second method of data collection for this study was interviews. Fox and Bayat (2008) argue that interviews can be conducted on a one-on-one basis or in a focus group where the interviewer guides the interview using a limited number of questions. The researcher conducted a one-on-one interview to get an in-depth understanding of the central teaching of NRMs and development. The researcher interacted with interviewees who were pastors, gatekeepers, elders, staff, and members of the selected ministries in appendix 3. Information was gathered from these categories. The researcher also managed to get an opportunity to know people quite intimately and understand participants' thoughts or feelings about the subject matter, as noted by Martin et al., (2014:279). By so doing, the researcher used a structured interview, which allowed research participants to speak for themselves. The researcher entered into a conversation with the research participants with the aim to gather information, understand their lived experiences, how they constructed and interpreted the principal teachings of the NRMs and development.

In total, eighteen interviews were conducted face-to-face and in English. The use of English did not affect the results since NRMs emphasise on the use of English as one of its characteristics and all the research participants were literate. There was also the freedom to speak in Shona (local language), especially when some participants wanted to stress a point. The researcher then transcribed and translated words expressed in vernacular without compromising the meaning. Such face-to-face or personal interviews allowed the researcher to understand the gospel of prosperity, development, and the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development. The researcher used an interview schedule (see Appendix 5 and 6).

The interview schedule comprised a structured set of interview questions in a predetermined order. This helped the researcher to keep in line with the interview requirements and avoid straying. The interview schedule or guide worked as both a tool for non-directive and in-depth interviews. The researcher's interview schedule contained only eight broad interview questions divided into four sections. The first section focused on poverty, unemployment and crises in Zimbabwe from independence to 2017. The second section dealt with the primary teaching of the NRMs, while the third section examined the concepts of sustainable and transformational development and if the projects implemented promoted or contributed to sustainable and

transformational development. Lastly, the fourth section focused on the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development. Each interview was for thirty to forty-five minutes or an hour and half, depending on the nature of the conversation and the engagement of the interviewee. For instance, interviews on the history of GOM and Emmaus Encounter took at least one to one and a half hours.

Four ministers or pastors, mainly responded to the history of the PHD Ministries, GOM, and Emmaus Encounter. More questions were asked guided by the above mentioned four sections. Three knowledgeable gatekeepers, four ministry elders, three staff members and four members from the selected ministries were also asked questions within the interview schedule except information relating to the history of the selected NRMs. As noted on the sampling of interview participants, interviews were carried out at either participants' homes or their places of worship and offices. It was only Michael Lawrence Hood, Lazarus Kudiwa and Naison Chiwaura who were only asked about the history of the PHD ministries. The rest of the interview participants responded to all the four objectives of the study.

5.7.2.1 Advantages and Limitations of Interviews

The advantages of interviews noted in the study were that the researcher was available during the interview with the respondents, and able to clarify any ambiguous questions. Detailed information was easily gathered by asking more questions, and it was easier for respondents to speak to the researcher and share meaning of their lived experiences on the gospel of prosperity. Other advantages were that more data was easily collected in the interviews. The research participants provided historical information on the founding of their ministries. The interviews gave the researcher an understanding of the social actors' understanding, experiences, and interpretations of the gospel of prosperity, poverty, unemployment, and development. This was possible through the engagement with the research participants, probing beyond given answers, seeking clarification and elaboration where necessary, which led to rich data from a small sample size of eighteen interviews. Hence, the number was sufficient because it allowed the researcher and social actors to construct and interpret the meaning of lived experiences on the gospel of prosperity and development.

Some of the challenges experienced with the sample of interviewees included the audience location and accessibility, where the researcher had to travel to Harare (Zimbabwe) to visit research participants within their localities. Due to the cholera outbreak in Zimbabwe, particularly in Harare (September 2019), the researcher failed to gather people for FGDs and a second or third round of interviews which were then postponed to February 2020. However, the researcher visited various individual projects as shown under research campaign three section 5.7.6.3. The researcher also faced the challenge of the selected sample through snowballing; the immediate respondents were the ministries' founders or ministers, who were the elders. The researcher found it difficult to trust information from the ministries' elders who seemed biased towards their response around the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development, to the extent that they felt that a healthy relationship existed. In addition to that some elders within the selected ministries failed to be critical on the sustainability of the institutional projects implemented as they tried to speak on behalf of the ministries and their mandate which appeared as if no challenges were encountered. Hence there was bias towards how the ministries elders responded to poverty, unemployment, and political and economic crises.

The study, however, dealt with the above-mentioned challenges through thorough engagement with the ministries' gatekeepers, staff, and members who shared a critical understanding of what was happening within the ministries, the projects being implemented, and their contribution to development. The gatekeepers, staff, and ministries members who shared their lived experiences on the gospel of prosperity and developmental projects initiated disputed what some founders and elders had confirmed on the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development and the sustainability of the implemented institutional projects. In addition, the researcher had further probed and in-depth conversations with the five interviewees who left the PHD ministries. Their opinions were critical rather than being protective of the selected NRMs. The critical and constructivist paradigms adopted in the study also helped the researcher to be critical and interpret the constructed meaning of the research participants' lived experiences determining and striking a balance on the provided information by all research participants. A non-participant observation method explained below also helped the researcher verify claims made by research participants.

5.7.3 Non-Participant Observation

The third method of data collection the study employed was a non-participant observation. This took the form of attending ministries' services, as demonstrated in Appendix 4. During these events, various observations were made. Observation means that the researcher goes to the site of the study, which may be a school, classroom, church, or community meeting space, and observes what is happening (Bertram and Christiansen 2014:84). First-hand data was obtained in an observation where the researcher witnessed and recorded, as opposed to things that other people reveal. The researcher attended services at the PHD Ministries and GOM and made several observations getting first-hand information on the teaching of the gospel of prosperity. Two observations schedules on Wednesday the 20th of December 2017 and Wednesday the 19th of December 2018 within the PHD ministries were carried out during the week while the rest were carried out on Sundays.

It was also difficult for the researcher to observe other critical areas as it was impossible for the researcher to observe everything that happens in a situation. The researcher used his good attending and observing skills, and gained in-depth understanding, such as that of an insider, without running the risk of being superficial and misinterpreting. The researcher was in a position to see blind spots which insiders could not see hence making it possible to carry out observations. The advantages of observation are that it is a powerful method for gaining insight into situations. The researcher was able to see what was happening, gaining a well-rounded and well-founded picture of the selected ministries under study. Creswell (2009) pointed out that the advantages of observations are that the researcher has first-hand information and experience with participants and can record information as it occurs.

Within this study, the researcher used a structured observation schedule (Appendix 7). The structured observation schedule helped the researcher understand whom to observe, what to observe, and why. It also helped to understand teachings, testimonies, and the projects implemented by the selected ministries. As a non-participant observer, the researcher was aware that his presence might affect the phenomena but tried to have little influence on what was being researched. This helped the researcher define his role and describe its effect on the information gathered. The researcher was only an observer and remained detached from the situation and did not get immersed in the situation, thereby making it easier to collect correct and valuable data

that could also have been gathered through pictures. Pictures of observations were recorded, as demonstrated in Appendix 12 and some sections within the proceeding chapters. Visits were made to some places where individual projects were implemented, (see section 5.7.6.3 research campaign three) and these were documented by the researcher. The researcher also visited the PHD Ministries' bookshop at the corner of Second Street and Robert Mugabe way and read information around the gospel of prosperity and development work. This helped to get an in-depth understanding of the contribution of the prosperity gospel to development. The researcher adopted the already explained critical and constructive paradigm and a 'fly on the wall' technique to observe things undisturbed by the researcher's presence.

5.7.4 Sermons

First-hand teaching on the gospel of prosperity was gathered through sermons preached by the selected ministries' founders and how the theology of the prosperity gospel was used to respond to political and economic crises. The researcher attended ministries' services, listened to prophets or pastors preaching, and heard testimonies, including their connection to poverty and unemployment. Listening to pastors' preaching also helped the researcher to analyse poverty and unemployment, which pastors preached about, and how such poverty and unemployment were responded to in the NRMs' teaching. Within GOM, the researcher documented summarised four sermons preached by the founder during observation schedules. Ten sermons from the founder of the PHD ministries were also listened to and summarised from Yadah TV⁶⁴ largely showing sermons preached by Prophet Walter Magaya. Current and relevant teaching and interpretation of the gospel of prosperity which emphasised much on miraculous wealth, healing and deliverance as noted in chapter three, section 3.3.3 on the characteristic features of the NRMs in Zimbabwe was emphasised within these sermons. To address some of the limitations noted during the non-participant observation and sermons, the researcher gathered groups of the selected ministries' members to discuss issues around the gospel of prosperity and development.

5.7.5 Focus Group Discussions

The final method of data collection undertaken in this study was the focus group discussions. Within this research, three FGDs comprising seven to eleven participants were carried out on

⁶⁴Yadah TV is a free to air television channel owned and run by Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries, broadcasting 24/7 around the globe via satellite and on the internet. It is available on DSTV Zimbabwe and can also be accessed on URL Yadah TV Youtube and facebook.

23/12/2018 for GOM, on 03/01/19 for Emmaus Encounter and on 04/01/19 for the PHD Ministries. Bryman (2008:473) defined the FGD as an interview with several people on a specific topic involving more than one, usually at least four people or more. Further, it focuses on a specific theme or topic that is explored in depth. Bickman and Rog (1998:505) highlighted that FGD involves a group discussion of a topic that is the focus of the conversation. As opposed to Bryman (2008:475), who argued that FGD involves four people or more, Bickman and Rog (1998) argue that FGD involves eight to twelve people discussing a particular topic under the direction of a moderator who is responsible for the interaction and assures that the topic remains unchanged. Both Bryman (2008:472-476) and Bickman and Rog (1998) agree that FGDs last from one and a half hours to two and a half hours.

Within the 3 FGDs in this study, the first FGD comprised 11 members of GOM in Mabvuku Harare. The discussion was held at the ministries' place of worship. The group comprised entrepreneurs, staff, and ministries' members. Two of the participants in the FGD1 participated in the personal interview. Their presence also helped them to confirm what they had discussed in the face-to-face interviews. The second group comprised 7 members, dominated by staff members and entrepreneurs, with one staff member and one entrepreneur who had participated in the personal interviews. Two gatekeepers and a pastor dominated the third group, with eight other members, amounting to 11 participants. The two gatekeepers and a pastor were also part of the 18 interviewed participants. Critical to the three FGDs was the main teaching of NRMs, economic and political crises, how the NRMs responded to poverty and unemployment, projects implemented, and their contribution to sustainable and transformational development. A Focus Group Schedule (Appendix 8) with open-ended questions was used in this study.

The interview schedule comprised 7 questions divided into four sections: poverty, unemployment and other crises and their influence on the teaching of the gospel of prosperity; understanding of sustainable and transformational development; development initiatives; and the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development. The researcher used open-ended interview questions where each person within the FGD was allowed to respond to the question. Participants were free to speak because the three FGDs were categorized so that participants felt comfortable speaking in the presence of one another. The researcher noted that believers spoke freely and outright on the first three sections of the interview schedule while a bit reserved on

the last section, which focused on the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development. However, the information on the projects and activities of the selected NRMs related to sustainable and transformational development made it easier for the researcher to construct the participants' understanding of the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development.

As noted in sections 5.6.2 and 5.7.2, the last round of face-to-face interviews (research campaign four) incorporated 5 interviewees who had left the PHD ministries. This created space to freely provide baseline information, witness, and opinions more critically. Relevant meaning to their lived experiences on the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development was constructed. Hence, the fourth research campaign and other individual interviews emphasized what was not freely communicated in the last section of the FGDs schedule. The value of testimony from the FGDs, which had church leaders and followers, was noted in the first three sections of the FGDs schedule. Participants were able to freely share their opinions on crises in Zimbabwe, the gospel of prosperity, concepts of sustainable and transformational development. Church officials could not lie or exaggerate conversations on how their ministries responded to poverty, unemployment and crises in the presence of their church members. Hence there was the value of testimony from the FGDs, which had both church leaders and followers. The advantage of such a FGD was that those who would have given a different answer that was not corresponding with the group were able to correct themselves. For instance, concerning projects being implemented by the selected NRMs, some respondents pointed out that some of the projects mentioned were still in their infancy or initial process, thereby failing to warrant a measure for their contribution to development. The idea of asking for the informants' perceptions made it possible to ensure a fair representation of all groups. Gender dynamics were noted in personal interviews, where most of the respondents were men. The FGD ensured that out of the 29 FGD participants, ten were female.

FGDs were used to obtain general background information about the topic of the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development. They also helped to generate a research hypothesis for further research and testing while stimulating new ideas and creative concepts. FGDs also helped to find out potential problems and learn how respondents talked about the phenomenon of interest. The researcher noted that data collection within FGDs was quicker and

less costly than interviewing individuals, as noted by Bickman and Rog (1998:506). Bryman (2008:479) argued that FGDs save time and money by interviewing many people simultaneously. In this research, it was evident that FGDs were assembled on much shorter notice than a more systematic survey. Direct interaction with respondents was witnessed in FGDs, with opportunities for clarification and probing of responses as well as follow-up questions. The researcher was able to observe non-verbal responses such as gestures, smiles, nodding, and frowns that may have carried information that supplemented or contradicted verbal responses. For example, when the researcher asked about projects being implemented by the selected NRMs, respondents confirmed some of the projects through nodding. In contrast, others disagreed on some concepts through shaking of the head and frowns. Concerning projects being implemented by NRMs and their contribution to development, some respondents frowned about the contribution of NRMs' projects to development.

5.7.5.1 Advantages and Limitations of Focus Group Discussion

The general advantage of FGDs is that participants' responses are questioned, analysed, and challenged by the group. This helped the researcher to end up with the most accurate information on what people think and enabled participants to revise their views. Within this research, participants were asked to confirm whether responses given on the projects implemented by the selected ministries were witnessed. Through critical and constructive paradigm, the meaning of lived experiences were collectively constructed, making it more accessible for the researcher to determine deeper meaning, make valuable connections, and identify subtle nuances in expression and meaning. FGDs allowed respondents to react to and build upon the responses of other group members. In addition, the cost of conducting FGDs was cheaper than meeting many people. Further, respondents were engaged in the discussions stimulated by other members.

The researcher was aware of the limitations of the FGDs, especially that the researcher may lose control of the proceedings. Data in FGDs may be challenging to analyse, organize, and to try to transcribe when respondents speak at the same time. The researcher ensured that each participant was given his or her time to speak. Other limitations or disadvantages of FGDs were that the small numbers of respondents participated in different FGDs, and the convenience nature of most focus group recruiting practices significantly limited generalization to more substantial populations as highlighted by Bickman and Rog (1998:510). Hence the researcher used a

snowball sampling to recruit participants. It could also be argued that FGDs take more time than individual interviews. As mentioned earlier, one FGD can take one and a half to two and a half hours.

Results obtained in FGDs could have been biased by a very dominant or opinionated member, where reserved group members may have been hesitant to talk. The researcher emphasized that each participant's perception was critical, to avoid biased results and extract meaning from all the participants. Information gathered through interviews was verified and compared with FGDs and written material. Information during interviews and FGDs were gathered through the audio recording to avoid missing what respondents had replied to the question. Audio recording helped to write down respondents' answers without error or distorting the meaning.

5.7.6 Research Campaigns

The researcher carried out four research campaigns, demonstrating how the research evolved. Within these research campaigns, the researcher was able to gather information on the four research questions. In addition, responses from the research questions were verified during the research campaigns (fieldwork), which involved interviews, observations, particularly on the individual and institutional projects implemented by the selected NRMs. These projects verified if poverty, unemployment and crises were caused by mismanagement of resources and if such projects promoted or hindered sustainable and transformational development. More so, the teachings of the selected NRMs were verified through interviews, observations, and sermons from the pastors. Hence, the four research campaigns verified information gathered from the data gathering techniques.

5.7.6.1 Research Campaign One

The first research campaign was carried out for 15 days from 17th to 31st December 2017. The researcher got hold of Reverend Makahamadze through snowball sampling. The researcher was introduced to Pastor Tinashe, the GOM founder, elders, and gatekeepers from the PHD Ministries, including Kwenje, Tirivanhu, Chiwaura and Kuipa. Gatekeepers and staff from the PHD Ministries and Emmaus Encounter were also introduced to the researcher. This group was interviewed on the research questions and objectives. The first set of four non-participant observations was carried out at the PHD Ministries and GOM as noted on section 5.7.3. Two

sermons during observations at GOM were captured. Within the first research campaign, interview questions were also pretested before finalizing the interview questions. The first FGD was carried out on the 23rd of December 2017.

5.7.6.2 Research Campaign Two

The second research campaign was carried out for five days from the 16th to 20th October 2018 focusing on the history of the three selected NRMs. A year later, fifteen days between 21st of December 2018 and 4th of January 2019 were dedicated on interviewing ministries members from the PHD Ministries, GOM and Emmaus Encounter. It also carried out the second set of four non-participant observations, two for the PHD Ministries and two for GOM, amounting to eight observations. One observation on the 19th of December 2018 was carried out during the week at the PHD ministries while the other three observations were carried out during Sunday services. Within the second research campaign, on the 3rd and 4th of January 2019, two outstanding focus group discussions for Emmaus Encounter and GOM respectively, were carried out. One of the challenges witnessed was the researcher's arrest and at least 30 minutes of detention at a makeshift police cell at the Harare Roadport for attempting to exchange South African Rand for the Zimbabwean Dollar at the black market. (See chapter 8 section 8.2.4).

5.7.6.3 Research Campaign Three

The third research campaign was carried out for five days from 16th to 20th of September 2019. This research campaign was affected by the outbreak of cholera in Zimbabwe. The researcher was not able to meet all the research participants who had been interviewed in December 2017. However, the study managed to interview Reverend Makahamadze, Mutorwa and Madzudzo for the second time, and Kunaka was interviewed for the first time. The researcher interviewed the same research participants for the second time to ensure that the first interviews' information was accurate. The researcher noted that the information was the same. Considering that the researcher was not allowed to gather people around and re-interview as many participants as possible, a decision was made to visit various individual projects implemented by the believers in Chitungwiza, Eastview, Norton, Glen Norah, Greendale, and Harare central business district (CBD). Upon visiting and observing some of the individual projects implemented by the believers, the researcher was able to have informal conversations for five to ten minutes with those believers, confirming the projects they were implementing. Baseline information on the

change from 2017 to 2019 was also collected. Four questions were asked in relation to change in life, profit made, sustainability of the profit and comparison of the profit with the pastor. Appendices 9 and 10 show four baseline questions asked and projects visited during the third campaign respectively.

5.7.6.4 Research Campaign Four

A fourth and last research campaign was carried out in February 2020. This research campaign lasted seven days. It was meant to carry out second and third interviews amongst those interviewed before. The focus was also on checking whether respondents had lied or not when the first or second interviews were carried out. The fourth research campaign also sought to collect baseline information and information on change from 2017 to 2019 and confirm whether the individual and institutional projects were sustainable. Within the fourth research campaign, many respondents expressed their disappointment that they did not benefit from some of the projects implemented. In contrast, others said that the project implemented helped them meet basic needs and brought access to basic income. Other ministries' elders (Kuipa), gatekeepers (Mutorwa), and Madzudzo, all from the PHD Ministries, expressed that they had left the ministries. Kuipa established his ministries called Light World Embassy. The changes noted as the research evolved over time will further be discussed in chapters eight and nine. The summary of all the four research campaigns is attached (Appendix 11).

The four research campaigns were separated to ensure that the researcher would have enough time to carry out interviews, observations and FGDs. Further, the researcher wanted to check how trustworthy the information was by interviewing participants for the second time. In addition to that, both the researcher and the participants had time to check their baseline information during the period December 2017 to December 2019 and see if there was a significant change in their lives.

5.8 Data Analysis Procedures

According to Patton (2002:432), the purpose of conducting a qualitative study is to produce findings. Qualitative analysis transforms data into findings. This involves reducing the volume of raw information, sifting significance from trivia, identifying significant patterns, and constructing a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal. Data analysis

helped the researcher to organize and summarise data in order to answer the research questions. The researcher was able to analyse data in such a way that he could see patterns, identify themes, discover the relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, and generate theories. Qualitative data was analysed using MS Word data analysis templates with all study themes. All critical findings from interview notes and transcripts were copied and pasted into the template under relevant themes. The coding of data entailed two main stages: grouping the researcher's data into different categories and assigning numbers to categories created.

The researcher's data analysis followed five stages. The first involved organizing and preparing data through transcribing, typing notes, and categorizing data according to their different sources, e.g., interviews or observation. Secondly, it involved reading the data to get a sense of the information. A synopsis of interviews was done to give the researcher room to reflect on the data. The third stage was based on coding the data, which is a "process of organizing the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to information" (Rossman & Rallis 1998:171 quoted in Creswell 2009:186). The researcher used inductive analysis first, drawing out codes that emerged from the data. Deductive coding was then used, using codes drawn from the researcher's theoretical framework, such as norms of reciprocity, cooperation, and collaboration, associations, assets, and social networks. Such prior theoretical knowledge was used as a starting point to understand the contribution of NRMs to development and the relationship that exist between NRMs and development.

Within the inductive coding, segments containing meaning were then identified, creating labels for a new category into which the text segment was assigned. The initial description of the meaning of the category was then developed. Usually, there is a procedure used for the inductive analysis of qualitative data, which the researcher adopted. It involves the preparation of raw data files, close reading of the text, creation of categories, and continuing revision and refinement of the category system, as noted by Thomas (2003:5). The researcher then used the coding process to create "a description of the setting or people as well as categories or themes for analysis" as highlighted by Creswell (2009:186). Lastly, the description and themes were then worked into a qualitative narrative in response to the research questions. Appendix 12 shows the relationship among research questions, data collecting methods and analysis.

5.9 Validity, Reliability and Rigour

Validity refers to the extent to which a specific measurement provides data that relates to commonly accepted meanings of a particular concept. Bertram and Christiansen (2014) argue that validity is the extent to which one can trust the research. Validity tends to ask questions about how congruent the findings are with the reality constructed by individuals. Validity in qualitative research can be regarded as trustworthiness or credibility (Struwig and Stead 2001:143). Walonick (2005:6) defined validity as the accuracy or truthfulness of a measurement. The researcher used credible and trustworthy interview questions to collect data from research participants. The researcher used content validity, where the interview questions were pretested before finalizing the interview questions. First interviews were carried out in December 2017. The second, third and fourth research campaigns were carried out interviewing participants for the second and third time. The researcher wanted to check the validity of the content, which was provided by certain respondents.

Reliability asks the question about the extent to which one's findings will be found again. Reliability refers to the likelihood that a given measurement procedure will yield the same description of a given phenomenon if that measurement is repeated (Mouton 1998:125). Within this study, reliability was noted as the accuracy or stability level with which the instrument yields consistent results on the teaching of gospel of prosperity every time it was used (Walonick 2005:6). However, reliability can also mean the degree to which an assessment consistently measures what it is measuring. Trochim (2006:1) defined reliability as consistency or repeatability of the measurement. Within this context, consistency means that the respondents understand the true meaning of the question, as stated in the research. The instrument consistently measured the attribute it was meant to measure, where the researcher increased reliability by carrying out the first interview and then another interview with the same respondents after at least twelve to twenty-one months.

The researcher was also comprehensive and careful, ensuring an accurate representation of the population, particularly the youth and women who form part of contemporary Pentecostalism. In addition, the researcher ensured consistency in the methods used in the four research campaigns where trust and confidence in both the participants and findings of the study were established. The validity, reliability, and rigour of the study were achieved through gathering as much information as possible through the qualitative methodology. Consistency in concepts such

as the prosperity gospel, sustainable and transformational development was measured, and integrity of the conclusions generated from the research was considered through validity and reliability. Interview questions were tested first, upon which the researcher was able to evaluate whether the interview questions asked valid questions that would provide excellent and relevant answers. The reliability of the information gathered was tested by comparing the available literature and information gathered from research participants. The researcher was rigorous in gathering and analysing the data provided.

5.10 Researcher's positionality and limitations to the study

Research participants discussed and told their stories through interviews and FGDs. The study adopted critical and constructivist paradigms and qualitative approaches without claiming to be objective but assuming that knowledge was co-constructed by the research participants and the researcher. Therefore, the researcher's subjective involvement with participants resulted in the co-construction of knowledge. The major limitation was written material as it did not give much on the relationship of the gospel of prosperity and development. Information about the development of the NRMs in Zimbabwe is in newspapers and hearsay. There are also very few books on the gospel of prosperity in Zimbabwe. Scholars who have written on the gospel of prosperity looked at its possibility in addressing poverty and development in Zimbabwe without looking at how NRMs have responded to poverty, unemployment, and economic and political crises in Zimbabwe. More so, scholars have not asked if the projects implemented by NRMs promote or hinder sustainable and transformational development.

Other challenges that occurred involved the snowball sampling technique used, where most of the gatekeepers and ministers were remarkably close to the founders of the selected ministries. Bias towards the founder and ministries was then dealt with through engagement of the same gatekeepers and ministers in the focus group discussions and carrying out second and third rounds of interviews. Ministers and gatekeepers' perceptions were either corrected or emphasized during the focus group discussions and by those who were critical to the NRMs' gospel of prosperity. Gender equality also presented challenges as most of the gatekeepers and pastors were male. However, the researcher ensured that the FGDs incorporated more women to ensure that gender representation was addressed. The other challenge that positively helped to verify corruption and mismanagement of resources was a minor arrest and detention for

attempting to exchange South African Rand into Zimbabwean Dollar during the second research campaign. The other challenge involved the third research campaign affected by the cholera outbreak in Harare. The researcher could not meet many people or spend more time observing individual projects implemented by various believers. Conversations were informal and the whole idea was to confirm that the projects the believers claimed they were implementing were accurate and collecting baseline data.

Despite several challenges, the researcher explained the research process to the ministries' leaders and highlighted their contribution to their ministries, thereby encouraging them to participate in the research. The researcher also managed to visit respondents in their communities and held focus group discussions at their places of worship where respondents were comfortable to meet and participate in the research. Attending ministries' services and listening to various sermons also helped the researcher to gather information about the NRMs. The researcher gathered as much information as possible to obtain accurate data. Simple and easy to understand questions were administered to keep research participants interested. Attention was also given to entrepreneurs and staff who had an in-depth understanding of both the institutions and business. The researcher has researched on NRMs at the honours and master's degree level, which strengthened academic zeal over the phenomenon and overcame several challenges.

5.11 Ethical Considerations

Ethics is associated with morality as both deal with matters of right and wrong. However, ethics is defined as conforming to the standards of conduct of a given profession or group (Mouton 1998:520). Elements of ethical considerations include voluntary participation, no harm to participants, anonymity, and confidentiality. Voluntary participation involves the engagement of participants, where one explains to the participants that their involvement in the research is voluntary, and no one will be forced to participate. Answering interview questions was voluntary as candidates were under no obligation to answer the interview questions. The researcher upheld all ethical research codes required by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Gatekeepers' letters were sought from the selected NRMs and were granted, leading to the issuing of the ethical clearance letter to carry out this research from the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Before the researcher carried out every interview, consent was sought from the research participants. None of the participants declined to participate in the study. The confidentiality of participants was

strictly upheld from data collection to the thesis writing stage. The study ensured that participants were above the age of eighteen.

In relation to harm to participants, the researcher managed to guard research participants against any harm which could have been predicted to be harmful. The researcher noted that the extreme poverty situation in Zimbabwe, the collapse of social services, and economic meltdown could not prevent people from speaking openly about the situation. Respondents were asked sensitive questions around the evolution of crises in Zimbabwe, to which they responded openly. The researcher had informed respondents not to answer anything they were not comfortable to respond to. The study became an outlet for many participants to express their frustrations caused by the gospel of prosperity and projects implemented by the founders of NRMs, while other participants experienced financial benefits and the ability to meet basic needs. In as much as respondents were comfortable with the use of their names, there was care about maintaining records confidentially. The researcher used 'anonymous' or pseudonyms for those who expressed that they did not want the researcher to use their real names. Surnames or first names were used for research participants who wanted their real names to be used except for Prophet Walter Magaya who is a well-known prophet in Zimbabwe.

Informed consent which expresses that every person who participates in the research should have freely consented to participate without being coerced or unfairly pressurized (Cochran and Patton 2002:5) was used. The research participants were given as much information as possible to make an informed decision about whether they wish to participate in the study. Informed consent for participants was gained by asking participants to sign informed consent forms (Appendix 10). The research participants were also informed that their participation was voluntary, and they were free to withdraw from the interview at any time without prejudice or being victimized. Before the consent form was signed, the researcher engaged participants and explained the aim and purpose of this research. Lastly, the right to privacy was considered. Protection of participants' identity and their wellbeing was considered as anonymity and confidentiality. Participants were informed that if they refuse to answer specific questions on whatever grounds they feel, it was justified. This was based on the feeling that specific questions delve into private realms, which respondents may not wish to make public, although the interview was in private. The anonymity and privacy of those who participated in this research process were respected.

Those who were not comfortable with their names mentioned in the research findings and those not willing to respond to specific questions were allowed to have their names excluded from the research findings and responses to certain questions, respectively.

5.12 Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the methodology of the study and how the research problem was addressed. This was made possible through case study, research instruments such as personal interviews, non-participant observation, and focus group discussion. The population and sample characteristics outlined the data collection procedures, and ethical considerations such as informed consent, invasion of privacy, and harm to participants. The next chapter will focus on the presentation of data, which pays particular attention to a typology of the history of the three selected churches and their characteristic features which include hymns, prayer and raising of hands, alleged miracles, the use of media and sowbug the seed preaching.

CHAPTER SIX: THE EMERGENCE OF THE SELECTED NRMs IN ZIMBABWE

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the critical and constructivist paradigm adopted in this research, and the qualitative methodology which was chosen because of its capacity to interpret social experiences and individual constructs. The focus of chapter six is to answer the first part of the first objective which examines the history of selected New Religious Movements (NRMs) in Zimbabwe. It provides thick descriptions of the Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministries founded by Walter Magaya in Harare in 2012, Grace Oasis Ministries (GOM) founded by Pastor Tinashe in Harare in April 2015, and Emmaus Encounter (EE) founded by Reverend Makahamadze in Harare in December 2015. The description of the selected NRMs in this chapter is guided by the activities relating to the gospel of prosperity and its relationship with sustainable and transformational development. NRMs' gospel of prosperity emphasises faith, health, wealth, working hard, living upright moral lives, and activities or interventions that contribute to development. The chapter provides theoretical insights that highlight that there is a complex and contested relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development.

The research findings revealed that there are four activities that allowed the formation of social capital within the context of NRMs. The following chapters made use of these four activities which firstly includes NRMs' teaching about the gospel of prosperity and believers coming together for religious events. Such religious events include Sunday services, prayer fellowships, evening services, healing and deliverance sessions, ceremonies, and rituals which gave rise to religious socialization. Believers met and socialized during such religious events. Newcomers and visitors were accepted into the group, making them feel like part of the congregation. Personal devotions were provided, and believers supported one another and visitors. The second activity involved internal groups such as men, youth, and women's fellowship which created space for further social interactions. Further, the internal groups included choir and musical groups, which also provided space for socialization and opportunities for forging new relationships and networks.

The third activity involved places of worship or gatherings which became the space for associations with others before and after services. The findings from this study demonstrated

that members forged new relationships and networks built on trust and common faith as 'born again' Christians. The fourth activity involved both the individual and institutional projects relating to sustainable and transformational development implemented by the selected NRMs (to be discussed in the proceeding chapters). Throughout these, attention was on the confirmation of the theoretical insights which emerged within these four activities.

6.2 History of the Selected NRMs in Zimbabwe

Chapter three section 3.4 provided a current typology of NRMs in Zimbabwe showing that traditionally, most NRMs emerged from Pentecostal churches. It is important to note that the three selected ministries PHD, GOM and EE all had some influence from the Catholic Church. It is now well established from a variety of recent studies that the PHD Ministries' founder was born and raised in the Catholic Church and belonged to the Charismatic Renewal group. The PHD Ministries then gave birth to Grace Oasis Ministries, whose founder was Catholic. He joined PHD Ministries and later on started his own ministry. The founder of Emmaus Encounter, who is also a former Catholic, worked closely with both PHD Ministries and Grace Oasis Ministries before starting his own ministry.

The three selected NRMs have different characteristics. The PHD Ministries is a big ministry with over one million followers, while GOM has at least 500 followers. Both PHD Ministries and GOM emphasise the gospel of prosperity teaching while EE tends to be focus more on personal development. It was noted that Emmaus Encounter was yet to come off the ground, with less than 100 followers holding meetings and sessions on a WhatsApp platform. EE is thus still small and emerging as a ministry which explains why it has a different focus and approach to the two more established ministries. Chitando and Biri (2016), Chibango (2016), Mahohoma (2017) and Gukurume (2020) have published on PHD Ministries, while no history or literature has been published GOM and EE.

Before responding to objective one, the study proposed a working definition of the term 'ministry' and 'church' in the context of this study. The NRMs claim that they are ministries, and they are registered as ministries, not as churches. The definition of 'ministries' as opposed to churches within the context of Pentecostal or Charismatic ministries varies. Asamoah-Gyadu (2013:111) defines ministries as groups of Christians who emphasize salvation in Christ as a transforming

experience brought by the Holy Spirit. Aryeh (2016:146) also defined charismatic ministries as the contemporary versions of Pentecostal ministries who believe in the Holy Spirit's experience and vibrant worship and life. These two definitions seem to suggest that 'ministries' are defined by their emphasis on the experience and salvation in Christ through the Holy Spirit.

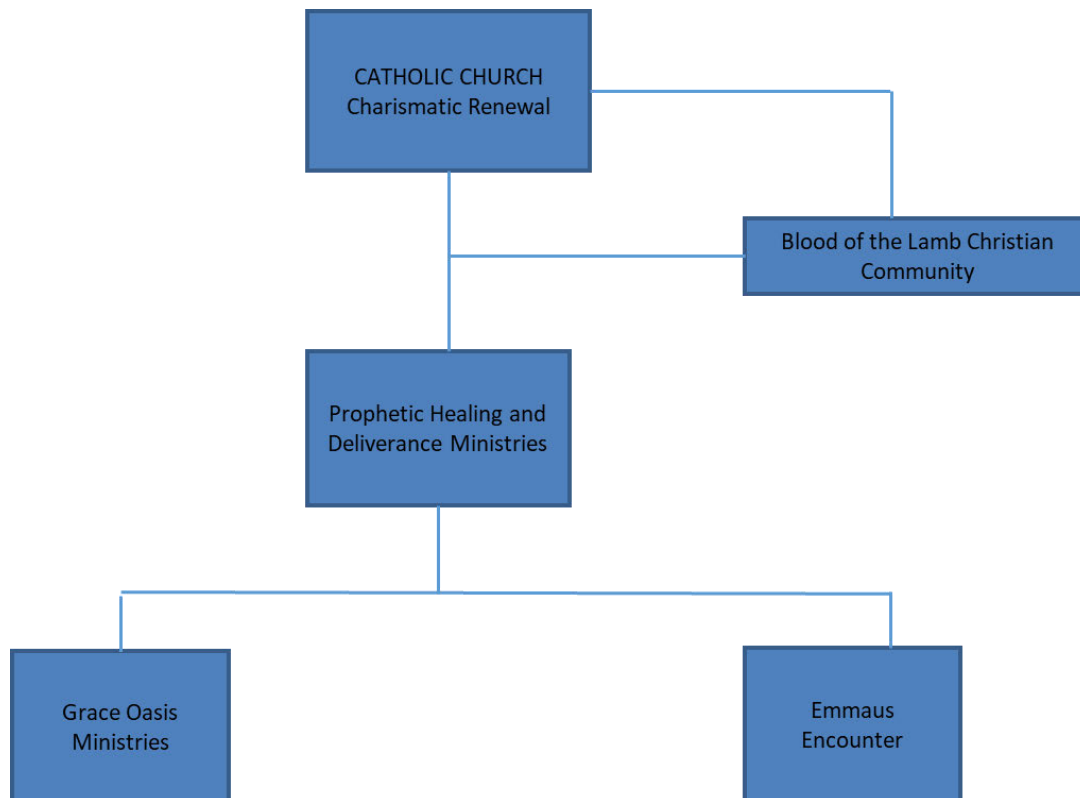
The term 'ministry' can also be described as an office or service that a person is called to by God. Grudem et al., (2003:450) argue that in Christianity, a ministry is an action carried out by Christians to express or spread their faith. Besides, a ministry can also be defined as "carrying forth Christ's mission in the world," indicating that it is "conferred on each Christian in baptism hence performed by all Christians" (Bowden 2005:893). This implies that a ministry can be a form of activity performed by Christians or those called to serve God and others. Within the understanding of the NRMs, ministries are understood as groups of Christians who emphasize the experience of the Holy Spirit in undertaking their services and spreading their faith.

The Catechism of the Catholic Church defines 'church' as the people in the whole world whom God gathers and who exist in local communities, making it real as a liturgical and Eucharistic assembly (Humphries 2019:198). The word church is a Greek word '*ekklesia*', translated to 'as a church'. It is understood that God gathers dispersed people together. The church is also understood as the communion of Christians as brothers and sisters in Christ. The Second Vatican Council's constitution *Lumen Gentium* defined the church as a sign and instrument of communion with God and of unity among all people (Humphries 2019:198). A church is understood as an event when the word is proclaimed, and sacraments administered to the people (Peterson 2016:43-59). In a way, the church is understood in its functional terms. Tkaczynski (2017:1) argued that a church could mean different things to various people. Interpreting Tkaczynski's understanding of church attendance, a church can be a body of people who gather for worship in a general location such as cathedrals and all purpose-built churches. A church, however, is a Christian organization with its clergy, buildings, and distinctive doctrines (Pillay 2017:2). Such a definition of a church is perceived to provide something of value to attract people.

Considering how ministries and the church are defined, there is a need to understand the difference between a church and a ministry in the context of this study. The difference is that a

ministry is an action used to express faith or an office. Also, a ministry focuses on helping someone, and is generally coordinated by an individual or by a group of Christians to further the work of God. The word 'church', however, refers to the gathering of believers in the name of Jesus Christ or God. The difference is that a ministry is an activity done by an individual or church while a church is gathering of the believers. This suggests that believers can come up with a ministry (in the sense of activity) for the church. The selected NRMs are regarded as ministries whose founder is called by God to serve or help people in furthering God's work. A possibility of such ministries developing into churches is inevitable as most ministries have developed into an established institution with pastors or prophets, with several buildings for worship in various areas, and distinctive doctrines.

Within this study, the terms Pastor and Prophet will be used interchangeably to refer to founders or leaders of the NRMs. The study noted that the NRMs, particularly the PHD Ministries and GOM, dropped the emphasis on the NRMs in America and the Catholic Church's focus on challenging social, political, and economic issues (Gifford 1988:26). This seems to suggest that NRMs do not focus on challenging political leaders on socio-political and economic issues. Such a failure to engage the everyday socio-economic and political challenges that affect the livelihoods of the people at the expense of promoting the gospel of prosperity creates fertile ground for research and inquiry. It is in this research that the history of these three selected ministries will be documented. The structure on the founding of these three ministries can be explained in the diagram below:



6.2.1 Three controversial founding narratives of PHD Ministries

The history of the PHD Ministries was narrated by its founder Prophet Walter Magaya. He was born in Mhondoro⁶⁵. He grew up in Chitungwiza, a city close to Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. He claimed to have started his preaching ministry when he was young. Later on, he graduated into full time preaching at the PHD Ministries. Walter Magaya argued that he did not go to any university. By the time he wanted to go to college, he instead opened computer science college. In addition, Walter Magaya did not even go to a Bible school as most pastors who started ministries. He cited that he had nothing to show off about academic studies. Walter Magaya said:

When I finished an advanced level of education, I started many projects, which were even more than 80. I had a butchery, college, buying and selling of everything, cross border trading, vendor, and several businesses (www.phdministries.org/ accessed 20/12/2018).

The several business activities outlined above suggest that the imperative for self-economic development was influential in the pursuit of a ministry by Walter Magaya. It highlights how

⁶⁵ Mhondoro is a rural area under the Mhondoro Ngezi district in the province of Mashonaland West in Zimbabwe.

aspirational motivations for a better life would shape his ministry and message when he started the PHD Ministries. It was at this time that his spiritual Father Temitope Balogun Joshua⁶⁶, prophesied that Walter Magaya was not a businessman but a gifted prophet. This suggests that Walter Magaya was inspired by T.B. Joshua to start his ministry. Chitando and Biri (2016:77) and Chibango (2016:62) also pointed out that Walter Magaya made a trip to Nigeria to meet and consult T.B. Joshua on his 16 business projects upon which he was instructed that he was destined for ministry. Magaya started his ministry in the same year, in October 2012. The study observed that the history of PHD Ministries has three accounts or narratives on how it was formed.

This first account suggests that the founding of the PHD Ministries in October 2012, was influenced by T.B. Joshua. Walter Magaya has however remained silent on the reason why he visited T.B. Joshua in Nigeria. Makahamadze of EE noted that:

It is said that Walter Magaya then decided to go to Nigeria to visit the Synagogue Church of All Nations (SCOAN) headed by T.B. Joshua. He went with a list of business proposals for T.B. Joshua to pray for his business success. Walter Magaya was then told that his business was not just in church but a church. This was when Walter Magaya received his impartation (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

Walter Magaya said that it was from that time when he met T.B. Joshua that he started to do God's work. He claimed T.B. Joshua, told him that he would start a football team and carry out many projects. In addition to that, social networks, affirmation, and self-confidence built through such interaction gave self-determination to Walter Magaya starting his ministry. Despite networks and connections created between Prophet Walter Magaya and T.B. Joshua, his silence on the reasons for visiting T.B. Joshua led to unpacking the second and third accounts on the founding of the PHD Ministries.

⁶⁶ Joshua Temitope Balogun Joshua, commonly referred to as T. B. Joshua, a Nigerian pastor, televangelist and, philanthropist inspired Walter Magaya. He is the leader and founder of The Synagogue Church of All Nations. T.B. Joshua is one of the leading Nigerian prophets who attract clients from across the globe (Chitando and Biri 2016:77). Other NRMs founders in Zimbabwe, including the founder of United Family International Church, Emmanuel Makandiwa, and the Spirit Embassy, which was started by Uebert Angel, all trace their origin to T.B. Joshua of Nigeria. He is their spiritual Father to whom they pay homage. The founding of PHD Ministries came to life after the prophet visited Synagogue Church of All Nations in Nigeria, led by T.B. Joshua. This Nigerian prophet is called a senior pastor and spiritual Father by his spiritual sons like Magaya, Bushiri, Makandiwa, and others (Mahohoma 2017:3).

The second account on the founding of the PHD Ministries expressed that Prophet Walter Magaya belonged to the Catholic Church Charismatic group under the Blood of the Lamb Christian Community (BLCC).⁶⁷ This group broke away from Catholic Church and formed a Pentecostal ministry (Chibango 2016:61). The group is led by Father Michael Lawrence Hood. Within BLCC, Walter Magaya was the leader of a small section in Chitungwiza. He claimed that he was moving around healing and delivering people from all forms of evil spirits such as demons and witchcraft, poverty, and sickness (Chitando and Biri 2016:78).⁶⁸ Walter Magaya argued this made him popular to the extent that he was then allowed to start his own ministry. He highlighted:

On 28 October 2012, Fr Michael Hood called me to his house, where he informed me that he had seen the work I had done. He informed me that his vision and my vision were no longer the same. Fr Michael Hood then asked me to start my own ministry (www.phdministries.org/about_phd.html, interview accessed 20/12/2018).

Magaya seems to suggest that the founding of the PHD Ministries was a smooth transition from the BLCC. However, Fr Michael Lawrence Hood expressed a different view. Fr Hood argued that Walter Magaya and his group had begun to do certain activities within healing and deliverance, which were unpleasant. He pointed out that:

He started doing things without consulting me, which was a bit alarming at first. We might have worked together at first, but we could not continue. I attended some of his sessions in Tafara, Mabvuku, and Harare. In Tafara, they were making great noise about some old lady who was unable to walk, and she was now walking. When I looked with my own eyes, she was struggling along. She was being carried more than walking on her own. I was not happy about that. I could see that he was trying to do something new. The problem is he was doing it using the name of the BLCC (Hood, Interview, 19/02/2020).

During the research period, evidence suggested that the BLCC also focuses on healing and deliverance. Fr. Michael Lawrence Hood recognized the work Walter Magaya was doing but was not impressed with some of the activities including how healing and deliverance sessions

⁶⁷ Observation through the study revealed that the BLCC is an independent group of dedicated Christians who seek to equip other Christians for ministry through baptism in the spirit. The group has been in existence since the late 1970s. It started within the Catholic Church though was never fully recognized or accepted as a Catholic group. The researcher noted that BLCC does not belong to any church yet is open to all churches, promoting the kingdom of God on earth. Its members belong to various denominations and are called to integrate the BLCC into their Christian values.

⁶⁸ Chitando and Biri (2016) highlighted that as a lay Catholic, Magaya was gifted with exclusive healing powers to the extent that some Catholic priests went to him for assistance on healing and deliverance.

were being handled. Such activities were negative for the image of BLCC and thus led to conflict between the leadership in the BLCC and Walter Magaya.

Makahamadze, also points that Magaya returned from Nigeria, where he met T.B. Joshua, with holy water and anointed oil. Upon his return to Zimbabwe,

Walter Magaya started praying for people, and miracles were witnessed. This happened while Walter Magaya was within the BLCC. His praying for people and healing put him on collision with other members of the BLCC. Leadership within the BLCC was not comfortable with the way Walter Magaya was conducting his healing and deliverance services (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

Makahamadze believed that Walter Magaya could have been forced to leave the BLCC because of the way he had started carrying out the healing and deliverance sessions. Other respondents and Walter Magaya highlighted that he was asked by Fr. Michael Lawrence Hood to start his new ministry. This implied that, based on the meeting held, networks and associations which had been created were broken and Walter Magaya was permitted to start his own ministry. Fr. Hood further noted that:

I recognized the good things they were doing, and we needed encouragement in that direction. However, Walter Magaya and some of his team members were now wanting to do things differently under BLCC...I thought it was best to let him go separate from the BLCC and do the things he wanted to do in his way. This was the best solution, though he was disappointed because he wanted to stay within the BLCC" (Hood, Interview, 19/02/2020).

This statement suggests that Walter Magaya never intended to start a new ministry. What is clear in this narrative is how PHD Ministries was a creation of necessity because Magaya had been asked to leave BLCC. One of the respondents pointed out that: "It was the BLCC leadership which released Walter Magaya and his team allowing them to go and start his ministries" (Kavalo, Interview, 19/02/2020). What was clear, however, was that Walter Magaya wanted to start doing healing and deliverance in his way, on a larger scale, but the leadership of the BLCC did not approve.

New relationships and networks were built on trust and shared faith, and where this new group associated with each other, they created other new places for socialization. Chibango (2016:77),

argues that Walter Magaya left with about 45 people and started having prayers at his house in Chitungwiza. Chibango (2016:77), however, does not narrate whether Walter Magaya was expelled or politely asked to start his ministries. Narratives from various participants show that there was a good relationship between Walter Magaya and Fr. Michael Lawrence Hood and his BLCC leadership who permitted Walter Magaya to start his ministry. BLCC provided him the space to create a foundation for the PHD Ministries through supporting his early efforts in healing and deliverance. Soon after Walter Magaya had left the BLCC, there was a massive increase in the number of people who joined the PHD Ministries. This could have been through religious events such as the deliverance sessions, which gave rise to religious socialization and increased numbers of newcomers integrated into the new group and made them feel like part of the PHD Ministries.

The third account of the founding of the PHD Ministries pointed to the prophecy given by Prophet Uebert Angel, the founder of the Spirit Embassy. It was at the Prophetic Conference hosted by Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa, founder of United Family International at the Aquatic Complex in Chitungwiza, where a prophecy was made, that Walter Magaya was ordained to found a ministry. Chitando and Biri (2016:77) argue that it was believed that Prophet Uebert Angel gave Walter Magaya a prophetic word that he was a man whom God had chosen to prophethood. This narrative served to authenticate Walter Magaya's call to being a prophet. The study noted that the third account was neither confirmed by the participants nor Walter Magaya himself. Walter Magaya's silence on this account seems to suggest that the account could not have been accurate. There are various explanations for this including the dynamics of competition for space by prophets in Zimbabwe. Rivalries and competition for congregants has often led to tenuous relationships between the various leaders of NRMs in Zimbabwe. Like other prophets in the country, Magaya mostly associates with more famous and established prophets from other countries such as T.B. Joshua, whom he chooses to mention. In any case, this narrative would imply Uebert Angel is actually, above Walter Magaya. Power and control dynamics could have thus been compromised if Walter Magaya had acknowledged Uebert Angel as someone who confirmed him (Soboyejo 2016:19). The three narratives provide a contested version around the emergence of Walter Magaya. This increases the myth around his power, control and spiritual abilities. Such spiritual capital is important in ensuring allegiance of church members and attraction of new members. The narratives also highlight the importance of personal economic

aspirations that guided Magaya's journey towards starting his ministry. This message of personal prosperity remains an influential part of his theology.

6.2.1.1 Growth, Expansion and Alleged Fraud within the PHD Ministries

When Walter Magaya, left the BLCC, he pointed out:

I was leading the Healing and Deliverance section in the BLCC group of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. When I left the Catholic Church to found new ministries, I added 'Prophetic' and 'Ministries' to 'Healing and Deliverance'. This made my ministries known as the Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries (www.phdministries.org/about_phd.html, interview accessed 20/12/2018).

This is how the PHD Ministries was born in 2012. By January 2013, there were more than 500 members. In June 2013, the membership increased to 6000, and by December 2013, the membership had drastically increased to 9000 (Chitando and Biri 2016:77). PHD Ministries then moved to the current headquarters in Waterfalls, south-west of Harare. Walter Magaya made the following statement highlighting that: "In February 2014 we were about 40 000 to 50 000, by November 2014, numbers increased to 200 000, and by December 2014, the number grew to over 1 000 000 000" (www.phdministries.org/about_phd.html, interview accessed 20/12/2018). The study revealed that the increase in numbers of the followers created more networks and associations within the PHD Ministries. Many people were able to work together and help one another. Chabata, (one of the elders within the PHD Ministries) argues that: "In our ministries, there have been initiatives in trying to help members with a small capital to start their income-generating projects. It was stated in our church that if you want to start your own business, we are committed to supporting you with a capital" (Chabata, Interview, 24/12/2017).

Another elder, Kwenje, an elder pointed out that "Many people in the church have their own businesses. The church also has projects such as rearing chickens, farming, and cattle ranching. Mainly, each province usually gathers money and grows maize or different crops so that after harvesting, some funds can be used to assist the poor" (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017). Chabata also argued: "Many people are into poultry and selling airtime, some are into cross-border business and yes they are funded by other church members" (Chabata, Interview, 24/12/2017). The ministry provides a space that allows members to tap into the economic and social capital provided by the huge numbers in the ministry. The various activities, particularly on projects

implemented by the believers within the PHD Ministries, suggest aspects of sustainable and transformational development. The willingness of members of the PHD Ministries to cooperate and help each other to start businesses demonstrated the need to ensure a quality of life, eradication of poverty and creating social cohesion which are the focus of sustainable and transformational development. Ohlmann et al., (2021:5) argues that religion has the capacity to change the mindset of individuals especially in relation to entrepreneurial initiatives.

The increase of believers led to religious networks and common spiritual practices. Members of the PHD Ministries gathered and prayed together, creating more circles of connections and networks. The economic value of these networks was demonstrated when Walter Magaya pointed out:

I am into stockbroking, investments, and bringing in investors under Planet Africa. I want to link youth with investors all over the world who would come to Zimbabwe and connect those who are members of the PHD Ministries. If one wants to do any project, I connect people under Yadah connect (an internal group) where networks are created, and business is done ([www. phdministries.org/about_phd.html](http://www.phdministries.org/about_phd.html), interview accessed 20/12/2018).

Other types of networks that Walter Magaya mentioned related to agriculture. He argued: "I am into farming, six hectares of potatoes and various farming projects. I want to be the largest vegetable producer in Zimbabwe and Africa by 2020. I plan to export flowers to Europe" ([www. phdministries.org/about_phd.html](http://www.phdministries.org/about_phd.html), interview accessed 20/12/2018). The economic activities by Magaya provide an important glimpse into who exactly has the biggest benefit from the social capital of huge numbers. Whilst church members do get business support and connections, it is Walter Magaya who has successfully utilised his access to networks in his ministry to amass wealth. Kunaka one of the believers, emphasized:

We have always been encouraged to meet as men, women, or as members and discuss business ideas and helping each other. Through that, I have managed to start a goat rearing project, and other believers managed to start chicken rearing projects (Kunaka, Interview, 19/02/2020).

Another participant argued: "Coming together as men encouraged one to think and equip one another and helping others" (Chabata, Interview, 24/12/2017). Such internal groups provided space for socialization and opportunities for new relationships and networks.

PHD Ministries also has activities under Yadah partnering, which involves people contributing money to support the ministry's projects. This creates networks through contributions, as well as the commitment to work together and help each other. Yadah partnering is a good example of how members gain some form of support through increased social networks, yet the economic activities are largely for the benefit of Walter Magaya. The members benefited through the functional networks, encouraging them to meet and discuss not only ministries related issues but also business deals as well. Entrepreneurial individuals have thus taken advantage of the vast social capital and networks provided by being a member of the ministry. This, however, should not hide how, Magaya as the owner of the ministry has utilised the networks to create his personal business empire which includes businesses and properties. Prophet Walter Magaya can be viewed as an agent of social change (Ohlmann et al., 2021:5) through providing social and economic capital for entrepreneurial individuals within his ministry.

Members also provide a ready market for goods and services. They also help each other with links to opportunities. Walter Magaya pointed out: "Business is one of the biggest things I do and I do it to support the ministry and to maintain the family I adopted" (www.phdministries.org/about_phd.html, interview accessed 20/12/2018). In addition to that, Kwenje highlighted: "The PHD Ministries encourage the believers to start business. For instance, believers should go out and sell items such as food and clothes during leave or off days. Many people have been going to South Africa and Botswana buying clothes for selling in Zimbabwe" (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017). Such business deals helped believers to cooperate, create networks, and create social cohesion. Believers were able to travel together, give money to those travelling and request them to buy for them, inform each other of viable items for buying and selling and do business amongst each other. One of the respondents argued "we work together as a team, support each other's business and buy and sell amongst ourselves" (Ranzvenga, FGD3, 04/01/2019). In many ways, the spiritual connections are leading to economic opportunities and networks that have allowed members to create opportunities for wealth creation. PHD Ministries is thus providing a vehicle for socio-economic and transformational development for some of its members.

The above-noted interactions cultivated shared values by encouraging believers to help each other and equip one another to be at the level they aspired to be. Such inspiration is promoted by

the materialism that drives the gospel of prosperity. This in turn promotes entrepreneurial tendencies that support sustainable and transformational development. These concepts emphasise on wealth, working hard, eradicating poverty, and ensuring quality of life from a material, social, economic, psychological, and spiritual point of view. One of the participants, talking about how the PHD Ministries has been involved in helping various communities, argued:

So if you are in the ministry, you teach people to help others like me in Harare. I want to go to rural areas and offer them something which I can get from Harare. People in Harare need to help those in rural areas. I must have something to offer them to sustain themselves, and that is what I give them through the influence of the gospel of prosperity. We not only preach about prosperity but also take resources and give it to the people so that they can sustain themselves (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017).

One of the believers (Chabata, Interview, 24/12/2017) argued that “the PHD Ministries encourages one to think and, at the same time, reconciling the actions with the word of God, which then equips you to go and help other people.” Through helping each other, networks were created, and the church grew exponentially (Dube 2019:25). Many people began to tell each other about the PHD Ministries, creating new social networks and growth. Walter Magaya further notes:

If a person wants money, I give that person money, and if a person asks for healing and deliverance, then I offer healing and deliverance. The desire to help people has always inspired me. I want to help them more, and I want them to feel important (www.phdministries.org/about_phd.html, interview accessed 20/12/2018).

NRMs thus embody certain elements of Ubuntu (Mashau and Kgatle 2019:3) in terms of assisting communities and aiding those in need. The above findings suggest that Walter Magaya’s activities in some ways focus on meeting the needs of the people in such a way that their lives are transformed though noted above, he also profits at an individual level.

There are other factors that were outlined to explain the rise to prominence of Walter Magaya. Makahamadze, for example argued that, “One of the things that gave rise to Walter Magaya’s prominence besides miracles in the ministry was his down to earth approach” (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Such an approach implied interacting and bonding with other people, especially the followers with whom he created networks and associations during and after

services. A story was told of a man named Antony, popularly known by many people as the 'madman'. Prophet Walter Magaya reached out to this man, cleaned him up, built him a house, and rehabilitated him. Antony, the former madman, started living a healthy life. Prophet Walter Magaya is alleged to have also provided spiritual deliverance to sex workers and people possessed by evil spirits. These narratives provide a well curated image of a humble prophet who speaks to the everyday needs of the people. To his followers and supporters, Walter Magaya's ministry thus embodies a transformational church that supports the socio-economic development of communities. Below are pictures of Antony the Madman and Prophet Walter Magaya. They are further evidence of how he has sought to impact the lives of marginalised people in the community. There is, however, a need to examine further whether some of these stories are not meant more for self-promotion and advertising for the ministry.



Walter Magaya reaches out to social outcasts and brings them into his ministries, offering them business opportunities and positions in his structures. He offered Antony (pictures above) an ushering role. Chitando and Biri (2016:79), argue that Prophet Walter Magaya attracted the marginalized in society, including sex workers and young women who entertained male patrons as pole dancers in night clubs. This was a distinctive transformational development dimension of his ministries in its initial stages ushering protection of human rights, eradication of poverty and ensuring a holistic quality of life. The deliberate attention to stigmatised members of society

can also be seen as a way to curate an image of a socially responsible ministry especially in light of the various controversies associated with PHD Ministries.⁶⁹

Walter Magaya has also used his various business ventures to provide employment to youths in the ministry. One such example is the construction of his hotel. One of the participants argued: “He recruited engineers, builders and casual labourers from his ministries to construct the hotel” (Mutsata, Interview, 23/12/2017). Walter Magaya also emphasized: “When I constructed the hotel, I employed over 3000 people, and the hotel was built within four months” (www.phdministries.org/about_phd.html, interview accessed 20/12/2018). Such jobs brought together ministry members and with the broader business community. The ministry thus became a space to build economic networks. Gukurume (2020:274) notes that the PHD Ministries, in February 2018, opened a substantial multi-million-dollar Yadah marble factory, which employed about 3000 people. Most of the employees were drawn from qualified ministries members. Another participant from the PHD Ministries reiterated: “Some members are involved in new businesses. I may not be able to live a flashy life, but I can now provide food for my family. They are now having three meals per day as compared to before where my family could only afford one or two per day” (Chabata, Interview, 24/12/2017). The activities of PHD Ministries thus promotes sustainable and transformational development. It highlights that there is a relationship which exist between the NRMs and development. PHD Ministries activities contributed to employment creation and infrastructural development.

The research however observed other narratives that critique the activities by Walter Magaya such as job creation as an illusion. One such case is of Beverly Sibanda, an exotic dancer who had a short-lived conversion to PHD Ministries. She was offered a fashion boutique in Harare to stop her dancing career and turn her life to God. On the 5th of September 2014, the *Manica Post* reported Beverly had left PHD Ministries, accusing Walter Magaya's prophetic mission as being an ungodly, money-spinning venture and vowed not to go back. Bev was quoted saying: “There is nothing godly about what they (PHD Ministries) are doing. I would rather have my prayers in my house than go back to congregate with PHD Ministries” (The Manica Post, Newspaper accessed, 05/09/2014). Most of the activities and statements are meant as a way of

⁶⁹ More details of some of the controversies are outlined in the following reports:
<https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-03-25-huge-church-accused-of-scamming-members/>;
<https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/magaya-never-far-from-controversy>

portraying the leader and his ministry in good light. Even on the ministry's website there are unverified claims of good deeds which can be viewed as a way of countering negative press associated with the ministry. Prophet Walter Magaya for example, claims that "I have sponsored all the sectors in Zimbabwe, health, sport, and I have given more than 100 thousand houses and cars and looking after over five thousand families. In addition to that, people come from all over the world seeking for healing and deliverance" (www.phdministries.org/about_phd.html, interview accessed 20/12/2018).

While the above information demonstrated that the PHD Ministries engaged itself in activities relating to sustainable and transformational development reaching out to outcasts, destitute, prostitutes and creating jobs for some believers, it was also noted that the PHD Ministries allegedly defrauded some of the believers. Some of the believers who had invested money in the farming and housing projects (to be discussed in chapter nine) initiated by Prophet Walter Magaya and who launched complaints were quoted from iHarare.com (26/03/2020, accessed 09/06/2020) saying:

We paid US\$3500 once-off payment, expecting to be proud owners of a home but our dreams were dashed. We are now being told that we will be paid in ZWL⁷⁰3500 for all our US\$3500. That is not fair.

Between 2016-2018, Daniel Kanonhuwa was allegedly defrauded of US\$ 4 000.

Considering the complaints and allegations raised against Prophet Walter Magaya and others, which will be in chapter eight, it became evident that the PHD Ministries had a both positive and negative influence in the life of the believers. This also demonstrated that the social capital created by Prophet Walter Magaya had both positive and negative influences. Hence, social capital can be good or harmful as noted within the growth and expansion of the PHD Ministries and alleged fraud within the institution. The prophet's networks were destroyed when many believers launched an attack on the ministries. Bano and Deneulin (2009) and Thomsen (2017:28) argue that religion also has both positive and negative influences, as noted above. However, even if a negative influence was noted, the PHD Ministries had a robust positive influence through its activities relating to sustainable and transformational development which also gave access to valuable networks, social cohesion, and various forms of information sharing.

⁷⁰ ZWL is the three-letter currency code representing the currency of Zimbabwe commonly known as Zimbabwean Dollar.

6.2.2 Grace Oasis Ministries and Believers' Confirmation

Pastor Tinashe founded Grace Oasis Ministries (GOM) on Saturday 14 April 2015 after a prophesy from Prophet Walter Magaya, who prophesied that he was going to start a ministry. He argued that his ministries were founded at the time he was trying to gain confidence in preaching and communicating with people. He claimed: "I did not have so much confidence when I started the ministry. I even felt that I was too young to start this ministry" (Manenji, Interview, 20/09/2018). As will be demonstrated in this section, such confidence was built at through interaction with believers met before and after services. It was also cultivated through forging new relationships, networks and trust, and in the shared faith as 'born again' Christians. Hence, Pastor Tinashe's confidence was built through the development of social capital amongst the believers.

Pastor Tinashe grew up in the Catholic Church, attending church services at Saint Alphonsus parish in Tafara⁷¹ in the Archdiocese of Harare. He went to Bindura, a small town in Mashonaland Central, where he did his secondary school education. During his school days, he joined Scripture Union, an evangelical after school group. He began to discover his gifts of preaching, praying, and healing the sick. After completing his high school, he went to the Midlands State University (MSU) in Gweru⁷² for his undergraduate degree programme. He continued preaching to other students. After five years, he went to Harare and started attending the PHD Ministries services. It was during one of the PHD Ministries services in April 2015, that Prophet Walter Magaya located him from where he was seated and prophesied about the founding of his ministries. He pointed out: "Prophet Walter Magaya gave me a prophecy saying that I was going to start a ministry. His prophecy was then fulfilled on the 14th of April 2015" (Manenji, Interview, 20/09/2018). This narrative provides insights into another way NRMs are created. The ordaining of a young pastor/prophet is often done by an older spiritual father who is a more established prophet.⁷³ This is the same process that happened when TB Joshua ordained Walter Magaya. Chitando and Biri (2016:77) also shows how the above narrative is similar to Uebert Angel prophesying about Walter Magaya starting his ministries. Being confirmed by a spiritual father provides spiritual capital, legitimacy and recognition to a new NRM.

⁷¹ Tafara is a high density suburb some 18 km east of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. It encompasses in particular the townships that include Old Tafara, and New Tafara (the latter two constituting Tafara).

⁷² Gweru (named Gwelo until 1982) is a city in central Zimbabwe. It is located near the geographical centre of Zimbabwe, and it is the capital of Midlands Province.

⁷³ <https://www.peace.org.au/apostolic/the-apostolic-revelation/what-is-a-spiritual-father.html>

6.2.2.1 Growth, Expansion and Quest for Belonging within GOM

In April 2015, Pastor Tinashe started Saturday services up until the beginning of 2016 when GOM moved its services to Sundays. “As we were gathering for Saturday services, I was saying, God, if this does not work, no one will know about it, and if it works, then everyone will know about it” (Manenji, Interview, 20/09/2018). Pastor Tinashe used his ties from university to build a following. The networks and associations created during studies created formidable social capital for Pastor Tinashe. He pointed out:

When I was at MSU, I used to preach to other students. They would come to me and give me feedback. So, the more the testimonies came, the more I believed that I am called to preach, and God was using me. When I started my ministries, I also used the influence I had at MSU to bring people together. I contacted a few people I knew from MSU who resided in Harare and invited them for a service. We then moved to Epworth and then started to grow the ministry (Manenji, Interview, 20/09/2018).

Pastor Tinashe was able leverage past relationships from school to create a community of Christians and provide a space for new social networks. He was able to utilise social capital accumulated in past interactions and also on friendships, acquaintances and relations in Hatfield and Epworth⁷⁴ to get members for his own ministries’ meetings every Saturday. This highlights how NRMs often have organic stories of formation and growth and do not always necessarily depend on some mythical story or narrative around the founder. It also highlights the varying motivations for starting a ministry as in this case Pastor Tinashe did show any economic or business aspiration related to the idea of founding a ministry.

In 2016, more than 100 people joined GOM. Pastor Tinashe noted that, “we then moved to Harare Central Business District (CBD) in 2017. Some people were coming from Chitungwiza, Glen Norah, Hatfield, and Epworth” (Manenji, Interview, 20/09/2018). In June 2017, GOM moved to Mabvuku⁷⁵, a place that became the GOM headquarters. The bias of NRMs as largely urban phenomenon is highlighted in both the Walter Magaya and Pastor Tinashe’s cases. Togarasei (2005:349) argues that in Zimbabwe, modern Pentecostalism has a distinct urban bias which may be explained by the need to target areas with high population density and higher

⁷⁴ Epworth is a residential suburb located in Zimbabwe's capital city, Harare, in south-eastern Harare Province.

⁷⁵ Mabvuku is a high-density suburb some 17 km east of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. It is classified as a suburb or township of Harare, with Harare City Council constituting a local government.

income levels. For GOM, the urban space provided unique advantages such as transport network that made it easier to bring people together for religious events such as services and prayer fellowships where newcomers were integrated into the ministries. These activities helped in strengthening and creating new networks among the members which laid the foundation for other economic activities. Through the ministry members were able to embark on various projects such as buying and selling fresh produce and non-perishables and rearing of chickens that were sold amongst believers created networks.

One of the believers in FGD 1, Ranganai, pointed out, “through working together, coming together and share our stories, we have managed to sell our chickens and vegetables to one another” (Ranganai, Interview, 23/12/2018). Other participants pointed out: “we sell vegetables and chickens amongst ourselves here at the worship centre or in our local townships” (FGD 1, 23/12/2017). GOM built and sustained social capital through believers' participation in personal projects, which they also shared about when they met before and after services. NRMs encourage social connections even outside church or ministries and have since introduced several forums for men, women, and youth (Shumba 2015:154). Such interactions cultivate shared values that include values conducive to social cohesion, partnership, and entrepreneurship.

During all the movements from Hatfield to Epworth and then to Harare city centre, services were held on Saturdays. When GOM moved to Mabvuku, ministries' services moved from Saturday to Sunday. Pastor Tinashe argues that “Our members pointed out that, if Saturday services are to continue, we will not have anywhere to go on Sunday for worship. We have become full members of GOM” (Manenji, Interview, 20/09/2018). Saturday services allowed members to discuss their quest to belong to GOM and showed personal investment into ideology, doctrine, practice, and participation in networks and activities. One of the respondents in FGD 1 argued: “After Saturday services, we would ask each other what we would be doing on Sunday and if some would be going to attend services at their previous churches” (Mpasa, FGD1, 23/12/2017). NRMs in this way provide a space for members to commit to a community of practice and be part of a social institution (Chiweshe 2012). As such it allows members to have a sense of belonging and some form of social support system which may be influential in building livelihood activities (Chiweshe 2012).

Believers saw the value of belonging to GOM. Reciprocity developed within GOM led to both social and economic gains. One of the believers within FGD1, Mpsa, highlighted that:

We used to attend services at the PHD Ministries, and when Pastor Tinashe started his ministries, we joined him as we used to worship together at the PHD Ministries. On Saturday, we would attend his services and had nowhere to go on Sundays. Later on, we requested Pastor Manenji to hold Sunday service (Mpsa, FGD1, 23/12/2017).

Worshipping together and associating with one another before and after services at the PHD Ministries and GOM created new relationships and built trust amongst believers. One of the respondents highlighted: “We got to meet, know and trust each other to the extent that we started selling our produce and goods amongst ourselves on credit” (Shoko, FGD1, 23/12/2017). Kudzamaoko (FGD1, 23/12/2017) also pointed out that he would sell airtime on credit to the believers within GOM with the trust that they would pay back. The trust and strength of relationships appropriately show the presence of social capital, in that members gained, ‘actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital’ (Bourdieu 1986: 249–250).

NRMs often depend on members to recruit new members as they have a clear theology of spreading the gospel to other people (Pieterse 2012). A FDG1 participant argued that: “my neighbour told me about how good GOM is and I decided to join” (FGD1, 23/12/2017). Members are invested in promoting and propping the gifts of the leader and use these perceived gifts to convince others to join the ministry. One of the most striking observations about Pastor Tinashe was that people around him confirmed his gifts, encouraged him, and built his confidence in the ministry. In 2018, GOM had more than 500 congregants who comprised at least 300 attending the Sunday morning first service in Mabvuku, and at least 200 who attended the Sunday afternoon second service in Epworth.

6.2.3 Emmaus Encounter and Change of Emphasis

Reverend Makahamadze, the founder of Emmaus Encounter (EE), grew up and worked in Mabvuku as a Catholic priest. Before he left the priesthood, he celebrated Walter Magaya's wedding at St Fidelis Mabvuku parish in the Archdiocese of Harare. He was also once the parish

priest of Pastor Tinashe in Tafara at Saint Alphonsus Catholic Church. The study found that after having left the priesthood, Reverend Makahamadze helped both Prophet Walter Magaya and Pastor Tinashe in their ministries. Having observed and learnt from what both the founders of the PHD Ministries and GOM were teaching and practicing, Reverend Makahamadze pointed out that working with these two men awakened an idea he always had of helping people. His main goal was to create a personal relationship with God and not prosperity as done by other well-known NRMs. Considering that EE is not yet fully functioning except having online services, it is pertinent to not that only its history and teachings were assessed in this study.

In December 2015, Reverend Makahamadze decided to establish Emmaus Encounter. He argued that: “When people start a church or a ministry, they look for a building where people would gather around. Founders would then start preaching to the people telling them what they would want to hear” (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Gifford (2004:171) asserts that NRMs tell people that a miracle-working God will provide material prosperity. NRMs thus largely play on the desperation for everyday needs and concerns of the people (Marongwe and Maphosa 2015). Emmaus Encounter, however, undertook a paradigm shift where Reverend Makahamadze stressed: “This is entirely different, and we want to inspire people. We want to build a personal relationship between people and God” (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). This statement implied building a personal relationship where there is no intimidation or fear of the government or the man of God.

The economic and political challenges in Zimbabwe, created the space for the mushrooming of the NRMs. Reverend Makahamadze linked such an environment and the rapid increase of the NRMs to the politics of appeasement of political leaders. He argued that: “most of the so-called prophets appease the government officials by telling them that God ordains them. The prophets claim that they have been ordained by God while arguing that God also ordains politicians. This made it difficult for other people to challenge these politicians based on the assumption that they are ordained by God as political leaders” (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Prophets hence tend to appease the political leaders, as noted by Garikai, a member of EE, who argued:

I would say the gospel of prosperity diminishes people in different sectors. For instance, I have come across prophets who cannot challenge government ministers involved in

some corrupt activities. They both ended up buying and selling land through illegal means (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017).

Reverend Makahamadze argued: "When I look at Zimbabwe's current situation, I want to bring something new that appeals to the people through a paradigm shift where people create a personal relationship with God and challenge the socio-political situation of Zimbabwe" (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

NRMs, in particular the PHD Ministries and GOM, do not challenge the government of Zimbabwe on issues such as corruption, poverty, hunger, and economic hardship. Some believers were also afraid of challenging their leaders. Mutorwa, commenting on his experience within the PHD Ministries, argued: "Africans, by nature, are superstitious, not gullible. The scripture says thou shall not touch the man of God. That makes people fear God and the man of God" (Mutorwa, Interview, 18/02/2020). Reverend Makahamadze also pointed out that: "believers were told that the evil spirits possessed them, even when they faced problems that the government of Zimbabwe was responsible for" (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). These statements clearly showed that some prophets and people were afraid of challenging the government and man of God respectively. EE, hence, sought to challenge the government and creating a personal relationship with God.

6.2.3.1 Personal Relationship and the Founding of Emmaus Encounter

EE argued that some of the NRMs' preachers hoodwinked believers in an economic context which attracted the poor people (Soboyejo 2016:2). Bishau (2013:5) in Zimbabwe, stressed that "there is no doubt that the proponents of the gospel of prosperity within NRMs have become crowd pullers where believers are convinced that NRMs preachers have answers to their immediate problems." EE was founded as a response to this perceived weakness of other NRMs. In relation to change of emphasis, Reverend Makahamadze highlighted: "I got frustrated, I prayed and came to the conviction that what people need is an encounter with the person of Jesus. This is what people need rather than telling them what they want to hear" (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Hence, the need to facilitate a personal relationship between an individual and God was noted while questioning other NRMs leaders, arguing:

If our relationship with God is that of the Father and the son, then what kind of a Father is this who does not allow his children to have a personal relationship? Why do I need

someone to speak for me on my behalf? If it is the Father and the Son relationship, then there is a need to create that space for that relationship. This was my inspiration for breaking that barrier created by these so-called prophets in the new religious movements (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

In other NRMs such as PHD Ministries, it is only Prophet Walter Magaya who preaches. All congregants are either called to attend the service at the headquarters in Waterfalls, Harare, or through the television. Access to God is thus mediated through the prophet who has a 'special anointing' and relationship with God. Such a situation creates dangerous relationships built on power imbalances between the leaders and followers which often leads to manipulation of members by prophets (Marongwe and Maposa 2015).

6.2.3.2 Challenging the Socio-political Context in Zimbabwe

EE's emergence is built on the growing disillusionment of some of the respondents within NRMs. For example, one of the participants from the PHD Ministries pointed out, "I am now skeptical of my hard-earned money. I have a level of consciousness that to change my life, I do not need a prophet, but challenge myself to change my socio-political situation and become realistic about certain events and circumstances" (Mutorwa, Interview, 18/02/2020). This disillusionment is further entrenched by the way prominent prophets such as Walter Magaya and Makandiwa interact with corrupt politicians who come to their churches and make donations. Reverend Makahamadze argued: "I have seen some political figures, rich and corrupt businessmen attending services at the PHD Ministries donating large sums of money" (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Such donations have also silenced pastors from questioning the political crises that has led to widespread poverty, unemployment and suffering for the majority of Zimbabwe. Soboyejo (2016:7) argues, that the new churches promote conceit, produce arrogance, and a warped style of leadership both within the NRMs and the political leadership. Most NRMs are thus characterised by greed and create capitalistic tendencies that have replaced spiritual growth and moral sanctity (Soboyejo 2016:7 and Kwaku Golo and Novieto 2021:82).

6.3 Selected NRMs' Similarities and Differences

As noted in the introduction, Emmaus Encounter has not yet come off the ground. Its followers have not yet established a physical meeting place for worship. Meetings are held through the

WhatsApp platform. It is not clear how EE will then interact with politicians if it becomes popular. When the NRMs become bigger, the leaders tend to interact more with the government and some government officials who seem to be engaged in corrupt activities. There is thus no clarity on whether EE will also become a haven of corrupt politicians like other NRMs that came before it. Soboyejo (2016:7) noted that the gospel of prosperity is another example of corruption as it attempts to pursue self-enrichment. This has been noted within the PHD Ministries, and there is a possibility that GOM and Emmaus Encounter would turn out to be corrupt. Mashau and Kgatle (2019:3), Togarasei (2011:344) and Gifford (1991:9-20) noted that many pastors live an expensive lifestyle. This has also been witnessed within the PHD Ministries. There could also be a possibility that when GOM and Emmaus Encounter become as big as the PHD Ministries, the founders will also live an extravagant lifestyle like those witnessed across the well-established NRMs in Zimbabwe.

6.4 Characteristic Features of the Selected NRMs

Gukurume (2021:28) argues that NRMs attend to both spiritual and material needs. This section provides an analysis of the key features of the NRMs selected in this research. It highlights how these features are critical in the operations of the ministries, in particular the socio-economic aspects of NRMs.

6.4.1 Hymns

One integral part of the NRMs is the praise and worship activities that percolate around hymns and their meanings. Both PHD and GOM tend to have similar hymns, and this can be explained by the fact that the later was birthed from the former. Hymns included '*Makomborero hobho, tambira Jehovah,*' translated to mean that blessings are in abundance, and one has to dance for the Lord. At GOM, songs were sung in Shona, Ndebele, and English. An imitation of the Nigerian accent in some of the songs was noted. There was a famous song, "Jesus, you love me too much," which was sung at both GOM and the PHD Ministries. Kalu (2008:15) argues that hymns in NRMs are so electric in their doctrinal emphases that their music sounds as if there is a disco or club. The researcher analysed the full services of worship at the PHD Ministries and GOM and noted that the believers sung praise and worship songs that were modern and entertaining some similar to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) type of dance called

'ndombolo dance'. Togarasei (2010:356) has also noted that the famous *ndombolo* or *kwasa-kwasa* dance from the DRC incorporated into worship.

Internal groups, such as choir and musical groups, created spaces for socialization and social cohesion amongst the believers, where they started to exchange contacts and share ideas and business deals. Timba from GOM pointed out that “through choir, I managed to create friends, and we have started small projects as buying and selling non-perishables such as roasted corn and water around the ministry’s property” (Timba, FGD1, 23/12/2018). Another participants within the PHD Ministries (Jim, Interview, 01/01/19) reported that "some of our youth who are within the choir are linked with professional gospel singers, and they sometimes perform as curtain-raisers at the musical shows." Hence, social cohesion was created by youth who were also able to network, collaborate, and interact with one another before, during, and after choir practice and ministries’ services (Gukurume 2017:38).

6.4.2 Prayer and Raising of Hands

Raising hands during prayer and singing was noted as one of the characteristic features of the NRMs. The singer encouraged people to raise their hands at the end of each song, and a ‘thank you Jesus’ was always expressed. Pastors would shout, ‘Clap hands for Jesus’ (Hollenweger 1992:7-17). During preaching, praise and worship, the use of loudspeakers and cameras featured prominently. NRMs prayer activities are emotional, enthusiastic and entertaining, with every member actively participating in the liturgy (Mukwakwami 2010:11; Anderson 2001:171 and Hollenweger 2004:125-137). The researcher observed that the worshippers within the selected NRMs recite prayers as if they recite poems and some believers would jump up and down, throwing themselves down, and shouting for God’s help. The prayers are based on the need to convince God to intervene in specific everyday problems that include both social and economic challenges faced by people. Fervent prayer and shouting seems to be encouraged as a means of ensuring God hears one’s requests.



Pictures of GOM and PHD Ministries believers during prayer session.

Below is a picture of Prophet Walter Magaya praying for some of his members.



6.4.3 Alleged Miracles

The researcher observed that the back of the PHD Ministries offices, there was a place where so many wheelchairs, crutches, and walking sticks that belonged to those who were allegedly healed were displayed as testimonies of healing. Stories of people who suffered from a back problem, those who had their leg amputated and several ailments were ostentatiously displayed on the walls. They highlighted people's lives before and after alleged deliverance. This type of deliverance suggested being rescued, liberated or set free from captivity, evil or danger to healing and deliverance which promoted quality health and peace of mind. This was similar to what Asamoah-Gyadu (2007:398) observed in NRMs in Ghana.

When the researcher visited the PHD Ministries carrying out interviews and observations, no single incident of the physical healing of those walking with crutches or walking sticks was witnessed. Stories of healing are used as advertisements to lure new followers. One of the believers, highlighting how they joined the PHD Ministries, argued that "I joined the PHD Ministries after I heard of the miracles which the prophet performs. On the first day I joined, I felt at home where other believers linked me with those who reside close to my house" (FGD3, 04/01/2019). The promised miracles also include financial breakthroughs in the form of miracle money⁷⁶, financial breakthroughs, gaining employment and success at work. People join NRMs with the promise of economic transformation which for many does happen as will be discussed in later chapters.

6.4.4 Use of Media

One of the unique features of NRMs is the savvy use of new and old media as a means to attract new members and advertise their ministries to the wider society. Ahn (2013:67-72) argued that media could bring transformation to the individual both in salvation and personal growth. The study noted that the use of media productions, such as radio and television productions, featured prominently. PHD Ministries has like other prominent churches opened a television channel and has a fully backed production team that creates content for the church. Mashau and Kgatle (2019:3) argue that television plays a fundamental role in that believers are encouraged to attend services through watching television, to the extent that others were encouraged to receive their healing through touching the television screen and connecting to the man of God.

The content is also shared using social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and WhatsApp as a means to attract new members. One of the participants, discussing how she joined the PHD Ministries, shared:

I initially heard about the PHD Ministries and Prophet Walter Magaya's miracles through a friend in the township. Later on, I read a lot of comments about him on Facebook. I was impressed by the work the PHD Ministries was involved in. Soon after I joined, I was linked to the housing project I am currently contributing towards, hoping that one day I will be able to own a house (Jiri, FGD3, 04/01/2019).

⁷⁶ <https://www.africaontheblog.org/miracle-money-gold-and-abortions-zimbabwes-wacky-prophets/>

The platforms have provided another revenue stream for the ministries whilst providing jobs for young people who produce the content and run the media platforms of these ministries (Gifford 2004:170). Mapuranga (2013:132) writing about religion, politics and gender in Zimbabwe argued that many people have also been influenced by the NRMs' use of bracelets and T-shirts with distinctive messages, photographs of leaders laminated on cars, and various branding methods, including television channels dedicated to these movements. Community members who joined such crusades, display influential pictures and messages of their leaders shared their experiences. The NRMs have created a media ecosystem that generates revenue from selling branded products.

6.4.5 Announcements and Testimonies

The overall observations showed that the time for announcements was at the end of each service. Testimonies of those who had been healed or prospered in various ventures were provided. At the end of the testimonies, many congregants encouraged other congregants to remain connected to the prophet. One of the people giving testimonies told the congregants: "Keep connected to the prophet, seed more, use anointing oil and holy water from the prophet" (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Testimonies can be viewed as carefully choreographed stories that are focused on encouraging other members to give more money in tithes and gifts to the ministry. It is also done to encourage new members to join. Reverend Makahamadze argued:

There is a psychological impact on the poor person listening to the testimonies which motivate the people to stay within the ministry, buying recommended religious objects with the hope that tomorrow will be their day of prosperity (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/18).

Observations during the study showed that prophets used the testimonies as a platform for alleged breakthrough, and the concept of seeding. The purpose of the testimonies was to show congregants that if one remains faithful to the prophet, one will be prosperous. The study observed a sense of the placebo effect⁷⁷ and the psychology of terrorism which justifies and mandates certain behaviours as noted by Borum (2011:24).

⁷⁷ This means that what heals some people is not the medicine administered to them, but the faith in the person who administered the medicine.

6.4.6 Churchpreneurs

Observations made between December 2017 to December 2018 showed that some pastors had been using their ministries to extract revenue from members through making merchandise of the gift of God, while some believers gave up the little they had with the hope that they would get it back a hundredfold. These leaders are now *churchpreneurs* who plant churches not because they want to save souls but to make money out of those who are vulnerable (Soboyejo 2016:7). In Zimbabwe, with increased poverty and suffering, various entrepreneurial individuals have innovated biblical movements based on a specific gospel of prosperity as a means to amass wealth and social status (Mangena and Mhizha 2014). The study observed that after healing and deliverance, the pastors from the PHD Ministries and GOM would say, “Give thanks to the Lord who has healed you. Give some money to the Lord, Thank him for what he done for you” (GOM, Observation, 17/12/2017 and PHD Ministries, Observation, 19/12/2018). This assertion suggests that *churchpreneurship* is characterised by sowing and seeding to the man of God.

In Zimbabwe, Jonathan Mbiriya's article in *The Herald* of 27 July 2013, introduced the term 'gosprenurship'. He referred to the works of the NRMs as lucrative financial schemes. Thus, from that article, 'gosprenurship' can mean the setting of the gospel mission as a platform for profiteering as in a business venture, which can be regarded as “latter-day, money-spinning family enterprise” (Marongwe and Maposa 2015:1-22). The study noted that some pastors became rich at the expense of some of the believers. One of the participants (Makahamadze, Interview, 17/02/2020) argued: "I am a typical example of those people who found themselves poorer after joining the PHD Ministries." However, the PHD Ministries pastor and many other pastors have become rich while there is so much poverty in Zimbabwe. Pastors have become rich by selling products such as anointing oil and holy water to believers desperate for a breakthrough. In South Africa testimonies play a role within NRMs to the extent that the gospel of prosperity has become highly commercialized with the selling of handkerchiefs that make people successful, armbands, stickers for the cars, anointing oil, prayer books, and holy water (Mashau and Kgatle 2019:3). What also made some of the NRMs seen as *churchpreneurs* is that there are capitalistic tendencies within them that have replaced spiritual growth and moral sanctity, where preachers charge people for the cure of their ailments.

6.4.7 Seating Arrangement

Observations from the research showed that the seating arrangement at the PHD Ministries is hierarchical and based on who has paid more to the ministry. For example, those who paid US\$350 for staying in the hotel belonging to Prophet Walter Magaya would sit close to him during services and followed by those who paid US\$100. Those who did not pay anything always sat far away from the pastor. One of the participants (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017) argued: "The seating arrangement within the PHD Ministries is simple. There is a place for the rich, not so rich and the ordinary believers who are the biggest population." This seating arrangement, however, seems to suggest that congregants are not equal, some are more important than others. GOM, however, did not have a special seating arrangement as all congregants were treated as equals although the seating arrangement could change as the ministry grows. The seating arrangement at the PHD Ministries, suggested that the gospel of prosperity is instrumental to the management of class relations. This confirms the writings of Wrenn's (2019:427) about the prosperity gospel and neoliberalism arguing that capitalism holds precise class lines: for the upper class, it further justifies their place in the hierarchy; for the middle class, it affirms their aspirations and opens the perception of possibilities; and for the poor, the prosperity gospel gives hope.

The seating arrangement at the PHD Ministries showed a Janus face⁷⁸ where secure networks and reciprocities were built amongst the rich and middle class. In contrast, the same networks and reciprocities were destroyed or eliminated between the rich and the poor, who were unable to associate and build social cohesion. The above evidence revealed that "It is only the rich who easily enter into a partnership with the prophet because the projects initiated by the prophet require much money and the majority of the PHD Ministries believers are poor people from the townships within Harare" (Kuipa, Interview, 18/02/2020). Hence, high levels of trust and reciprocity were created amongst those who paid much money to sit close to the man of God while negative social capital was created through hierarchical or categorised seating arrangements of the rich, not so rich and the ordinary believers. The seating arrangement caused exclusion and was a hindrance to economic progress among the believers. The rich in this way

⁷⁸ Janus was a Roman deity depicted with two faces one looking forward and one looking backwards. Janus face, therefore, means having or containing two contrasting or different aspects or characteristics .

become social capitalists, in that they created networks that excluded poorer members of the ministry.

6.4.8 Sowing the Seed Preaching

During the eight observations campaigns on the PHD Ministries and GOM and ten online sermons of the PHD Ministries on Yadah TV, the researcher noted that the pastors' preaching focused much on 'sowing the seed', a concept about giving to God and receiving back abundantly. When pastors preached, they would have a theme for the day. These themes included breaking the chains of the spirit of poverty, joy and prosperity, breakthrough, healing and deliverance, marriage, restoration, grace, competition, and various themes which were all linked to prosperity. The pastors made the following declarations such as “I empower you through deliverance. Poverty is in the mind, and I want you to move out of it” (Magaya, Sermon, 20/12/17); “Be Fruitful and Multiply...A right seed will feed a generation, change people, and create security for the unborn” (Magaya, Sermon, 31/12/17); “Being rich is not a sin. I can say I am a wealthy pastor in the spirit, and I want you to be rich like me” (Magaya, Sermon, 16/12/2018); “Imagination is the more significant part of a miracle. Dream, imagine, and you can receive it. Hunt to give and never work for money but let money work for you. When you wake up every day, have the desire to succeed, rub off your past and you will see a change in your life” (Magaya, Sermon, 19/12/2018).

Other declarations were as: “Compete with yourself every day. If you exercised 20 minutes yesterday, add 10 minutes today. If you were reading five books a month, add five more” (Magaya, Sermon, 19/12/2018); “There is a war you must win for your success. I am seeing a great transition to prosperity” (Water Magaya Sermon accessed on 21/09/2018, <https://youtu.be/LmWdWjBIvTE>). “When you give, you do not only give or receive money, but what is behind the money. Pray when you give and pray when you receive” (Water Magaya Sermon accessed on 27/07/2018, <https://youtu.be/7VSzJzgFBOo>). “When you are under attack by the spirit of poverty, it attacks what is in your pocket so that you end up saying I almost made it” (Water Magaya Sermon accessed on 16/10/2019 on <https://youtu.be/lbaeZgnKUnE>) “There is joy and prosperity in the name of Jesus” (Manenji, Sermon, 21/12/2017); “Meditation helps you to attract what you want, and you shall get it. Meditation is the key to prosperity” (Manenji, Sermon, 21/12/2017); “When you want a breakthrough for money, healing, and a house, you

need to have verses to memorise” (Manenji, Sermon, 23/12/2018); “Two things show that there is love. It is giving and forgiving. God forgave and gave us a sign of love. When you love, then be prepared to give something back. Give something back to God” (Manenji, Sermon, 23/12/2018).

The above quotations suggest that the PHD Ministries and GOM emphasised giving to the pastor so that God will reward or give back to believers abundantly. It is believed that God will multiply the money given and return it to the giver. Such teaching derives from 2 Corinthians 9:6-11, which teaches that "whoever sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and whoever sows generously will reap generously." In their preaching, the PHD Ministries and GOM encouraged believers to sow or give generously to the Church to receive back abundantly. Prophet Walter Magaya emphasised that he is rich, and his believers would be rich like him if they also give to the Church. This type of preaching confirms Coleman (2011:23-45) and Togarasei's (2011:341) writing about prosperity gospel in the African context arguing that pastors always urge followers to give to the Church or sow the seed generously, trusting that God will abundantly reward them for an act of faith.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated a relationship between religion and development noted in the influence of the prophets as agents of social change, their capacity to influence people's change of mindset, and attending to the believers' spiritual and material needs. The chapter found that the selected NRMs emerged from the Catholic Church. There is a notion of confirmation amongst pastors and believers influenced by the Catholic Church's sacrament of confirmation. The third key finding leads to the theoretical insight that NRMs encourage entrepreneurship and give access to valuable networks for social cohesion and various information sharing. These three key findings are discussed as contribution to knowledge in the conclusion chapter. Chapter seven looks at the main teaching on the gospel of prosperity.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GOSPEL OF PROSPERITY IN ZIMBABWE

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter contributed to the writing of the history of the selected NRMs, the notion of confirmation which has Catholic origins, and the theoretical insight which emerged from the study of the selected NRMs. Chapter seven deals with the central teaching of the selected NRMs. The chapter shows that the main teaching within the selected ministries relates to the gospel of prosperity. Section 7.2, however, demonstrates that the gospel of prosperity focuses on empowerment and entrepreneurship, accumulation of resources, materialism and sowing the seed which makes the gospel of prosperity regarded as the gospel of money. The chapter gives attention to those who support the gospel of prosperity and those who are critical of it. The teaching of the gospel of prosperity seems to emphasise individualistic tendencies, which then probes the need to look at the governance structures of the selected NRMs.

7.2 Gospel of prosperity teaching within the selected NRMS

The gospel of prosperity teaching has been regarded as one of the prominent teachings since the turn of the twenty-first century. It encourages believers to empower themselves, engage in business ventures and focus much on accumulating resources and giving to God with the belief that God will bless them in return. Several themes on the gospel of prosperity teaching emerged within the selected NRMs. Critical to these themes were statements of ideology and financial linked to the prosperity gospel from the research participants who supported the gospel of prosperity teaching and those critical of it. The chapter provides a critical assessment of the narratives that emerged from the field noting how most respondents embedded within the NRMs tend to be uncritical of the gospel of prosperity. Those who supported the gospel of prosperity teaching included Pastor or Prophet Tinashe, Kudiwa and Walter Magaya. In addition, ministries elders and gatekeepers, included Kwenje, Tirivanhu, Chiwaura and Goteka, and staff and members included Mutsata, Chabata, Jim, Kunaka and Mpasa. These respondents all highlight how people invested in NRMs tend to hold strong beliefs, complete dedication and commitment to their ministries which led them to support the teachings of the gospel of prosperity.

7.2.1 Empowerment and Entrepreneurship

The study's findings suggested that pastors or prophets encourage believers to empower themselves and become entrepreneurs within various sectors. Eleven out of the interviewed 18 participants argued that the gospel of prosperity emphasises starting businesses and becoming entrepreneurs. Majority of the participants shared the same sentiments about the gospel of prosperity paying attention on empowerment. Makahamadze and Mutorwa, who were critical of the gospel of prosperity teaching noted the theme of empowerment as one of the key messages of the selected NRMs. It was noted that the PHD Ministries and GOM teach believers to become employers who develop and empower themselves. Fellow believers confirm the arguments from various scholars such as Freston (1999:151), who did fieldwork in Brazil, Meyer (2004:450) in Ghana, and Ohlmann, Grab, and Frost (2020:275) and Togarasei (2011:338) in Zimbabwe. These scholars argue that the gospel of prosperity emphasizes starting one's own business rather than remaining employed by someone, thereby becoming an entrepreneur.

Kwenje, one of the overseers from the PHD Ministries responding to a question about the main teaching of his ministries, stressed, “Our main theme is on the gospel of prosperity which teaches us as Christians in Zimbabwe to learn to work for ourselves. One should start a business focusing on job creation rather than being employed by someone else” (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017). Kwenje also argued: “The prosperity gospel is a tool of empowering me to develop myself in various activities, free my mind and motivate myself so that I can sustain myself (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017). Kudiwa stressed: “That the gospel of prosperity is about claiming what rightfully belongs to Christians, who should own businesses and become entrepreneurs” (Kudiwa, Interview, 08/04/2019), while Chiwaura highlighted: “That the gospel of prosperity is a teaching about becoming entrepreneurs who are involved in business and earning a living” (Chiwaura, Telephone Interview, 08/04/2019). The narratives provide an overly simplistic understanding of empowerment, linking it solely to economic wealth. What is critical is that part of the wealth created is expected to be seeded back into the ministry. It is also important to highlight that for the majority of followers, the promises of wealth rarely pen out.

Pastor Tinashe, the founder of GOM, interviewed in Mabvuku at his place of worship, responding to his main teaching highlighted:

I teach on empowering people to be their employers. The gospel of prosperity teaches that one has to be his or her employer. I took this from the Bible when God said I created human beings in my likeness and from nothing so that the same power from God of creating a human being from nothing can be the same power human being should acquire and start businesses from nothing. God has empowered his people to start something of their own. I teach my followers to start a small business, such as selling tomatoes. There is no employment out there. Hence, I tell them to empower themselves (Manenji, Interview, 21/12/2017).

This type of theology is problematic in that it locates the causes of poverty within the individual and not the wider socio-economic and political context (Bishau 2013). It is the Christian who is supposed to be transformed by the spirit and claim the power from God to make it even in an economy without opportunities for the poor (Mangena and Mhizha 2014).

Mpofu (2013:253), in his writings about the 'Third Wave' Religious Right Movement and the growth of Zimbabwean Christianity, argues that the Zimbabwean environment has failed to provide decent jobs over the last two decades. It caused fear and anxiety among people searching for jobs in abject poverty. Dube (2019:28) also notes that the challenges experienced in Zimbabwe from 1995 to the present have resulted in immense poverty and suffering. It is this context of poverty that has led to the message of entrepreneurship and empowerment resonating with a lot of people seeking a decent livelihood. Hence, I argue that the gospel of prosperity teaching on empowerment and entrepreneurship is an illusion where pastors may have used the distress of the believers to their benefits. Congregants are made to believe that donating money to the pastor would ensure that God would reward them abundantly. Madzokere and Machingura (2015:66) argue that prophets/prophetesses in Zimbabwe often use miracles to push the message that God has finally remembered Zimbabwe after decades of economic malaise and they conclude *that* "...Zimbabwean Christians have been divided when it comes to contemporary prophets where most of them preach peace where there is violence. They preach prosperity where there is hunger, poverty, disease and unemployment although the elite rich enjoy themselves." Such an assumption make religion 'an opium of the people' or a drug which pacify people to believe that the gospel of prosperity offers solutions to people's predicament and unemployment.

7.2.1.1 Materialism

The gospel of prosperity teaching on empowerment and entrepreneurship suggests that the teaching is materialistic. Some of the FGD 3 participants from the PHD ministries interviewed on 04 January 2019, expressed their understanding of the main teaching of the PHD ministries, arguing:

The prosperity gospel has to do with material prosperity. If you want to see how God is blessing you, look at the materialistic resources you have. It is purely materialistic as I see it and it is a blessing when you have several materialistic resources. The prosperity gospel is about doing something tangible and something that helps you and the nation.

Another participant from the PHD Ministries, commenting on the gospel of prosperity teaching, also argued:

It is a very materialistic gospel. The preacher presents himself as a rich man telling the believers that God has blessed him to the extent that they would want to be like him. The believers end up wanting to fast and tapping the anointing so that they can be like their pastors (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017).

Jim, a member of the PHD ministries from Warren Park high-density suburb area in Harare, who was in support of the NRMs' teachings pointed: "The gospel of prosperity teaches that I am not supposed to be poor because I am a true believer. I must not suffer" (Jim, Interview, 01/01/2019). There seems to be a lack of spiritual teaching from empowerment and entrepreneurship making the gospel of prosperity a materialistic gospel. Reverend Makahamadze from EE, who provided his understanding of the gospel of prosperity on empowerment and entrepreneurship was critical of this teaching. He argued: "I have a reservation in embracing this kind of a theology, it is not spiritual but a very materialistic teaching" (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017). Mutorwa (Interview, 28/12/2017) reiterated that "the gospel of prosperity offers nothing spiritual but materialism. It is all about the worldly benefits". Gifford (1991) argues that the prosperity gospel has socio-political effects by telling people that material prosperity will be provided by a miracle-working God, ignoring the political and economic reasons for so much poverty in Africa.

Coleman (2011:23-45), argues that it appeals to the more impoverished people who wish to possess various goods in life. The gospel of prosperity teaching is criticised as a seduction into a false delusion, unrealistic in dealing with an everyday life situation, contradicting with the

teachings in the Bible and offering shortcuts to material success (Taylor, Meer and Reimer 2013). I, however, argue that the gospel of prosperity has become more practical, helping believers to think positively and appeal to the poor and Zimbabweans who seek life-changing opportunities. The practicality of the gospel of prosperity could have motivated and convinced many people to follow various NRMs. One of the respondents argued that “Prophet Walter Magaya is like a motivational speaker for me. He speaks in such a way that I would want to do something about what he would have said” (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Thinking of these prophets as motivational speakers is appropriate given how they use theology to inspire followers to follow materialistic goals (Marongwe and Maposa 2015). The prophets are responding to the needs of people who are faced with multiple challenges to survive. Pentecostal churches and prophets and prophetesses leading these movements cannot be separated from the socio-economic and political crises that have characterised post-2000 Zimbabwe (Chitando 2013).

7.2.1.2 Accumulation of Resources

The theme on empowerment and entrepreneurship suggests that once a believer becomes an entrepreneur, he or she must accumulate as many resources as possible. In his preaching, Pastor Tinashe, noted that “The epistle of John teaches us that God wishes above all things that you may prosper and be in good hands even as your soul prospers. Prosperity speaks about the whole person, which includes your health, mind, spirit, and soul” (Manenji, Preaching, 23/12/2018). Pastor Tinashe’s statement suggests that one has to accumulate resources in all aspects of life. Tirivanhu, a church elder at the PHD ministries pointed out:

When you preach about the gospel of prosperity, it needs to be approached holistically. It is not only about wealth or money, but prosperity in every aspect of life. 3John 2:2 says, “Beloved, I pray that you may prosper in all things and be in health, just as your soul prospers”. The prosperity gospel is a holistic approach, and one needs to excel in wealth, education, life and everything (Tirivanhu, Interview, 29/12/2017).

The statements from Pastor Tinashe and Tirivanhu suggest that the prosperity gospel seeks to promote success in all facets of life. This explains why many members also attend the services to get help with social issues such as marriage, relationships, and education.

Accumulation of resources was also emphasised by Chabata who was in support of the NRMs’ teaching and argued. “To be honest with you, just as I have already said prosperity gospel is

about starting a business and making as much money as possible. It is also about acquiring assets and getting rich and richer” (Chabata, Interview, 24/12/2017). Two respondents from the FGD 2 which comprised members of EE and some former members of the PHD ministries highlighted:

The gospel of prosperity does not postpone blessedness to an afterlife reality. It says this is what will happen to your life right now. God wants you to prosper in this life physically, spiritually, and in every aspect of life. The prosperity gospel is all about your blessings which are seen by how much resources you have. The more prosperous you are, the more blessed you are (FGD 2, 03/01/2019).

Maxwell (1998:353) argues that NRMs in Zimbabwe teach that God wants his children to eat the best food, wear the best clothes, drive the best cars, and have the best in everything. Gifford (1990:2) in his writings on NRMs in Eastern and Southern Africa, highlighted that NRMs argue that God also wants his believers to accumulate wealth and luxury goods, which is a real sign of God's blessing. The major challenge with the theology is that most followers including participant have failed to accumulate wealth. They remain struggling with meeting their everyday needs. The lack of success is often explained by away as a lack of faith, failure to seed enough money to get a high reward or lack of patience on the part of the believer. I did not meet any one of the believers who had accumulated resources as equally as his or her pastor. None of the research participants claimed that they accumulated resources which made them sustainable. Yet the pastor or prophet has accumulated wealth and business ventures. This will be further discussed in chapter eight on institutional projects implemented by the selected NRMs.

7.2.2 Sowing the seed

The study's findings showed a financial link to the gospel of prosperity teaching emphasising on giving to God with an expectation to receive back abundantly, a concept regarded as sowing the seed⁷⁹. Those who were in support of the gospel of prosperity teaching shared same opinions of sowing the seed. Pastor Tinashe, the founder of GOM argued: “2 Corinthians 9:6-11 teaches us that whoever sows sparingly will also reap sparingly, and whoever sows generously will reap

⁷⁹ The concept of sowing the seed is taken from the Bible in Luke 6:38 “Give, and it shall be given to unto you; good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal it shall be measured to you again.” The concept of seeding teaching that whatever a Christian desire, he or she needs to show that first and God will give abundantly in response and in proportion to the seed sown. It also teaches that if one needs love, one must sow love; if one needs time, one will need to sow time. Whatever is sown to God multiplies the same as when a farmer sows a seed and germinates, multiplying at harvest time. It is believed that when someone gives a gift or money, God will multiply the money and return it to the giver.

generously. This is what we teach our believers” (Manenji, Interview, 21/12/2017). Such an understanding of sowing the seed suggests that a believer should give to God so that one can also receive a hundredfold from God. Jim from the PHD ministries (Interview, 01/01/2019) reiterated, “There are many scriptural verses which teach that give and you shall be given. Help others and increase your territory to good things.” Goteka, one of the gatekeepers at GOM, pointed out that “Believers need to invest their relationship with God through visiting the man of God making an offering to him” (Goteka, Interview, 17/12/2017).

Kwenje noted the two aspects of seeding which involves giving to the pastor and to other people with the same belief that God will also bless the individual. He argued:

There is a concept of seeding. It depends on the churches or the way they understand the word of God because some preachers teach it differently. If you want to seek a one-on-one with the prophet or pastor, you need to bring US\$50. It is not biblical because if I want to meet the man of God, I sit down and pray to God who will inspire me with an amount which I would need to offer to the pastor (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017).

While there was an emphasis on giving or seeding through the pastor, Kwenje also pointed out that “there are many scriptural verses which teach that, give and you shall also be given. God's principle is that if you help others, God will also help you and increase your territory to good things so that you can continue helping others” (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017). Reverend Makahamadze who was mainly critical on the gospel of prosperity teaching highlighted:

The materialistic aspect of the gospel of prosperity brings a certain manipulatory tendency which makes people want to hang on to this teaching. The preacher presents himself in such a way that everyone wants to be like him and be rich. Believers then feel that if they seed more and tap into the pastor's anointing, they will also receive back what they would have seeded a hundredfold (Makahamadze, Interview, 18/09/2018).

The idea of sowing can be seen as an elaborate way in which charismatic preachers have used to amass great personal wealth (Bishau 2013). Appau and Mabefam (2020:251) argue that prosperity preachers, “[E]ncourage believers to give more money to God (the church) to engender God’s blessings and that without God’s blessings...any individual agency or structural attempt to acquire material wealth will be futile and bring only more sorrow.”

Mutorwa who was also critical of the concept of sowing the seed analysed it arguing “I found it very funny that the gospel of prosperity has brainwashed people to the extent that instead of investing money into the bank or on something else, people take their money to the pastors with the hope of getting the money back threefold” (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017). Garikai, an administrator at EE was also critical about the concept of sowing the seed. He argued:

The gospel of prosperity teaches that if you give more, you will receive more. The gospel of prosperity is all about giving and receiving, and people are mainly asked to give money hoping that they will receive what they would have given multiplied by two (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017).

Garikai also stressed, “I feel that the prophet says give me money and I will do something for you in the name of God. The teaching is mainly about giving and receiving not a teaching about Jesus Christ” (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017). Nwaomah (2012:1), Mashau and Kgatle (2019:1) and Coleman (2011:23-45), also argue that the gospel of prosperity teaches that whatever a Christian desire, he or she needs to show that first, and God will give abundantly in response and proportion to the seed sown. The prophets/pastors have utilised the theological concept of seeding to extract material value from their followers leading to some people being disillusioned. One of the participants in FGD2 argued:

I have stayed within the PHD Ministries because I keep on saying tomorrow and maybe next week is my breakthrough. I am suffering, but at the same time, I hope that maybe I am at the moment of my breakthrough (Makahamadze, FGD2, 03/01/2019).

This theology is based on hope and patience which instils in the followers the need to give more yet this is another way of siphoning the merge income of the members as many of these members would end up being poorer or wretched.

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7.2.2.1 Gospel of money

Sowing the seed to the man of God characterises the concept of *churchpreneurship*, which focuses on the implantation of churches for money and business purposes. This is also regarded as *gosprenuership*, a latter-day money-grabbing and spinning family enterprise as discussed in chapter six, section 6.4.6. The study noted that pastors became rich through sowing the seed and other business ventures. In an interview with Lindiwe Kwangu from CNBC Africa on 18th September 2015, Prophet Walter Magaya argued: “The owner of the money is God. God said I am the owner of silver and gold. I represent the owner of silver and gold. I am marketing the

biggest name in the world, and why must I be poor and proclaim the name of the owner of silver and gold?” (Magaya, Interview with Lindiwe Kwangu from CNBC, 18/09/2015). Walter Magaya posits that:

Prosperity has been the gospel. Give Caesar what belongs to Caesar. The money owner is God, and why should I not have the money if I represent God? Being rich is not a sin. I can say I am a wealthy pastor in the spirit. I have three cars, and I gave out the fourth car worth \$60 000. I am a trillionaire in the spirit (Magaya, Interview on Exclusive Africa 360, 14/04/15).

There seems to be a certain hypocrisy on Prophet Walter Magaya’s emphasis on ‘giving Caesar what belongs to Caesar’ statement, because firstly he is not God therefore, he cannot claim to be Caesar. Secondly, his ministries is tax exempt and, in any case, has close relationship with corrupt politicians that are mismanaging people’s taxes. Politicians seem to like the gospel of prosperity because, “it is teaching which does not ruffle the feathers of the perpetrators of corruption” (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017). The PHD ministries worked closely and was protected by the former President Robert Mugabe’s government, became cosy with the new regime, culminating in a prayer held at the national sports stadium (<https://iharare.com>, 01/01/2018).

7.3 Gospel of prosperity classification within the selected NRMs

Five research participants (Reverend Makahamadze, gatekeepers (Goteka and Kuipa), and staff members (Garikai and Madzudzo) were not against the gospel of prosperity teaching but skeptical and critical. Madzudzo and Kuipa at the beginning of the study (2017) were staff member and ministries elder before leaving the ministries and Kuipa starting his own ministries. In addition, Reverend Makahamadze and Mutorwa were former marriage ministers and senior members in the PHD ministries. Reverend Makahamadze then established EE and was joined by Garikai who became one of his staff members. Hence their understanding and analysis of the gospel of prosperity was critical because they had both internal and external insights of the selected NRMs. Their contribution did not skew the findings but added value to the critical analysis and insights on understanding the gospel of prosperity teachings and governance structures within the selected NRMs.

What makes the gospel of prosperity a questionable is that believers are encouraged to sow the seed through donating money to the pastor without an emphasis on helping each other or sowing the seed to help those in need. Pastors exploit the distress of their followers by demanding them to come and sow a seed of faith, as it is a condition for them to receive divine blessings from God, which include financial and material blessings as noted by Cornelio and Medina (2020:66). However, Gbote and Kgatla (2014) argue that the above teaching can be regarded as ‘commercialization of the gospel’ and giving was never a prerequisite to receive blessings from God. Hence, this makes the gospel of prosperity questionable. This message of sowing and reaping is amplified through preaching or sermons, testimonies, stickers, pamphlets, wrist or arm bands, t-shirts, televisions and billboards. Chapter Six demonstrated that announcements and testimonies are designed in such a way that believers are encouraged to keep connected to the pastor who creates fear on the believers that outside the prophet’s covering, one would not be prosperous.

7.3.1 Image of God and Biblical Hermeneutics

NRMs view God in trinitarian terms (God the Father, the Son- Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit), a relational model which suits Pentecostal experience and life. NRMs’ interaction with God is personal through his spirit. This happens in the worship service and through reading the Bible. The presupposition is that the Word is revealed in the Bible only when people experience God, and the existential precondition leads to a Pentecostal emphasis of narratives describing such encounters in the Bible. Hence, the NRMs’ understanding of the image of God is also revealing in their Pentecostal biblical hermeneutics⁸⁰ or way of interpreting scriptures. NRMs regard the Bible as the absolute and foundational authority against all other truth claims about life (Nel 2017:1). They regard the Bible as inspired word of God and expect to hear and experience God in their daily lives. This suggest that NRMs see the Bible as infallible and inspired by God, though unable to demonstrate its infallibility. Biblical language influences their understanding and encounter with God. Pentecostal hermeneutics base truth in the Bible as testimonies of God’s interaction with the people. They read the Bible in a specific way and their experience allows them to speak about God in a certain way that one can perhaps call ‘Pentecostal talk’ (cf. Asamoah-Gyadu 2012:66).

⁸⁰ The Greek *hermeneuein* was deployed by the Greeks to refer to three basic meanings: to express aloud in words or to vocalise, to explain, and to translate.

Believers are simplistic readers of the Bible taking the natural sense of the narrative and read biblical stories as God communicating with humans. They expect what was experienced in the Bible by some individuals to be something that would happen in their lives. NRMs expect God to interact with his creation rather than being distant. Hence, they expect to encounter God as part of their reflection on scripture and experience him (God) in the existential reality of daily living. NRMs worship the God of the Bible who is both at hand and far away though no one can hide from him because He is both in heaven and on earth (Jeremiah 23:23.) They teach that God had chosen some human beings from the beginning for salvation (2 Thessalonians 2:13b); and predestined them to adoption as sons through Jesus Christ (Ephesians 1:4–5). However, they teach that human beings may choose or reject salvation. Their key proclamation of faith is that “If you confess with your mouth Jesus as Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him for the dead, you will be saved” (Romans 10:9).

NRMs pay attention to scriptural verses which promote the gospel of prosperity emphasising on being rich ignoring biblical texts such as the beatitudes in Mathew 5:3-12 and Luke 6:20-26 which emphasise on being poor in spirit. In Mathew 16:24, Jesus told his disciples that if anyone wants to follow me, he or she must take up their cross and follow Jesus implying that they must be prepared to suffer, face trials and tribulations. NRMs emphasise that true believers must be rich not suffer (Conelio and Medina 2020:66). Nel (2015:16) pointed out that a Pentecostal hermeneutics emphasises three elements: the inter-relationship between the Holy Spirit as the One animating Scriptures and empowering the believing community. For them, the experience of an encounter with God through his Spirit is imperative, and interpretation of the information contained in the Bible is determined by their praxis. However, NRMs tend to be selective on biblical verses which then suggest that the teaching of the gospel of prosperity is questionable.

7.4 Governance structures within the selected NRMs

The governance structures within the selected NRMs need to be understood in the context of the gospel of prosperity teaching. The study noted that the gospel of prosperity tends to be individualistic, showing a self-centered structure, clear cut structure with an advisory body and the contention on registration status.

7.4.1 The Pastor-centred structure

The study noted a structural difference between established churches and NRMs. NRMs start as ministries that believe in the Holy Spirit's experience and vibrant worship and life. God calls the founder to serve or help people in furthering God's work with the possibility of such ministries developing into churches. NRMs are usually based on one cult like leader who controls and even owns all aspects of the ministry. A church, however, is a Christian organization with its clergy, buildings, and distinctive doctrines (Pillay 2017:2). Reverend Makahamadze explaining the structures within the PHD ministries, argued:

Churches have a clear-cut structure with clear boundaries, but when it comes to NRMs, especially the PHD ministries, there is a straightforward structure that is very centred on the Pastor. Its structure was created through a warped understanding of what a prophet is within the NRMs. A prophet is taken as one and the only one who has direct access to God. The structure shows God on top, the prophet, and everyone else. This shows that the ministries itself does not have an independent existence outside the pastor. Hence without the prophet, there is no ministries (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017).

Another participant expressed that “the structure within the PHD Ministries is simple. The pastor is on the top and has absolute powers as the person with the vision of the church. The church members are seen as the tools of the founder or owner of the church. No one can advise the man of God because he speaks of what comes from God. God cannot be advised” (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

Mutsata also emphasised that “the structures are different. However, the founder is the one who is on top and makes an overall decision on everything that happens at the ministries” (Mutsata, Interview, 23/12/2017). This was also emphasised by Reverend Makahamadze who pointed out that:

There are no advisors within the PHD ministries. You cannot advise the pastor who has a direct link to God. My experience on this matter has been that someone asked if he could offer or give some suggestions and recommendations to the prophet over certain issues. The prophet told the person that if his suggestions or recommendations were better than God's, then he was free to bring them. In other words, the prophet was saying no one could advise the man of God and there is no room for suggestions. The prophet only

makes decisions. Such a structure is very dictatorial in a certain way (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017).

Ramantswana and Sebetseli (2021) describes these as prophet centred churches. Resane (2016) further argues, such churches' prophets or pastors operate without institutional balance and checks, with no academic rigor, disregarding moral standards in culture and a preference of divine directives.

Goteka, a gatekeeper at GOM felt that it was the founder of the ministries who owns everything. He argued, "NRMs, particularly the PHD ministries, are individualistic in design which means that the founder is the owner of the ministries" (Goteka, Interview, 20/12/2017). One of the participants, Madzudzo, a former staff member from the PHD ministries, brought in an essential aspect to understanding NRMs in Zimbabwe. He argued that "most NRMs in Zimbabwe say they are ministries, not churches, and registered as ministries. These people say this is my ministry not our ministry. As an individual, my only contribution is money to the pastor, and he decides what to do with it. Everything is in the pastor's name to the extent that if Magaya dies today, that would be the end of the PHD ministries" (Madzudzo, Interview, 28/12/2017). While there was a clear structure around the founders, the study also noted a clear-cut structure in some areas.

7.4.2 Clear-cut structure

The study, however, also noted that other NRMs have a clear-cut structure. One of the respondents, Chabata from the PHD ministries, pointed out: "Structures of ministries differ. In our ministries, at the top, there is God, then the founder of the ministries, followed by his wife. In other ministries, there would then be senior pastors and junior pastors and the congregants" (Chabata, Interview, 24/12/2017). This argument was supported by Garikai from EE, who pointed out that:

From my experience, I noted that from the top, there is a prophet. He decides who should come after him who sometimes is his wife. Overseers come after the wife and are sometimes followed by the pastor's best friends or close relatives. After the overseers, there are the congregants where one finds ministries workers, choir, ushers and others (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017).

Goteka from GOM, pointed out, “Our ministry is still new but there is the founder, then the council of elders who report to the founder. The two form the apex of decision-making. The constitution assigns this body with authority to govern and manage the church's affairs” (Goteka, Interview, 20/12/2017). Goteka’s understanding of the structures of GOM resonates with Pastor Tinashe, the founder of GOM’ explanation. He highlighted:

Ministries differ, some believe that the visionary who is the founder or apostle of the church is the one who will be on top. I am the visionary and I make overall decisions on everything happening in the church. However, a board of advisors assists me in making other decisions (Manenji, Interview, 21/12/2017).

GOM is clear that the pastor is not independent and works with a board that offers advice to the pastor, unlike within the PHD ministries where the founder or pastor has no advisors.

At PHD Ministries everything is centralised at one place of worship in Waterfalls. Sunday and mid-week services are all held at the PHD ministries headquarters in Waterfalls and if the pastor is not available, he will preach over the phone, as expressed by Makahamadze who argued:

Without the prophet there is no ministry. This was seen in some cases when the pastor travelled to South Africa or Nigeria. Be it Sunday or mid-week service, people would gather, the choir continued to sing praises, the offering would be made, and the pastor would do it over the phone when it came to preaching. He conducts the service over the phone, which means no one can run the ministry without him (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017).

Mutsata also highlighted:

I know there is the prophet on top then partners of the ministries divided into sections. There are platinum partners who are rich and have positions. They pay a certain amount of money as a partnership to the church of the prophet. There is gold, and it goes down to silver and bronze partners. Besides the level of partnership, there are administrators with overseers and other department leaders, which goes down to the ordinary ministries of the church structure (Mutsata, Interview, 23/12/2017).

The structure outlined by Mutsata above is created to serve the needs of the prophet who chooses and oversees the whole enterprise. The prophet is regarded as a person in whom the power of God resides - the power to heal, deliver, bless, curse and also to utter prophecies (Ramantswana and Sebetseli, 2021).

7.4.3 Registration status

There has been contention on the registration of the NRMs as a church or ministries. While Madzudzo argued that some NRMs are registered as ministries and others as churches, Garikai highlighted:

Some NRMs are registered as a Trust not Churches. It is a process to register ministries or a church. Some do not fit to register as a church. Some churches are registered as private companies. They avoid the procedures of being registered as a church which requires land where congregants would gather, the hierarchy in the church and the intended beneficiaries (Garikai. Interview, 28/12/2017).

It is thus challenging to have the ministries or churches registered because of the procedures and requirements. It would be difficult for a pastor-centred institution to register as a church because of certain requirements highlighted by Garikai. Some pastors would not want to sacrifice autonomy over their ministries or churches, thereby registering their ministries or churches as companies. Mutorwa (Interview, 28/12/2017) pointed out:

In-between the registration process, there is need to set up board. However, because the pastor assumes the status of communicating with God and having absolute powers, he would not want to compromise his/her authority and power.

This leads to some pastors resorting to register their churches or ministries as a Trust as pointed out by Garikai. This total control by one person has led to some people following bizarre instructions from prophets. For example, Ramantswana and Sebetseli (2021) note, “The so-called prophets or pastors bring petrol and detergents like Dettol to a church setting and offer their congregants although they quench the soul's thirst or have a healing effect. Grass, rats, dog meat and snakes are given to the congregants to eat although they feed souls. A product such as Doom sprayed on people although they have healing effects.” Some refer to these pastors more negatively as 'personality cults', considering the tendency of the followers to unquestionably submit to the man and hold them in very high regard (Thumma and Travis 2007:55).

In Zimbabwe, for a church or ministries to be registered, a church name, its objectives, address of the head office, beneficiaries of the trust, and details of at least three church leaders, including the founder, are required. Makahamadze also brought in another aspect of registration of ministries and churches. He argued:

The registration of NRMs, particularly the PHD ministries, has been controversial. This institution has been registered as a ministry, but there is a conflict of interest and confusion in practice in terms of identity. The PHD Ministries always identify itself at the point of need. By that, it means that it caters to people coming from different churches seeking help. This is what the PHD Ministries say when it suits them, but they operate as a church in other circles. They have a database of people they call partners, and they collect tithes from these people. I know that one does not collect tithes from people who are not his followers or who are not your church members. One cannot collect tithes from someone who came seeking for help. Considering that the PHD Ministries collect tithes from the people, it means that they have their own people who should then be beneficiaries of the ministry. However, the truth is that the ministries do not have an independent existence outside the pastor or prophet. Without the prophet, there is no ministries” (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017).

As suggested above, some of the NRMs tend to present double standards in their operations. Such double standards seem to be influenced by greed.

7.4 Gospel of Prosperity and Social Capital in Zimbabwe

The study expands the concept of social capital to highlight how spiritual capital and networks. It highlights how communities of economic activities have been activated through the various efforts of NRMs leading to the development of social capital that fosters and extends some benefit to those in the ministries. Social capital in this study is understood as contextual in that the strength and effectiveness of such capital depends on who and where it is held (Chiweshe 2012). For example, networks of largely poor people with limited economic resources does not possess the same social capital with elites who are in networks that provide them resources. Like all forms of capital, social capital is accumulated labour. It has its own capitalists who accumulate it in the form of relationships, networks, and contacts. Relationships are a product of investment strategies (individual or collective and consciously or unconsciously) aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships which are directly usable in the short or long term (Bourdieu 1986:249).

In this study, believers created networks with other fellow believers when they come together sharing business ideas and buy from each other’s projects. The interactions were at different

levels depending on the class or income levels within PHD Ministries. Those with money tend to have their own spaces, closer to the prophet as also seen from the sitting arrangements in the services. Social capital thus becomes an arena for the reproduction of inequalities (Bourdieu 1986:249) in that the wealthy believers will continue to utilise their access to superior social capital to acquire for wealth. Bourdieu (1986), society does not exist as a monolithic totality but only as a hierarchically structured space. Membership in groups can be used in efforts to improve the social position in different social fields. Within NRMs believers at different levels are encouraged to build these entrepreneurial networks. Within the gospel of prosperity teachings, emphasis is on being business-minded people, through which God works wonders or miracles. Such a teaching is a responsive theology that addresses people's predicament. Through such teaching on empowerment and entrepreneurship, social networks seem to be encouraged where space for trusting each other doing business is encouraged. The only challenge as noted above is how the elites are separated from the less resourced believers in the economic activities.

Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) approach which is centred on the communities coming together and decide the type or kind of change they would want to see in their lives. It puts emphasizes on communities working together to make things better despite their challenges. With the case study of PHD Ministries, it is difficult to speak to ABCD approach when the institutional level economic activities are owned and controlled by the prophet. Believers do not hold stock or share in the profits of the enterprises with allegations of some of them being defrauded of their investments as will be noted later in this thesis. The failure of NRMs to build collectively shared and owned enterprises creates a space where the pastor/prophet and their family emerges as the major beneficiaries without any community assets being accrued. ABCD teaches giving power to communities showing that people should be at the centre of the decisions about their development. NRMs, however, are centered on the founder, not the community. There seem to be no room for sharing social positions by members since everything seems individualistic and centred on the pastor and his immediate family.

Since his pioneering reading and writing of Pentecostal prosperity teachings around 1990, Gifford underlines NRMs' limited take on societal and structural matters. The prosperity gospel teaching within the selected NRMs seem to subvert any role in the socio-economic transformation of African societies. Gifford (2015) scrutinized the theology of Nigerian David

Oyedepo after having observed his theological dynamics and teaching for over a decade. He concluded that Oyedepo's prosperity theology had kept a perspective strictly limited to individual prospects of success or internal church-related affairs. In his final analysis of Oyedepo's theology, Gifford (2015b:97-98) explicates a purist form of prosperity theology that bears no traces of political theology. Neither would Oyedepo in his writings engage on the broader world nor would he be interested in changing social systems or challenging poverty by alternative economies. These elements have been witnessed in the teachings of many NRMs on the gospel of prosperity. PHD ministries seem not to be too concerned about changing societal issues as an institution but accumulation of resources for the pastor at the expense of the poor people. The PHD Ministries teaching on the prosperity gospel, hence, creates doubt on its social capacity to energise individuals to contribute to society.

7.5 Conclusion

The chapter focused on analysing the various aspects, practices and features of selected NRMs. It highlighted the various teachings in particular, the gospel of prosperity and how this links to the everyday lives of followers. The chapter highlighted how prophets who own and run ministries utilise various techniques including the teaching on seeding to extract money from vulnerable members. NRMs are largely materialistic, prophet centred entities which do little to promote the long-term well-being of followers. Whilst the NRMs do promote a platform for entrepreneurial individuals, they do not provide a sustainable livelihood option for the majority of members who actually end up losing money to various techniques such as buying anointed oil, bracelets, t-shirts and various other products. The gospel of prosperity teaching only benefits the pastor and a few rich individuals who accumulate more resources at the expense of the poor people. The next chapter focuses on how the selected NRMs responded to poverty, unemployment, and crises in Zimbabwe and the individual and ministry level achievements of the selected NRMs.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF NRMS ON DEVELOPMENT

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the gospel of prosperity teaching in Zimbabwe and the governance structures within the selected NRMs. This chapter examines the NRMs' understanding and response to poverty, unemployment and crises in Zimbabwe paying attention on the individual and ministry level achievements of the selected NRMs and the observations made. It provides an analysis of how the various entrepreneurial activities both at individual and institutional level relate to sustainable and transformational development. The chapter argues that NRMs have been critical in providing an entrepreneurial impetus amongst their followers though for most the economic activities remain at subsistence and small-scale levels, catering for basic needs without necessarily leading to any form of sustainable livelihoods. It also provides further empirical evidence into how NRMs within the context of the gospel of prosperity have simultaneously shifted the mindset of followers towards engaging in entrepreneurship and also seeding/sowing their profits into the ministry or prophet. In such a context, the chapter notes how the gospel of prosperity has a complex relationship with sustainable development.

8.2 Selected NRMs' understanding of poverty, unemployment and crises in Zimbabwe

This section responds to research objective two which examined how the selected NRMs understood and responded to poverty, unemployment, and political and economic crises in Zimbabwe.

8.2.1 Poverty

It was noted that the selected NRMs understood poverty as a spirit from which believers need to be delivered from. One of the respondents pointed out that “our pastor always tells us that believers must not be poor and need to be delivered from the spirit of poverty” (Jim, Interview, 01/01/2019). This assertion was also confirmed by Reverend Makahamadze (Interview, 21/12/2017) who argued, “NRMs pastors have crafted a theology which disregards poverty because the preacher himself argues that he is fully delivered, free from demons. This is why he is flourishing in everything” In addition to that, Kwenje stressed that:

The gospel of prosperity does not look at socio-economic structures and issues and attributes them to people's poverty, but it looks at the devil and say there are evil spirits which are in your life and we the preachers of this gospel can deliver you from these spirits. Then, you will be able to enjoy success (Kwenje, Interview, 21/09/2018).

Chabata and Kavalo also expressed that, "poverty is a spirit which believers need to be freed from" (Chabata, Interview, 24/12/2017) and "pastors can heal from sickness and poverty and solve economic problems" (Kavalo, Interview, 19/02/2020). Goteka, further argued that "people are poor not because of the collapse of the economy. It is the evil spirits which are responsible for poverty in Zimbabwe" (Goteka, Interview, 29/12/2017).

The statements above showed that six out of the eighteen respondents understood poverty as a spirit from which believers need to be delivered from to enjoy prosperity and success. This was echoed by Reverend Makahamadze who illustrated the need for deliverance by interpreting a story of the rich man and Lazarus in Luke 16:14-31. He argued:

PHD Ministries and other NRMs have attracted both the rich and the poor. Let me give you an example from the Bible of the story of Lazarus, the poor man at the gate of the rich man, which explains the NRMs' approach. The NRMs say the poor man is poor because of the evil spirit, and you are poor, and you need to come to my ministries and be delivered from the evil spirits. The rich man is told that you are rich because God is blessing you. Both the rich man and the poor man are accommodated. The poor man needs to be delivered and the rich man needs to be covered under the prophet so that he does not lose his riches (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

Vengeyi (2011:223) notes that within NRMs, "Pentecostal churches through the gospel of prosperity view wealth of an individual or nation as blessings, while poverty is characterised as a curse from God. Both wealth and poverty therefore are rewards from God, depending on individual or national religious commitment." Poverty in Zimbabwe is located within a specific combination of historical-colonial programmes put in place to impoverish Africans and poor government policies, especially lack of willingness to address corruption, among other problems (Vengeyi 2011:238). It is thus wrong to place the causes of poverty on spiritual forces affecting individuals. In defining poverty as a spiritual attack, the prophets are providing cover to corrupt politicians who have badly mismanaged the economy in post-colonial Zimbabwe.

8.2.2 Unemployment

Boland (2019:1) pointed out that unemployment can mean being without work while seeking for work. Parkin and Bade (1986:84) defined an unemployed person as one who “...is able and willing to work and is available for work but does not have work.” However, the word 'work' is interpreted differently. Considering the Zimbabwean situation, the word 'work' can refer to both formal and informal sectors. Work can be defined as an activity that returns an income after a person has utilized his or her time for that purpose. This implies that anyone who goes out and utilizes his or her time to earn an income can be regarded as working. The study adopted this definition, so that people who are involved in buying and selling in the streets, or wherever, as noted among the PHD Ministries and GOM believers, can be regarded as employed or self-employed. Mangezi and Manzanga (2016:1) pointed out that Zimbabwe's formal unemployment rate has been over 90%, ranked as the world's highest. In such a situation, the meaning and purpose of life becomes critical. It is within this context that a responsive theology of prosperity has mushroomed, addressing people's predicament and unemployment, encouraging believers to empower themselves and become entrepreneurs, as discussed in chapter seven.

8.2.3 Political and Economic Crisis

The study noted that most participants were articulate in their understanding of the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe. One of the believers (Nkunsane, FGD2, 03/01/2019), responding to the poverty and unemployment crises, highlighted:

The rise of MDC was primarily caused by the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). MDC rode on unaccountability, corruption, nepotism, and being disfranchised of social services, which were the government's responsibility. MDC managed to hit back on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) issues, which they were castigating on the government.

In response to the understanding of political crisis in Zimbabwe, another participant pointed out that, "In the year 2000, Zimbabwe embarked on a political land reform programme which also worsened the economic situation because agriculture was regarded as the backbone of the economy, where productivity went down affecting food security" (Goteka, Interview, 29/12/2017). Another participant argued that "the land invasion led to the collapse of the country's economic backbone. The agricultural sector ushered in a period of corruption because people were no longer gainfully employed. They had to end up engaging in unholy means of

getting money for survival" (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017). Garikai argued: "Many people have suffered from torture, especially those who opposed Robert Mugabe, while others suffered from drought, diseases such as HIV, cholera, typhoid, and other waterborne diseases leading to crises" (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017).

This study observed that the economic crisis witnessed in Zimbabwe was made worse in 1991, with the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). One of the respondents pointed out: "In my opinion, the Zimbabwean crisis, to some extent, was propagated by ESAP where the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) recommended that the government of Zimbabwe must cut down on its expenditure" (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017). In addition, Goteka (Interview, 29/12/2017) argued: "ESAP led to people losing jobs, forcing labour movements to stand up and make noise about the conditions of service of workers and other sectors." Reverend Makahamadze from Emmaus Encounter said: "Many people could not have access to medication, and many school drop-outs were witnessed because parents could not afford to pay fees and that in a way brought crisis" (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017). One of the participants (Tirivanhu, Interview, 29/12/2017) suggested that the Zimbabwean dollar's devaluation was one of the economic crises which worsened the situation in Zimbabwe. He argued: "Our challenges worsened from the Black Friday of 1997 when the Zimbabwean dollar lost its value. In addition to that, the DRC unbudgeted war, the war veterans' unbudgeted fund, and other economic issues led to crises."

The research participants within the selected NRMs declared that ESAP, the formation of MDC, land reform and invasion, the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar and various unbudgeted decisions led to the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe. The NRMs' understanding of the political crisis confirms the views of Shumba (2018:74), Mlambo and Raftopolous (2010:2) who argue that the formation of the MDC party, and the land invasion and the reform led to the collapse of agricultural production, income, growth, and economic development. Hence this led to poverty, unemployment and crises, collapse of agriculture and a decline in outputs and foreign currency. The statements on the economic crisis in Zimbabwe also support the view of Campbell (2003:131), Shumba (2018:43), and Norman (2015:103), who pointed out that ESAP led to a reduction in the size of the civil service, spending on education and health, and a failure to revive economic growth.

By the end of 2017, poverty, unemployment, and crises were worsened by the dismissal of Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa. This escalated a new level of intraparty conflict. This then led to military involvement, masterminded by Commander General Constantino Chiwenga (Nyarota 2018:13), and the resignation of President Robert Mugabe. The selected NRMs operated in this political context, where they remained silent about the coup. It was even noted that some NRMs' pastors who were protected and worked closely with Robert Mugabe's government, became cosy with the new regime, culminating in a prayer held at the national sports stadium. It was noted (<https://iharare.com>, 01/01/2018) that Prophet Walter Magaya predicted economic rebound under the new political dispensation led by President Emmerson Mnangagwa. Addressing journalists on a New Year's Eve, Prophet Walter Magaya pointed out that with Emmerson Mnangagwa as a president, economic recovery and individual prosperity were now possible.

The above information on political and economic crises clearly shows that the NRMs understood Zimbabwe's political and economic crises though in terms of their theology they tend to place blame for societal problems on spiritual forces. Within the NRMs, the evil spirits, the reality of demons and witchcraft, and the spirit of poverty were noted as challenges faced by believers (Mahohoma 2017:6; Gifford 2004:172). Other challenges within the history of NRMs include anti-abortion, anti-pornography, anti-gay rights, and other values, which make these movements not entirely progressive and different from social movements (Gifford 1988:22). NRMs often blame national tragedies and problems on the increasing of sin and ungodliness in societies.

8.2.4 Corruption and Mismanagement of Resources

The respondents expressed that poverty, unemployment, and the political and economic crises in Zimbabwe were caused by corruption in high government offices and mismanagement of national resources. Considering various definitions of corruption⁸¹, this study adopted Paldam (2019:4)' definition which says, "corruption is the abuse of entrusted power for private gain." Such a definition is more appealing within the Zimbabwean context. In this research, mismanagement of resources focused on the political, economic, or financial mismanagement of assets, funds and goods within the government of Zimbabwe. Soon after independence in 1980,

⁸¹ Corruption can be defined as an abuse of power for personal gain (Van de Merwe 2001), violation of rules and regulations put in place to govern individual institutions (Camerer 2001), and abuse of power resulting in one person or institution benefiting at the expense of others (Baqwa 2001:21-24).

Zimbabwe experienced a honeymoon, which lasted for a short time before corruption and political, economic, and financial mismanagement of resources occurred.

One of the participants (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017) argued, "Some pastors and our government have been very corrupt to the extent that they do not care for the poor." Garikai also pointed out: "One of the pastors and a government minister were involved in buying and selling of land through illegal means. The prophet was then asked to give back the land which he had bought and sold some part of the land to the people in his church" (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017). The above statements were confirmed by one of the leading newspapers in Zimbabwe. Prophet Walter Magaya was accused of purchasing illegal land from the then minister of local government Saviour Kasukuwere. Prophet Walter Magaya, before one of his mega all-night prayers, spoke to journalists, arguing that he did not get into illegal land deals with the minister, and he expressed that "I reversed Kasukuwere land deal" (<https://www.thestandard.co.zw>, newspaper, 07/11/2016). The study noted that the purchased land was meant to construct 46 000 houses in Harare (20 000), Mutare (20 000), Gweru (3000) and Bulawayo (3000) (<https://www.theherald.co.zw>, newspaper, 13/08/2016). The housing project will be discussed in chapter nine. These statements suggest that Zimbabwe's economic situation created space for corruption, to the extent that it has become widespread and vile. Prophet Walter Magaya was allegedly involved in a USD900 000 land scandal. It was reported that "Prophet Walter Magaya was sucked into a land scandal after buying Kalulu farm located in Goromonzi which was sold illegally" (<https://www.sundaymail.co.zw>, newspaper, 16/06/2019).

One of the research participants (Madzudzo, Interview, 28/12/2017), declaring that poverty, unemployment, and crises in Zimbabwe were caused by corruption and mismanagement of resources, pointed out: "You have to pay for everything you want to do in Zimbabwe or admitted into even if you want to join the army, police force, teachers' training or nursing." Mutorwa argued:

Fraud is one of the examples of corruption which led to poverty, unemployment and crises in Zimbabwe. For instance, in 2017, there was the disappearance of 15 billion United States of America dollars from Marange diamonds revenue in the eastern highlands of Zimbabwe (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

Although the government was involved in fraud, the PHD Ministries was also involved in fraudulent activities as expressed in the news (www.zimeye.net, Newspaper, 09/06/2019), where it was noted the ministries allegedly defrauded various believers in Zimbabwe and South Africa including Pastor Ernest Mutasa from the Assemblies of God who was allegedly defrauded of USD1 000.

The interviewed believers' responding to research objective two on their understanding of poverty, unemployment, political and economic crises noted that embezzlement was one of the challenges which both the government of Zimbabwe and some NRMs faced. One of the participants (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017) pointed out:

After the 1987 'Gukurahundi' genocide, the 1988 Willowvale motor car industry corruption was popularly known as the 'Willowgate scandal,' which became one of the famous scandals. Some ministers embezzled funds through buying vehicles at discounted prices and reselling at very high inflated prices.

Reverend Makahamadze of Emmaus Encounter shared the same sentiments as Mutorwa from the PHD Ministries around the Willowgate scandal, arguing, "The Willowvale motor car industry scandal created crises in Zimbabwe" (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017). Garikai also confirmed such scandal and how Robert Mugabe dealt with his counterparts. He highlighted: "A commission was set up to investigate the Willowgate scandal and other scandals, but nothing was done by the government to sanction those who were involved in these scandals and corruption" (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017). The study also noted that most of the government of Zimbabwe officials used their authority to benefit themselves at the nation's expense. One of the participants pointed out:

In 1997, Zimbabwe received 3.2 million the United States of America dollars from the United Nations (UN) before the formation of UNAIDS to respond to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Those funds were mismanaged to the extent that the UN withdrew its funding leading to the death increase of many citizens due to the government's failure to respond to HIV/AIDS (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

Corruption and mismanagement of resources was also noted where it was highlighted that, "War veterans received fifty thousand dollars and a continuous monthly compensation for their participation in the liberation struggle (FGD1, 23/12/2017). Another participant (Mutsata,

23/12/2017), responding to his understanding of what caused poverty, unemployment, and crises in Zimbabwe, argued:

The support for the DRC war was not budgeted. There were benefits to Mugabe and some ministers. Hence, many Zimbabwean soldiers were deployed to DRC without consultations. Many soldiers lost their lives. This war caused the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy as it depleted the reserves which were invested in the war.

It was also noted that the new government of President Emmerson Mnangagwa was involved in the abuse of power, seeming more corrupt than the government of Robert Mugabe. Another participant argued:

Recently there was a scandal under the new regime where President Emmerson Mnangagwa flew to South Africa, and the Minister of Transport was on record for saying Fly Africa was paid \$200 000.00 for the President's trip to South Africa. At the same time, Fly Africa produced a statement of \$10 000.00. So, one wonders where did the other \$190 000.00 went. The Minister did not even come out to defend those allegations (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

Other research participants who spoke about corruption and mismanagement of resources pointed out that “when the new dispensation [post 2017] started, ministers and top officials such as the police commissioner were charged with corruption. Everyone is complaining right now, saying things are tough in Zimbabwe. There is so much inflation, high cost of living and economic crises caused by corrupt leaders” (Jim, Interview, 01/01/2019). In addition, Mutsata (Interview, 23/12/2017) reiterated that “there is so much corruption in the country. The mismanagement of resources has crippled ZESA, ZUPCO and the NRZ. Many more corrupt activities in the government have affected this current generation”. Madzudzo (Interview, 28/12/2017) argued: “There is no rule of law, no justice, and everything is politicised. The government has been very corrupt, while President Mugabe has been regarded as second Hitler. His ruthless behaviour and allowing mismanagement of resources have made him a bad president, leading to corruption and mismanagement of resources.” Another participant, Tirivanhu, argued, “ESAP and land reform program, mainly ushered a new turnaround which created mismanagement of resources and corruption” (Tirivanhu, Interview, 29/12/2017).

The study findings support the views of Meredith (2002:97) in Zimbabwe who argued that in the early 1990s, “corruption had become so pervasive and civil servants so venal and rapacious that no service was done without kickbacks cuts.” In this contemporary context of poverty and corruption, there are very few or no prophets or pastors who stand and challenge the status quo.⁸². The prophets and pastors have used the context of vulnerability to take advantage of people. Pieterse (2013:4) argues that in times like these disciples of Jesus must side with the poor but most NRMs have sided with corrupt politicians and whilst they acknowledge that government actions have caused misery for the masses, they refuse to call it out. Prophets and pastors are thus profiting from the economic crises in Zimbabwe. They are thriving in a context of widespread poverty and as shown above also key players in some of the corrupt deals being done by politicians. I noted that the NRMs try to address the economic challenges through faith in God and a quick-fix mentality without addressing the political injustices. Therefore, it is questioned whether the NRMs promote social change, considering that the political situation has an influence on movements for social change. Baker (2006:47) argued that development is or can be understood in the context of the promotion of social change that is aimed at fulfilling human material and non-material needs, advancing social equality, and building human and technical capacity towards sustainability. Such an understanding of development seemed lacking within some of the NRMs' work towards promoting economic change. Hence, a need to understand how the selected NRMs responded to poverty, unemployment, political and economic crises in Zimbabwe became critical.

Another interesting dimension to the corruption in Zimbabwe is how prophets are receptive to tithes and seeding from members involved in illegal activities. There are businesses such as forex trading, implemented by Billie from GOM, which is regarded as illegal in Zimbabwe. The selling of second-hand clothes at undesignated markets, which also flooded the market in Harare, is considered illegal. However, such illegal businesses are done openly and are viral. Diara et al. (2020:3), agrees that the emphasis on tithe and seed sowing has encouraged corruption amongst the politicians as they now believe that God is only interested in their tithes and offerings. I argue that NRMs are in many ways contributing to the ‘get rich quick syndrome’, that has promoted

⁸² https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-encyclopedia-of-global-pentecostalism/zimbabwe-COM_033812?s.num=1

many illicit activities especially among the youths who believe that being blessed by God is getting rich by any means necessary.

During the second research campaign from 16th to 20th October 2018, the researcher was also arrested and detained into a makeshift cell at the Harare Roadport for attempting to change South African Rand to the Zimbabwean Dollar. There was no paperwork processed for the arrest. Upon explaining that the bank could not assist in changing the South African Rand to the Zimbabwean Dollar and showing the ethical clearance letter and consent forms for conducting the research, the researcher was released after at least 30 minutes of detention. During those few minutes of detention, the researcher witnessed many forex traders paying a bribe to the police officers to be released. Upon release, forex traders would return to the street and continue their business. One of the forex traders informed the researcher that they get arrested at least once a day and pay a bribe of US\$10 to continue with their work. This clearly demonstrated that corruption had become one of the challenges that precipitated Zimbabwe crises.

8.3 Selected NRMs' response to poverty, unemployment, and crises in Zimbabwe

This section responds to the research objective two on how the selected NRMs responded to poverty, unemployment and political and economic crises paying attention to both the individual and institutional achievements of the selected NRMs.

8.3.1 Individual Projects

Under the individual projects implemented by the believers within the selected NRMs, the focus was on the change in life (baseline), profit made and whether that profit was sustainable or not and the comparison of the profit with that of the pastor. The study found out that the believers within the selected NRMs implemented projects that helped them to meet basic needs, provided a means for access to income. It is only a few members that were successful in building sustainable enterprises that led to wealth building and moving out of poverty. As noted in Chapter 6 the successes or failures of ministry generated enterprises is contested and complex. What is clear is that most members of NRMs remain stuck in poverty whilst a few have managed to utilise the networks and social resources the ministries provide.

8.3.1.1 Buying and selling of perishables

The study noted that two out of the thirteen participants engaged on projects, were buying vegetables from informal markets and selling by the roadside. Buying and selling became a norm amongst believers. Shoko and Kondwani from GOM visited in Eastview and Glen Norah in Harare respectively, responding to the change in their lives, pointed out that they have seen a change through buying and selling fresh produce from the famous Mbare Musika market. The respondents shared:

I buy and sell fresh produce such as vegetables, tomatoes, carrots, bananas, apples from Mbare market and sell them by the roadside in the township. I make more money through selling vegetables and fresh produce which I buy at \$50 and make a profit ranging from \$10 to \$20 per day (Shoko, Project Visit, 17/09/2019).

From the time we had a focus group discussion at our ministries last year to date, there has been a change in my life. I am now able provide three meals per day for my family. My profit margins are small from selling vegetables but bigger on the poultry project. I can meet other needs such as paying school fees for my children, buying clothes, and attending to their basic needs even if this cannot be compared to the pastor who benefit more since he is implementing bigger projects (Kondwani, Project Visit, 17/09/2019).

The two narratives above highlight how the economic activities are largely subsistence in nature and the profits margins are not adequate to fundamentally transform the livelihoods of the people. It is however important to highlight that the NRMs have been instrumental in cultivating this entrepreneurial spirit, the only challenge is how the few profits people make usually end up with the pastor through tithes, anointing oil and other products.



The picture above shows Shoko selling tomatoes in Eastview.

8.3.1.2 Buying and selling of non-perishables

The study noted that other believers met their basic needs and services through selling non-perishables such as bottled water, cooking oil, roasted maize corn (maputi), sweets, and other projects such as selling airtime, clothes and flour polish in Harare. One of the participants from the PHD ministries who sell bottled water argued:

I buy and sell water in town. It is a viable business. I buy a bottled 500ml of water for 30 cents and sell it at 50 cents in town. I usually buy 5 cases of bottles water. Each case has 20 bottles costing \$6. I make a profit of \$4 per each case. Per day, I can sell 5 cases of bottled water and make a profit of \$20 (Ranzvenga, FGD3, 03/01/2019).

Ranzvenga also highlighted that “life has drastically changed for me. The profit I make per day through selling bottled water has enabled me to buy food, pay for my children’s needs and support church events” Ranzvenga, Project Visit, 20/09/2019). Shoko (Project Visit, 17/09/19) who was selling perishables pointed out that “besides selling fresh produce, I also sell other non-perishables such as sweets, roasted maize corns (maputi), and many more by the roadside.

Kudzamaoko from GOM responding to the project he was implementing and the change in his life argued:

I sell airtime by the roadside and in the CBD. I am glad that this business has made a change in my life. If it was not bringing a change, my wife would not have supported me. The change that this business has brought into my life and wife, has led us support our relatives. I am now able to give my wife some money to send groceries to her mother in the village. This is something I have struggled to do for years.

In relation to the profit made and how sustainable it was, Kudzamaoko highlighted:

Before I joined this ministry, no one wanted to associate with me because I was so poor that I could not afford to buy even bread or food for myself. After I joined, my friends also encouraged me to sell airtime by the roadside. At first, I thought it was a waste of time, but after a week, I realized that I started to make small profit margins of US\$20 per week. If I work so hard and spend the whole day in town selling airtime, I can now make a profit of at least US\$10 per day. This business is very profitable, and it is quick money. I now even have some money to start other businesses. The only challenge is that our economy is not stable, and I might lose all my money if I venture into other businesses though our pastor encourages us to start many businesses. For him, (the Pastor), it is easy

because he makes more money than us through his own projects and our Sunday services contributions (Kudzamaoko, Project Visit, 18/09/2019).

Below is a picture of Kudzamaoko receiving money from his wife to go and purchase airtime for selling in the city.



Another participant, Makova from the PHD ministries in the FGD 3 stated:

I buy female clothes in South Africa for at least US\$1000 and sell them especially to my friends and their inner circles here in Harare. I normally get a profit of around US\$500. That profit helps me to meet my monthly needs such as food, and transport money (Makova, FGD3, 03/01/2019).

During the project visits made on the 19th of September 2019, Makova argued, “I can afford to buy basic needs such as food and clothes. I know that I am now financially stable. I can do what I want and pay for what I want” (Makova, Project Visit, 19/09/2019). However, when Makova was asked to compare her profit with her pastor, she argued:

In as much as the economic situation is terrible in Zimbabwe, the prosperity gospel is preached in such a way that I give everything I have. At the end, I realised that collectively, it is only the man of God who becomes richer through the little we give him. Imagine over 30 000 people giving Walter Magaya \$1 each on a Sunday service. By the end of the service, he takes home over \$30 000. We go back home empty-handed except with his words of encouragement to become entrepreneurs (Makova, FGD3, 04/01/2019).

Reverend Makahamadze from EE pointed out that he was influenced by Prophet Walter Magaya’s preaching and started a floor polish project. He argued:

I started a floor polish project in Harare after having inspired by Prophet Walter Magaya. I buy and sell floor polish in town and around the city. The polish comes in containers ranging from 300ml to 5litres. Customers prefer buying 1 litre which I buy at wholesale price for \$4 making a profit of \$2 per litre. The same 1 litre of floor polish costs \$5.25 cents in OK shops and the difference with my price is 75 cents. I make a profit of at least \$150 per week. (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

Responding to if the profit was sustainable and the comparison of the profit between believers and the prophets, Makahamadze argued:

Within a month, I make \$600 or more. The demand has increased from the last time I spoke about it. A year ago, I could only be able to pay for my rent and buy food for my family from that money. Now I can sustain myself and my family. Each month, I am able to make a saving of at least \$100 per month and the business is able to sustain itself (Makahamadze, Project Visit, 20/09/2019).

The prophet is the one who profits more than the believers. There is a way in which people have surrendered to the man of God. It is the man of God who is totally in control. He gets money through sowing the seed, partnerships and other projects where he controls the whole chain from the moment I give him the money to the profit made. The pastor benefits more than anyone else” (Makahamadze, Interview, 17/02/2020).

The statements above from Ranzvenga, Makova, Shoko, Kudzamaoko and Makahamadze on individual projects such as buying and selling of bottled water, clothes, non-perishables, airtime and floor polish respectively, show that these believers were able to see change in their lives with the ability to meet the basic needs for their families, extended families, making savings and supporting other initiatives. Whilst the narrative provides promising stories of changing livelihoods, the profit margins in most of the enterprises are not adequate to change income levels in a sustainable way. None of the participants in this section had actually grown their business beyond the ability to meet basic needs, The respondents here were able to extend their support to other people without being negatively impacted from the support extended. Through such support, networks are established and strengthened. The financial capacity to help others also implied the ability to initiate any other projects despite the Zimbabwean volatile economic situation.

8.3.1.3 Other Income generating projects

Baseline information showed that most of the believers started their various projects after joining their respective ministries. Besides buying and selling of perishables and non-perishables, other believers implemented income generating projects such as chicken and goat rearing, tuck-shop, fast food outlet or canteen, forex trading and development and research consultancy.

8.3.1.3.1 Chicken rearing project

The study noted that Jiri and Kunaka from the PHD ministries and Shoko and Kondwani from GOM were involved in chicken rearing project. Jiri argued:

I rear broiler chickens at my house in Chitungwiza. I usually get a batch of 200 chicks. It costs me \$600 to feed 200 broilers and my sales (less 5% deaths or mortality) are usually \$950. My gross profit is usually not less than \$350. I sell these chickens to our congregants at \$6 each. Some of our congregants have also linked me up to their neighbours, and that has helped my business to grow (Project Visit, 19/09/2019).

In relation to the sustainability of the profit and comparison with the pastor, Jiri argued that “the profit I make sustains me and allows me to contribute at least \$20 per month towards operation Nehemiah, a housing project in the high-density suburbs initiated by Prophet Walter Magaya whose profit from various projects cannot be compared to anyone else. Our prophet is a rich man of God” (Jiri, Project Visit, 19/09/2019). Below is the picture of Jiri and her chicken project.



Two participants from GOM (Shoko and Kondwani FGD1, 23/12/2018) highlighted that they were also involved in chicken rearing, selling each chicken from US\$5 to US\$6. Before implementing the chicken projects, the two participants highlighted that they did not have other means of meeting their basic needs such as food and shelter. Having visited Shoko in Eastview

to see the chicken rearing project apart from the perishables and non-perishables, she highlighted:

I did not have anything to feed my family, I relied on extended relatives, and I could not afford to support myself and family, but all these projects especially chicken rearing have transformed my life. Collectively, in six weeks, I can make a profit of at least \$300 from chicken rearing and \$150 from buying and selling perishables and non-perishables amounting to \$450 in six weeks (Shoko, Project Visit, 17/09/19).

Having asked Shoko if the profit made was sustainable and comparing it with the profit of her pastor, she argued, “the profit sustains me to meet the basic needs such as paying rent, food, paying school fees and other necessities without ensuring that in the event that if all my chicken batch die from bird flu for instance, I will not be able to recover. However, the pastor makes more profit than me because he has more resources than anyone else in our ministries” (Shoko, Project Visit, 17/09/19).

8.3.1.3.2 Goat rearing

Kunaka from the PHD ministries involved in chicken rearing project pointed out that he was also into goat rearing. He highlighted:

One Sunday, the pastor preached about being an entrepreneur and a change of mind-set. That teaching helped me refocus my life, and everything changed. I did not own anything, but when I started the chicken and goat rearing projects, I would buy goats, 30 to 40 goats at \$15 each, amounting to \$600 and rear them in my rural area in Mutoko. The cost of feeding these goats in the rural areas is very cheap. They graze around and I usually buy veterinary treatment for less than \$100. It takes at least 150 days of gestation period for some goats and a fully mature goat takes nine to twelve months if properly fed. After twelve to fifteen months, I would sell at least 30 goats at \$30 to \$40 each amounting to at least \$1200 and keep the other 10 goats for the next phase. In 2018, I made a profit of \$500 after every 3 months from buying goats and feed them and sell them at an increased rate. In a year, I would spend \$2800 for 4 batches of goats and sell them \$1200 per batch amounting to \$4800. Hence, in a year I could make a profit of \$2000 excluding those which would need nine to twelve months to mature and be sold. I managed to buy a car, got married, and managed to build a cottage in Norton through goat rearing. I did not

have all these before I joined my ministries. Now I get money to look after my children (Kunaka, Interview, 19/02/2020).

Due to distance and time constraints, the researcher could not travel to Mutoko (142km from Harare) to see the goat rearing project. However, the chicken project and a cottage constructed were witnessed upon project visit on 19/02/2020. Below is a picture of Kunaka's cottage constructed in Norton.



8.3.1.3.3 Tuck shop and Canteen

The study noted that Ranganai from GOM was challenged to open a tuck shop in Epworth. She pointed out that:

I own a tuck shop in Epworth. I sell basic commodities such as sugar, mealie meal, rice, salt, cooking oil and other day-to-day necessities. My sales per day range from \$45 to \$60. At the end of the month, my profit is usually around \$250. I use that profit to cover costs for basic needs for my family. It is difficult to create savings because of the high cost of living though I am able now able to provide for my family and save at least \$50 per month (Ranganai, FGD1, 23/12/2017).

It was observed that in one year and nine months after meeting Ranganai in a FGD, a visit was made to the tuck shop in Epworth. A real change of mind-set was noted when Ranganai pointed out: “After I opened a tuck shop, I realised that there was another opportunity of making money. I opened a fast-food canteen. Our pastor encouraged us to be business minded people” (Ranganai, Project Visit, 16/09/2019). Considering that it was difficult for Ranganai to create a monthly saving of more than \$50 per month through the tuck shop business, the fast-food canteen helped her to become sustainable as demonstrated in her testimony. She argued:

I used to go to other churches and be told that the evil spirits possessed me and that my relatives bewitched my sick children. When I initially came to GOM, I joined because my husband was sick. The pastor responded to all the challenges which I was facing to transform my life. After the healing of my children, husband, and myself, I decided to join the ministries because what the pastor preached about was practical, not superficial, as I have witnessed in other ministries. Through his teaching, I decided to empower myself, I own a tuck shop and canteen in Epworth. I sell *sadza* (staple food in Zimbabwe) and vegetables, chicken, beef and pork. Each plate costs \$1. I get at least \$40 to \$50 per day. Each month, I would invest \$120 and get a profit of \$60. Rentals are cheap here in Epworth and I use \$30 to pay rent which subsidised by the tuck shop (GOM, Testimony, 16/02/2020).

Ranganai's testimony above demonstrates that her life was transformed when she decided to empower herself and venture into income-generating projects. Baseline information showed that she could not provide basic needs for her children and her sick husband. Information collected before implementing the canteen project showed that Ranganai would spend at least US\$200 per month with a profit of US\$50 compared to a profit of US\$110 after the second project which had a profit of US\$60. Hence, a change was witnessed in Ranganai and her family's lifestyle expenses, showing that the family was now able to sustain itself.

Another participant from GOM, Mpasa responding to the change witnessed, profit, its sustainability and the pastor's benefits argued that: "Our pastor teaches us to develop ourselves. We develop ourselves. I own a canteen where I raise at least \$30 to \$50 in a day within Epworth. I am now able to assist my family and the profit I make helps me to meet the basic needs though it is not sustainable. More so, it is the pastor who benefits more than us because he owns big businesses which are sustainable. (Mpasa, FGD1, 23/12/2017).

8.3.1.3.4 Forex trading

Billie from GOM was involved in forex trading at the Harare Roadport along the fifth street and Robert Mugabe road. Upon asking him about the change in his life, the profit he makes, its sustainability and the comparison with the pastor, he argued:

It has been difficult my brother. I used to rely on my brother who was also struggling. This forex trading has transformed my life. I can afford to take care of myself, something

I could not do before. I exchange South African Rand or US\$ to the Zimbabwean bond notes. I also have people who buy the South African Rand and US\$ using the Zimbabwean bond notes. Depending on the rate of the day, I make a profit of at least \$30 to \$40 in a day. If the rate for the day is very low, I could make a profit of \$15 to \$20. I make a good profit which sustains me even though the profit I make cannot be compared to my pastor who runs big projects (Billie, Project Visit, 18/09/2019).

The study noted that forex trading became another viable business opportunity in Zimbabwe though it is illegal as noted in section 8.2.4. Billie was able to meet his basic needs through the implementation of the forex trading business. Below is the picture of Billie exchanging US\$ to the Zimbabwean bond notes.



8.3.1.3.5 Development and research consultancy

Another participant, Goteka from EE was involved in development and research consultancy working with various non-governmental organisations carrying out project evaluations, baseline surveys and project cycle management trainings. He argued:

The kind of teaching that I received challenges me as an individual to develop myself or think about starting a business. If the pastor preaches about me having my vision, I would go out and decide on setting up a small business as a way of improving livelihood. Development begins with a change of mind-set. I established my own consultancy company which focuses on research, evaluations, baseline surveys and project management. I have more than two employees working for me. I pay them a salary of \$500 per month. We have managed to buy that minibus which you can see. My staff are able to support their families and I also support my family through this business. Even if

I work for an international non-governmental organisation, I have managed to establish my own consultancy company (Goteka, Interview, 29/12/2017).

Regarding the profit made, its sustainability and comparison with the pastor, Goteka argued that:

Most of our work is project specific and they pay very well. Profit made is seen in our capacity to pay our employees every month and that has been sustainable for the past year. However, the profit I make cannot be compared to the pastor because the pastor implements bigger projects and has access to many resources (Goteka, Interview, 29/12/2017).

8.3.2 Ministry Level Achievements

The PHD Ministries and GOM implemented various projects collectively. These projects include housing, farming, mining, sports (football), popular restaurants, beekeeping, and humanitarian assistance. These projects mostly make money for the pastor, but they do provide opportunities for employment, assistance, infrastructural development and other positive benefits for the community. The positive aspects, however, are often overshadowed by how most of the income goes to finance the flashy lifestyles of pastors.

8.3.2.1 Housing

The study observed that the PHD Ministries began to implement a housing project in four cities which included Harare, Mutare, Bulawayo and Gweru. Prophet Walter Magaya, responding to the housing project in an article entitled ‘Magaya to build 46 000 houses’ (*The Herald, Newspaper*, 13/08/2016), highlighted:

In the next few months, PHD would build 20 000 houses in Harare and Mutare, respectively: 3 000 in Midlands province, and another 3 000 in Bulawayo. We have foreign partners who are investing back home. They are working with my company Planet Africa, which is into construction. As a ministry, we are saying to all partners of the ministry, we want you to redeem yourself. It is your time for you to have your own land (*The Herald, Newspaper*, 13/08/2016).

The study noted that the housing project was one of several projects that Prophet Walter Magaya had spearheaded. The *Herald* newspaper of 13/08/2016 highlighted:

“He recently completed construction of a 15 000-seater stadium situated in Waterfalls, Harare and has since completed a state-of-the-art hotel in Waterfalls, in addition to

construction of 1 500 houses in Harare and Chitungwiza” (*The Herald, Newspaper*, 13/08/2016).

The study also noted that believers were encouraged to be part of the housing project through two options which involved contribution to the prophet’s housing initiative or building their own houses independently. One of the participants, an overseer at the PHD Ministries, responding to projects implemented by his ministries, argued: “As a ministry, we do have a housing project. My Prophet is the one with the vision of implementing a housing project for everyone. Once we all have our own houses, we will be able to have our tenants and generate income which will help us start other businesses” (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017).

The researcher noted that those who wanted to be part of the project were requested by Prophet Walter Magaya to make an initial contribution of US\$20, US\$50 and US\$100 monthly for high density, medium, and low-density suburban houses, respectively. This was confirmed by one of the participants from FGD 3, who pointed out that:

We have operation Nehemiah where every month people are encouraged to pay \$20 for a high-density suburb, \$50 for medium density and \$100 for low-density suburb for those who need new houses. When the amount reaches \$4 000, then each person is shown the serviced stand (Jiri, FGD3, 04/01/2019).

Another participant noted that those who could not afford the initial deposit were excluded. Reverend Makahamadze argued: "There are those who can afford to pay the initial deposit for the housing project, but the poor granny from Tafara, the poor man in Epworth, cannot afford to pay the initial deposit. Therefore, they fall out" (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Those who fell out, were encouraged to take the second option of building their houses independently. The second option was confirmed by Kuipa who argued: “A few people I know managed to build houses in Glen Norah, Glen View and Budiro through the housing project in my ministries” (Kuipa, Interview, 18/02/2020). Another participant in the FGD 3 argued: "We are even challenged to go to our rural home and pay money for the available stands from the chiefs and start developing our rural homes and implementing various projects" (Ranzvenga, FGD3, 04/01/2019).

The findings suggest that many people were desperate for houses during the period Walter Magaya became popular. This was confirmed by the challenges encountered in Zimbabwe

around 2005 where more than a million Zimbabweans were on a government housing waiting list (Taru 2020:294). More so, the housing project made sense to many people who lost houses through the 2005 forced evictions (Cuneo, Sollom and Beyrer 2017:253) and those who could not afford to buy houses from private developers (Taru 2020:294). It was then within this context that the PHD Ministries initiated the housing projects, which made sense to many people who required houses.

The major challenge with this project is how many of the supposed beneficiaries later complained of being duped by the prophet. A newspaper report in 2020 quoted a beneficiary saying,

I made a once-off US\$1 050 payment, so I benefit from the scheme. But it has been long, and I am still paying the US\$20 life-partnership levy every month...The Westgate housing project is yet to be completed, but nothing is happening there. This means I can die without having that house (<https://nehandaradio.com/2020/01/27/phd-ministries-housing-project-a-rip-off-beneficiaries-say/>).

Various other believers as far as South Africa and Australia were by the middle of 2020 demanding for refunds as the housing project was failing to take off (<https://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/magaya-in-stands-scam/>). This saga highlights the limitations of some of the activities undertaken by pastors.

8.3.2.2 Farming

Farming in Zimbabwe has always been one of the livelihood options. The findings of the study revealed that many believers from the PHD Ministries and GOM were involved in farming. One of the participants Manenji, (Interview, 21/12/2017) from GOM, responding about institutional projects implemented by his ministries, argued: "My ministries is fairly new though various individual projects such as farming, piggery and potato farming are being implemented in Tafara, Mabvuku and Epworth". Walter Magaya also pointed out that he was involved in farming. He argued:

So, this project is solely for business so that we can sustain our ministries. We are still confined to the markets in Harare. Hence, at Derry Farm in Nyabira I started with 300 pigs, and I have seen the sounder of swine multiply to 1 027. We aim to breed 30 000 pigs by July 2016 so that I can stretch to markets in the Southern Africa region. In

Mazowe, we are growing maize, potatoes, and soya beans (Magaya, *Sunday Mail Newspaper*, 20/12/2015, accessed 09/06/2020).



Pictures of Prophet Mayaga inspecting maize and potatoes fields.

Other participants from the selected NRMs confirmed farming project arguing that: “Even if some of the programmes are in their infancy, I have seen projects in the area of farming. People are benefiting, given proceeds, which include money from what they have invested in the farming project (Mutsata, Interview, 23/12/2017). Kwenje and Reverend Makahamadze also highlighted that: “We are implementing many projects, which include rearing chickens, farming, and cattle ranching. We also grow maize or different crops. After harvest, we donate some funds to assist the poor (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017). Makahamadze argued:

There is development in farming, where the prophet managed to procure equipment, land, and expertise for farming. He then comes to us and says, you do not have land, equipment, time and expertise. Bring in your money, and I will use what I have to plant for you, and when we harvest, you will get back your money and profit (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

Findings from the above support the views of Mahohoma (2017:4), that PHD Ministries had several farming projects which included poultry and agriculture. As noted earlier these projects largely benefit the prophet as the owner of the land and projects. Members get assistance from the produce, but the benefits are largely personal for the prophet.

8.3.2.3 Mining

Zimbabwe is a country with many mineral resources such as gold, platinum, copper, coal, and diamonds. It was noted that in 2015, the PHD Ministries established a US\$10 billion business company named Planet Africa to carry out housing and mining. Participants within the study also pointed out that their ministries were involved in mining, arguing:

PHD Ministries is into mining, agriculture, now they are into tourism where they have built a hotel in Waterfalls (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

The PHD Ministries is involved in mining. Within the mining sector, the founder said I have got the mines and minerals, bring in your investment, and I do mining for you and give you back your money and profit while you are seated at your home (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

The study found out that in 2017, Prophet Walter Magaya established a mining company Yadah Connect which was involved in mining in Rushinga District - Chinhoyi, Mazoe and at West Nicholson in Gwanda with a processing factory in Harare. In an article entitled “Magaya ventures into dolomite mining in Rushinga” (*The Herald, Newspaper*, 24/08/2018), Yadah Connect mining process consultant Dr. Tapera Mazodza pointed out:

The company has already built a state-of-the-art factory in Harare to process the dolomite that will be mined in Rushinga. We intend to invest about a million dollars in the mining of limestone, specifically making marble, which makes the same slates as black granite.

It will be used for products like floor tiles, building blocks and other products.

The above statement was confirmed by Mr. Paradzai Munyede, the Rushinga Rural District Council Chief Executive Officer, who highlighted:

192-hectares of land had been availed by the local authority for the open cast mining project which is under Headman Chimhanda’s area. The Yadah Connect mining company will construct its staff houses at Rushinga Township and the mining venture which is expected to create 800 direct jobs (*The Herald, Newspaper*, 24/08/2018).

In an article entitled “Water Magaya turns to mining”, one of the small scaler gold miners at West Nicholson in Gwanda, Sibongumusa Mlilo, stressed: “We had no idea Prophet Walter Magaya would have an interest in gold mining, especially when it comes to us *omakorokoza* (small scale miners) because people think we are just violent people who spend all our money on alcohol and women.”

The mining projects like other aspects of Prophet Walter Magaya's businesses has also attracted controversy. In September 2020, he was alleged to fail to settle a debt to a Bulawayo company where he had taken mining equipment worth US\$30 000 (<https://miningzimbabwe.com/magaya-swindles-mining-equipment>). The way PHD Ministries courts controversy in almost all their ventures places doubt on the transformational nature of the economic activities they are undertaking. It raises questions on whether the activities can impact sustainable development.

Pastor Tinashe, the founder of GOM, pointed out that he planned to implement a mining project, arguing: "We are a new ministry. There are many projects implemented to empower people at the PHD Ministries. We also want to do mining, farming, and housing projects" (Manenji, Interview, 21/12/2017). Mutsata also pointed out that: "There are also projects we implement which are meant to benefit congregants and these include mining and agriculture" (Mutsata, Interview, 23/12/2017). Other respondents who highlighted mining as one of the projects implemented by the PHD Ministries highlighted that: "We have many projects including mining" (Jim, Interview, 01/01/2019) while Kunaka reiterated that: "We are into mining and the man of God is doing well in this field" (Kunaka, Interview, 19/02/2020). Believers were encouraged to form part of the mining project even though none of the participants confirmed being part of the mining project.

8.3.2.4 Sports (Football)

The study on the history of the PHD Ministries in chapter six, revealed that T.B. Joshua told Walter Magaya that he was going to start a ministry, a football team, and carry out many projects. This seems to suggest that a football club was one of the projects Prophet Walter Magaya had planned to implement. The study noted that Prophet Walter Magaya founded a football team called Yadah Football Club in Harare. The football club currently plays within the Zimbabwe Premier Soccer League with Jairos Tapera as the coach (*The Herald, Newspaper*, 11/08/2017). Some of the participants who highlighted that the PHD Ministries was into football argued: "There are developmental programmes meant to develop and empower the youth and the general population. There is a soccer team (Mutsata, Interview, 23/12/2017), "I know that PHD Ministries has a soccer team as well" (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

The researcher observed that Prophet Walter Magaya had been the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA)'s primary sponsor in recent years, bailing out both the male and female national teams. He accommodated these teams at his Yadah Hotel, in Waterfalls-Harare using the facilities for their training sessions (Newsday 14/11/2017, accessed 10/06/2020). The above-noted evidence was supported by a headline in the *Newsday* newspaper (09/02/2016, accessed 10/06/2020) that Prophet Walter Magaya reaffirmed his support for the development and growth of the sport in the country. The former sports minister Makhosini Hlongwane highlighted that he was impressed with what Prophet Walter Magaya was doing and the support he pledged to the government. He argued:

Sports and recreation as a sector is desperate for investment, and we are delighted to be associated with good intentions, useful work that Magaya has as far as contributing to the development of sports is concerned (*Newsday*, 09/02/2016, accessed 10/06/2020).

8.3.2.5 Beekeeping

Apiculture, a term used to refer to beekeeping, is classified under farming. The study observed that the PHD Ministries was involved in beekeeping and separated this project from the farming project because of the individual attention it got from Prophet Walter Magaya. One of the participants, responding to projects being implemented by the PHD Ministries highlighted: “There are a beekeeping project and taxi project” (Madzudzo, Interview, 28/12/2017). Another participant stated: “We also have a beekeeping project, housing projects, business in mining, and farming” (Jim, Interview, 01/01/2019). Makahamadze (Interview, 19/09/2018) argued:

Prophet Walter Magaya would offer four-day training on beekeeping with the intention to create employment and empower the believers. After the four-day training, participants would be awarded certificates and contracted to work with Yadah Connect, creating opportunities and marketing.

In one of the videos on YouTube, a bee training was scheduled from 1-4 December 2017. In that video, Prophet Walter Magaya emphasised:

We are giving people knowledge on how to keep bees and harvest honey. We want to help believers make money the easy way where you attend the training, attain the certificate and sign a contract with Yadah Connect and qualify to be an out grower. Yadah Connect would buy from you. We are already creating markets for you (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mwk-zcupl2w>).

This suggests that Prophet Walter Magaya wanted to create employment and empower his followers and harvest honey in their rural areas.

8.3.2.6 Popular Restaurants

Within this study, it was observed that in 2017, GOM initiated a restaurant project at a new high-density Eastview suburb, formally known as Bhobho Farm. The canteen or restaurant serves the community, especially those involved in trading and those commuting in and out of Eastview suburbs daily. GOM started the project raising funds to support both the ministry and its people. Pastor Tinashe, the founder of GOM, argued:

I come from a ministry (PHD) that has been implementing various projects. I have also started with a restaurant in Eastview. In a day, we raise at least \$80 to \$150. Many people walk in and buy cooked food. The cooked meal we sell, costs \$1 per plate. This has made us make more money (Manenji, Interview, 21/12/2017).

The above statements suggest that the restaurant project implemented by GOM sought to empower the ministries. The believers also learnt how to carry out the same project on a personal level as noted from the canteen project implemented by Ranganai and Mpasa from GOM. GOM has followed the PHD Ministries playbook and has also embarked on numerous projects including the food restaurant highlighted above. Considering that GOM is a relatively new ministry and most of the projects are at infancy, it is not surprising that the pastor is not benefiting a lot financially from them. The projects, however, are providing some members with employment and livelihoods options. This has at least allowed some of the members of GOM to get some money to meet their basic needs. Sustainable development, however, requires economic activities that build the asset base of people (Chiweshe 2012).

8.2.3.7 Humanitarian Assistance

For over two decades, the Zimbabwean political and economic situation has been mitigated by humanitarian assistance and various livelihood projects. Such projects have been funded by foreign organizations, governments, and faith-based and non-governmental organizations. The mainline churches and Pentecostal churches have been involved in both humanitarian and sustainable livelihoods projects. The study noted that the PHD Ministries and GOM have also been involved in humanitarian assistance with particular focus on their congregants and the vulnerable communities. Prophet Walter Magaya, Pastor Tinashe and Richard Kuipa argue:

I feed over 5000 poor families. I have given shelter, food, and assisted where there is need. We want to improve the lives of orphans and those in need. We pay school fees for orphans all over Zimbabwe. People are coming to be assisted by the ministry and not to assist the ministry (Walter Magaya, Interview by Africa 360- Lindiwe Kwangu, 14/04/2015).

Mainly, each province usually gathers money and grows maize or different crops so that after harvesting, some funds can assist the poor (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017).

We are a new ministry; we are only six months old, and our plans also support our members with scholarship programmes and food distribution (Manenji, Interview, 21/12/2017).

We distributed food and clothes to the less privileged. We also provide accommodation to the destitute, pay school fees for some children, and reintegrate people back into the communities (Kuipa, Interview, 17/09/2018).

In a way, the above-mentioned humanitarian projects show that both PHD Ministries and GOM had the desire to promote welfare of their believers. The findings also confirm Chibango's (2016:61) assertion that the PHD Ministries sees itself as a needs-based ministry focusing on "the point of need", as Prophet Walter Magaya also expressed it. Projects such as food distribution, clothes, accommodation, and provision of essential commodities were implemented to respond to the people's immediate needs. The assistance whilst commendable can also be seen as a way to pacify people without actually focusing on the real reasons for their poverty. The projects do little to move people out of poverty beyond providing immediate needs members.

8.3.3 Observation on the NRMs' religious response

The study noted that while there were individual and ministry level achievements, the selected NRMs also responded to poverty, unemployment and crises through religious responses such as healing and deliverance, pastor's protection and hope for tomorrow. There are contestations on the meaning and efficacy of these religious responses. Some critics argue that religious responses to the socio-economic and political crises in Zimbabwe can be best described as an 'opium to then masses', a way to pacify people without providing any solutions (Bishau 2013). In any case

the critics also describe people who follow such ministries variously as desperate and delusional (Togarasei 2011).

8.3.3.1 Healing and Deliverance

The researcher found out that healing and deliverance featured prominently within the teachings of the selected NRMs and was used to respond to poverty, unemployment, political and economic crises in Zimbabwe. Pastor Tinashe stated: "people are not able to ask the government about the economic challenges but come to me as a pastor seeking deliverance assuming that they have been affected by evil spirits" (Manenji, Interview, 21/12/2017). GOM offered and encouraged believers to be healed and delivered from various challenges. Pastor Manenji seconded by Reverend Makahamadze stated:

Many people come to my ministry, claiming to be possessed by the evil spirit. I then pray for them, offering healing and deliverance from spirit possession in their lives (Manenji, Interview, 21/12/2017).

The gospel of prosperity does not look at economic issues and attribute them to people's poverty but to the devil. It says there are evil spirits in my life, and the preachers can deliver me from these spirits to begin to enjoy success. Prophet Walter Magaya and other prophets would say that I have delivered you, but you are failing to maintain deliverance, and that is why you are not experiencing success in your areas. I am successful because I am delivered" (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017).

The study observed that pastors emphasised the need for believers to be healed and delivered from sin and the spirit of poverty so that they could experience their prosperity. Fenga and Wepener (2018) argue that "the prophets in the Bible were not afraid to address the evils of the day. For example, Nathan confronted David (2 Sm 12); Jeremiah challenged Jehoiakim (Jer 22:13ff) and Zedekiah (Jer 34). Samuel confronted Saul (1 Sm 15:10ff), Amos condemned Jeroboam (Am 7:10ff) and John the Baptist rebuked Herod (Mt 14)." The prophets in NRMs however provide cover for politicians by insisting people's poverty is as a result of evil spirits.

Many participants felt misguided and cheated because they did not see change in their lives after having been promised healing and deliverance. One of the participants argued:

There has been no change in my life as a result of the pastor's intervention except that I have power in me that I can change my life. I have to act to get a house, not as the result of divine intervention. I can count those who have nosedived (Mutorwa, Interview, 18/02/2020).

One of the believers interviewed two years after the first interview when he was still a member of the PHD Ministries pointed out:

During one of the services, Prophet Walter Magaya preached to us arguing that our sins cause our problems. I asked myself which sin did I commit that is blocking me from being employed or meet the basic needs. I think I face challenges because of our government's policies, not the sins I do not know. I have realized that I have been made to believe that all problems I have are caused by sin and evil spirits. This is not true. I decided to stop going to the PHD Ministries upon the realization that it was only the man of God who was living the best life while I continued to suffer (Mutorwa, Interview, 18/02/2020).

Baseline information from the eighteen active participants who formed part of the personal interviews indicated that 5 of them, between 2017 and 2019, had left PHD Ministries. The reason for their departure was because they realized that there was no change in their lives. Some of these participants argued: “I did not gain anything from PHD Ministries except the preaching experience (Kuipa, Interview, 18/02/2020). Another respondent highlighted: “I am a typical example of those people who found themselves more impoverished after joining. I thought my life would change after deliverance, but nothing changed. I thought I would easily find a job and live a better life. Out of frustration, I left” (Makahamadze, Interview, 17/02/2020). In addition, one of the participants stressed: “People have burdens and there is spiritual amplified healing and deliverance which the NRMs and the gospel of prosperity offer, promising to solve problems. I had to buy into that, but now I have realized that this was not true, and I decided to leave” (FGD2, 03//01/2019). The pressure to pull the masses is leading some prophets to engage in behaviour that includes false claims of healing and miraculous ability (Ramabulana 2018). Dube (2019:2) further notes that prophets have become opportunistic predators who use various techniques (including illicit activities) to prey on people seeking for a better life.

8.3.3.2 Pastor's protection

The study noted that the believers could not do anything without the pastor's protection. One of the respondents emphasized: "Walter Magaya always says that no matter what I do for you and no matter how developed you become, you need my covering because outside my covering, you are nothing" (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Believers within the PHD ministries believed that they were under the prophet's protection. Jim from the PHD ministries stated: "I understand that the Zimbabwean situation is tough, and I know that I am under the prophet's protection and I will not be worried even if the situation worsens" (Jim, Interview, 01/01/2019). Another participant (Mutsata, Interview, 23/12/2017) emphasized that, "we rely on the man of God, we buy our holy water, wrist bands and anointed oil so that we are protected by these and the prophet's overall protection." These statements seem to confirm that believers were supposed to be under the prophet's protection. The over-reliance on the pastor's claim for protecting the believers could be seen as *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*⁸³ meaning that 'outside the church, there is no salvation'. This implied that outside the prophet's covering, one could not prosper. However, such protection was questioned because some believers were misguided by the prophet's claim on protecting believers and could not offer practical solutions. The idea of relying on one man seems to speak against social capital and development principles, which focus on relying on one another.

Mashau and Kgatle (2019:3) writings in South Africa, argued that the prophet possesses the power to protect and deliver followers from sin and demonic powers. This made the pastor to be seen as the only man who could protect the believers. The researcher, however, does not agree with Mashau and Kgatle's (2019:3) assertion because many believers in Zimbabwe have been suffering from poverty and unemployment. Many people appeal to the divine because of the economic challenges they are facing, not because the prophets have powers to protect them. The pastor cannot resolve the challenges which many people in Zimbabwe face. It is the government of Zimbabwe which can develop policies and changes which will ensure that people can experience the development they want. The tendency of Pentecostal prophets to uncritically

⁸³ This expression comes from the writings of Saint Cyprian of Carthage, a bishop of the 3rd century. Outside the Church there is no salvation. It is solemnly defined doctrine that says that no one who culpably refuses to become and remain a member of the Catholic Church can be saved. Positively this means that all who reach their eternal destiny are saved through the Catholic Church, of which Christ is the visible head. (Fourth Lateran Council, A,D, 1215, Catechism of the Catholic Church 1992).

prescribe faith and anointing while leaving socio-political and economic structures unattended is unproductive.

8.3.3.3 Hope for Tomorrow

Observations during the study, between 2017 and 2019, showed that the Zimbabwean situation provided fertile ground for the NRMs to thrive with their gospel of prosperity. Moreover, Zimbabwe's trajectory of suffering laid excellent ground for the gospel of prosperity, which offered hope for tomorrow to citizens drowning in an unholy alliance of poverty and unemployment. The study revealed that most believers expressed that their NRMs responded to poverty, unemployment and crises by offering them hope. Hope is defined as a state of mind based on an expectation of positive outcomes concerning events and circumstances in one's life. In the Christian context, hope means "a strong and confident expectation" of future reward (see Titus 1:2), or prerequisite for and a by-product of spiritual attainment. Freire (1996:102) argues that hope is necessary to engage in a struggle and achieve liberation. I agree with Freire (1996:102), as I observed that followers of the selected NRMs continued to attend services at various ministries with the hope and expectation that their struggles would be over. These struggles involve poverty and unemployment and necessities such as food and shelter. The prophets or pastors within the selected NRMs managed to give the believers hope that their lives will be transformed. One of the participants (Tirivanhu, Interview, 29/12/2017) highlighted: "Whenever people are going through a crisis, they need something that can give them hope. As a preacher, when I stand in front of people, knowing what is happening in the country's economic situation, I then give people something which brings hope in their lives." Another participant (Nkusane, FGD2, 03/01/2019) pointed out: "When I am told that there is hope for tomorrow, that is what I want to hear. I do not want to hear that my situation will become worse than before."

The theme 'hope for tomorrow' was understood in terms of unaccounted hope, false hope and amplified hope. The study noted that what the pastor gives to the believers is hope, which keeps them looking forward to a change for a better life. One of the participants from Emmaus Encounter, responding to how NRMs have responded to political and economic challenges argued: "Poverty, unemployment, and crises influence the gospel of prosperity. It attracts both rich and poor people who have the hope that one day, they will become rich" (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017). Hence, economic crises in Zimbabwe paved the way for the NRMs, which offered

hope for tomorrow to the desperate believers. The reported findings demonstrate that poor people have their reasons for joining the NRMs with the hope that they will become rich, while the rich join the NRMs to justify their riches and accumulate more resources. This was explained further by one of the participants who argued:

The NRMs take both the poor and the rich and put them in the same ministries or church. The rich are told that you are rich because God is blessing you, and the poor are poor because they are cursed. The poor man needs to be delivered and the rich man needs to be covered under the man of God so that he does not lose his riches. Hence everyone remains in the ministries because of the hope created (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017).

In the case of the NRMs' hope for tomorrow, it was observed that some pastors offered unaccountable hope that believers are destined to be rich in everything (Taylor, Meer and Reimer 2013). Further, the researcher noted that prophets preached an unaccountable hope, such that people could not go back to the prophets or pastors and accuse them of unfulfilled promises. Prophets encouraged believers to keep on praying to give them hope for tomorrow. One of the participants argued:

I found it very amusing that the gospel of prosperity ministries tell me what I want to hear, and that is why there is little or no critical analysis. I would say I was brainwashed. Instead of investing my money in a bank or something else, I gave it to the pastor, hoping that I will get it back threefold. I have realized that the gospel of prosperity does not offer solutions to my problems but giving me hope (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

The statement suggests that the gospel of prosperity has brainwashed some of the followers of the selected NRMs to the extent that they opt to invest their money through seeding or to give to the man of God with the hope that God will reimburse it abundantly. Such hope is, however, unaccounted for. The responsibility of failed hope is given back to the believers who are asked to give more. Hence, tomorrow's hope failed to offer practical benefits or solutions on poverty, unemployment, and political and economic crises that believers face daily. The researcher was tempted to believe that hope deferred makes the heart sick (Proverbs 13:12) because believers within the NRMs seemed not too worried that hope seemed deferred to another day.

Pastors emphasised that breakthrough is imminent, and testimonies encouraged believers to keep seeding or giving money to the prophet with the hope that one day, they will also achieve their

breakthrough. One of the respondents argued: “Respondents usually say keep connected to the man of God, keep seeding, keep attending services, do not miss the services, buy this anointed item, use this anointed item” (Makahamadze, Interview, 21/12/2017). Three participants in FGD2 (03/01/2019) discussing the selected NRMs' response to poverty, unemployment, and the political and economic crises, pointed out:

The prosperity gospel is offering us an unaccounted hope because there is no way we can go back to the prophet to say to him that the message he gave me that I am going to be rich has not materialized.

I cannot go to the prophet and say, account for the promises you made and ask him why I did not get what he promised.

I have stayed within the PHD Ministries because I keep on saying tomorrow and maybe next week is my breakthrough. I am suffering, but at the same time, I hope that maybe I am at the moment of my breakthrough.

The above statements seem to suggest that the hope for tomorrow sustains believers from the selected NRMs. That same hope for tomorrow offered can be an insult to the poor who have failed to achieve their breakthrough. All three participants (Kuipa, Makahamadze, and Madzudzo; FGD2, 03/01/2019) left the PHD Ministries before the year ended, expressing their concern over unfulfilled promises. One of the three participants was asked why it took him so long to leave the PHD Ministries. He said "*vana vembwa havasvinure musi mumwe chete*", translated to mean that not all people realize the truth on the same day.

The study noted that preaching hope for tomorrow makes people believe that their situation will get better for both the rich and the poor who would experience breakthrough and transformation. Togarasei (2011) shows that in Zimbabwe that poor people join the NRMs with the hope that their lives will be transformed. Both the poor and the rich were accommodated by the pastors to the extent that they both hoped for tomorrow. Some pastors, however, misguided the believers, using hope for tomorrow to ensure that they remain within their ministries with the hope that they will also be rich like their pastors. The harsh political and economic challenges were hence ignored while hope for tomorrow was emphasised. Scholars such as Mangezi and Manzanga (2016:1), Mpofu (2013:248) and Omenyo's (2014:142) argue that the NRMs encourage

believers to continue work hard and remain hopeful, offering them motivation and enlightening sermons without challenging the political and economic situation.

The study noted that testimonies for breakthrough (see Ranganai testimony, section 8.4.1.3) gave hope to the believers who expected change in their lives (Mashau and Kgatle 2019:3) in South Africa. These testimonies showcase one's wealth and health. Such testimonies flooded the PHD Ministries and GOM, giving followers the hope that tomorrow they will also become rich, to the extent that more time was allocated for testimonies. In as much as these testimonies allowed social capital to form, forging new relationships and built trust amongst themselves and the pastors, hope for tomorrow failed to offer practical solutions to the believers. Unaccounted hope could not strengthen social capital amongst believers as no one would like to take responsibility for the promises made and the futuristic hope, which seemed to be unattainable. It is challenging to create networks, collaborations, and associations based on unaccountable hope, which even the pastors were not willing to be responsible for. Hence the selected NRMs' religious response which centred on the prophet or pastor who encouraged believers to receive healing and deliverance and hope for tomorrow, demonstrate that these pastors misguided the believers who continued to lack the basic resources and access to income, and remained unemployed.

8.4 Observations within the individual and institutional projects

The study noted that in as much as the individual and institutional projects contributed to meeting basic needs, they did not provide the basis for sustainable or transformational development. The founder of the PHD ministries was allegedly seen as corrupt and fraudulent. For instance, while the study noted that the construction project employed more than 3 000 employees who were the PHD Ministries members, Makahamadze (Interview, 19/09/2018) argued: "many believers employed by the PHD Ministries were disgruntled due to delays in payment, non-payment and alleged defrauded by Walter Magaya." Concerning employment created through construction projects, one of the participants expressed that some believers were oppressed and abused. He argued:

Payments were delayed to the extent that by the time the money was made available, it would have lost its value. When I was the marriage minister, the Prophet always delayed paying me. By the time he would give me my monthly salary it would have lost its value (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

Considering the PHD Ministries' housing projects under Planet Africa in 2015 and the initial monthly contributions made by the believers in that same year, the study observed that, to date (2019), there has not been a single person who has seen the land purchased for construction while Prophet Walter Magaya owns more than 15 properties in Zimbabwe. In addition, Prophet Walter Magaya is believed to own five guest houses and eight lodges that accommodate 50 people at a time, a penthouse in South Africa worth R16 million, and property in Cape Town near the beach (Mahohoma 2017). This demonstrates that the housing project for instance benefited Prophet Walter Magaya who owns all the houses in the housing project. Several complaints were made. One of the participants argued: "It is unfortunate that the projects which are implemented are not helping the congregants but the founder" (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017). Two headline stories entitled, "Walter Magaya in another Fraud Storm, SA Congregants Claim He Scammed Them through Housing Project" and "Walter Magaya Is Ripping Us Off – Beneficiaries Fume as PHD Ministries Housing Project FLOPS" showed several believers accusing the PHD Ministries of scamming them. Below is one of the quotes:

Another former member, who refused to be named, paid Prophetic, Healing and Deliverance Ministries \$4,400 (R76,000) in instalments between 2016 and 2017. GroundUp has seen the receipts. He has not received the residential stand, and he too is battling to get any of his money back (iHarare.com/ 06 March 2020, accessed 09/06/2020)

The above statement seem to suggest that the believers were hoodwinked by the Prophet, who initiated his own housing project using personal and believers' funds.

Considering the farming project which Mahohoma (2017:4) writing about the PHD ministries emphasised, the researcher observed that no single believer benefited from Prophet Walter Magaya's farming project. Moreover, Mahohoma (2017) failed to provide evidence on those who benefited from this farming project. The findings of the study suggest that the Prophet is the one who is the leading farmer who then engages his congregants through cash investments with the expectation that after harvesting, the profit will be shared between him and those who would have invested in farming. This form of farming gave access to resources only to those who could afford to invest large sums of money and Prophet Walter Magaya who initiated the project. There were several reports of people outside Zimbabwe who lost their money in farming projects and other related PHD projects. Some of the complaints raised were: "I desperately

wanted my money but did not claim it back because I wanted my \$5,000, not bond notes. Since then, I have been trying to get my money back without success” (iHarare.com, 26/03/2020, accessed 09/06/2020) and “Nevertheless, we want the money we paid for business refunded” (iHarare.com, 26/03/2020, accessed 09/06/2020). The study noted that believers were asked to partner with the prophet and make investments within his projects with an expectation that profit and proceeds will be shared. One of the participants argued that, "It is unfortunate that the projects which are being done are not meant to help the congregants but the founder" (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017). Such statements seem to suggest that Prophet Walter Magaya allegedly defrauded many believers. The structure of the construction, farming and mining projects within the PHD Ministries showed exploitation, unaccountability, and lack of transparency which then compromised elements of developmental initiatives.

The study also noted that some of the projects were either a passion for the pastor or inconsistent with the reality. Mutorwa argued: "It is unfortunate that the projects which are being done are not meant to help the congregants but the founder. The football club belongs to Walter Magaya and I do not benefit from that in any way" (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017). There was no evidence on how the believers would benefit except the social entertainment brought by the game. One of the participants highlighted: “The football club project did not respond to the needs of the believers but the personal needs of the founder who benefited from the club” (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017). In as much as Chiweshe (2017:3) noted that football creates a society which cheers, celebrates, jokes, laughs and networks with each other and lives together in harmony, the researcher observed that the football project within the PHD Ministries failed to help the marginalized believers emerge from poverty, unemployment and other human needs as also noted with the beekeeping project. The beekeeping project only benefited the prophet and created economic access to resources. One of the participants argued:

Beekeeping is very inconsistent with reality. The pastor came up with this programme and said that we want to empower the poor people. We want to help people to harvest honey in their rural areas so that they can empower themselves. For one to be trained and empowered, one needs to pay US\$30 as joining fees, then US\$30 for the training booklet. In addition, one needs to pay US\$120 for the beehive equipment, not from anyone else but the prophet himself. One needs a minimum of \$US150 to attend a four- days' course

on beekeeping. One needs at least US\$330 to be part of the beekeeping project (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2017).

This statement shows that only those who could afford to raise funds were able to attend the training which linked everything back to the prophet who initiated the project. Hence, such projects initiated economic access to the pastor at the expense of the believers.

Based on the above-noted challenges, some of the research participants argued that the ministry level achievements implemented by the selected NRMs failed to promote development. Reverend Makahamadze argued: “NRMs do not contribute to development because the greatest beneficiaries and stakeholders are not the believers but the pastors, their wives and families” (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). This point was supported by Mutorwa (Interview, 28/12/2017), who argued: “I have seen people whose life never changed whose life revolves around the church that even their children suffer from hunger and poverty. The system looks like modern-day slavery.” Such an understanding was also confirmed by Garikai who highlighted that the selected NRMs’ activities do not contribute to development. He argued: “I do not think that NRMs contribute to development; prophets are robbing people and sometimes cover up their corrupt and shady tendencies with these projects which they are implementing. Such projects also fail to benefit the believers” (Garikai, Interview, 28/12/2017). Prophet Walter Magaya benefited from the networks he had where believers invested in his projects with hope for collective assets. Hence the housing, farming and mining projects created economic capital for the pastor who then got access to economic resources. Kretzmann and McKnight (1993) argued that the Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) approach promotes projects which emanate or originate from the community, using community skills and associations and networks, which in turn would promote development.

8.4.1 A Good Case with a Bad Lawyer

The study found out that the teaching of the gospel of prosperity and some of its activities seem to promote development to the founders of the selected NRMs and wealthy believers who own various businesses. Reverend Makahamadze emphasised that: “Some pastors implemented projects for self-enrichment not for the enrichment of the community, making it a good case with a bad lawyer” (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Another respondent argued: “The ministry level achievements implemented within my ministries only sustain the prophet. My

projects can only be sustainable if managed well, unlike the ones initiated by the pastor. He is guaranteed that these projects will sustain him because he has access to resources. The pastor gains a lot compared to me and other believers” (Kunaka, Interview, 19/02/2020). Mutorwa argued:

The NRMs do not build economic and spiritual sustainability. If I am sustainable, then I am no longer useful to the prophet, and that would account for the loss of income to the man of God. It is strategic for the pastor that I do not have sustainable growth, ensuring that I remain in the ministries continuing to come back. That is why I decided to leave eventually (Mutorwa, Interview, 18/02/2020).

Based on the above statements, there are individualistic and capitalistic tendencies demonstrated in the gospel of prosperity which makes it a good message with a bad communicator who seem to preach a message that benefits himself and the elite at the expense of the believers. What makes the gospel of prosperity a good message, however, is also demonstrated in Gifford (2020:69) who argues that many observers of African Pentecostalism consider this phenomenon as a major vehicle of modernity as noted by the late Peter Berger who argued that the spread of Pentecostalism is probably the best thing to happen to the developing world. Gifford (2020:69), however, argues that the prosperity gospel stress on motivation, entrepreneurship and discipline is the Protestant work ethic reaching the third world. Such a teaching is quite similar to what Cornelio and Medina (2020) call ‘prosperity ethic’ with emphasis on self-help and consumption as explained in section 3.4.4.1 on the unique features of NRMs in Zimbabwe. Gifford (2020) pointed out that this Protestant work ethic⁸⁴ will do for the developing world what some say Calvinism did for Europe in the 18th century.

While the study noted that the gospel of prosperity teaching seems to benefit the founders of the selected NRMs, there were capitalistic tendencies observed within the PHD Ministries, which made the prophet rich at the expense of the poor believers. The selected NRMs' gospel of prosperity teaching and some of the institutional projects implemented demonstrated that an investment into a relationship with the pastor became the pastor's reliable source for economic capital, which created access to economic resources.

⁸⁴ The Protestant Ethic refers to the spread of Protestant Christianity that gave rise to the growth of capitalism, with individuals working in the secular world developing their enterprises and engaging in trade and the accumulation of wealth for investment. Max Weber (2008: 1904-1905) argued that the neoliberal spirit of capitalism promotes a new appetite for consumerism.

Based on the idea of a good case with a bad lawyer, Reverend Makahamadze further explained:

The gospel of prosperity is the right message because it is meant to benefit the people and develop them. However, this right message is practiced in a lousy way, making it a good case with a wrong lawyer. The greatest beneficiary of this gospel of prosperity is the preacher himself, who ends up living an extravagant lifestyle through the accumulation of resources from the congregants. The bad lawyer is the preacher who presents prosperity in such a way that the gospel of prosperity teaching is manipulated and benefits the preacher himself at the expense of the poor people (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2020).

What makes the gospel of prosperity a good case is the teaching which encourages believers to empower themselves and become entrepreneurs who also support other believers. This was supported by another participant from the PHD Ministries (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017) who argued:

There is a certain manipulation that supports the gospel of prosperity, making it possible for people to hang on to it. This clearly shows that in the strict sense, the gospel of prosperity is a good teaching though it is easily manipulated by preachers who use it for their benefit.

8.5 Conclusion

The selected NRMs' individual achievements demonstrated that believers were able to meet basic necessities. Many people started businesses on buying and selling of perishables and non-perishables and other income generating projects. Most of these projects were influenced by the pastor, who encouraged believers to start their projects and become entrepreneurs. Social networks were created making it possible for the believers to implement other individual projects. For instance, when believers and non-believers gathered to have a meal at the canteen, people begin to interact, creating networks and collaborations, leading to extended reciprocity amongst the believers and non-believers. Some of the institutional projects seemed to only benefit the pastors at the expense of the believers who ended up misguided and others allegedly defrauded by the PHD Ministries. The next chapter seeks to understand if the individual and ministry level achievements from the selected NRMs promoted sustainable and transformational development.

CHAPTER NINE: THE NRMs AND SUSTAINABLE AND TRANSFORMATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

9.1 Introduction

The previous chapter addressed research objective two, which involved the informants' understanding and response to poverty, unemployment, and Zimbabwe's political and economic crises. The chapter paid attention on the individual and ministry or institutional level achievements of the selected NRMs. This chapter addresses the informants' understanding of sustainable and transformational development and the distinct difference between the teachings of the NRMs' gospel of prosperity and its practice thereby demonstrating that NRMs failed to promote sustainable and transformational development.

9.2 Concept of Sustainable and Transformational Development

The believers from the selected NRMs suggested several definitions of sustainable and transformational development. Whilst the concepts have been discussed in the theoretical and background chapters, there is need to ascertain how the research respondents understand them. This is because most NRMs make claims to developing people's lives through their religious and economic activities yet there is need to question the real impact of their work. Most of what NRMs claim to be development was found to be unsustainable and non-transformational as it only allows people to cater for immediate needs. It was observed that there is no single definition of sustainable and transformational development. Common traits, however, were noted.

9.2.1 Sustainable Development

Within this study, different participants defined sustainable development and came up with different definitions. Respondents from the three selected NRMs argued:

Sustainable development is about equipping people to sustain themselves and the next generation (Kuipa, Interview, 17/09/2018).

Sustainable development is enhancing people's lives in such a way that it progresses to its fullest (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

Sustainable development is reaching out to the marginalized communities, looking at how their status is improved from an economic point of view where empowerment plays a pivotal role (Tirivanhu, Interview 29/12/2017).

The above definitions suggest that sustainable development should equip, empower and enhance marginalized communities so that they sustain themselves. The above statements also demonstrated that sustainable development refers to empowering individuals with long-term benefits with a focus on the next generation. This understanding was expressed by other participants, as follows:

You are giving a person a fishing rod to fish and teach that person how to fish rather than giving out the fish. If you give him fish, you have fed him for the day, but if you give him a fishing rod and teach him how to fish, you have given him a life-time lesson. You have empowered him to help himself in the future. This would be what sustainable development is. (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2017).

Sustainable development is the empowerment of individuals who then empower others to develop, ensuring that they also benefit (Manenji, Interview 21/12/2017).

Sustainable development is focusing on the next generation's benefit (Kwenje, Interview, 21/12/2017).

The above definitions suggest that there is no single definition of sustainable development. Common traits include empowerment of individuals, enhancing lives of the current generation and next generation, the participation of the community, and survival. The study noted that what was missing from the participants' definition of sustainable development was the protection, conservation, and sustainability of the natural environment. What was characteristic of various definitions of sustainable development from scholars and respondents was the concern about how the fruits of development are shared across generations without compromising the benefits of the other generation. The above definitions of sustainable development support the views of Sen (1999:14), who understands development as that which is concerned with enhancing the lives people lead and the freedoms they enjoy. The definitions of sustainable development formulated by many scholars cite the famous Brundtland Report definition, which says that sustainable development is "that development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987).

The respondents' definitions of sustainable development also had elements of the WCED's (1987) definition which this study adopted.

9.2.2 Transformational Development

The study revealed that the term transformational development was unfamiliar to many participants compared to sustainable development. The participants provided several definitions, and common traits were noted. Some of the participants defined transformational development as:

A message that equips and forever changes life of an individual. It can be seen the same as the story of the blind man in the Bible who, after being healed, was able to do things on his own without depending on begging from other people (Kuipa, Interview, 17/09/2018).

Transformational development is a change in people's lives at different levels (Manenji, Interview, 21/12/2017).

Transformational development is looking at how people positively influence society to change (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

The statements suggest that transformational development is about changing society or an individual's life. Such a change is regarded as beneficial to an individual or community whereby a particular experience changes one's life and leads to a permanent change. Based on the participants' understanding of transformational development, the researcher believes that transformational development should involve exact, lasting, and sustainable changes in people's lives.

The above understanding of transformational development was noted by participants who argued: "From a religious point of view, transformational development is giving liberty to captives, a total liberty from whatever form of captivity" (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). Other respondents argued:

Transformational development involves a change in the lives of the people and deliverance from poverty to prosperity (Mutsata, Interview, 23/12/2017).

Transformational development is a movement that brings change and progress in people's lives. It is about having an eye for tomorrow, and it focuses on empowerment and being an active agent of change (Emmaus Encounter, FGD2, 03/01/2019).

The above statements suggest that transformational development is about a change of life from the captivity of poverty to prosperity. I think such definitions were influenced by Pastor Tinashe and Walter Magaya preaching of a prosperity gospel which sought to eliminate poverty and unemployment. It was also noted that transformational development should be a change or development initiated and owned by the community, as stated below:

Transformational development is as a process whereby development is community-driven, community-owned and not prescribed by people from outside into a particular group of people (Goteka, Interview, 29/12/2019).

Transformational development is doing something that changes my life in a way that it puts me on a path of self-development and also in a way that gives me a sense of ownership over my life (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018).

Definitions of transformational development noted above focused on a sense of ownership of one's life and community-driven development. I think that any community-driven development is likely to ensure the protection of human rights, dignity, and social justice. This agrees with the writings of Zeeland (2016:7) in Brazil who argued that transformational development seeks the protection of human rights, rejecting any condition, structure or system that perpetuates poverty, injustice, abuse of human rights, and destruction of the environment. The definition of transformational development provided by the participants showed that any development that changes the future of a society or country can also be regarded as transformational development.

9.3 Promoting Sustainable and Transformational Development?

Based on the individual and ministry level achievements noted in chapter 8 and the definitions of sustainable and transformational development, the study questioned if such achievements benefited the poor and amounted to sustainable and transformational development. The answer to this question is often complex and contested given that whilst most poor members have not improved their lives, there are some who have benefited from being within NRMs. The success or failure is thus contextual but, in this study, I found that the overall impact of NRMs do not benefit the poor.

The individual projects implemented by the selected NRMs demonstrated that believers could change their lifestyle and make profit and savings to the extent that they could meet other needs. Such a profit made some believers sustain their lives and others. For these believers, development meant meeting the basic needs without depending on someone else. This, however, is not sustainable and does not lead to accumulation of assets that allow individuals to transform their lives. The profits from most enterprises by individuals cannot sustain a family if they get any shocks such as sickness, death or loss of products. The individual initiatives only helped believers meet day-to-day needs without ensuring the benefit of the future generation. Hence the individual achievements were not sustainable development.

The study noted that, unlike the individual achievements, the ministry or institutional level achievements contributed to transformation of lives mainly for the prophet, his family and a few wealthy partners in the ministries. The pastor and the wealthy believers formed a group that was influenced by the collective assets and efforts of individuals who could bring their resources together deriving from their social position and status. The poor people were discriminated against and left out because they could not afford to partner with the pastor. Hence ministry level achievements produced and reproduced inequality within the selected NRMs. Specific bonding capital amongst the rich was created while the poor were marginalised and isolated. The study noted that ministry level achievements showed negative aspects of sustainable and transformational development for the poor. There were challenges encountered which compromised the principles of sustainable and transformational development such as allegations of fraud and theft (<https://nehandaradio.com/2020/01/27/phd-ministries-housing-project-a-rip-off-beneficiaries-say/>). The study noted that the housing project initiated under Planet Africa in 2015, requested believers to make an initial monthly contribution from that same year. Unfortunately, to date (2020), there has not been a single person who has seen the land purchased for construction. This clearly shows that some believers were allegedly defrauded by Walter Magaya (<https://nehandaradio.com/2020/01/27/phd-ministries-housing-project-a-rip-off-beneficiaries-say/>). One of the participants argued: "It is unfortunate that the implemented projects are not helping the congregants but the founder" (Mutorwa, Interview, 28/12/2017).

This implied that the PHD ministries failed to implement projects which ensured that the current generation would benefit from such projects without compromising the benefits of the future generation. In addition, the allegations against Prophet Walter Magaya showed that the projects he implemented failed to protect believers' rights and promotes a system that perpetuates poverty and injustices. Blewitt (2008:13) argued that sustainable development is about steering societal change at the interface of the economic and ecological pillars or dimensions of development. The study also noted that social inclusiveness, which has its roots in human rights, inequality, redistribution, rural development, entitlements and capabilities concepts (Gupta and Vegelin 2016:436), were ignored by the PHD Ministries. The abuses noted compromised transformational development, which Zeeland (2016:7) emphasized should uphold values of human dignity, social justice, and sustainable change in the lives of the oppressed. Hence the individual and ministry level achievement of the selected NRMs failed to promote sustainable and transformational development.

9.4 NRMs Teaching versus Practice

One of the key contributions of this study is the analysis of how there is a distinct difference between the teaching of the gospel of prosperity and its practice in NRMs in Zimbabwe. My argument is that the theological and philosophical aspects outlined in the gospel of prosperity as understood by respondents in Zimbabwe can be conducive to promoting sustainable and transformational development. Togarasei (2011) highlights how entrepreneurship is a key feature of the gospel of prosperity. Sustainable Development Goal 8 recognises the important role of entrepreneurship in promoting inclusive and sustained economic growth (https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/diae2017d6_en.pdf). Entrepreneurship has the potential to address intractable social problems, reduce inequalities and poverty. Freston (1995) and Meyer (1998) argue that the gospel of prosperity encourages believers to start their businesses and become entrepreneurs. It is however in the practice of the gospel of prosperity which is often perverted by pastors who seek personal economic gain that leads to exploitation of vulnerable people. This section explores this idea and shows how the findings highlight the divergence between the teaching and practice of the gospel of prosperity in NRMs.

Speckman (2007:249-251) and Wilson (2011:103) emphasize transformational development, empowerment and entrepreneurship emphasised in certain elements of NRMs' teachings which

seek to eradicate poverty and injustices. NRMs' gospel of prosperity rejects anything that reinforces poverty but the accumulation of resources and financial wealth. Wilson (2011:103) pointed out that the relationship formation and social networks within transformational development should not cause people to become poor. This suggests a conceptual relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development. This relationship is however contested in practice as noted from the experiences with Prophet Walter Magaya. The governance structures within the selected NRMs favoured the pastor and their immediate family and friends. Soboyejo (2016:7) criticised the gospel of prosperity practice as an example of corruption to pursue self-enrichment while some pastors were accused of living an extravagant lifestyle while the poor continued to drown in poverty (Mashau and Kgatle 2019:3). Another challenge noted within the gospel of prosperity teaching was the lack of social responsibility and passive acceptance of disasters, calamity, and poor commitment to development (Gifford 1991, 2015).

The NRMs' failure to promote sustainable and transformational development does not eliminate the possibility of a relationship between the NRMs' achievement and sustainable and transformational development. Marshall and Van Saanen (2007:2) argued that faith groups and the NRMs have been engaged in development, working at all levels, ranging from families to communities. This was also witnessed within the selected NRMs. Valuable networks for employment, social cohesion, and information sharing were created while others were affected. Swart and Nell (2016:2) witnessed religious actors broadening the development space within the NRMs. The major challenge from the research is how in practice these networks are often reserved for a few elites and exclude most of the poor within the ministries. Another key challenge with the practice of NRMs which hampers sustainable development is the failure to confront the political factors that lead to poverty such as corruption and poor governance. Some pastors spiritualised the problem of poverty, health, and economic depravity (Gifford 2015). Agbiji and Swart (2015:8) highlight that "religious practitioners have often encouraged "God-talk" that weakens the resolve of masses to rise up against unjust political and economic systems in Africa." Hence, believers were told to sow a seed to improve their socio-economic fortunes. Others contributed money, labour and time to the ministry projects, which created an accumulation of capital and resources for the pastor. Chitando and Manyonganise (2011:101) note that church leaders in Zimbabwe often shun critical reflection on the details of socio-

economic situations and uncritically seek divine intervention in a way that “absolve[s] human beings of their responsibility in creating the crisis as well as their role in its resolution”.

Mashau and Kgatle (2019:3), argue the gospel of prosperity has become the gospel of affluence, with rich pastors who live an expensive lifestyle making religion appear to be the most lucrative business of today. Such lifestyles were noted amongst pastors such as Shepherd Bushiri of the Enlightened Christian Gathering, T.B. Joshua of SCOAN, Chris Oyakhilome of Christ Embassy, and Zimbabwean Emmanuel Makandiwa of UFIC, and Walter Magaya of the PHD Ministries. A need for social inclusiveness to empower the poorest through investing in human capital and enhancing opportunities for participation was lacking in NRMs. Some pastors implemented projects of sentimental value, remained silent on challenging economic injustice and the social marginalisation of believers and failed to engage believers in the initial stages of their projects. Other pastors failed to appreciate and mobilize individuals’ and community talents, skills, and assets, which Cunningham and Mathie (2002:177) emphasize in the ABCD approach to development. The community did not initiate institutional or ministry projects, including farming, mining, housing, sports, popular restaurants, and beekeeping. The pastors who initiated these projects can be regarded as external agencies within the development context influenced by African philanthropy.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter focused on research questions three and four, on the informants' perceptions of sustainable and transformational development and the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development. The chapter concluded that the implementation of individual and ministry level projects, whilst promoting some elements did not ultimately promote sustainable and transformational development. Those who benefited most were the pastors and wealthy believers who managed to invest in the pastors’ initiatives. The chapter has shown three key issues in terms of NRMs and sustainable development. Firstly, it showed that certain elements in the teachings and ideology of the gospel of prosperity, in particular on entrepreneurship are essential for sustainable development. Secondly, there is a distinct departure between these teachings and the practice of the gospel of prosperity in the selected NRMs where in essence the pastors have created an exploitative relationship with their members. Thirdly, the individual projects promoted and initiated by members have largely been

at a subsistence level and catering for the basic needs of people. The next chapter provides a conclusion for the study.

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION

10.1 Introduction

Chapter nine paid attention on the NRMs and sustainable and transformational development. This chapter presents the conclusion of this thesis. The study's objective is to explore the contribution of NRMs to sustainable and transformational development and the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development. The study adopted the concept of social capital and Asset Based Community Development (ABCD) approach. The study is also framed within a social constructivist paradigm, and it applied a qualitative methodology to collect data from eighteen interview participants and twenty-nine focus group discussion participants from the selected NRMs' followers in Harare, Zimbabwe. The chapter also highlights three important issues to emerge out of the findings. The first issue is a final general discussion and conclusion on scholarly views on NRMs in Zimbabwe and the gospel of prosperity, as well as the gospel of prosperity and the notion of sustainable and transformational development. The second issue is the research methodology, paying attention to fieldwork, those interviewed, period and place. The third issue is the findings of the study relating to gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development and the contribution to the body of knowledge. The chapter concludes by showing the importance and innovation of the study.

10.2 New Religious Movements in Zimbabwe

NRMs emerged from the twentieth-century Pentecostal movement around the 1970s as part of the American religious right movements. Chitando (2013:97) provided three critical dimensions relevant to understanding Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe arguing that it has been assumed that most NRMs in Zimbabwe emerged from Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM). This was supported by Matikiti (2017:138-142) and Chitando, Gunda and Kugler (eds) (2013:172). Not all NRMs, however, emerged from AFM. Others were home-grown Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe (ZAOGA, FOG, UFIC and Celebration Ministries) influenced by American Pentecostalism. The second critical dimension is, however, characterised by African Pentecostalism, its flavour and belief in a myriad of spirits and powers. AICs form part of this dimension with their complexity as they are also not homogeneous. The third dimension is influenced by the American televangelists

such as Jim Barker and Jimmy Swaggart who preached prosperity gospel leading to the spreading of NRMs after independence in 1980.

NRMs became one of the fastest-growing sectors of Protestant Christianity, spreading to Africa and other continents, teaching on riches and wealth as signs of God's blessings (Gifford 2004:13; Mashau and Kgatle 2019:1). Gifford (1988, 1991:13, 1998, 2004) and Sundkler and Steed (2000:812) describe the spread of global NRMs to Southern Africa and how they mushroomed in Zimbabwe soon after independence in 1982. The third critical dimension which Chitando (2013:97) highlights is the emergence of young Pentecostal prophets after 2008, a period of increased poverty, unemployment, and hyperinflation in Zimbabwe (Chitando and Biri 2016:74). The youthful Pentecostal prophets are also linked to the spirit-type prophets of Apostolic and Zionist churches as proposed by Gunda (2012). However, these are believed to have been overtaken by young prophets of the gospel of prosperity teaching. This third dimension is critical in this study because of the youthful leaders' emphasis on prosperity, miracles, wealth and abundant life. While other scholars such as Gukurume (2021:30) refer to the NRMs founded by youthful charismatic leaders as the fourth wave, I argue that this group still forms part of the third wave with the emphasis on the prosperity gospel. What makes them different from the third wave is their youthful age and emphasis on miraculous wealth and healing and the period they emerged in 2008 and beyond.

Mapuranga (2013:132), Togarasei (2011:341) and Maxwell (1998:358), focused on NRMs which originated in Zimbabwe. They paid attention to what attracted poor people to join the NRMs. They concluded that the use of bracelets, T-shirts, display of photographs of leaders on cars, distinctive messages, use of television, and the main thrust on the gospel of prosperity influenced many people to join NRMs. However, these scholars did not focus on the selected NRMs of this study, which are the PHD Ministries, GOM, and Emmaus Encounter. Chibango (2016), Mahohoma (2017) and Chitando and Biri (2016) are the leading scholars who wrote about the PHD Ministries, focusing on wealth accumulation, healing, and its expansion. These scholars concluded that the PHD Ministries uses various approaches, such as sowing a seed, anointing with oil, giving testimonies, healing and deliverance to win many followers. These scholars focused on the gospel of prosperity teaching. However, they failed to provide a detailed

history on the founding of the PHD Ministries and the other selected two NRMs, which this present study articulates.

Gifford (1988:2) argued that the gospel of prosperity teaches that God wants to provide his people with material prosperity through sowing the seed. Bishau (2015:5) in Zimbabwe also calls the gospel of prosperity 'seed faith', meaning that if one gives to God, He will give back a hundred-fold what would have been given away. This was also confirmed by Nwaomah (2012:1), Mashau and Kgatle (2019:1) and Coleman (2011:23-45), who argue that whatever a Christian desire, he or she needs to sow that first, and God will give abundantly in response and proportion to the seed sown. The gospel of prosperity in Zimbabwe encourages both the rich and poor to think positively, and to make contributions to the church or pastors to acquire material possessions from God (Togarasei 2011:341). It also teaches that true believers must not suffer but accumulate more resources. The prosperity gospel also teaches that God intends His people to be richly blessed. In other words, Christians must be unapologetic about prosperity and material benefits, which is ultimately tied to how Christians see themselves (Cornelio and Medina 2020:71). Sin, sickness, and poverty are seen as a lack of faith and attributed to the devil (Chitando and Biri 2016:72-83; Chibango 2016:67; Togarasei 2011:344). Scholars from Zimbabwe concluded that believers are called to be delivered from sin and evil spirits during church services, where prayer is the remedy to all people's problems. Togarasei (2011), Maxwell (1998), Chitando and Biri (2016) demonstrated that NRMs have responded to everyday challenges such as poverty, teaching believers that they should not suffer, and offering a quick solution to problems without studying in detail the relationship between the prosperity gospel and development which this study seeks to unpack.

10.3 Gospel of Prosperity and the Notion of Sustainable Development

The relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development needs to be understood in African philanthropy. Fowler and Mati (2019) define philanthropy as the desire to promote the welfare of others. There are three forms of giving: horizontal philanthropy, giving with an expectation of a reward, and giving motivated by altruism or without the expectation of a reward. Giving within the gospel of prosperity teaching expects receiving back in abundance. The PHD Ministries established the Yadah Connect to account for and administer philanthropic work. Within African philanthropy, the idea behind a

formalised institution such as Yadah Connect is to motivate people to give more, track the effectiveness of the gift and accountability. Considering the gospel of prosperity and philanthropy, the study argues that the first and second forms of giving influence individuals. At the same time, the third focus seems to influence the institutional projects, though NRMs seem to expect a return.

The relationship between the NRMs' gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development can be summarised as follows: There is a link between religion and development from the colonial period to date (Freeman 2012). This is evidenced in colonialism and Christianisation, where development interventions have succeeded colonisation, as emphasised by Tomalin (2011:66). Kwaku Golo and Novieto (2021:73) argue that development was part of missionary activity, especially on health and education infrastructure. Another aspect that shows a relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development is that religion can change the mindset of the people so that they become stakeholders to development as agents of social change (Olhamann et al., 2021:5). In Southern Africa, some pastors were accused of living extravagant lifestyles (Mashau and Kgatle 2019:3) and lacking commitment to social responsibility and development (Gifford 1991:9-20). Shumba (2015:153) in Zimbabwe questioned if the gospel of prosperity promotes entrepreneurship, which this study focuses on, though attention was on sustainable and transformational development. Soboyejo (2016:7) and Dada (2004: 95-105) in Nigeria see the gospel of prosperity as another example of corruption that thrives on self-enrichment, concluding that the gospel of prosperity only benefits the pastors and has failed to contribute to poverty alleviation.

10.4 Research Methodology

The originality of this study consists in collecting empirical data on the contribution of the three selected NRMs to sustainable and transformational development. This study is framed in the social constructivist paradigm and adopted a qualitative methodology, which involved specific steps and methods in studying the PHD Ministries, GOM, and Emmaus Encounter. Chitando and Biri (2016) and Mahohoma (2017) also studied the PHD Ministries. Their methodology did not involve interviewing some of the believers, while Chibango (2016) interviewed some believers, attended services, but did not carry out FGDs to validate semi-structured interviews. Dada (2004) used the same methodology of interviewing people, though his focus was on Nigeria. Shumba

(2015), who wrote about the role of Christian Churches in entrepreneurial stimulation in Zimbabwe, used secondary data such as websites, newspaper articles, and published papers without interviewing the communities of the believers, which this study has emphasised. Chibango (2016) focused on the gospel of prosperity and economic hardships without paying attention to development.

In the present study, knowledge was generated from the research participants to understand the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development. Research participants' worldview constructed reality on the projects and activities relating to sustainable and transformational development. Hence, the meaning of the phenomenon under study was understood by interpreting the research participants' meaning of their lived experiences on the gospel of prosperity and development. The research participants also helped the researcher construct the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development. In understanding and constructing the meaning of research participants' lived experiences, the research made the initial contact was with the founder of Emmaus Encounter (Reverend Makahamadze), who then helped the researcher contact GOM and elders of the PHD Ministries using the snowball sampling technique.

The study's originality lies in the use of eighteen interview participants, which included pastors or prophets, elders, gatekeepers, staff, and members. There were twenty-nine FGD participants, with the first FGD from GOM comprising eleven participants. The second FGD had seven participants from Emmaus Encounter, and the third FGD from the PHD Ministries comprising eleven participants. Togarasei (2011), Shumba (2015) and Chitando and Biri (2016) did not do empirical work. The researcher used primary documents such as textbooks and articles and secondary data, including public documents such as newspapers, and private documents such as journals, diaries, or letters, television channels, DVDs, and the official website of the PHD Ministries. Non-participant observation included attending four PHD Ministries and four GOM services and examining the projects implemented by the selected NRMs.

Four research campaigns that demonstrated how the research evolved were carried out from December 2017 to February 2020. The first and initial research campaign carried out in December 2017 pretested the interview questions before finalisation, while the second research

campaign was carried out between December 2018 and January 2019. Interviews and three FGDs were carried out. The third research campaign was carried out in September 2019. It involved second interviews and first interviews for new research participants. It also allowed the researcher to visit the project activities implemented by various believers. The last research campaign was carried out in February 2020, which involved interviewing some participants for the second and third time. This was done to check that their responses were consistent with those of their first interview. All these research campaigns were carried out in Harare, Zimbabwe. Participants were interviewed at their homes, offices, and places of worship.

10.5 Main Findings of the Study and the Contribution to the Body of Knowledge

This study adds to what Gifford (1988, 1993, 2004), Anderson (2004), Togarasei (2018), and Bishau (2015) wrote on the history and mushrooming of NRMs in Zimbabwe from the Pentecostal or Protestant churches. Chitando and Biri (2016) and Mahohoma (2017) emphasised winning many followers. This study provides empirical information from the interviewed selected believers on the foundation of their ministries, the gospel of prosperity, and sustainable and transformational development. The main findings and the contribution to the body of knowledge involve the founding of the three selected NRMs, the notion of confirmation, the NRMs' doctrinal shift and theoretical insights.

10.5.1 Founding narratives of the selected NRMs

The sources suggest that the NRMs were founded by individuals who were inspired or influenced by another person. The PHD Ministries was founded by Walter Magaya, who influenced Pastor Tinashe to found GOM and Reverend Makahamadze to start Emmaus Encounter. The study shows that three accounts of the founding of the PHD Ministries exist. The first account states that the PHD Ministries was founded in 2012 after Walter Magaya visited Nigeria, where he was inspired by his spiritual father, Temitope Balogun Joshua. Walter Magaya confirmed this (www.phdministries.org/ accessed 20/12/2018) and Makahamadze (Interview, 19/09/2018). The second account on the founding of the PHD Ministries indicates that Prophet Walter Magaya belonged to the Catholic Church and the Blood of the Lamb Christian Community (BLCC) led by Fr. Michael Lawrence Hood, a former Catholic priest. Interpretation on the second account showed that there were two different views. Walter Magaya suggested that the PHD Ministries' founding was a smooth transition from the BLCC. However, Fr. Michael Lawrence Hood

expressed that Walter Magaya had to leave the group after being accused of unorthodox healing and deliverance of people within the BLCC (Hood, Interview, 19/02/2020). He then left with 45 people and started having prayers at his house in Chitungwiza, leading to the birth of PHD Ministries.

The third account pointed to the prophecy given by Prophet Uebert Angel, the founder of the Spirit Embassy, that Walter Magaya was ordained to found a ministry (Chitando and Biri 2016:77). This account was neither confirmed by the research participants nor Walter Magaya himself, whose silence on this matter suggests that the third account could not have been accurate. Walter Magaya kept quiet about this episode suggesting that he did not want to be associated with prophets who were not as conspicuous and famous as T.B. Joshua, whom he mentioned. The PHD Ministries became one of the fastest-growing NRMs in Zimbabwe within a short period. From 2012 to 2014, membership had drastically increased from 45 members to over one million followers.

The study results revealed that spiritual connections and networks created by Walter Magaya and his followers could have influenced Pastor Tinashe of Grace Oasis Ministry to join the PHD Ministries and later influenced him to start his ministries. The research shows that Pastor Tinashe founded Grace Oasis Ministries (GOM) on Saturday, 14 April 2015. He grew up in the Catholic Church, attending church services at Saint Alphonsus parish in Tafara in the Archdiocese of Harare. During one of the PHD Ministries' services in April 2015, Pastor Tinashe stressed that Prophet Walter Magaya located him from where he was seated and prophesied about his ministries (Manenji, Interview, 20/09/2018). The growth and expansion of GOM began in April 2015. In 2018, GOM had more than 500 congregants who comprised at least 300 attending the Sunday morning first service in Mabvuku and at least 200 who attended the Sunday afternoon second service in Epworth. GOM is regarded as a small ministry compared to the PHD Ministries, which has over a million followers.

The study found out that Reverend Makahamadze played a role in both Prophet Walter Magaya's and Pastor Tinashe's ministries. His expertise led him to a change of focus in the founding of the Emmaus Encounter. Reverend Makahamadze grew up and worked in Mabvuku as a Catholic priest. While he was a priest, he administered Prophet Walter Magaya's wedding at Saint Fidelis

Mabvuku parish in the Archdiocese of Harare. He was also once the parish priest of Pastor Tinashe at St Alphonsus parish in Tafara. The study shows that Reverend Makahamadze helped both Prophet Walter Magaya and Pastor Tinashe in their ministries after leaving the priesthood. He then decided to start Emmaus Encounter in December 2015, taking a change in focus from the gospel of prosperity. Emmaus Encounter challenges Zimbabwe's political and economic crises, which many NRMs ignored, reducing everything to faith (Makahamadze, Interview, 19/09/2018). The study also shows that the selected NRMs are different. The PHD Ministries is a significant ministry with over one million followers, while GOM is a small ministry with less than a thousand followers. The Emmaus Encounter is yet to take off, with less than 100 followers who engage through social media platforms such as WhatsApp.

10.5.2 Notion of Confirmation within the selected NRMs

The notion of confirmation within the selected NRMs suggests significance of Catholic Church origins. Prophet Walter Magaya, Pastor Tinashe and Reverend Makahamadze grew up as members of the Catholic Church. The word 'confirmation' within the Catholic Church refers to a sacrament administered to baptized Christians when they are being admitted as full members of the church. Confirmation is regarded as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, giving Christians the ability to live and practice their faith. It gives Christians the ability to live and practice their faith in a particular way, which led to the foundation of their ministries. Within the NRMs, there has been similar confirmation of pastors from another pastor who seems to be more powerful and famous. The following has been noted: firstly, the founding of the PHD ministries through the influence and advice of TB Joshua brought aspects of confirmation. Such confirmation was used as proof to demonstrate that one is called by God to be a pastor or prophet. Within the selected NRMs, various scholars have pointed out that Prophet Walter Magaya's calling to establish a ministry was confirmed by T.B. Joshua. He was regarded as one of the powerful and popular prophets (Chibango 2016; Mahohoma 2017; Chitando and Biri 2016). The sacrament of confirmation administered by a bishop or priest giving Catholics the mandate to go out and preach the word of God seem to have an influence on the selected NRMs. This meant the need to have someone higher than the individual to impart and confirms the mandate that one is chosen to practice their faith as a pastor or prophet. It was observed that the PHD Ministries founder who was Catholic, could have shared the same understanding of what confirmation means and the need to be confirmed by someone of higher authority such as a bishop or T.B Joshua.

The same points on GOM, and it reiterates that confirmation within the PHD Ministries and GOM is expected from a famous and influential prophet such as T.B. Joshua and Walter Magaya, respectively. Within GOM, Pastor Tinashe argued that his calling was authenticated or confirmed by Prophet Walter Magaya. Pastor Tinashe's call to founding a ministry also brings another aspect of confirmation from his followers, who informed him that they no longer had anywhere to go and worship besides being members of GOM. Confirmation and authentication of the call of the NRMs' pastors and or prophets were either through a powerful and popular figure or followers who had the quest for belonging, which Daneel (1987) emphasised in his writing about African Independent Churches in Southern Africa.

Another point is that the study noted that Reverend Abel guided Pastor Tinashe in founding his ministries. The guidance and assurance provided demonstrated another aspect of confirmation which showed that Pastor Tinashe was called to start a ministry. The Catholic church teaches that once a priest, one remains a priest. Priests and bishops within the Catholic church have the mandate to administer the sacrament of confirmation. Reverend Abel being the former parish priest of Pastor Tinashe, would have administered various sacraments to him. His confirmation through guidance and assurance would have also inspired Pastor Tinashe. Hence confirmation within the PHD ministries and GOM showed some Catholic resemblance which could not be ignored though a doctrinal shift was noted.

10.5.3 NRMs' doctrinal shift

This study suggests that there has not been research on the NRMs that emerged from the Catholic Church and their contribution to sustainable and transformational development. This point is not mentioned in the work of Gifford (1988, 2004) and Kalu (2008). It indicates a shift in the sense of belonging and doctrine. The Catholic Church tends to focus and believe in the church as an institution. There seems to be less movement of believers from the Catholic Church to other churches because of its emphasis on the sense of belonging. Protestants and Pentecostals tend to emphasise less the church as an institution. Many people move from one denomination to another, while others are joining NRMs. What makes the selected NRMs remarkable is the shift of Catholics to NRMs. What also makes people shift to the NRMs in Africa is the pneumatic manifestation within the Pentecostal movement which comes as a solution to the problem of

traditional worship that no longer meets the needs of the African people. Asamoah-Gyadu (2015:18) argues that many people in Ghana have left the traditional churches seeking pneumatic experience on worship witnessing the living and transforming God. This pneumatic experience occupies a key place in Pentecostal theology, where the Holy Spirit overrides all other spirits shattering covenants with demonic and oppressive spirits and free converts (Chitando 2007:116).

The selected NRMs demonstrate a doctrinal shift from what Jesus taught and the life he lived, which was expressed in his suffering and death on a cross, to the gospel of prosperity. The Catholic Church teaches that Christians are called to live the kind of life which Jesus lived. In contrast, the gospel of prosperity emphasizes that true believers must not suffer and accumulate more resources from a miraculous God who provides everything in faith. The doctrinal shift is also witnessed within the selected NRMs. Of interest has been the dimension that focuses much on prosperity, miracles, wealth and abundant life. NRMs tend to encourage believers to exercise their faith as a means through which they can unlock their wealth and health. Therefore, salvation is emphasised as acts of deliverance, healing, transformation, and empowerment against the backdrop of Africa's difficult socio-economic and underdevelopment (Asamoah-Gyadu 2005). Coleman (2011:23-45) argued that health and wealth contribute to the believer's salvation, while the gospels teach that salvation is attained through living the life Jesus lived.

Chimuka (2013:114) argues that the NRMs are renowned for reverberated teachings on prosperity, prophecy on personal lives and miraculous deeds. Prophets claim to perform 'extraordinary' miracles which contradict nature. Zimbabwe has witnessed a range of 'miracle money' where money was believed to fill pockets, wallets and hands of believers and gold nuggets. Some prophets also claim to heal cancer, HIV, AIDS, and raise the dead, performing miracles such as instant weight loss, full teeth growth after falling out, miracle babies, and refueling the cars without going to the service station. They also claimed the power to make accurate predictions of events that will happen in the near or distant future, as noted by Chimuka (2013:114). Hence, a doctrinal shift is witnessed in understanding the purpose and the intention of Christianity and gospels.

Jones (1998) argued that the gospel of prosperity teaching is theologically bankrupt, heretical, the impetus for delusion and wicked. Muehlenburg (2009); Mackay (2009) and McKnight (2010)

argue that the gospel of prosperity is anti-Christ, makes God a vending machine in which believers put faith and out comes blessings in the form of material resources. Hence such teaching seems to have adverse effects which outweigh the positive effects. The study revealed that there are activities, projects, theological and philosophical aspects which relate to sustainable and transformational development though they are contested because most poor members have not improved their lives and there are some who have benefited from being within NRMs. NRMs, have however, failed to promote sustainable and transformational development. More so, this leads to a complex relationship that exists between gospel of prosperity and development.

10.5.3 NRMs' Contribution to Theoretical Insights

A contribution to the theoretical insights within the first objective was noted. Characteristic features such as hymns, prayer, healing and deliverance, announcements and testimonies, the seating arrangement, and the economic aspects within the selected NRMs demonstrated that the NRMs give individuals access to valuable networks for employment, social cohesion, and information sharing. The observations at the PHD Ministries and GOM demonstrated that various characteristic features allowed social capital to form identified four activities. These four activities included religious events such as Sunday services, prayer fellowships, evening services, and deliverance sessions, internal groups such as men's, women's, and youth fellowships, places of worship. Members were able to associate before or after services and build networks and trust, and the projects implemented by the members of the selected NRMs. These activities allowed social capital to grow and created access to valuable networks.

The gospel of prosperity emerged as the main teaching with various themes such as empowerment and entrepreneurship, accumulation of resources and sowing the seed. These themes helped articulate the arguments that some pastors or prophets, particularly the PHD Ministries, GOM and Emmaus Encounter, encouraged believers to empower themselves and become entrepreneurs. Through the gospel of prosperity teaching, some believers implemented individual projects such as buying and selling perishables and non-perishables, clothes, chicken and goat rearing, selling bottled water or airtime, and forex trading. This confirmed the views of scholars such as Freston (1999:151), Togarasei (2011:336), Obadare (2016:1), Shumba (2015:154), Freeman (2015:10), and Meyer (2004:450), who argued that the NRMs encourage

believers to empower themselves and become entrepreneurs who contribute to poverty alleviation and development in Africa. The selected NRMs' individual projects helped some believers meet their basic needs, create economic change, and address poverty and unemployment. Hence, the selected NRMs gave individuals access to valuable employment networks, social cohesion, and information sharing.

While the selected NRMs encouraged positive responses to research objective two, some of the theological and philosophical aspects led to a negative response and failed to offer practical solutions to the believers who struggled with corruption, mismanagement of resources, extreme poverty, and unemployment. The PHD Ministries and GOM attributed some challenges to the spirit of poverty, evil spirits, and demons. This was confirmed by Maxwell (2006:96), who saw deliverance in the context of being delivered from the spirit of poverty. At the same time, Mashau and Kgatle (2019:3), Gifford (2004:173), Chitando and Biri (2016:80), and Chibango (2016:63) noted that believers needed to cut ties and be delivered from pervasive and dominant powers. The study noted that the selected NRMs in particular, the PHD Ministries pastor allegedly misguided some followers and failed to offer practical solutions that would benefit the believers.

The study noted that the selected NRMs implemented seven institutional projects, including housing, farming, mining, a popular restaurant, beekeeping, football, and humanitarian assistance. Such projects relate to sustainable and transformational development though some projects created economic capital for the PHD Ministries pastor or prophet and access to economic resources. The PHD Ministries pastor encouraged believers to invest in institutional projects like housing and farming, which he initiated. These projects created economic capital for the pastor. Some believers remained poor after having contributed to the pastor's business ideas. GOM, however, implemented popular restaurants and humanitarian assistance, which did not create access to resources for the pastor. Many believers within GOM benefited from the institutional projects while the PHD Ministries allegedly defrauded and deceived believers.

The study noted that the selected NRMs' failure to offer practical solutions worsened by some of the institutional projects implemented by the PHD ministries, benefited the pastor at the expense of the believers. The economic access to resources created for the pastors caused a negative influence on sustainable and transformational development. Everything that is

communicated and implemented benefits one person, who is the pastor. Such a negative influence cripples the activities or projects related to the development and compromise the contribution to sustainable and transformational development. The study found that social capital was built and compromised within the prosperity gospel teaching. The PHD Ministries pastor's alleged deception created negative social capital. Trust created harmful consequences where believers drowned in poverty and unemployment, while some pastors lived an extravagant lifestyle. The PHD Ministries pastor, who empowered the believers, also enriched himself at the expense of some followers or believers amidst extreme poverty.

The community of believers did not initiate the institutional projects. Such initiatives failed to promote sustainable and transformational development, thereby compromising the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and development. Hence this study shows that there is a contrast between theory and practice. The interpretation of the central teaching of the gospel of prosperity and the NRMs' activities in theory and their strict and uncompromised state seem to have a relationship with sustainable and transformational development. In practice, the institutional projects implemented by the PHD Ministries, and the economic capital created by the pastor compromised and destroyed the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development. As noted, before, GOM was different from the PHD Ministries in its implementation of the institutional projects. However, if it were as big as the PHD Ministries, greed and power could influence it the same way as other NRMs in Zimbabwe have been marked by the accumulation of resources for the pastor at the expense of the believers.

In conclusion, this study acknowledges that the selected NRMs, in theory, contribute to meeting basic needs and development. However, the implementation of both individual and institutional projects, and access to valuable networks and the economic capital created, only benefited some pastors and a few wealthy individuals, thereby failing to promote sustainable and transformational development. Even if the teachings of the gospel of prosperity resonated with the concept of sustainable and transformational development, the selected NRMs failed to establish relationships that could contribute or promote sustainable and transformational development.

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Appendix 1 Government and parastatals appointments of retired and serving military and other security personnel

Name	Institution	Position
1. Lieutenant-General Mike Nyambuya	Ministry of Energy and Power Development.	Minister
2. Brigadier Ambrose Mutinhiri	Ministry of Youth Development and Employment Creation.	Minister
3. Saviour Kasukuwere (ex- CIO)	Ministry of Youth Development and Employment Creation.	Deputy Minister
4. Lt Colonel Hubert Nyanhongo	Transport and Communication	Deputy Minister
5. Colonel Christian Katsande	Ministry of Industry and International Trade	Permanent Secretary
6. Justin Mupamhanga (Ex CIO)	Energy and Power Development	Permanent Secretary
7. Colonel Joseph Mhakayakora	Ministry of Construction	Director
8. Major Anywhere Mutambudzi	Department of Information	Under secretary
9. Brigadier General Elisha Muzonzini	Foreign Affairs	Ambassador, Kenya
10. Major General Edzai Chimonyo	Foreign Affairs	Ambassador, Tanzania
11. Brigadier Borniface Chidyausiku	Foreign Affairs	Ambassador, Zimbabwe Permanent Mission to UN in New York
12. Major Jevan Maseko	Foreign Affairs	Ambassador, Cuba
13. Major General Paradzai Zimondi	Prisons	Commissioner
14. Brigadier General Happyton Bonyongwe	Central Intelligence Organization	Director
15. Brigadier Gilbert Mashingaidze	Sports and Recreation Commission	Chairman
16. Air Commodore Mike Karakadzai	National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ)	General Manager
17. Brigadier Douglas Nyikayaramba (Commander 2 Brigade	National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ)	Board Chairman
18. Colonel Samuel Muvuti	Grain Marketing Board	Chief Executive Officer
19. Major General Engelbert Rugeje	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings.	Board Member
20. Brigadier General Sibusiso Moyo	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings.	Board Member
21. Colonel George Chiweshe	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission	Head
22. Major Utuile Silaigwana	Zimbabwe Electoral Commission	Spokesperson
23. Sobusa Gula-Ndebele (former director of military intelligence)	Attorney General	Attorney General
24. Colonel Karikoga Kaseke	Zimbabwe Tourism Authority	Chief Executive

25. Brigadier General Epmarcus Kananga	Parks and Wild Life.	Deputy Director General
26. Major Clive Manjengwa	Comptroller and Auditor General.	Officer
27. Col. Godfrey Nhemachena	Commercial Bank of Zimbabwe	General Manager
28. Colonel Ronnie Mutizhe	Operation Maguta/Sisuthi	Head
29. Lieutenant Colonel Arnold Hakata	Garikai/ Hlalani Kulhe	Head
30. Lieutenant Colonel Reuben Ngwayi	Postal and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe	Board Member
31. Wing Commander M Dengura	Postal and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe	Board Member
32. Colonel Livingstone Chineka	Postal and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe	Board member
33. Brigadier Charles Wekwete	TelOne	Board Member
34. Wing Commander Kapondoro	TelOne	Board Member
35. General Vitalis Zvinavashe	Parliament of Zimbabwe	MP, Gutu (until March 2008)
36. Colonel Makova	Parliament of Zimbabwe	MP, Bikita East (until March 2008)
37. Tracy Mutinhiri	Parliament of Zimbabwe	Senator, Marondera Seke
38. Mendy Chimene (CIO)	Parliament of Zimbabwe	Senator, Mutasa- Mutare (until March 2008)
39. Lieutenant Colonel	Parliament of Zimbabwe	MP, Chiredzi South
40. Vivian Mwashita (CIO)	Parliament of Zimbabwe	Senator, Mbare- Hatfield (until March 2008)
41. Colonel Livingstone Chineka	Parliament of Zimbabwe	Member of Parliament, Zaka East (until March 2008)

Appendix 2 New Appointments as from 12 December 2017 under President Emmerson Mnangagwa

Name	Position held before	Institution	New Position
Constantino Chiwenga	Army Commander	President's office	Vice President
Perence Shiri	Airforce Commander	Ministry of Land and Agriculture	Minister
Sibusiso Moyo	Army General	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Minister
Anselem Sanyatwe	Major General	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Diplomatic post
Douglas Nyikayaramba	Major General	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Diplomatic Post
Shebba Shumbayawonda	Air Vice Marshal	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Diplomatic Post
Martin Chedondo	Major General	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Diplomatic

Appendix 3 List of Interview Participants

Interviewee	Number of Participants	Gender	Names
Ministers	4	Male	Reverend Makahamadze, Pastor Tinashe, Lazarus Kudiwa, Michael Lawrence Hood
Church Elders	4	Male	Kwenje, Tirivanhu, Chiwaura, Kuipa
Gatekeepers	3	Male	Mutorwa, Goteka, Michael Lawrence Hood
Staff	3	1 Female and 2 Male	Garikai, Mutsata, Kavallo
Ministries' Members	4	3 Male and 1 Female	Chabata, Madzudzo, Jim, Kunaka, Mpasa

Appendix 4 Non-Participant Observation details

Research Instrument	Date	Name of the Ministry	Venue
Observation 1	17/12/17	GOM	Mabvuku, Harare
Observation 2	20/12/17	PHD Ministries	Waterfalls, Harare
Observation 3	24/12/17	GOM	Mabvuku, Harare
Observation 4	31/12/17	PHD Ministries	Waterfalls, Harare
Observation 5	16/12/18	PHD Ministries	Waterfalls, Harare
Observation 6	19/12/18	PHD Ministries	Waterfalls, Harare
Observation 7	23/12/18	GOM	Mabvuku, Harare
Observation 8	30/12/18	GOM	Mabvuku, Harare

Appendix 5 Interview Schedule for 3 Gatekeepers, 2 Ministers, 3 Church Elders

The interview session will take approximately 30-45 minutes. The interview will be held in a mutually agreed and friendly environment to enable the interviewee to feel at ease. The schedule will consist of 8 broad questions which will guide the interviewer through the interview process. NB-(dynamics (structures), development initiatives, relationship between gospel of prosperity and development)

1. What are the general issues which you think led to crisis in Zimbabwe from independence to date?
2. Looking at the crisis in Zimbabwe, what are the challenges you think have influenced the gospel of prosperity? What is it that has made the gospel of prosperity popular?
3. What is your understanding of the teaching of the gospel of prosperity, being an entrepreneur and issues around accumulation of resources?
4. What are the dynamics around your church governance, registration and its structure?
5. What is your understanding of the concept of sustainable and transformative development?
6. What are the developmental initiatives which your church is involved in? Do these initiatives contribute sustainable and transformative development?
7. Does the gospel of prosperity promote or hinder development?
8. Do you think there is a relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformative development? If yes can you explain the relationship that you notice?

Appendix 6 Interview Schedule for 4 Church Members and 3 Staff

The interview session will take approximately 30- 45 minutes. The interview will be held in a mutually agreed and friendly environment to enable the interviewee to feel at ease. The schedule will consist of 8 broad questions which will guide the interviewer through the interview process. NB-(dynamics (structures), development initiatives, relationship between gospel of prosperity and development)

1. What are the general issues which you think led to the crisis in Zimbabwe from independence to date?
2. Looking at the crisis in Zimbabwe, what are the challenges you think have influenced the gospel of prosperity? What is it that has made the gospel of prosperity popular?
3. What is your understanding of the teaching of the gospel of prosperity, being an entrepreneur and issues around accumulation of resources?
4. What are the dynamics around your church governance, registration and its structure?
5. What is your understanding of the concept of sustainable and transformative development?
6. What are the developmental initiatives which your church is involved in? Do these initiatives contribute to sustainable and transformative development?
7. Does the gospel of prosperity promote or hinder development?
8. Do you think there is a relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformative development? If yes can you explain the relationship that you notice?

Appendix 7 Structured Observation Schedule

who	What to observe	Why observing	Where
Pastor Preaching	Nature of preaching and how it relates to gospel of prosperity	To obtain an understanding on the gospel of prosperity	Emmaus Encounter Evangelical Church & Grace Oasis
Believer's Testimony	Nature of testimonies and how they relate to the gospel of prosperity	To understand lived experiences and the connection between pastor's preaching and believer's testimony	Emmaus Encounter Evangelical Church & Grace Oasis
Bookshops	Authors of the books and the summary of the books and how they link to the gospel of prosperity	To understand the teaching on the gospel of prosperity	Emmaus Encounter Evangelical Church & Grace Oasis
Projects sites	Project activities being implemented and their connection to development	To understand the gospel of prosperity and development	Emmaus Encounter Evangelical Church & Grace Oasis

Appendix 8 FGDs Schedule (Entrepreneurs and Staff)

NB (challenges - poverty and unemployment and influence on the teaching on gospel of prosperity, understanding of sustainable and transformative development, development initiatives, relationship between gospel of prosperity and development).

1. What are the issues that led to evolution of the crisis in Zimbabwe from independence to date?
2. What are the challenges which you feel affected you? Did these issues influence you to join your new church?
3. How has the gospel of prosperity influenced you?
4. What are the developmental initiatives of your church towards?
5. What do you understand by sustainable and transformative development?
6. Do you think the gospel of prosperity promotes or hinders development?
7. What is the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformative development?

Appendix 9 Research Champaign Baseline questions

1. Has there been a change in your life between the time you have joined your ministries, the beginning of the project you are implementing and from the time of our first interviews to date?
2. Has there been profit (return on investment), is it direct (hand-outs, jobs, contracts...) or indirect (moral support, recommendations, networking).
3. If there has been a profit, is it sustainable? How does the future look like?
4. If there has been a profit, how does it compare to the profit that the pastor makes?

Appendix 10 Research Campaign Three Projects Visited

Individual Project	Ministry	Name	Place	Date
Selling Airtime	GOM	Kudzamaoko	CBD	18/09/19
Tuck-shop	GOM	Ranganai	Epworth	16/09/19
Goat Rearing	PHD	Kunaka	Mutoko	Not visited
Chicken rearing	PHD	Kunaka, Jiri,	Norton,	19/02/2020
	GOM	Shoko	Chitungwiza,	19/09/17
		Kondwani	Eastview, Glen Norah	17/09/19
Buying and selling- clothes	PHD	Makova	Harare CBD	19/09/12
Poultry	PHD	chabata		Not visited
Fast food outlet/canteen	GOM	Ranganai Mpasa	Epworth Epworth	16/07/19
Vegetable and non perishables	GOM	Shoko Kondwani	Eastview Glen Norah	17/09/19 17/09/19
Forex trading	GOM	Billie Kudzamaoko	Harare CBD roadport	18/09/19
Consultancy	PHD	Goteka	Greendale	Interview time
Selling bottled water	PHD	Ranzvenga	Harare CBD	20/09/19
Floor polish project	EE	Rev Makahamadze	Harare CBD	20/09/19

Appendix 11 Research Campaign Summary

	Research Campaign One 2017	Research Campaign Two 2018	Research Campaign Three 2019	Research Campaign Four 2020
Interviews	21-28 Dec	16-20 Oct 21 Dec- 4 Jan 2019	16-20 Sept	13-19 Feb
Totals Interview days	8 days	20 days	5 days	7 days
FGDs		23 Dec-GOM 03 Jan 2019- EE 04 Jan 2019- PHD		
Total FGDs days		3 days		
Observations	1 st Set for GOM & PHD (17-31 Dec)	2 nd Set for GOM & PHD (16-30 Dec)		
Total Observations Day	4 days	4 days		
Sermons	2 days for GOM plus 5 PHD Ministries online Yadah TV	2 days plus 5 PHD Ministries online Yadah TV		

Appendix 12 Relationship among research questions, data collecting methods and analysis.

Research questions	Sources and data collection methods	Data analysis
What is the informant's perception of issues that led to beginning of crisis in Zimbabwe from independence to date (2017)?	Interviews, focus groups, document analysis, sermons and observations	Inductive thematic analysis
How did the NRMs respond to poverty, unemployment and crises in Zimbabwe?	Interviews, the focus group with community of believers, and document analysis	Inductive thematic analysis
What is the informant's perception of current understanding of sustainable and transformational development?	Interviews, focus group with community of believers, and document analysis	Inductive thematic analysis
What is the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development?	My own reflections and analysis on the data, in the light of relevant literature, my theoretical framework and critical and constructivist paradigm on the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformational development.	Deductive analysis

Appendix 13 Pictures



Grace Oasis Ministries believers worshipping in Mabvuku, Harare



Prophet Walter Magaya preaching at his PHD Ministries in Waterfalls, Harare



Pictures of Yadah Hotel in Waterfalls and entrance to the PHD Ministries



Distribution of blankets and food at PHD Ministries



One of the sample of 236 cluster houses to be built by Walter Magaya at the Yadah villa in Waterfalls, Harare.



Pictures of Prophet Walter Magaya in Mazoe inspecting cabbages field.



Picture of Prophet Walter Magaya with small scale gold miners in West Nicholson in Gwanda



Picture of Prophet Walter Magaya standing next to the Planet Africa signpost and beehive inspection



Yadah football club players warming up for a PSL game at the national sports stadium and Prophet Walter Magaya playing soccer

Appendix 14 Informed Consent form

55 Alan Paton Avenue, Durban Road
Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg
South Africa, 3201

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Francis Marimbe from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, PhD candidate in Development Studies.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research on the gospel of prosperity and development. The researcher seeks to understand the relationship between the Third Wave Religious Right Movement's (TWRRM) gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformative development. The aim and purpose of this research is to understand the contribution of the gospel of prosperity to sustainable and transformative development. It is expected that the research will enroll 15 personal interviews and 3 focus group discussions (FGD), each comprising of 12 participants, amounting to 36 individuals. All the interviews will be carried out with various communities in Harare where participants reside. The study will involve personal interviews and focus group discussions where some of the respondents in one-on-one personal interview will be part of the FGD. The duration of your participation, if you choose to enroll and remain in the study, is expected to be 30-45 minutes on personal interviews and 45 minutes to an hour within FGDs. This study is influenced by my academic zeal for understanding the TWRRM's gospel of prosperity and development.

The study does not involve any risks or discomforts. I hope that the study will create a good understanding around the teaching on the gospel of prosperity and its contribution to development with its emphasis on entrepreneurship development.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number HSS/0514/017D).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at marimbef@yahoo.com or +263 772 541 558 or +27 739 970 748 or my supervisor at mottiar@ukzn.ac.za or +27 (0)31 260 2940 or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Please note that participation in this research is voluntary and participants may withdraw participation at any point. In the event of refusal/withdrawal of participation, the participants will not incur penalty. There shall be no any costs incurred by participants as a result of participation in the study. The researcher will visit participants in their communities through snowball sampling so as to avoid participants incurring any financial costs for participating in the study.

In order to protect confidentiality of participants, no real names will be used in the study. All the information that will be collected through audio recording will be stored in a password protected computer. Audio recording will be deleted when disposing of the information. I agree that in the case of any future eventualities concerning my research project, I will take responsibility to answer any questions raised to the best of my ability. I therefore pledge to abide by the approved procedure.

Name of Interviewer Francis Marimbe

Signature

CONSENT

I have been informed about the study entitled “Gospel of Prosperity and Development. Dynamics on the Rise of ‘Third Wave’ Religious Right Movements and Responsibility in Zimbabwe”, by Francis Marimbe. I understand the purpose and procedures of the study which involves exploring the relationship between the gospel of prosperity and sustainable and transformative development.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction. I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at marimbef@yahoo.com or +263 772 541 558 or +27 739 970 748 or the researcher’s supervisor at mottiar@ukzn.ac.za or +27 (0)31 260 2940.

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

I consent that I have read and agree to the purpose and procedure of the research and I understand my rights as a participant that my participation is purely voluntary. I hereby consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded.

Signature of Participant Date