18 Investing in the future generation

New Pentecostal Charismatic Churches in Harare, Zimbabwe

Simbarashe Gukurume

Introduction

God sent me to deal with poverty. I was called to deliver his people from poverty and suffering. Gone are the days when ‘men of God’ used to tell people that blessed are the poor. God does not want his children to be impoverished – he wants them to prosper and be wealthy. That is what we teach and do here. In our youth ministry – we target young people. We want to empower them and change their mindset. We teach them business, entrepreneurship – to be self-reliant and we send them to school – to university. We want them to have a bright future. So we are investing in the future generation – that is sustainable development.

(Pastor Innocent 5 October 2016)

The quotation with which I open this chapter is from Pastor Innocent¹ – a youthful and charismatic leader of a popular Pentecostal Charismatic Church (PCC) in Zimbabwe. Pastor Innocent’s quote encapsulates the ways through which new PCCs engage practically and discursively with sustainable development. Indeed, the quote highlights the ways through which the church – more specifically a new PCC becomes a space where development is reimagined in very specific spiritual ways. For Pastor Innocent, and indeed many pastors and prophets of new PCCs in Zimbabwe, development is not just the prerogative of the state. Instead, the church has a very important role to play in the development of its congregants and the nation at large. At Pastor Innocent’s church, young people are urged to engage in business – to participate in politics and become ‘responsible’ leaders in the here and now and in the future. For those already in, the pastor encourages them to shift to a higher level.

You should not be in a comfort zone – think big and expand your territory and God will bless the works of your hands. If you have a *kiosk*, do not think that God wants you to remain there, if you have one shop – start preparing for the second one and counting because God wants you to be prosperous,

shouted Pastor Innocent during a church service. During the church services, the pastor consistently emphasised the importance of entrepreneurship and civic engagement for personal and community development.

This chapter is divided into five sections. In what follows, I discuss the methodology that informed this study. This is followed by a discussion of the Pentecostal revolution in Zimbabwe and Africa more broadly. In this section I show how new PCCs moved from the periphery to the centre of the religious terrain and how this recent shift has shaped the country's religious and development landscape. In the next section I discuss and engage with broader scholarly debates on the nexus between Pentecostalism and sustainable development. From there I discuss the Pentecostal discourse of prosperity gospel and how this mediates development. New PCCs' emphasis on prosperity gospel is one of the key contributions that new PCCs are making to individual and community socioeconomic development. In the section that follows, I zero down on the specific activities that new PCCs engage in which directly and positively reconfigure the socioeconomic subjectivities of their members. I particularly discuss the entrepreneurship workshops and trainings offered to young people and how these reorient young people's aspirations and perspectives on and about the future. The last section discusses the role of new PCCs in the educational attainment of young people. It looks at the financial assistance offered to poor and less-privileged students by new PCCs and how this is viewed as an investment in the future generation. For new PCCs all these activities are viewed as the panacea to the sustainable development conundrum confronting post-colonial Zimbabwe. After this section I then conclude, and argue that by investing in young people – the future generation, new PCCs are significantly contributing to sustainable development. However, I caution that in spite of all these activities, some new PCCs' teachings, rituals and belief system can hinder the attainment of sustainable development.

Doing ethnography in Zimbabwean PCCs: methodology

This study is embedded in an interpretive qualitative methodological orientation. In the collection of primary data, I triangulated participant observation, semi-structured interviews and key informant interviews as well as informal conversations with congregants. My fieldwork was led by two research questions: how and in what ways do new PCCs reconfigure young people's futures? And how do new PCCs in Harare promote and contribute to sustainable development? To augment the data gained in the field, I also made use of secondary data collected from a number of different sources such as newspaper articles, church publications and reports as well as sermons. Semi-structured interviews were conducted during a longitudinal ethnographic fieldwork that started from January 2015 to date. For this chapter, I used information drawn from 30 participants who were purposefully selected and interviewed. Participants were selected based on their in-depth knowledge about the subjects. Thus, all participants were information-rich cases who were directly involved. Participant observation was in the form of regular attendance of church services and meetings in and around Harare. Attending church services and related meetings enabled me to observe and interact with participants in their regular settings.

This also enabled me to forge trusting relationships and build rapport with my interlocutors in PCCs. I attended more than 40 church services and more than 10 business workshops and conferences in Harare. The data used for this chapter is drawn from three new PCCs based in Harare. The majority of my interviews were conducted in English, though some of my participants mixed English and Shona. I personally translated all the Shona statements and quotes into English.

The Pentecostal revolution in Africa

Over the past 20 years, there has been a remarkable explosion of Pentecostalism in Africa and in Zimbabwe more particularly. Many scholars have noted that Pentecostalism is the fastest growing religious movement in the world (Anderson 2004, 1; Burgess and van der Maas 2002; Chitando and Biri 2016; Haynes 2015; Hollenweger 1997; Martin 1990; Van Wyk 2014). For instance, mission specialists like David Barrett noted that the Pentecostal movement is growing rapidly with almost 52,000 converting per day and 19 million converting each year worldwide, with the majority in Africa and Latin America (Gukurume 2018b). At that rate of growth, estimates reveal that by 2025, there could be about one billion Pentecostals globally (Barrett 2001; McClung 2006, 35). Indeed, according to the World Christian Database the majority of the world's Christians are Pentecostals. Similarly, scholars like Martin (2002) viewed Pentecostalism as the biggest shift in the global religious landscape. Nowhere is this spread and growth more rapid than in Africa where the majority of Pentecostal Christians now reside (Gifford 2004; Gukurume 2018b).

For some scholars, Pentecostalism is a global religious movement (Cox 1995; Robbins 2004; Ukah 2003). Indeed, scholars like Cox (1995, 102) note that Pentecostalism is a highly mobile religious movement. In their own self-making, new PCCs in Zimbabwe imagine themselves as transnational and international. Similarly, some scholars note that the transnational spread and appeal of Pentecostalism represent a marked feature of cultural globalisation (Gifford 2004; Jorgensen 2005; Robbins 2004). Similarly, new Pentecostal Churches in Zimbabwe have been framed as a 'fourth wave' form of Pentecostalism (Gukurume 2018b).

New PCCs that have radically altered the religious terrain in Africa attract thousands of congregants at their services – often packing giant sports stadiums (Gukurume 2018b; Van Wyk 2014). Scholars argue that Pentecostalism is attracting many people in Africa because its teachings resonate strongly with African ontologies, sensibilities and realities (Gukurume 2018b; Meyer 1998). Indeed, a marked feature of these new PCCs is their twin theology of prosperity gospel and spiritual warfare against the devil and his demons (Anderson 2004; Biri 2012; Coleman 2002; Gifford 2004; Hunt 2002; van Wyk 2014). In fact, the defining features of new Pentecostal Churches are prosperity gospel and spiritual warfare against the demon of poverty. These twin discourses are a common feature of the global Pentecostal movement (Coleman 2002; Robbins 2004; van Wyk 2014). Apart from a heavy emphasis on prosperity gospel, they also engage in ascetic forms of worship, possession of the gifts of the Holy Spirit such as

glossolalia (speaking in tongues), prophecy, exorcism (deliverance) and miraculous spiritual healing of chronic diseases like HIV and cancers. Interestingly, some of the new PCCs have also prioritised social ministry and political action (Ganiel 2009; Miller 2009; Miller and Yamamori 2007). These scholars argue that new forms of Pentecostalism have placed social engagement at the centre of their activities. Their social engagement activities are normally in the areas of education, healthcare and economic development. These new PCCs that promote civic engagement and socioeconomic development have been framed as 'Progressive Pentecostals' (Burgess 2009; Ganiel 2009; Miller and Yamamori 2007). Most of these progressive PCCs have established development departments that deal specifically with development related projects in the community.

Indeed, for many of the new PCCs, the endemic poverty bedevilling many African countries is a brainchild of the works of demons – it is a consequence of the demonic. This poverty and its attendant anxieties are more pronounced among the youth who constitute the demographic majority in Africa. Van de Kamp (2010, 152) noted that the phenomenal growth of Pentecostalism relates to the ways in which this movement critique and destroys the current development models. In turn, they introduce new development models that are spiritually anchored and embedded in the community. For many new PCCs, old development models marginalise youth.

Indeed, due to the chronicity of the economic crisis in the postcolony, some scholars have argued that young people are in a state of immobility – what Singerman (2007) and Honwana (2014) referred to as 'waithood' – a scenario where young people's transition from childhood to adulthood is suspended. New PCC view this condition of 'waithood' and the poverty and suffering which characterise it as demonic. While Honwana noted that this youth crisis is global, it is more pronounced in Africa (Gukurume 2018a).

Many new PCCs view it as their role to deliver their congregants and indeed their countries from poverty through spiritual technologies such as prayer and exorcism. For Pentecostals the world is imagined and constructed as a space that should be transformed through action – both individual and collective. Many scholars argue that the phenomenal success of the Pentecostal movement in poverty-stricken spaces is due to this theology and its promise for material prosperity with Godly blessings amid widespread poverty (Comaroff and Comaroff 2000; Lewison 2011; Van Wyk 2014). In church services, many congregants give testimonies that reveal how they began to accumulate material blessings from God when they became 'born again'. In Pentecostal parlance, being born again becomes a pre-requisite for prosperity. New PCCs underscore the importance of transforming the individual in every aspect of life. This transformation is part of the metaphor of what scholars refer to as a 'complete break with the past' – a rapture that entails converts becoming reborn through cutting ties with their past. For many scholars it is this transformation or creation of a 'new being' which in turn sow the seeds of development (Maxwell 2000; Freeman 2012). This discourse of transformation emphasises the importance of a total

conversion of the 'entire being', spiritually and socioeconomically. Maxwell (1998) referred to this process as the total 'remaking of the individual'. Freeman (2015) argued that what should be underscored is how a reconfigured 'Pentecostal subjectivity' closely mirrors a 'neoliberal subjectivity' which is not only a pre-requisite, but also a requirement for succeeding in a neoliberal capitalist economy (see Lewison 2011; Maxwell 2005; Comaroff and Comaroff 2000). Similarly, new PCCs also inculcate a culture epitomised by sobriety, industriousness and self-discipline, all of which are crucial requisites for development. So, the question that can be asked is; what is the possible role of these Pentecostal rituals in development discourse and practice?

Pentecostalism and sustainable development

For new PCCs sustainable development is at the centre of their theology, teachings and activities. Indeed, for many new PCCs there is a duality between religion and development (Freeman 2015, 2). While mainline churches have a long history of engagement in development activities, new PCCs are recent entrants in the development landscape. Following their mainline counterparts, new PCCs are also establishing Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) and NGOs which drive their development endeavours. For scholars like Freeman (2015) it is these Pentecostal organisations which have radically transformed the development terrain in many African countries.

Given the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe and beyond and its resiliency in public spaces, many scholars have begun to theorise and foreground the potential role of these PCCs in the development process of many countries (Freeman 2012, 2015; Togarasei 2012; Musoni 2013). However, of note is that research on the possible impact of religion on socioeconomic transformation is not new. This nexus between religiosity and development has been subjected to empirical examination since the Weberian times (Weber 1930). This classical scholarship largely focused on Protestant Churches and how their teachings, values and principles fostered the growth and spread of capitalism. Therefore, what is new is the role of emergent forms of Pentecostalism in development. Focusing on Zimbabwe and Botswana, Togarasei (2012), argues that Pentecostalism could be the panacea to the sustainable development conundrum facing these countries through their poverty alleviation programmes. Indeed, there is a growing scholarship that recognises and acknowledges the centrality of religious actors in development (Berger 2010; Tyndale 2006; Haynes 2007). However, while this literature is insightful, it does not focus specifically on youth programmes that help them navigate existential precarities. As such, this chapter builds on this body of work, while making an original contribution by focusing on PCC initiatives that seek to empower the youth. Berger (2010) asserts that there is a close affinity between Pentecostalism and modern economic development. For instance, given the crucial role played by remittances in the socio-economic development of sending countries, some scholars have begun to explore the resources generated through PCC networks in driving and sustaining

population mobility (see Burgess 2009, 255; Pasura 2012, 34; Adogame 2004; Van Dijk 1997, 148).

Ter Haar and Ellis (2006, 352) argued that religion should be given attention in development thinking and practice. Other scholars have also considered religion as a catalyst for development (Berger 2010; Deneulin 2009; Deneulin and Rakodi 2011). Indeed, the importance of religion in development has been under discussion in a number of international development organisations such as the Bretton Wood Institutions (Marshall and Keough 2004; Tyndale 2001).

Prosperity gospel and development

One of the prominent features of new Pentecostal Churches is its twin theology of spiritual warfare and the health and wealth gospel popularly known in Pentecostal parlance as prosperity gospel (Gifford 2004; Van Wyk 2014; Haynes 2012; Gukurume 2017). This prosperity theology inculcates a sense of optimism and belief that every born again Christian can make it in life. In fact, in PCC sermons during Sunday and other services, congregants are constantly reminded that they are the children of the 'most-high' God – a God who owns it all, including gold and silver. 'If you believe that you are a child of God then it is your entitlement to be rich materially, spiritually and socially, in every part of your life – you just have to claim what belongs to you and reclaim what the devil had stolen from you through positive confession'; one prominent Pentecostal Prophet retorted in a well-attended Sunday service for the youth in Harare.

This prosperity however does not always come cheap for the PCC congregants. To stand a chance to be prosperous and wealthy, members are ordered to pay huge amounts of money and gifts as sacrifices to the church – a practice known as seeding in Pentecostal parlance.² These huge financial sacrifices are framed as pre-requisites to material prosperity, without which one's chance of upward mobility becomes limited. For instance, during my fieldwork, one popular Pentecostal Church in Harare, UFIC posted a video on its social media platforms which attracted a lot of attention. The video urged people to make financial sacrifices for them to be successful in the New Year; the shortened transcript of the video is below:

It may be interesting to note that number seven is a prophetic number, a number of perfection which makes the year 2017 a year of your dreams, hopes, aspirations and all your visions, if only you are willing to start it perfectly ... we are to sacrifice, we are to sow seeds and we are to cut covenants with God. People who want to be blessed in 2017 should sow seeds of up to \$77, \$770, \$7,700, \$77,000 or whichever way the spirit of God leads you. Sow your seeds in the multiples of \$77.

During interviews and conversations, my interlocutors told me that there are very specific categories in the churches based on how much they sacrificed to the church. For instance, in UFIC, congregants are classified under the gold,

silver and bronze classes based on the money they give to the church (Biri 2012, 8; Taru and Settler 2015, 130; Gukurume 2018b). Indeed, some elite congregants pay up to millions of dollars to the church in offerings, tithes and seeding (Laiton 2017).³ The gold partners enjoy special benefits, preferential treatment and often have easier access to the man of God. They are often given special chairs close to the auditorium during church services and often have one-on-one meetings and interactions with the man of God. Thus, during my fieldwork, I observed that financial contributions were particularly overemphasised, and many congregants tried to sacrifice their full monthly salaries. Some congregants sacrificed all their money to the extent of starving themselves so as to be closer to the prophet. Consequently, what often happens in new Pentecostal Churches is that the 'men of God' are becoming progressively richer, while their congregants' poverty and suffering worsen due to the huge financial sacrifices they make to the church.

As such, the prosperity gospel propagated in new PCCs is not without critics. For instance, most of the critics accuse them of swindling desperate congregants of their hard-earned money. In fact, some scholars note that prosperity gospel tends to justify wealth accumulation by individuals and spiritualise poverty as a consequence of the demonic. This diverts people's attention from the root causes of poverty and inequality (Marshall 1993, 230; Gifford 2004, 382; Gukurume 2018b). Similarly, through its emphasis on financial sacrifice, some scholars argue that PCCs are profit making organisations (Ukah 2007, 643; Van Wyk 2014). While seeding is predominantly financial, it can also be in other forms such as voluntary service to the church, provision of gift to the prophet in the form of houses, cars or clothes and groceries. Seeding was framed as the fuel that propels one to upward mobility and success. The more money one sacrificed to the church the higher the chances of making financial breakthrough and progress, at least in theory. For Ukah (2007) while Pentecostal Churches present themselves in public as philanthropic, they are in fact self-serving entities which are not necessarily interested in the common good.

While people consistently made huge financial sacrifices, not all of them succeed and become prosperous in achieving their aspirations and dreams. Many do remain in abject poverty. In fact, many of them sink deeper and deeper with time. This non-materialisation of wealth and prosperity is often blamed back to the people – that they lack adequate faith or that they are not sacrificing enough money for their wealth to materialise in the here and now. This finding resonates strongly with arguments made by many scholars that some congregants hardly prosper in their social and economic lives, but instead their lives become uncertain and impoverished (van de Kamp 2010, 153; Van Wyk 2014). However, this delayed or non-materialisation of prosperity compels many new PCCs to reshape their prosperity teaching in terms of what they promise congregants as well as the time and temporalities of the promised material success (Haynes 2012; Van Wyk 2014). For some of my interlocutors, the elusiveness of what the church promises was a source of frustration and anxiety which often led some of them to move from one church to another. Indeed, other

congregants have taken the prophets to court demanding their money back after years of sacrificing to the church without any improvement in their fortunes (Chitemba 2017).⁴

Entrepreneurship workshops in new PCCs

Some new Pentecostal Churches with which this study focused on have ventured into business. Indeed, some new Pentecostal Churches have not only formed huge business ventures but have become business ventures themselves. For instance, PCCs like the Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) ministries, Good News Church have ventured into real estate in Harare. In fact, in February 2018, PHD opened a huge multi-million-dollar Yadah marble factory which employs about 3,000 employees (Sachiti 2018).⁵ Much of the employees are drawn from qualified church members.

During my fieldwork, several churches organised business workshops and entrepreneurship training. While these workshops and summits help to inculcate an entrepreneurial ethic among congregants, it also comes with huge financial benefits to the church. For instance, the United Family International Church (UFIC) held several business conferences with the most popular being the 'Billionaires Mindset Summit'.⁶ To attend this summit people had to pay a minimum of US\$150 per person. This summit has become an annual glamorous event. It is held at the affluent Rainbow Towers Hotel and attracts thousands of people including several of my youthful interlocutors who sacrifice their hard-earned money to attend the event. At this summit, the church invited renowned business tycoons to speak to the thousands of attendees. For instance, during my fieldwork the church invited an Angolan millionaire and Pastor Dr Teddy De Almeida and a renowned local businessman and Pastor Dr Shingi Munyeza. These business people shared their success stories and how they made it to the top. Most of their stories depicted a rags-to-riches narrative which is deliberately performed and articulated to motivate and encourage the people that with God nothing is impossible. In one of the services I attended, the prophet shouted loudly to a cheering crowd:

the devil want you think that you cannot make it, you cannot be successful, that's a lie – the devil is a liar, God blesses the works of your hands start something and it shall multiply and prosper. I prophesy into your life that you will be a success, you will prosper – I declare success in your business, more profits and more breakthroughs.

For scholars like Freeman (2015) such declarations and entrepreneurship training often lead the congregants towards the direction of what many scholars call development. The importance of workshops like the Billionaires Mindset summit is salient on how they reconfigure people's mindset and reorient them (Barbalet 2008, 75) towards a different kind of future marked by socio-economic prosperity. Thus, this reconfiguration of the mindset becomes part of the innate

deliverance which prepares congregants for success in the near and distant future. I contend that organising business workshops and inculcating entrepreneurial skills is part of the repertoires of new PCCs strategies to provide spiritual and material deliverance to their members. This deliverance has a very powerful psychological effect on the lives of the delivered congregants. As emphasised by one of the prophets in a Sunday service:

People can talk of demons being cast out, people being healed and all, but the most important form of deliverance from poverty and under-development in Africa is the deliverance of the mindset – we need to transform your mindset and that is what I am going to do today. I want to teach you and change the way you perceive the world – your mindset. With the right mindset, you can develop not only yourself but also your community, your country and your continent – that is why I came up with the ‘Billionaires Mindset’ summit so that people can have that business mind.

I contend that this reconfiguration of the mindset tends to contribute positively to socioeconomic well-being of the people in question. Indeed, during these business workshops and training sessions, people are actively encouraged to start their own businesses no matter how small. For these church leaders, by establishing companies and other businesses, God will make them prosper and fulfil their aspirations and dreams epitomised by luxury – huge mansions, latest fashion, posh cars and happiness (van de Kamp 2010, 153; van Wyk 2015; Gukurume 2018b). One of the popular Pentecostal pastors, Prophet James based in Harare, told me in an interview that:

By training young people to be business minded and equipping them with requisite entrepreneurship skills as well as giving them exposure to mix and mingle with successful business people, we are empowering young people, we are challenging them to also follow suit and thereby promoting community development.

Indeed, the churches also helped congregants to register business companies by inviting officials from the company registry to attend their business workshops to enlighten congregants about the requirements for one to open a company. It was not uncommon for some congregants to register their own companies during the workshops. Indeed, 10 of my interlocutors were assisted to register their companies by their churches. This scenario in part, resonates strongly with the Weberian argument that links Protestantism to the emergence and growth of global capitalism. Therefore, I contend that what the new Pentecostal Church and its teachings and activities do is to trigger and cultivate a business culture and agency for its congregants (Maxwell 2005). Indeed, in follow up conversations and visits to my interlocutors, I observed that many of them took up workshop ideas and business principles taught. They tried to implement these ideas and principles with varying degrees of

success. I argue that this agency is critical for stimulating socioeconomic development in the community. This finding concurs with observations made by the CDE (2008) cited in van de Kamp (2010) who noted that these churches have become spaces for productive working life and entrepreneurship development. For these churches, promoting entrepreneurship was in part one of the many ways they promoted poverty alleviation and development in the here and now. Indeed, in their study in sub-Saharan Africa, CDE (2008) the noted that Pentecostalism's capacity to foster a Protestant ethic is becoming more pronounced in many African countries, thereby making a significant socioeconomic contribution thereof. Therefore, these entrepreneurship and business training should be understood as an extension of the new PCCs' spiritual warfare against the demons of poverty and underdevelopment in the community and the country at large. In an informal conversation with a youth pastor in one of the new PCCs, he asserted that the reason why the country is still poor is because of the territorial demons of poverty and underdevelopment which are constantly fighting the development efforts of the country.

For this pastor, if these territorial demons are not fought back, then the majority of the people and the country will remain poor. So this church organised weekly prayer vigils, where congregants pray, not only for themselves and their individual prosperity, but also for the country's deliverance from poverty. In fact, in many of the services I attended, people were always urged to 'pray for the country'. Therefore, for these new PCCs, prayer becomes a powerful weapon in the spiritual warfare against the demons of poverty which block the flow of Godly blessings to his children (van Wyk 2014; Gukurume 2018b).

In one of the workshops I attended held at a flamboyant hotel in town, everyone was smartly dressed in sharp suits as if going for a job interview. The workshop was supposed to start at 7p.m. and by 5p.m., when I arrived there were a few seats remaining. In fact by 5.30p.m. there was a full house – the venue was packed to capacity. The prophet made a grand entry into the venue to a rapturous applause. He was clad in his trademark six button suit rumoured to be an imported designer suit from an Italian celebrity designer Angelo Galasso. His striped tie matched with a small cloth on the pocket of his suit. With glittering shoes and a golden Rolex watch – the prophet embodied a blessed 'men of God'. Indeed, he was not only an inspiration, but also a role model for many of his youthful congregants. Jonathan, one of my interlocutors whom I had gone with, whispered in my ear; 'Look at his clothes, this man knows how to dress – he imports everything from Europe and America – he doesn't wear local and that is what I would like to do in the future'. He smiled admiringly as the prophet grabbed his iPad from the podium to begin the workshop. The prophet extended a warm welcome to everyone in attendance and began with a powerful prayer with a message that centred on dominion, success, being fruitful and finding breakthrough. The theme of his talk was 'Finding your purpose'. He emphasised that God created everyone with unique capabilities, hence the need to live one's purpose. He shouted:

I want to tell you that God created you for a reason; each and every one of you here has a purpose. Some people are poor because they are not living their purpose, the moment you discover and start to live your purpose; your life will begin to flourish – you will begin to succeed in your business, in your career and you live happily with your family. I want to help you to find your purpose today. I declare that by the time we end this workshop everyone will be placed in their positions, you will have discovered your purpose in life.

As the prophet made these declarations, there was a deafening noise as people shouted loudly, 'I receive, I receive, I will find my purpose today'. In that workshop and indeed in many other services I attended, congregants were urged to think beyond being employees but to imagine themselves as employers. Such teaching fostered a culture of self-belief and self-reliance among the congregants. Therefore, rather than passively accepting their miserable conditions, people actively worked to change their situations through action. Interestingly, some of the new PCCs did not stop at teaching entrepreneurship; they often invited officials from the company registry to speak in church on how to register companies. During my fieldwork, one of the new PCCs helped its congregants to open companies at subsidised rates and many of my youthful congregants opened companies. The act of opening a company even when the majority of my interlocutors could hardly afford to take care of themselves should be understood within the context of spiritual warfare and the symbolic meaning attached to it. In fact, the story of one of my interlocutors is illustrative here.

Peter, one of my key informants was 28 years old during my fieldwork. He had finished his bachelor's degree at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) four years back but could not get any job. He moved to South Africa with his brother, who like him had been unemployed for six years, to look for a job but returned after several attempts on their lives during the recurrent xenophobic attacks. Upon their return, they joined a new PCC and became ardent members. They started attending the business seminars and workshops organised by the church. Like many other congregants, Peter and his brother also registered their real estate company with the help of the church even though they did not have any start-up capital. They started looking for vacant houses in the newspapers and from church colleagues, which they in turn advertised through Facebook and WhatsApp for a small fee. Towards the end of my fieldwork, they had opened a small office in the Central Business District (CBD) in Harare. Their business was beginning to take shape. Peter narrated to me:

Before I converted to this church my life was a total mess. I tried everything, but nothing worked out. I moved from one company to another looking for a job but in vain. My brother and I decided to go to church after seeing a lot of testimonies of people whose lives changed after joining the church. During the first day at church we manifested demons and the prophet cast them out. We decided to regularly attend the business

workshops and seminars and before we knew it our lives began to change. I can tell you that now I am not thinking of looking for a job, I am thinking of creating jobs. I am a Chief Executive Officer (CEO) now. When we registered the company we did not have a single cent and some people thought we were berserk, but we had faith that one day God will give us a breakthrough.

Peter's story is just one of the many similar narratives I was told by some of my interlocutors. The story underscores the instrumental impact of faith in motivating people to engage in 'penny capitalism'. These fascinating stories were always shared during church services as testimonies to motivate others trying to make do and get by. Thus, conversion to new PCCs creates new opportunities for upward mobility – though these opportunities are not equally accessible to everyone in the church. However, for those that seize such opportunities as was the case with Peter and his brother, some of them become economically successful. This finding resonates strongly with observations made by some scholars elsewhere (see Freeman 2012, for Ethiopian Pentecostalism; Haynes 2012, for Zambia and van de Kamp 2010, for Mozambique). Scholars like Maxwell have also underscored how new PCCs promote 'penny capitalism' within their membership which often results in wealth accumulation.

'We try to inculcate business skills and knowledge to these young people and to show them that they have great potential to make it in life – to become prosperous business people and to contribute to the development of the country'. A youth pastor told me in an informal conversation. Of note is that new PCCs in Zimbabwe are concerned about the well-being of their congregants and the nation at large and thus making them an extension of the development sphere. Indeed, individual and national transformation is a central theme in new PCCs' discourse and relates strongly to their emphasis on a 'total break with the past' (Meyer 1998; McGovern 2012; Engelke 2010). In new PCC parlance, breaking with the past does not only entails cutting ties with the traditional and extended family ties, it also mean appropriating the 'modern' and orienting oneself to the global. All these help in the socioeconomic transformation of the individual and the society at large.

Bursaries, scholarships and free education for poor students

An important way new PCCs in Zimbabwe invested in the future generation was through provision of financial assistance to poor students, especially from their church. Churches like UFIC, Spirit Embassy (Good News Church) and PHD to mention just a few had charity organisations which offered bursaries to students from primary level up to university. Though many Pentecostal Churches and their leaders have been criticised for accumulating wealth and becoming rich at the expense of their impoverished congregants (van Wyk 2014; Biri 2012; Mariano 2003; van de Kamp 2010), some of the new PCCs have begun to invest this money in community development and social welfare

services. Some of my interlocutors at the university of Zimbabwe were beneficiaries of the UFIC's 'Agape Family Care' scholarships. In 2012, UFIC initiated a 'send a child to school' campaign where they encouraged congregants to donate money that would be used to fund their scholarship programmes.

In a context where the imploding and broke state is withdrawing its financial support to the university and students, these new PCCs have thus taken up the vacuum left by the state to provide welfare and financial support to the students. Thus, many of my interlocutors felt that by providing financial support to poor and vulnerable students, the PCCs were ensuring success for them in the future. Although not every beneficiary of the PCC bursaries and scholarships went on to gain employment and succeed in life – some coincidentally became successful and were grateful to the prophets. Thus, by providing bursaries to disadvantaged students, the church is not only investing in future generations, but also redistributing its wealth for the good of the community. Following this, I contend that new PCCs are actively promoting human well-being and socioeconomic flourishing.

After graduation, some of the new PCCs employ the students whose education they funded and other church members. For instance, new PCCs like PHD employed an estimated 1,300 ministry workers (Sibanda 2014). New mega PCCs are thus becoming some of the largest employers in the country where unemployment rates are estimated to be well above 80 per cent (see Gukurume 2015). Through education and employment, new PCCs can thus be said to have meaningful contribution to the development of their members and community at large. In a context where the state is absent or incapable of providing basic services, new PCCs have stepped in to complement the state in social welfare provision. Indeed, Kliksberg (2003) underscored that faith-based institutions offered the most conspicuous and efficacious social protection networks that cushion people from poverty.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the contribution of new PCCs in promoting sustainable development in Zimbabwe. The chapter shows that new PCCs are becoming important players in the development landscape in the country. By looking at their teachings, prophecies, declarations and activities, this chapter argues that these churches have inculcated and fostered important values of industriousness, sobriety and self-discipline which are important tenets of socioeconomic transformation at individual and collective levels. Thus, by encouraging 'penny capitalism', establishing companies, teaching business skills in their entrepreneurship seminars and workshops, the new PCCs do not only seek to transform their congregants' spirituality, but instead they focus on transforming the 'entire person'. However, it should be underscored that the relationship between new PCCs and sustainable development is complex and contested. Thus, while new PCCs teachings and activities often promote the socioeconomic well-being of the people, not all of them have positive implications for development. In fact,

some versions of the health and wealth discourses propagated in new PCCs promise spectacular and miraculous wealth and prosperity without members working hard for that. This is akin to what literature calls ‘cargo cults’ where riches are created from nothing – what the Comaroffs referred to as ‘millennial capitalism’ epitomised by economics of the occult.

Notes

- 1 All the names that I use in this chapter are pseudonyms. The use of pseudonyms is meant to anonymise my participants and keep their identity confidential.
- 2 This practice has also been called seed faith which urges born again Christians to expect miracles and financial breakthrough and returns for the money sacrificed to the church.
- 3 www.newsday.co.zw/2017/09/makandiwa-court-fake-prophecy/www.thestandard.co.zw/2017/10/08/makandiwa-prophecies-challenged/.
- 4 www.sundaymail.co.zw/makandiwa-vs-millionaire-couple%E2%97%86-messy-tussle-over-us1m-%E2%97%86-we-were-robbed-abused/.
- 5 www.herald.co.zw/the-birth-of-a-giant-vp-mohadi-officially-opens-yadah-marble/.
- 6 www.herald.co.zw/the-billionaires-mindset/.

References

- Adogame, Afe. 2004. ‘Engaging the Rhetoric of Spiritual Warfare: The Public Face of Aladura in Diaspora.’ *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34, no. 4: 493–522.
- Anderson, Allan. 2004. *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barbalet, Jack. 2008. *Weber, Passion and Profits: ‘The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism’ in Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barrett, David. 2001. *World Christian Trends, AD 30–AD 2200*. Pasadena: William Carey.
- Berger, Peter L. 2010. ‘Max Weber is Alive and Well, and Living in Guatemala: The Protestant Ethic Today.’ *The Review of Faith and International Affairs* 8, no. 4: 3–9.
- Biri, Kudzai. 2012. ‘The Silent Echoing Voice: Aspects of Zimbabwean Pentecostalism and the Quest for Power, Healing and Miracles.’ *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 38, supplement: 37–55.
- Burgess, Richard. 2009. ‘African Pentecostal Spirituality and Civic Engagement: The Case of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Britain.’ *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, 30, no. 3: 255–273.
- CDE. 2008. *Under the Radar: Pentecostalism in South Africa and its Potential Social and Economic Role*. Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise.
- Chitando, Ezra, and Kudzai Biri. 2016. ‘Walter Magaya’s Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministries and Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe: A Preliminary Study with Particular Reference to Ecumenism.’ *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 42, no. 2.
- Chitemba, Brian. 2017. ‘Makandiwa vs Millionaire Couple – Messy Tussle over US\$1M – We were Robbed, Abused.’ *Sunday Mail*. Accessed 10 October, 2017. www.sundaymail.co.zw/makandiwa-vs-millionaire-couple%E2%97%86-messy-tussle-over-us1m-%E2%97%86-we-were-robbed-abused/amp.
- Coleman, Simon. 2002. The Faith Movement: A Global Religious Culture? *Culture and Religion*, 3: 3–19.
- Comaroff, Jean, and Comaroff, John L. 2000. ‘Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming.’ *Public Culture* 12, no. 2: 291–343.

- Cox, Harvey. 1995. *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of the Religion in the Twenty-first Century*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Deneulin, S. 2009. 'Advancing Human Development: Values, Groups, Power and Conflict.' WeD Working Paper 09/49.
- Deneulin, S. and Rakodi, C. 2011. 'Revisiting Religion: Development Studies Thirty Years On.' *World Development*, 39, no. 1: 45–54.
- Engelke, Matthew. 2010. 'Past Pentecostalism: Notes on Rupture, Realignment, and Everyday Life in Pentecostal and African Independent Churches.' *Africa* 80, no. 2: 177–199.
- Freeman, Dena. 2012. 'The Pentecostal Ethic and the Spirit of Development.' In *Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs and Social Change in Africa*, edited by Dena Freeman. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Freeman, Dena. 2015. 'Pentecostalism and Economic Development in Sub-Saharan Africa'. In *The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development*, edited by Emma Tomalin. Abingdon, Oxon, UK: Routledge.
- Ganiel, Gladys. 2009. 'Spiritual Capital and Democratization in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of a Progressive Charismatic Congregation.' *Democratization* 16, no. 6: 1172–1193.
- Gifford, Paul. 1998. *African Christianity: Its Public Role*. London: Hurst.
- Gifford, Paul. 2004. *Ghana's New Christianity: Pentecostalism in a Globalising African Economy*. London: Hurst.
- Gukurume, Simbarashe. 2015. 'Livelihood Resilience in a Hyperinflationary Environment: Experiences of People Engaging in Money-Burning (kubhena mari) Transactions in Harare, Zimbabwe.' *Social Dynamics* 41, no. 2: 219–234.
- Gukurume, Simbarashe. 2017. 'Singing Positivity: Prosperity Gospel in the Musical Discourse of Popular Youth Hip-Hop Gospel in Zimbabwe.' *Muziki* 14, no. 2: 36–54.
- Gukurume, Simbarashe. 2018a. Navigating Precarious Livelihoods: Youth in the SME Sector in Zimbabwe. *IDS Bulletin* 49, no. 5: 89–104.
- Gukurume, Simbarashe. 2018b. 'New Pentecostal Churches, Politics and the Everyday Life of University Students at the University of Zimbabwe.' PhD thesis, University of Cape Town, South Africa.
- Haynes, J. 2007. *Religion and Development: Conflict or Cooperation?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Haynes, Naomi. 2012. 'Pentecostalism and the Morality of Money: Prosperity, Inequality, and Religious Sociality on the Zambian Copperbelt.' *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 18, no. 1: 123–139.
- Haynes, Naomi. 2015. 'Egalitarianism and Hierarchy in Copperbelt Religious Practice: On the Social Work of Pentecostal Ritual.' *Religion* 45, no. 2: 273–292.
- Hollenweger, Walter. 1997. *Pentecostalism: Origins and Developments Worldwide*. Peabody: Hendrickson.
- Honwana, Alcinda. 2014. 'Waithood: Youth Transitions and Social Change.' In *Development and Equity: An Interdisciplinary Exploration by Ten Scholars from Africa, Asia and Latin America*, edited by Dick Foeken, Ton Dietz, Leo de Haan, and Linda Johnson. Leiden: Brill.
- Hunt, Stephen. 2002. 'The "Health and Wealth" Gospel in the UK: Variations on a Theme.' *Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3, no. 1: 89–104.
- Jorgensen, Dan. 2005. 'Third Wave Evangelism and the Politics of the Global in Papua New Guinea: Spiritual Warfare and the Recreation of Place in Telefomin.' *Oceania* 75: 444–161.

- Kliksberg, Bernardo. 2003. *Social Justice: A Jewish Perspective*. Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing House.
- Laiton, C. 2017. 'Makandiwa Prophecies Challenged.' *The Standard*, 8 October. (accessed 20 January 2019).
- Lewison, Elsie. 2011. 'Pentecostal Power and the Holy Spirit of Capitalism: Re-imagining Modernity in the Charismatic Cosmology.' *Symposia* 3, no. 1: 31–54.
- Mariano, Ricardo. 2003. 'Brésil.' In *Les Nouveaux Conquérants de la Foi. L'Église Universelle du Royaume de Dieu (Brésil)*, edited by André Corten, Jean-Pierre Dozon, and Ari Pedro Oro, 45–55. Paris: Karthala.
- Martin, David. 1990. *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Martin, David. 2002. *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Marshall, R. 1993. 'Power in the Name of Jesus: Social Transformation and Pentecostalism in Western Nigeria Revisited.' In Ranger, T. and Vaughan, O. (Eds). *Legitimacy and the State in the Twentieth Century Africa*. Oxford: Macmillan.
- Marshall, Katherine, and Lucy Keough. 2004. *Mind, Heart, and Soul: In the Fight Against Poverty*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Maxwell, David. 1998. 'Delivered from the Spirit of Poverty?: Pentecostalism, Prosperity and Modernity in Zimbabwe.' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 3: 350–373.
- Maxwell, David. 2000. 'Catch the Cockerel Before Dawn: Pentecostalism and Politics in Post-Colonial Zimbabwe.' *Africa* 70, no. 2: 249–277.
- Maxwell, David. 2005. 'The Durawall of Faith: Pentecostal Spirituality in Neo-Liberal Zimbabwe.' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35, no. 1: 4–32.
- McClung, Grant. 2006. 'Pentecostals: The Sequel. What Will It Take for this Global Phenomenon to Stay Vibrant for Another 100 Years?' *Christianity Today* 50, no. 4: 30–36.
- McGovern, Mike. 2012. 'Turning the Cloak Back or Breaking with the Past: Charismatic Temporality and Elite Politics in Cote d'Ivoire and the United States.' *Cultural Anthropology*, 27, no. 2: 239–260.
- Meyer, Birgit. 1998. 'Make a Complete Break with the Past: Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse.' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 27, no. 3: 316–349.
- Miller, Donald E. 2009. 'Progressive Pentecostalism: An Emergent Trend in Global Christianity.' *Journal of Beliefs & Values: Studies in Religion & Education* 30, no. 3: 275–287.
- Miller, D. and Yamamori, T. 2007. *Global Pentecostalism: The New Face of Christian Social Engagement*. University of California Press.
- Musoni, Phillip. 2013. African Pentecostalism and Sustainable Development: A Study on the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa, Forward in Faith Church. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention* 2, no. 10: 75–82.
- Pasura, Dominic. 2012. 'Religious Transnationalism: The Case of Zimbabwean Catholics in Britain.' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42: 26–53.
- Robbins, Joel. 2004. 'The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity.' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33: 117–143.
- Sachiti, Roselyne. 2018. 'The birth of a giant ... VP Mohadi officially opens Yadah Marble.' *The Herald*, 21 February, 2018. www.herald.co.zw/the-birth-of-a-giant-vp-mohadi-officially-opens-yadah-marble/.
- Sibanda, Lloyd. 2014. 'Prophet Magaya goes for 200,000-seater church, to give away 420 houses.' *My New Zimbabwe*. 8 August 2014. Accessed 20 July 2019.
- Singerman, Diane. 2007. 'The Economic Imperatives of Marriage: Emerging Practices and Identities among Youth in the Middle East.' Middle East Youth Initiative Working

- Paper 6. Washington, DC: Wolfensohn Center for Development, The Brookings Institution.
- Taru, Josiah, and Federico Settler. 2015. 'Patterns of Consumption and Materialism among Zimbabwean Christians: A Tale of Two Indigenous Churches.' *Journal for the Study of Religion* 28, no. 2: 113–137.
- Ter Haar, Gerrie, and Stephen Ellis. 2006. 'The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New Relationship Between the European Union and Africa.' *The European Journal of Development Research* 18, no. 3: 351–367.
- Togarasei, Lovemore. 2012. 'Mediating the Gospel: Pentecostal Christianity and Media Technology in Botswana and Zimbabwe.' *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 27, no. 2: 257–274.
- Tyndale, W. 2001. 'Poverty and Development: Has Religion a Contribution to Make.' *Commentary International Movement for a Just World*, 1, no 2: 1–5.
- Tyndale, W. 2006. *Visions of Development: Faith-based Initiatives*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Ukah, Asonzeh F. K. 2003. 'Redeemed Christian Church of God, Nigeria: Local Identities and Global Processes in African Pentecostalism.' PhD thesis, Universität Bayreuth.
- Ukah, Asonzeh F. K. 2007. 'African Christianities: Features, Promises and Problems.' Working paper, Institut für Ethnologie und Afrikastudien, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz.
- van de Kamp, Linda. 2010. 'Burying Life: Pentecostal Religion and Development in Urban Mozambique.' In *Development and Politics from Below. Exploring Religious Spaces in the African State*, edited by Barbara Bompani, and Maria Frahm-Arp, 152–171. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Van Dijk, Rijk A, 1997. 'From Camp to Encompassment: Discourses of Transsubjectivity in the Ghanaian Pentecostal Diaspora.' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 27, no. 2: 135–159.
- van Wyk, Ilana. 2014. *The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God in South Africa. A Church of Strangers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Wyk, Ilana. 2015. 'Prosperity and the Work of Luck in the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, South Africa.' *Critical African Studies*, 7, no 3: 262–279.
- Weber, Max. 1930. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Trans. Talcott Parsons. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.