

NEW PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES, POLITICS AND THE
EVERYDAY LIFE OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE



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THESIS PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

FEBRUARY

2018

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Dedication

To my late mother and grandmother. You both taught me that through hard work and resilience you can achieve anything and everything. I dedicate this thesis to you and I know wherever you are, you are smiling down and proud of me.

Abstract

In the past 15 years, there has been a concerted ‘Pentecostalisation’ of university spaces in Africa. Despite enormous growth in Pentecostal Charismatic Church membership and activities on African university campuses, and its attendant implications for academic and everyday life, there is hardly any study that explores this phenomenon. Thus, little is known about the complex entanglements between religion, politics and the dynamics of the everyday within the university campus and how this mediates students’ subjectivities. This thesis examines the lived experiences and everyday lives of university students at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ). The thesis is based on the narratives of students drawn through a qualitative methodology and more particularly, through participant observation, semi-structured and in-depth interviews over 15 months. Findings in this study revealed that university students convert and sign-up for new Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (PCCs) because they were imagined as spaces through which young people could forge supportive economic and social networks. PCCs’ gospel of prosperity and ‘spiritual warfare’ technologies were also deeply attractive to students who were caught in the hopelessness and uncertainty wrought by the country’s protracted socio-economic and political crisis. In this context, PCCs cultivate a sense of hope and optimism. However, although new PCCs reconfigure young people’s orientation to the future, many PCC promises remain elusive. The entrance of PCCs onto this university campus has also led to institutional conflict as new churches struggle against the entrenched historical privilege of mainline churches- and the political influence of their followers in university management. New PCCs on the UZ campus have also become heavily involved in student and national politics, which further complicates their relationship with the university and the state. This thesis demonstrates the extent to which faith permeates every aspect of university experience for those who subscribe to its Pentecostal forms. I argue in this thesis that these complex linkages between faith and university life are mediated by the wider politics of the country, including linkages between the state and the university.

Acknowledgements

There are a lot of people who played a big part to make this thesis possible. First and foremost, I would like to thank the Lord for guiding me through this process and for the good health to keep me going until the finish line. I am equally deeply indebted to my interlocutors, all those who participated in this study-students and workers at the university of Zimbabwe. It is your stories, testimonies and experiences that you generously shared with me which made this thesis what it is.

I would like to highlight that behind every completed and successful PhD are very dedicated, committed and tireless supervisors-my thesis would not have been completed without their unfailing commitment and intellectual astuteness. To my super-star supervisors; Dr Ilana van Wyk and Professor Deborah Posel, I could not have asked for any better supervisors, it was your patient, rigorous grilling, your encouragement and benevolent efforts which pushed me to the wire. Thank you very much for being patient with me and for stretching me beyond what I thought were my limits.

HUMA has not only been my second home, but also a very stimulating and engaging academic space for me. Thank you, my family, at HUMA for the institutional support and for the generous scholarship. Heather, Rifqah, Zethu, Shamil, Samaila Suleiman, Justin, Nokwanda, Lindy-Lee, Nkululeko, B and John- you made me feel at home all the time and your support is greatly appreciated. Many thanks also go to the Social Science Research Council Next Generation Social Science in Africa Fellowship and the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation for financial support during my fieldwork.

I would also like to express my dearest gratitude to my best friend and beautiful wife, Fiona Tafadzwa Matsika for enduring several years of loneliness and taking care of our lovely beautiful daughter Lilian Tadisa with such distinction. You are my biggest cheerleader and I will forever be indebted to you for your unfailing support when the chips were down and for believing in me. You are such a blessing and I could not have asked for a better wife. To Lilian, my gorgeous little daughter and my boy Liam- you were always a motivation and joy to watch despite the tantrums, which kept me going late into the night working while, you watched cartoons.

To my social and intellectual brothers, Dr Godfrey Maringira, Dr Obvious Katsaura, thank you very much for your material, intellectual support and your unfailing generosity-your hospitality all the time I visited in Johannesburg and Cape Town was out of this world. You always accommodated me at no cost when I came to South Africa even without notice. *Vana gulez vangu*, mai Maka and mai Tabo, I cannot thank you enough for your five star hospitality. I cannot forget my other brothers Felix Tombindo and Munatsi Shoko for the last minutes formatting and all my Great Zimbabwe University colleagues for always urging me on. I also want to thank my friends Simbarashe Mutero, Pardon, Innocent, Caven, and Clemence who have always believed in me.

The University of Zimbabwe Sociology department staff, the secretary Dausi, the tutors, Benjy Gwelo, Munodawafa, Ganda, Bakili, Choto, Brenda, Murisi and all the lecturers in the department. Thank you very much for your welcoming hospitality and the tutors-you always accommodated me in your small office and connected me to potential participants at any given chance.

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List of Abbreviations

AFM	Apostolic Faith Mission
CCJP	Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace
CIO	Central Intelligence Organisation
CU	Christian Union
FOCUS	Fellowship of Christian University Students
FOG	Family of God
HICC	Harare International Conference Centre
HOME	Hand of Mercy
MDC	Movement for Democratic Chang
PCCs	Pentecostal Charismatic Churches
UZ	University of Zimbabwe
UCRN	University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland
UFIC	United Family International Church
PHD	Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries
SRC	Student Representative Council
SCM	Student Christian Movement
ZIMRA	Zimbabwe Revenue Authority

ZINATHA	Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association
ZCC	Zimbabwe Council of Churches
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZINASU	Zimbabwe National Students Union
ZICOSU	Zimbabwe Congress of Students Union

Chapter One: Introduction

Tinashe¹ is a 21-year-old, second-year law student at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) and a staunch member of a new Pentecostal Charismatic Church (PCC) on campus. He grew up in grinding poverty in the rural areas of Bikita district in the southern parts of Zimbabwe. Being born to poor rural small-scale farmers, Tinashe encountered tremendous social and financial tribulations in his life and is the first one in his large family to go to University. For him, completing secondary education was just the first step towards a better future. Although he passed his A-level exams with flying colours, Tinashe's dream of pursuing university education suffered after he failed to raise the money required to enrol at UZ- where he had gained an offer of a place on the law programme. He harboured hopes of becoming a prominent lawyer, politician and businessman. After almost two years of hopelessness, he explained that lady luck smiled on him when he met prophet Makandiwa, a young, popular charismatic prophet and founder of United Family International Church (UFIC) who offered him a generous scholarship to enrol for a degree in law at UZ. While the fellowship only required that Tinashe study hard and pass his courses, Tinashe wanted to contribute to UFIC's growth and success on campus. His everyday routine on campus was a very busy one, inundated with a plethora of church and political activities. As the youth leader in church, Tinashe distributed church pamphlets to fellow students on campus, arranged transport to ferry students to church off-campus, organised campus cell group and church workshops, among other things. This has impacted on his studies. Tinashe has become extremely worried about his recent poor performance at university and is concerned that he might not pass his third year or retain his fellowship from church. Tinashe strongly believed that his recent academic misfortunes were a result of demons and evil spirits undermining his former good fortune. With many of his university brethren, Tinashe has started to fight back against these evil forces through exam prayer vigils, anointing oil and other consecrated church paraphernalia.

Tinashe's case is not unique on campus; his narrative is emblematic of the experiences of many other students at UZ who attend new PCCs on campus. My thesis focuses on the lives of students like Tinashe, and particularly how new PCCs and politics mediate their subjective experiences of a 'secular' university space. The study also examines

¹ Pseudonym

how conversion to new Pentecostal churches (re)configures the political, economic and social dispositions of students. Although new PCCs have shown phenomenal growth on university campuses across Africa since the late 1990s, there is very little research on this phenomenon in Zimbabwe (Mapuranga 2012). However, there are a few related studies of churches on university campuses in Nigeria (Obadare 2007; Ojo 1995) and Uganda (Sadgrove 2007). While these studies are insightful in our understanding of campus religiosities, very little is known about the lived experiences of university students within new PCCs, the impact of new PCCs on university spaces and the complex interactions between PCCs, politics and supposedly secular university administrations. My study seeks to address the paucity of empirical research on new PCCs within university spaces in Zimbabwe. This research is situated in a particular institutional, historical, political and religious context, which will be explored in greater detail in the unfolding sections of the thesis. In developing a nuanced understanding of the new PCCs on campus, my proposed study is guided by the following research questions;

Main Research Question

What are the character, attractions and effects of new PCCs on UZ campus?

Sub-Questions

What is the nature of interactions between UZ, PCCs and university students on campus?

How do new PCCs (re) shape the everyday life of university students at UZ, in a context of national political conflict and economic stress?

How does conversion to PCCs impact on the political, social, academic and economic dispositions of students?

What are the students' experiences of PCCs and the communities and networks they create?

How and in what ways does UZ enable or constrain the dynamic growth of PCCs on campus?

Rationale

The dominant argument in much of Pentecostal literature is that Pentecostalism is a religion for a poor, uneducated and marginalised “underclass” (Cox 1999: 136; Anderson 2005; Hollenweger 2004). Most of these scholars focus on poor, uneducated and disenfranchised

congregants who survive on the margins of neo-liberal capitalism and make the argument that PCCs provide their followers with the social and imaginative tools to deal with their socio-economic marginalisation. Consequently, current PCC scholarship is silent on, and overlooks the burgeoning appeal and growth of PCCs among educated and upwardly mobile people as well as incumbent and aspiring political and business elites. As such, little is known about why educated and upwardly mobile people are flocking to new PCCs *en masse*, what their experiences are, as well as how these new religious communities impact on politics, business and academic life. A few notable exceptions are recent ethnographies by Frahm-Arp (2010) and Van de Kamp (2011) focusing on upwardly mobile PCC congregants in South Africa and Mozambique respectively. In the same vein, Marshall (1995) and Martin (2002) are more nuanced and also recognize the appeal of Pentecostalism to the socially mobile. Though these studies are illuminating, they did not specifically focus on university students, neither did they focus on this phenomenon within the university campus spaces.

This lacuna in the research on university students and PCCs is striking because a large number of scholars who write on African PCCs have noted that the Pentecostal movement is predominantly a youth phenomenon in countries like South Africa (see Frahm-Arp 2010), Malawi (Englund 2003; van Dijk 1992), Tanzania (Lindhardt 2010), Mozambique (van der Kamp 2011) and Zimbabwe (see Maxwell 2002). This literature makes it clear that new PCCs largely appeal to young and upwardly mobile congregants, including university students and young working adults in urban areas. Research on older forms of Pentecostalism have also shown that many Pentecostal-Charismatic fellowships in southern and western Africa often had their antecedents in university fellowships (Marshall 2009; Maxwell 2006: 8) and that student activists often questioned the excesses of their church leadership (Maxwell 2006: 155). Yet, despite this burgeoning interest in young PCC congregants and an acknowledgement that university life often afforded potential leaders the time, resources and followers with which to found movements, there is little attention in the literature to PCCs operating in university spaces and their intersections with national politics and the university.

This gap in research on university student PCC members is also noticeable because despite a growing agreement that the public sphere in African countries is increasingly “Pentecostalised” (Meyer 2004; De Vries 2001), there is hardly any study that explores the campus-based phenomenon – how it affects student life as well as interactions between new PCCs and once-secular universities. There is some work on this topic in America. Sommerville (2006) looked at the decline of an American university whose embrace of a

thorough secularism had made it increasingly marginal in a society that was characterized by high levels of religious belief. Therefore, for Sommerville, the very secularization that was supposed to be a liberating influence has resulted in the university's failure to provide leadership in political, cultural, social, and even scientific arenas.

Despite the conspicuous “Pentecostalisation” (Meyer 2004) of university spaces in Zimbabwe and Africa more broadly, little is known about how this is impacting academic and everyday life including students who sign up for these new PCCs. My ethnographic study contributes to this emergent scholarship by exploring PCCs within university spaces and how they (re) configure and mediate everyday life and student subjectivities on campus. Further, while most of the literature underscores the centrality of economic and political fault lines as explanatory tools, I contend that generational ones are also important. I pay particular attention to the PCCs operating at the University of Zimbabwe and their intersections with national politics and the university.

Further, while there is a large corpus of scholarship on African Pentecostalism, much of this scholarship focused on first, second and third-wave forms of Pentecostalism. However, very little has been done on newly emergent forms of Pentecostalism that follow the third wave. To fill this knowledge gap, this study focuses on the newest wave of Pentecostalism, which I call fourth-wave Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (PCCs). To the best of my knowledge, this ethnography will be the first to explore fourth-wave PCCs within a university space in Zimbabwe and how these mediate and texture academic and everyday life of students on campus.

The everyday lives of university students are certainly central to this study. However, beyond its focus on students and PCCs, this study also looks at the wider institutional frameworks within which PCCs on campus function, and in particular to the university structures and national politics. On paper, UZ claims its secularity in terms of separating religion, university teaching and the production of knowledge on campus. In fact, UZ asserts that its curriculum is grounded in modern scientific epistemological tradition. Theoretically, religious issues are not high on the agenda of the university’s business. As asserted by one of my key informants; “The secular foundations of the UZ are embedded in its founding Royal Charter which accepts religious and racial diversity”. However, UZ does not restrict the open expression of religious ideas and symbols by their students and faculty. However, UZ’s

claims of secularity are complicated by the strong religious presence on campus. Very few studies have examined this complexity of religion, politics and university entanglements.

In the literature, much attention has been paid to the intersection between politics and PCCs. For instance, some scholars have explored the ways in which PCCs have undermined principles of good governance and democracy (Robbins 2004). Some literature also highlights how it is not uncommon for PCC leaders to be co-opted by the political elites (Corten and Marshall-Fratani 2001; Marshall 1995: 240). This literature is important but rarely intersects with a body of work on youth in Africa. While the literature on youth in Africa is sometimes criticized for focusing too heavily on popular culture (Dolby 2001; Barnett 2004; Dolby 2006; Mate 2012; Nuttal 2004), there is an agreement that youthful constituents are central to political resistance movements in Africa.

Classical scholars of religion (Berger 1969; Weber 1958; Martin 1978) certainly did not foresee this possibility. They were optimistic about secularisation, pronouncing that with modernisation, religion would progressively lose its public influence and become a private matter. They argued that as education, civilisation and modernity spread, religiosity would decline or even become extinct. In sharp contrast, empirical evidence shows the growing influence and omnipresence of religion in the secular public sphere of many African countries (Gifford 1998; Meyer & Moors 2005; Hackett 2005; Englund 2011; Bompani and Frahm-Arp 2010)- and beyond (Stark and Finke 2000; Warner 2010). At UZ, highly educated and upwardly mobile students and elites are flocking to churches that emphasise the bodily experience of God (Mate 2002; Maxwell 2006; Van De Kamp 2011; Chitando & Biri 2016; Biri 2012). At the same time, secular spaces are becoming religious and “Pentecostalised” (Meyer 2004). Indeed, many early proponents of the secularization thesis like Martin (1978) and Berger (1969) later on changed and modified their views on secularization after noticing the sustained and massive religious fervour in many parts of the world. For instance, Berger (1999: 2) asserted that “the assumption that we live in a secularized world is false. The world today, with some exceptions . . . is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever”. In fact, Berger (1969) sought to replace secularism with the theoretical concept of pluralism. His modified argument was that modernity does not produce secularity, but instead necessarily produces pluralism. For Berger, pluralism meant the simultaneous co-existence in the same space of multiple and often contradictory worldviews and value systems. Similarly, Cox (1995) also changed his earlier position on secularisation and noted that “religion . . . seems to have gained a new lease of life. Today it is secularity, not

spirituality that may be headed for extinction”. Consequently, some scholars have begun to make the case for ‘post-secularism’, where religious ideas are increasingly becoming more influential in popular debates in the public sphere.

In the literature on Christianity in Africa, the increasing visibility of PCCs in previously secular spaces have received wide attention. Meyer (2004) for instance observed that there has been a complete “Pentecostalisation” of public culture in Ghana and that Christian popular culture has colonised public space. She argued that, as a result of the liberalisation and commercialisation of the media in Ghana, a new public sphere has emerged that can no longer be fully controlled by the state but that is increasingly indebted to the cultural work of PCCs (Meyer 2004: 69; Jager 2015). For Meyer (2004), the relationship between Pentecostalism and popular culture should be viewed in dialectical terms; the former feeds into the latter, thereby transforming it and vice versa. Similar processes can also be detected in Zimbabwe where increasing numbers of secular music and musicians are being co-opted by PCCs while political speeches and audiences are Pentecostalised. This process can also be observed in Zimbabwean newspapers and television where PCCs’ images circulate widely and on Zimbabwean streets where PCC stickers have visually transformed public space. It is not uncommon to see many cars with religious stickers proclaiming that the drivers are “Ruling in the midst of my enemies”.

These new Pentecostal churches include the United Family International Church (UFIC), Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministries, Spirit Embassy and Heartfelt church to mention just a few. In Zimbabwe, these new Pentecostal churches emerged amid Zimbabwe’s protracted socio-economic and political crisis of the 2000s.

Summary of Thesis Findings and Arguments

This thesis looks at these vexed questions in the context of the UZ’s situatedness in a highly religious society and its historical entanglement with national politics. It does so by examining the ways in which religiosity – Pentecostalism in particular – shapes the institutional politics of the University of Zimbabwe, supposedly a secular university, and the everyday life of students who join its Pentecostal churches. On the basis of my fieldwork there, I contest the university’s claims to secularity, showing the extent to which control over religious groupings matters a great deal to the university authorities. I also demonstrate the extent to which faith permeates every aspect of the university experience for those who

subscribe to its Pentecostal forms. These linkages between faith and university life, moreover, are mediated by the wider politics of the country, including the linkages between the state and the university.

In Zimbabwe, the state is intricately related to the university and this relationship has a very specific historical trajectory. The state has a strong interest in controlling knowledge production, debate and the expression of opposition at the university. This predation of the state on the governance and everyday life on campus is manifest in the rules and regulations that are meant to contain the activities of religious and political groups on campus, and the surveillance and control on students' associational lives on campus. Thus, I argue in the thesis that the state introduces a particular version of patriarchy – the authority of Zimbabwe's "big man" – that is manifest in the everyday life at the university, including in institutional struggles over the sphere of influence of the PCCs. Therefore, I argue that the university campus can be seen as a sociological microcosm of the broader national state-religion and university interactions. Likewise, PCCs on campus have a complex relationship with the university and the state. What we have at UZ is a mixture of both PCC support of, and resistance to, the state. Dominant narratives in Pentecostal literature create a binary of churches supportive of the state and the status quo (Maxwell 2000; Gifford 1998; Ellis and Ter Haar 2007; Haynes 1996) and those that critique the state and usher in egalitarian and democratic structures (Martin 1990; Ellis and Ter Haar 2004; Haynes 2010). At UZ however, the PCCs' relationship to the state and the university is mixed. In fact, on campus the growth, visibility and influence on new PCCs creates a strange tension and antagonism between new PCCs and the university. This antagonism emanates, in part, from epistemological tensions between the teachings and rituals of new PCCs and their implications on the university. For instance, the literal truth of the bible, miracles (*minana*) and the work ethic the university tries to instil on its students. For new PCCs and their students, religious truth trumps scientific truth and rationality is being progressively replaced with spirituality in certain respects—a belief which irks the university.

This entanglement between Christianity, politics and the university plays out most conspicuously in the struggle for space on campus. Of note, because of their longstanding relationship with the university and their historical political power on campus, mainline churches at UZ accrue and monopolise more physical space for themselves at the expense of new PCCs. This does not translate into greater numbers of student followers however. With large student congregations, the PCCs devise creative ways of finding and making space for

themselves - space that is beyond the control and purview of the university. With that, new PCCs also assert their hyper-visibility on campus through a heavy presence on cyberspace and church paraphernalia like wristbands, church regalia, notice boards and billboards adjacent to the university campus. Through the cyberspace, new PCC successfully create heavily 'mediatized' modes of community, appealing to generations of students familiar and comfortable with new media. Indeed, unlike the mainline churches that are contained and invisible in the fixed space of the chapel, new PCCs enter the campus and establish their presence by way of alternative cyberspaces. In doing so, they make a Christian body that is dispersed in creative ways, but much more hyper-visible on the campus space. Therefore, my thesis foregrounds the agency of new PCCs and their student members in subverting constraining rules and regulations on campus.

I argue in this thesis that this concerted PCC incursion into supposedly secular spaces is part of the Pentecostal spiritual warfare project; it is part of what it means to be PCCs (Adogame 2004). Therefore, it has to be understood within the broader context of the larger Pentecostal project rather than a mere resistance to a specific university context.

A large part of my research dealt with the ways in which PCCs shape the experiences of their student members at UZ. I argue that the striking visibility, popularity and growth on PCCs at UZ should be understood through the many benefits it offered to the students, material and otherwise. Focused very much on students' current realities and expectations for their immediate futures, the PCCs cultivate a sense of hope, industriousness and optimism which enable university students to make sense of the challenging socio-economic and political context in Zimbabwe. In the midst of daunting unemployment rates and poor job prospects, students in new PCCs are taught business and entrepreneurship skills, as well as marriage workshops which make marriage possible, but also simultaneously framing 'singleness' as a normalised and acceptable state of being (Frahm-Arp 2012), as well as induction into social networks that promise to shape their futures in positive ways. These students are also given exposure to successful personalities who have made it in life. There is a powerful and overarching spiritual component within all of this too. The new PCCs offer a range of tools and weapons, as well as prescribed ways/strategies, which students use in fighting and succeeding in the perennial spiritual warfare against Satan and his demons (see also England 2007). This notion of spiritual warfare looms extremely large and dominates everyday life for student Pentecostals. Similarly, other new PCCs joined the students in the burgeoning protest movements in the country as an alternative form of political contestation.

Where critical and progressive (Ganiel 2009; Miller 2009; Dorman 2002) PCCs expand spiritual warfare beyond the spiritual to become a form of socio-economic development from below (Bompani and Frahm-Arp 2010; Freeman 2015), active citizenship and democracy (Martin 1990; Burgess 2015).

Through PCC prophecy, time is foreshortened, bringing forth the immanence of a health and wealth lifestyle in the present. Believing the immanence of prophecies, PCC students had a unique orientation to the future that set them apart from other students who subscribed to older forms of Christian eschatology. Instead, new PCC students believed that by fighting spiritually they could unblock and claim God's material blessings in the here and now, despite constraining economic realities. Although new PCCs instilled and cultivated a sense of hope and optimism, many PCC followers experienced failure and frustration because promises of their upward mobility were delayed and unfulfilled. In such scenarios, "God's time" was sometimes invoked as an explanatory metaphor.

New PCCs therefore cultivated very specific logics in the working of the university and the mundane forms of the everyday on campus. For instance, the strong belief in the efficaciousness of the spiritual technologies, often led to serious resistance of university and state control by PCC students. This also led to a concerted privileging of religious truth and spirituality over scientific knowledge and truth. As part of their spiritual warfare, some PCC students rejected the ideas and knowledge imparted to them in university courses that is expected to make them move forward. However, as university degrees have ceased to guarantee employment - which means that being degreed no longer guarantees anything, let alone upward mobility - new PCCs find it easy to convince their students to question and contest the university's scientific epistemology. The promise of the PCCs is faith-based conviction, along with classroom strategies that question conventional modes of studying, exam preparation and other facets of the knowledge acquisition process at the university. Consequently, the entanglement between the university, religion and politics creates and reproduce serious antagonisms and tensions, which bring to the fore interesting questions around the liberalism, secularism and rationalism of the university.

New Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (PCCs)

In this thesis, I am dealing specifically with what I term 'fourth-wave Pentecostal Charismatic Churches', which are different in several ways from older forms of

Pentecostalism. Pentecostalism is a renewal movement within Christianity that sprang from the 20th century Holiness Movement. It emphasises the importance of direct, bodily, personal experiences of God's presence and insists that gifts from the Holy Spirit allow miraculous healing, prophecy and speaking in tongues (glossolalia) (see Martin 2002; Anderson 2004:104; Tankink 2007; Maxwell 1998:361; Burgess 2015:39; Van Wyk 2015: 265; Meyer 1998: 321; Frahm-Arp 2010:50). The name Pentecostalism comes from the Biblical Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit showered Jesus's disciples with spiritual gifts as they gathered to mourn his death. The first Pentecostal church meeting took place in 1906 at Azusa Street in California and was led by the preacher, William Joseph Seymour. The movement quickly spread across the world and reached present-day Zimbabwe in 1908 (Ranger 1986; Togarasei 2016; Maxwell 2000; Hwata 2005). The first official Pentecostal church was the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) which reached Zimbabwe via South Africa and was formally established around 1915.

This first wave of Pentecostalism was followed by a second wave in the 1960s which saw the "Pentecostalisation" of so-called mainline Christian denominations such as the Catholic Church, the Anglican, Lutheran and Reformed churches (Coleman 2000; Omenyo 2005: 41; Csordas 2007:300; Parsitau 2007; Wild-Wood 2008; Kangwa 2016:576). Congregants and preachers in these churches reported experiencing the gifts of the Holy Spirit and embraced spiritual healing, baptisms and speaking in tongues as expressions of their Christianity. The second wave of Pentecostalism hit Zimbabwe in the late 1970s and 1980s.

The second wave of Pentecostalism gave birth to a third wave in the late 1970s (Hollenweger 1997; Anderson 2004; Burgess 2005; Synan 2001a; Adogame and Jafta 2007; Kalu 2008). This third wave of Pentecostal churches is known as Pentecostal Charismatic Churches or Neo-Pentecostal churches. Like first wave Pentecostals, they emphasise the bodily experience of the Holy Spirit but unlike its predecessors, this wave of Pentecostalism have also embraced the prosperity gospel and spiritual warfare. Prosperity gospel is a theology that emphasise the importance of wealth accumulation and sound health for born again Christians. It holds that it is God's wish for his children to be wealthy, successful and be in sound health and happy families because Jesus paid the price for all these material things on the cross (Gifford 1988; Coleman 2000; Meyer 2011). Spiritual warfare on the other hand, entails the spiritual battles Christians engage in fighting the work of demons and evil spirits.

PCCs have quickly spread across the world and are often cited as the fastest growing Christian denomination in the world. Churches that fall within this category include the Rhema church, Vineyard Fellowship and Winners Chapel (Freeman 2015; Luhrman 2004; Bialecki 2008; Robbins 2010). The first new PCCs in Zimbabwe were largely established by youthful prophets and opened their doors in post-2000 era.

In this thesis, I look at a possible fourth wave of Pentecostalism in Zimbabwe, which has echoes in other African countries such as Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa. Like their third wave counterparts, this fourth wave embraces the prosperity gospel, spiritual warfare and is led by young, charismatic leaders. However, unlike the third wave Pentecostal leaders, the fourth wave Pentecostals style themselves as “man of God” prophets. Like their third wave predecessors, these fourth-wave PCCs attract thousands of congregants to their services and often use giant sports stadiums. In Zimbabwe, the fourth-wave PCCs are a post-2000 phenomenon and make intensive and effective use of the mass media technologies (see also De Witte 2003). And whereas third-wave PCCs have often been criticised for inculcating political apathy or taking side with the status quo (Gifford 1998; Maxwell 2000; Obadare 2016), fourth-wave PCCs actively promote political involvement and other forms of civic engagement. These new PCCs are all a post-2000 phenomenon and operate as inter-denominational and ecumenical movements (Chitando and Biri 2016) where third-wave PCCs often resisted such ecumenism (van Wyk 2018: 269-281). Fourth-wave PCCs also foreground their ‘spiritual kinship’ with spiritual fathers in West Africa. For instance, at the time of fieldwork, prophets Makandiwa and Angel shared the same spiritual father, a Ghanaian prophet Victor Kusi Boateng. Prophet Magaya was under the spiritual fatherhood of Nigerian prophet T.B Joshua. This phenomenon of spiritual fatherhood is peculiar to new fourth-wave PCCs and sets them apart from earlier waves of Pentecostals.

Unlike the older Pentecostal churches like the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), Zimbabwe Assemblies Of God Africa (ZAOGA) and Family of God (FOG) which have established themselves and gained traction in rural and semi-rural areas, the new Pentecostal churches are largely an urban phenomenon; being largely concentrated in the country’s urban centres (Togarasei, 2005). In their Sunday services, they attract thousands of congregants; many of which are youthful students from local universities like UZ (Chimutambgi 2015). Furthermore, these new Pentecostal churches also own and operate state of the art television stations which beam sermons and other church activities for 24 hours a day (Karengzezeka 2013). For instance, UFIC own and runs a television station called ‘Christ TV’, PHD runs

‘Yadah TV’ and Spirit Embassy (Good News Church) also owns ‘Miracle TV’. These mega television stations are popular among my interlocutors on campus and in the country more broadly. Although new Pentecostal churches largely use their own stations, they also make extensive use of national television and radio stations to transmit their sermons, testimonies and advertisement of their mega events to a wider audience.

Although the relationship between new PCCs and older Pentecostal denominations is complex and ambivalent, it is predominantly hostile and conflict-ridden. For instance, many old Pentecostal churches accuse their new PCC counterparts of stealing their sheep (members), especially their youthful congregants. Indeed, when prophet Makandiwa broke away from AFM, he left with thousands of former AFM congregants who followed him to join the newly formed UFIC. In response, the AFM secretary-general Mr Madawo attacked pastors leaving the church to establish their own churches as “ungrateful”.² In a statement about departing pastors like prophet Makandiwa, Mr Madawo complained;

AFM is not a platform for any Jack and Jill to use as a springboard to start his or her own church. There are people who are riding on the popularity and fame of the church to lure people. Every pastor who leaves the church becomes a prophet, why? All they preach about is miracles and money. We as AFM will stick to Jesus teaching rather than adopt gospels that are so detached from sound doctrine of Jesus Christ.

Due to stiff competition for influence and membership, there are always tensions between older Pentecostal movements and their new PCC counterparts. In urban areas such as Harare, new PCCs have seemingly superseded the old Pentecostal denominations in appeal (see Vengeyi 2013: 31). Apart from their suspect popularity and source of followers,

Many old Pentecostal churches also accuse youthful PCC leaders of misleading their congregants with miracles and prophecies to steal their hard-earned money (Chitsinde 2013;³ Chakanyuka 2015). For instance, prominent ZAOGA cleric Archbishop Ezekiel Guti labelled new PCC leaders “proud and ignorant” (Chakanyuka 2015).

Ethnographic Reflexivity

Engaging in a qualitative enquiry properly involves self-reflexivity and a thoughtful immersion into a relatively unknown social context. Self-reflexivity on the part of the

² www.newsday.co.zw/2012/04/2012-afm-attacks-thankless-pastors/

³ www.newsday.co.zw/2013/01/pastor-labels-makandiwa-uebert-angel-cheats/

researcher is crucial in understanding how personal belief systems (baggage) can influence the research process and outcomes. Reflexivity is necessary to reduce the power dynamics that are inherent in qualitative interviews and other research interactions, since more often than not the researcher sets the rules of the game. There are inherent power dynamics that emerge between the researcher and interviewees, but in my study, power differentials were less pronounced given the fact that I was a student, researching fellow students. Moreover, like them, I am Zimbabwean and previously studied at this university. As such, my respondents largely viewed me as an equal. However, I acknowledge the power dynamics imbued in the research process and the interview setting. It should be noted that my age and level of education, for example, could have influenced the relationship with my participants, especially undergraduate students.

Further, I entered the field as a non-Pentecostal Christian believer which, to some extent, accorded me the position of quasi-membership to the groups I studied. However, I was frank enough to show my lack of knowledge on Pentecostalism even though I was also a believer. I think this rather ambivalent status played out to my advantage in my study since it hardly disrupted normal activities or altered the existing social relations of my participants. By virtue of being a fellow believer, participants were free and open enough with me to enable me to immerse myself and participate in some of the church activities without any difficulties or pretence. Further, this also made it easy for me to gain trust from my participants and therefore enhanced my chances of accessing rich information. In fact, acknowledging my lack of knowledge on Pentecostalism ensured that I became a student willing to learn from my participants. This helped to empower my participants to be as exhaustive as possible in providing information. However, there are also some flaws that possibly came with this ambiguous status I inhabited in the field. For instance, my participants were sometimes tempted to gloss over some critical issues, assuming that as a believer I already knew them. Although I tried to probe for clarity, there is a possibility that I may have missed out on some important information. Similarly, some participants possibly distorted their narratives to portray themselves as better believers because they were talking to a fellow believer. Furthermore, some participants may have felt freer to divulge sensitive information to a non-believer researching them than a believer, for fear of being judged. Consequently, some information may have been concealed from me by virtue of being a believer.

Of note is that research is a value-laden and inherently political activity. As such, I should acknowledge that even the selection of my study topic, research methods and case studies, were not entirely unbiased. Though I made an effort to privilege the voice of my participants in making sense of their cultural practices and meanings they attach to them, I was still limited by my personal interpretation and subjective positionality. It is therefore important to acknowledge that I do not claim to be a detached value-free and objective researcher. However, I tried to be as objective and sensitive as possible. By utilising non-probability sampling techniques, I also have to acknowledge the flaws and limitations that come with them. For instance, generalisability of the findings is limited given the scope of the study and the nature of methods used (Neuman 2000). Thus, it is not my intention to develop universal generalisations from this study but to gain a contextually situated understanding of the lived experiences of students in PCCs on the UZ campus.

The University of Zimbabwe

The University of Zimbabwe (UZ) is the country's oldest and largest university with a current intake of about 14 000 students per year. Its main campus is located 6 km north of the capital city Harare, in the affluent, previously white-only suburb of Mount Pleasant. The university was founded through a special relationship with the University of London⁴ and in 1952 it opened its doors to the first group of students. At its inception as a non-racial institution, the college had more white students than black. It changed its name several times; initially called the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, in 1966, after Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965, it changed to University College of Rhodesia (Gaidzanwa 1993), and in 1971 it became the University of Rhodesia. Eventually, at independence in 1980, the University of Zimbabwe was adopted as the university's official name. Due to postcolonial government policies that promoted and enhanced education for black people after independence, the majority of students at UZ today are black. They are composed of middle-class students who cannot afford foreign universities and a relatively large number of students who come from poor rural backgrounds. The majority of these students are first-generation university-goers whose parents often make large financial sacrifices to pay their tuition fees. Among parents, selling livestock to pay for tuition fees is a common strategy (Hodgkinson 2013: 877; Nzenza 2017).

⁴ The university was an affiliate college to the University of London, a relationship which was terminated in the 1970s

The University attracts the best and most ambitious students in the country and is regarded as the top-ranking premier university in the country. Industry, commerce, government departments and other organisations locally and abroad view UZ graduates as the best trained and sought-after in the country. As the country's oldest and finest tertiary institution, UZ is the *alma mater* of many renowned personalities in politics, business and academia. In fact, most first-generation Zimbabwean politicians in the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic-Front (ZANU-PF) emerged from the University of Zimbabwe. Prominent alumni include Arthur Mutambara, Rhodes Scholar and Professor of Robotics at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA); Lawrence Levy, Africa's first neurosurgeon who developed the Harare shunt for hydrocephalus; Christopher Chetsanga who discovered two enzymes involved in DNA repair when he was at Harvard University; and Dumbudzo Marechera, novelist and poet who later worked at New College, Oxford⁵ to mention just a few. Not surprisingly, most matriculants list UZ as their "university of choice". Despite its attractiveness however, UZ, like many other Universities in sub-Saharan Africa, has been portrayed as a "hot spot" for the spread of HIV and AIDS due to high incidences of casual sex and transactional sexual relationships. A relatively large body of literature has described the "toxic" masculinities and femininities on campus that supposedly trigger risky sexual behaviour (see Masvawure 2010; Gukurume 2011; Muparamoto 2012; Leclerc-Madlala 1997; 2004). Further, UZ has a long and protracted history of violent student politics and aggressive masculinities on campus (Gaidzanwa, 1993; Hodgkinson, 2013; Zeilig, 2006).

Institutionally, UZ boasted over 1,000 professors before the well-publicised national economic crisis of 2007.⁶ As the economic crises deepened, the University was heavily affected and there were protracted problems with water and electricity supply as well as general infrastructural maintenance. The university has a total of ten faculties offering a wide range of degree programmes, diplomas and certificates in various disciplines that include arts, law, medicine, agriculture, social studies, computer sciences, commerce, engineering, veterinary sciences and education.⁷ It also has various research centres and institutes as well as satellite campuses. While UZ has a number of student residences on campus,⁸ spaces in

⁵ http://www.sarua.org/?q=uni_University+of+Zimbabwe

⁶ http://www.sarua.org/?q=uni_University+of+Zimbabwe

⁷ The University is accredited through the Zimbabwean National Council for Higher and Tertiary Education.

⁸ On its main campus in Mount Pleasant, there are several student residences such as Carr-Saunders hall, Swinton hall, Manfred Hodgson hall, New Complex 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 as well as New Hall which is mainly reserved for international students and members of the SRC. There are also several UZ residences off-campus

these residences are at a premium and several students living in Harare commute every day to campus while many others find lodgings in nearby suburbs like Mount Pleasant, Avondale, Alexandra Park and Vinona. Off-campus student lodgings are reportedly squalid (Madzonga 2015).⁹

Like all other state-owned universities in Zimbabwe, the president of the country is also the *ex officio* Chancellor of UZ.¹⁰ It is, however, governed by the Vice-Chancellor, deputised by two Pro-Vice Chancellors in consultation with the University Council. The Council is mainly comprised of the University's chief officers, representatives of Senate, staff, nominees of the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education and representatives from various sectors of commerce and civil society. The Vice-Chancellor is the university's Chief Executive Officer and is directly appointed by the president in consultation with the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education and the University Council. The current Vice-Chancellor, Professor Levi M Nyagura,¹¹ has served in that capacity since 2003. The two Pro-Vice Chancellors, who assist him, are appointed by the Council with the approval of the Minister.

While UZ was the only Zimbabwean University at independence in 1980, there have been several small Universities that emerged after independence and are fiercely competing for national recognition. At the time of fieldwork, the country had a total of 17 state and private universities. Interestingly, several of Zimbabwe's universities started as colleges and satellite campuses of UZ, including Bindura University of Science Education, Chinhoyi University of Technology, Great Zimbabwe University and Zimbabwe Open University. From the 1990s, there has also been a massive increase in private religious Universities such as Solusi University, owned by the Seventh Day Adventist Church, Africa University, owned by the United Methodist Church, the Catholic University in Zimbabwe, the Reformed Church University, owned by the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe Ezekiel Guti University, owned by Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA). In light of the increasing competition from religious universities, UZ is trying very hard to carve out a secular space on its campus while at the same time trying to attract students in a very

such as Montrose hostel for social work students, Medical residences and Mount Royal residence in the Avenues and central Harare. Campus accommodation preference is normally given to students from outside Harare and international students.

⁹ www.theindependent.co.zw/2014/09/05/uz-students-squatting-like-rats/

¹⁰ Robert Mugabe was the president and chancellor of state universities during my fieldwork

¹¹ Professor Levi Nyagura became the third black Vice-Chancellor at the UZ since its inception. After independence, Professor Walter Kamba was appointed in 1982 as the first black Vice-Chancellor. The other black Vice-Chancellor was Professor Gordon Chavunduka.

competitive university market- and an increasingly “Pentecostalised” public space (see Meyer 2004; Okyerefo 2011).

National politics, religiosity and the UZ campus

Apart from its academic credentials and reputation, UZ has long had a very particular political reputation. The organisation had been a hotbed for political agitation against colonialism, the Smith regime and lately against the dictatorship of President Robert Mugabe (Zeilig 2008; Hodgkinson 2013). During the late 1980s and especially in the 1990s, the university became the seat of opposition to the ruling ZANU-PF government as student protests skyrocketed. In response to this political threat, the University of Zimbabwe Act was controversially amended in 1990, giving the government enormous powers over the management of the university, content of teaching and the keeping of so-called public order. Various commentators and scholars have critiqued this Act for impinging on UZ’s academic freedom (see Cheater 1991; Gaidzanwa 1993; Hwami 2012; Hwami 2014).

Almost all politicians in the main opposition parties like the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC)¹² are alumni of UZ. Most MDC officials were once student politicians at UZ where they launched their future careers in mainstream politics. For several years, students at UZ engaged in fierce demonstrations and protests against the suspension of government student loans. After the adoption of Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the 1990s, the government withdrew student loans and privatised tertiary education. This move disenfranchised the majority of students at UZ who came from disadvantaged backgrounds. Students became politically militant and in 2003 were prevented from marching on the State House in an MDC-organised mass protest, the much-heralded “Final Push” to oust the Mugabe regime (The Zimbabwe Situation 2003).¹³

During this time, students revived the Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU), a student body that was once a force to be reckoned with in the country’s political landscape. In the 1998 food riots for instance, Learnmore Jongwe, who was a law student at UZ and president of ZINASU, led countrywide students’ protests against the rising cost of living in the country.¹⁴ Jongwe and other ZINASU activists were at the centre of the formation of the MDC, with Jongwe becoming the first National Chairperson of the MDC Youth Assembly.

¹² The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was the first political party to seriously threaten the hegemony of Mugabe’s ZANU-PF since independence.

¹³ www.zimbabwesituation.com/old/jun3b_2003.html

¹⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Learnmore_Jongwe

He later rose to become the party's national Spokesperson and Member of Parliament. Since then, ZINASU has had significant political influence and is largely aligned to mainstream political opposition parties. Realising the political threat this student organisation posed, ZANU-PF created its own splinter student body, the Zimbabwe Congress of Students Union (ZICOSU) to counter ZINASU's activities.¹⁵ The rivalry between the two organisations has been escalating as wider political tensions in Zimbabwe increase. Most recently, ZINASU has filed papers to take President Robert Mugabe, UZ's Chancellor, to court over the award of a controversial UZ PhD degree to his wife, Grace Mugabe (Mail and Guardian 2014).¹⁶ Similarly, in November 2017 ZINASU mobilised students to join the protests to oust Mugabe and refused to write end of year examination until Mugabe stepped down. They also demanded the resignation of the Vice Chancellor, Levi Nyagura.

While UZ has been implicated in the wider political struggles of Zimbabwe, the terrain of that struggle has become increasingly religious.

The rapid growth and influence of PCCs in Zimbabwe is also evidenced on the UZ campus where two churches, United Family International Church (UFIC) and Prophetic, Healing and Deliverance Ministries (PHD), have been very successful in attracting followers and organising mass events. Anecdotal evidence from informal interviews and newspaper articles suggest that these two churches have some of the largest student memberships at UZ. They are conspicuously visible on campus due to their many activities and aggressive advertising on notice boards and other public spaces. During orientation week, they have huge stands and hand out church pamphlets, free books and pens as they try to attract new students to register as members of their church. UFIC and PHD also organise campus cell groups, exam prayers, all night prayer vigils, evangelising and bible study groups. They organise various workshops and youth camps for students while some of the churches provide buses to ferry students from campus to church every Sunday. Student leaders in these churches rely on the large church membership to run for student political offices in the SRC and in this body they are often pitted against oppositional, revolutionary political parties on campus.

¹⁵ For report see <http://www.herald.co.zw/unpacking-presidents-meeting-with-zicosu/>
See also <http://www.herald.co.zw/zicosu-urges-youths-to-vote-wisely/>

¹⁶ For report see <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-09-30-student-union-takes-mugabe-to-court>
See also <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-09-27-zimbabwe-students-view-phd-for-presidents-wife-as-an-insult>

Zimbabwe's adoption of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) in the early 1990s and the eventual formation of a labour opposition party MDC,¹⁷ in the late 1990s accelerated the public visibility and influence of religion. As the country's socio-economic and political crisis deepened from 2000, Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (PCCs)¹⁸ became particularly influential in politics and public life in the country. For instance, churches started to run development programmes such as offering university scholarships to students and feedings schemes in lieu of state help. Facing stiff political competition from the MDC, Robert Mugabe and many ZANU-PF politicians began to patronise mega-churches to garner political mileage. President Mugabe, a Catholic from childhood, canvassed for votes in PCCs by attending their mass services and giving pre-election speeches.

Some PCC leaders have publicly pledged their loyalty and support to the President and ZANU-PF, reportedly after the Mugabe regime gave them farms. These church leaders portray Mugabe as the country's divinely chosen leader- a man of God (Sibanda 2014). For instance, prophet Magaya attended Grace Mugabe's birthday and fund raising dinner and bought her pictorial biography for US \$50,000 (Mugabe 2015). In some of the services I attended, the prophet urged his congregants to pray for Mugabe (Saunyama 2015) while some referred to him as a divinely ordained and God-given leader (Zivengwa 2014). In 2014, Prophet Makandiwa donated US \$10,000 to Mugabe's daughter at her wedding ceremony.¹⁹ In many of services that I attended, the prophet always hailed Mugabe and his policies (The Herald 2015).²⁰ However, this is not to argue that all new PCCs were supportive of Mugabe and his ZANU-PF henchman. There are some new PCC leaders that have been openly critical of Mugabe and his ZANU-PF party. Such is the prominent role of religion and PCC church leaders in Mugabe's campaigns that they headed a "National Healing Programme" after the widespread political violence and killings of the disputed 2008 elections (Chitando and Togarasei 2010). To many commentators, this was clear testimony of the role that PCCs were increasingly playing in the Zimbabwean political landscape.

¹⁷ Before the formation of the MDC, Morgan Tsvangirai and many other top officials were members of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU).

¹⁸ In this thesis I use the term PCCs to refer to the newest and emergent forms of Pentecostalism-what I call fourth wave Pentecostals which are led by youthful and charismatic prophets.

¹⁹ <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/news-14535-Mugabe+delighted+to+see+Bona+wed/news.aspx>

²⁰ <http://www.herald.co.zw/makandiwa-hails-president/>

At present, the most prominent religious figures in the Zimbabwean political landscape include prophet Makandiwa,²¹ and prophet Magaya.²² At the start of my fieldwork in September 2014, these two prophets stole the national media limelight when they prophesied bloodshed if Zimbabweans participated in mass protests against the state and Mugabe's government (Matenga 2014). Prophet Magaya publically reiterated that citizens should not ignore prophet Makandiwa's warning to thousands of his followers to refrain from attending places that promote violence (Mugabe 2014). The warning came in the wake of calls by MDCT,²³ leader Morgan Tsvangirai and his civil society supporters for people to engage in mass action against Mugabe's government. This prophecy received widespread coverage in state media and airplay on the national television ZTV. Critics have responded to these prophecies with concern, many over the coincidence of interests between religious and political powers in the country (Mushava 2014).

Some criticised the prophets for discouraging followers from direct political action by preaching that congregants should pray for the country's political problems. The Pentecostalisation of African politics and university campuses is a worrying trend in political dispensations that can only be described as dictatorial. Various scholars have noted that universities on the continent are important sources of political dissent and resistance (Barnes, 2007; Zeilig and Ansell 2008; Zeilig 2005). In Zimbabwe, scholars have shown that educated university students formed the first and most powerful civic structures to challenge the political hegemony of ZANU-PF since independence (Hodgkinson 2013; Mamdani 1994; Zeilig 2008). Given the relatively long history of political activism of students at UZ (see Hodgkinson 2013; Mlambo 1995), the recent entry of mega PCCs on campus could signal a radically different political trajectory. With the recent growing appeal of new PCCs on campus, the political ideologies promulgated by these churches could possibly reconfigure the radical potential of student activism.

In the last 20 years, a large number of scholars have turned their attention to the phenomenal rise and popularity of PCCs in Africa (see Meyer 2004; van Wyk 2014; Haynes 2012; van de Kamp 2011; Frahm-Arp 2010) and elsewhere (see Van Dijk 1997; Martin 2001;

²¹ Prophet Makandiwa is regarded as arguably the most powerful and influential religious figure and is the founder of United Family International Church (UFIC)

²² Prophet Magaya is the founder of one of the fastest growing PCC called Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Church (PHD).

²³ After the split of the main opposition party, the MDC, Morgan Tsvangirai's party was added a T for Tsvangirai to differentiate itself from the other MDC faction led by Welshman Ncube and later Arthur Mutambara

Hunt 2002; Cole 2010; Adogame 2008a; Akinade 2007). These scholars have shown that Pentecostalism is particularly appealing to the youth and upwardly mobile young adults (see Van Dijk, 1992; Martin, 2002; Englund, 2003; Maxwell, 2005; Parsitau, 2008; Frahm-Arp 2010; Lindhardt 2010; Van de Kamp 2011; Gusman 2007). Some of these scholars reveal that mainline churches are progressively losing members to these new PCCs. On campus, similar trends have been reported where many students from mainline churches are converting to new PCCs. Scholars note that the youth despised the gerontocratic set-up of their parents' mainline churches (see Lindhardt 2010; Englund 2003; Cole 2010; Van Dijk et al. 2011; Haynes 2017). As such, most of them are leaving their parents' churches *en masse* to join new Pentecostal churches which are formed and led by youthful charismatic prophets. Of note is that the competition for membership between mainline churches and new Pentecostal churches is a generational phenomenon. In response to the loss of members, some church pastors openly castigate new Pentecostal churches from the pulpit and in newspapers. New Pentecostal churches are often criticised by mainline and some old Pentecostal churches, for their overemphasis on money and other related variants of prosperity gospel, the use of anointing oil, 'miracle money' and prophecy among other things. Similarly, Mugabe on record accused new Pentecostal churches and prophets for extorting money from people (Gumbo 2012; Chitemba 2017).

UFIC, PHD and Spirit Embassy on UZ campus

Pentecostal churches at UZ can be divided into two categories; that is old established classical Pentecostal churches and new Pentecostal churches. Some of the old and established Pentecostal churches at UZ include the likes of the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), ZAOGA, End Time Message, and Family of God (FOG) among others. In Zimbabwe, the AFM is viewed as the mother of Pentecostalism because it is the oldest Pentecostal church and many new PCC pastors were former AFM pastors before establishing their own ministries (Togarasei 2016). All the new Pentecostal churches I looked at were formed after the year 2007, an era which represents the peak of the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political crisis (see Sachikonye 2002; Gukurume 2015; Maringira 2016; Morreira 2015; Hayakawa 2016; Matongo and Mawowa 2010). Several scholars have observed that Pentecostalism thrives due to the crisis of the postcolonial African state epitomised by socio-economic and political fault lines (see Gifford 2004; Comaroff and Comaroff 2000; Akoko 2007; Ganiel 2009; Maxwell 2005; Heaner 2011).

The new PCCs that I focused on for my study tended to share several common features. For instance, they all had a local footprint in the sense that they were formed by local prophets. Further, they were all led by youthful and charismatic local religious personalities who call themselves prophets. The majority of new PCCs I focused on for this study emerged from mainline churches and other old Pentecostal churches like the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM). AFM entered Zimbabwe via South Africa and was established around 1915.²⁴ In an interview with the former UZ senior chaplain, the AFM was the first Pentecostal group to formally register and operate on campus in 1989. It was followed by FOG and ZAOGA. These old and established Pentecostal churches have a relative advantage over their newer counterparts on campus due to their longstanding recent political connections (see Maxwell 2000 for ZAOGA's links with the government; Chitando and Biri 2016).

The youthful Christians on UZ campus attend three main PCCs; UFIC, PHD and Spirit Embassy.²⁵ UFIC was formed in Harare in August 2008. It was started by a middle-aged man called Prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa, who is also known by the name Shingirai Chirume. A charismatic prophet, Makandiwa had previously been a pastor in one of the oldest Pentecostal churches in the country, the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM). Prophet Makandiwa was born to rural smallholder farmers in Muzarabani district in Mashonaland Central Province in December 1977 (The Herald 2011).²⁶ He was born in a Christian family where his parents were elders in the AFM. Makandiwa grew up attending his parents' church and became a vibrant youth member in the church. He spent much of his time doing church activities and on various church expeditions he linked up with senior pastors. With other youth in the church, Makandiwa led nation-wide evangelising crusades under the custodianship of the late, prominent pastor Mukwaira. It was during one of these crusades that Makandiwa received his pastoral call, and enrolled at the AFM's Living Waters Theological Seminary in Harare. Makandiwa grew to be a powerful junior pastor and eventually graduated from the Theological Seminary in 2002.²⁷

²⁴ www.afminnorthampton.org/history-of-afm-church/

²⁵ Spirit Embassy has been renamed the Good News Church. Apart from these, Celebration Church International is also popular with students at UZ.

²⁶ www.herald.co.zw/just-who-is-emmanuel-makandiwa/

²⁷ There is no agreement about the actual dates of his graduation in official sources.

While he was studying in Harare, he met and eventually married Ruth Makawa,²⁸ a fellow youth member of the AFM. Soon after his graduation, Makandiwa was deployed to an AFM in Bulawayo in Matabeleland Province. He worked there as an assistant pastor under the tutelage of Rev. Madzivire, the incumbent president of AFM (Pindula 2017).²⁹ After several years as an assistant pastor, he received his ordination and was given his own assembly. Makandiwa became very popular in his new assembly as his powerful preaching and miraculous healing drew many people to the AFM. Makandiwa moved to several assemblies before eventually settling in Chitungwiza, a town a few kilometres from Harare. As a pastor in AFM, he started and launched United Family Interdenominational Ministries (UFIM) as an open lunch-hour fellowship at the Anglican Cathedral in the city centre of Harare. His fellowship group became very popular, and within a week, the numbers swelled to such an extent that the cathedral's space could no longer accommodate all the congregants. This forced him to look for a more spacious venue, which he found at the State Lotteries Hall. As numbers continued to grow, he was forced to move again, eventually settling at the gigantic City Sports Centre.

Soon, Makandiwa's involvement in this fellowship and increasing popularity got him into trouble³⁰ with his mother church (AFM). His relationship with the AFM worsened and when he eventually left in 2010, he took many AFM followers and people from other churches with him to join his newly formed United Family International Ministries. The UFM is an umbrella body that comprises the United Family Interdenominational Ministries itself and the United Family International Church (UFIC) (Vengeyi 2013; Pindula 2017). The launch of UFIC started with elaborate evangelism throughout Harare and a week-long crusade in Chitungwiza Unit L community grounds. During these events, Makandiwa performed spectacular miracles and prophecies, which attracted many people (Vengeyi 2013: 29; Pindula 2017). After only five years, Makandiwa's church was among the biggest and fastest-growing PCCs in the country. His wife, now known as Prophetess Ruth Makandiwa, became the head the UFIC's charity ministry called AGAPE Family care which support

²⁸ His wife is also called Prophetess and leads several women Conferences.

²⁹ www.pindula.co.zw/Emmanuel_Makandiwa

³⁰ Makandiwa was in trouble with the AFM because he was violating church doctrine and principles as well as serious disagreements over the source of his power. The other problem was the huge amounts of money which accrued to his interdenominational group instead of AFM.

widows and orphans.³¹ During my fieldwork, the church was building a state-of-the-art 30,000-seater church and several overflow tents in Chitungwiza.

The other large PCC on UZ campus, PHD, was founded by Prophet Walter Magaya, a young charismatic preacher in Chitungwiza. Prophet Magaya is married to Tendai Katsiga-Magaya, who is a banker by profession. The couple have two children. The church's website highlights that Prophet Magaya was inspired and called into ministry by prominent Nigerian preacher TB Joshua when he visited TB Joshua at his famous Synagogue Church of All Nations (SCOAN) in Nigeria. He had visited SCOAN to get spiritual assistance to kick-start a business empire, but instead received his prophetic calling. According to Magaya's church website, the formation of the Prophetic, Healing and Deliverance Ministries (PHD) was the fulfilment of the prophet's God-given mandate by the Holy Spirit through Senior Prophet TB Joshua. Magaya claims that prophet TB Joshua is his "spiritual father". PHD is less than six years old, but draws thousands of people to its church services where "all the people who are oppressed by the devil" expect "Physical, Spiritual and Economic deliverance" (PHD Ministries Website).³² The church website also claims that PHD has over 1,800 unpaid, voluntary Ministry workers who serve over 200,000³³ Christians in the area on a weekly basis (Chaya 2016; The Sunday Mail 07/11/2015).³⁴ The Newsday reported that over 500,000 people attended prophet Magaya's Night of Turnaround 4 in Harare, an annual conference hosted by the church (Ufumeli, 2015).³⁵

Spirit Embassy Ministries³⁶ is another popular mega-PCC at UZ, founded by a young and charismatic prophet called Uebert Angel. According to Chitando, Manyonganise and Mlambo (2014:161), Prophet Angel was once known as Hubert Mudzanire but he changed his name because he was and continues to be visited by angels (*ngirozi*). Uebert Angel is also nicknamed "Major" by his thousands of followers. Born to Reformed Church parents, Angel grew up attending the Reformed Church in Zimbabwe (RCZ) in Masvingo (Chitando, Manyonganise and Mlambo 2014: 161). He launched his church in 2007 in Manchester, United Kingdom (Pindula 2017). Prophet Angel returned to establish his church in Zimbabwe in March 2011 after staying in Britain for more than 15 years. Angel had already established

³¹ <http://relzim.org/resources/religious-leaders-zimbabwe/prophet-makandiwa/>

See also the church website <http://www.ufiministries.org/>

³² www.phdministries.org/phd-ministries/

³³ www.phdministries.org/phd-ministries/

³⁴ www.sundaymail.co.zw/night-of-turn-around-oversubscribed/

³⁵ www.newsday.co.zw/2015/11/picturesmagayas-night-of-turn-around-4/

³⁶ The church was renamed Good News Church

several branches in the United Kingdom (UK) before he established one in Zimbabwe. In one of the interviews he gave in the media, Prophet Angel explained that he had a call from God to spread His Kingdom, and called his ministry an “election by grace”. Only six weeks after its launch, Angel’s Spirit Embassy grew from 200 to 5,000 members (Phiri 2012: 8). Since then, the numbers continued to grow. Angel became popular for his astonishing prophecies, miracles and miracle money; money that miraculously appeared in the pockets, on cell phones and in bank accounts of his congregants during church services.

Prophet Angel is married to Beverly Angel who is referred to as the prophetess in the church. Beverly Angel also performs miracles like making accurate predictions of things that will happen in the future as well as predicting congregants’ identity numbers, cell phone numbers and car registration numbers, among other things. Beverly Angel is the head of the church’s charity branch called Hand of Mercy (HOME), which provide assistance to the poor in- and outside the church. The church owns a state-of-the-art television station, Miracle TV, which was established in 2011. The church has over 50 branches globally and makes extensive use of social media platforms and other Information Communication Technologies (ICTs).

Prophet Angel has also caught the attention of many people through his lavish lifestyle and ostentatious display of wealth. He drives the latest expensive cars (Lamborghini, Ferrari and Bentley) and a helicopter to church services. Like his counterparts, Prophet Angel also preached the health and wealth gospel to his congregants. For Prophet Angel, God called him to deliver people from poverty and material deprivation. Prophets Angel and Makandiwa were both spiritual sons to a Ghanaian prophet, Victor Kusi Boateng. Likewise, Prophet Angel is also the spiritual father to prominent Malawian prophet Shepherd Bushiri.

The young and charismatic prophets who lead new PCCs are very rich and powerful. For instance, Prophet Uebert Angel of the Spirit Embassy (Good News Church) recently opened a bank (Brits Bank) and an automobile (Atom mobile) company in the United States of America and in Britain where he is currently based (Zimbabwe Today September 30, 2016³⁷; Vambe 2016).³⁸ Some of pastors also offer exclusive hotel accommodation services to their church visitors. For instance, during my fieldwork, PHD prophet Walter Magaya built a five-star hotel in Waterfalls-Harare which was completed in a record six months. Apart

³⁷ Zimbabwe-today.com/Zimbabwe-prophet-uebert-angel-wife-bebe-opens-bank-usa/

³⁸ www.thezimbabwenewslive.com/business-30992-uebert-angel-bebe-opens-bank-united-kingdom.html

from the five-star hotel, prophet Magaya also operates several guest-houses in Harare and owns a football club which plays in the national league called Yadah Football Club. Likewise, UFIC prophet Emmanuel Makandiwa also provides accommodation services through his “Life Haven” guesthouses dotted around Harare.

These youthful prophets have business interests in real estate business in Zimbabwe and other countries. They also write and publish their own business and religious books which are sold at their churches and in book stores around the country and beyond. During my fieldwork, prophet Magaya of PHD and prophet Makandiwa of UFIC were in the process of building mega-church cathedrals in Harare. For instance, UFIC was building a 20,000 seater mega-church in Chitungwiza, a satellite town located some 20 km from Harare. It was near completion when I finished my fieldwork and was being used for major church events. Similarly, prophet Magaya of PHD was also planning to construct a state-of-the-art church building at his Waterfalls headquarters. These prophets held strong expansion ambitions and goals for their churches and businesses. For instance, UFIC, Spirit Embassy (Good News Church) and PHD had already established branches throughout Southern Africa and some parts of Europe and America (Chidza 2015; Ncube 2016).³⁹

Epistemological Tensions: UFIC, PHD and Spirit Embassy on campus

The entrance of PCCs onto university campuses in Zimbabwe has not been unproblematic. The explosive growth of religious spectacle and religious activities on UZ campus has raised eyebrows from the general public and university staff. These concerns were sparked by anecdotal reports that some university students refused to learn about evolution on religious grounds while others resorted to prayers in order to pass exams. Some university officials publically expressed their concern over the instant miracles that PCCs offered (see Mbanje 2013) and the epistemological tension this introduced between students’ religious beliefs and the nature of the university’s scientific knowledge. This is particularly pronounced for medical students who attend churches that emphasise spiritual faith healing⁴⁰ but affects all courses as PCCs constantly declare that “Education without Anointing is nothing”. Apart from such epistemological tensions, PCCs like UFIC, PHD and Spirit Embassy also demanded that students spend a lot of time on church activities every day, often to the detriment of their studies (see also Maxwell 2005: 25).

³⁹ Ufiministries.org/art_sandton.hp

⁴⁰ This is where people are healed of all kinds of ailments by just the laying of hands by the anointed man of God.

Despite objections from academic staff fearing negative effects on PCC influence and teachings among the students, PCCs continue to “colonise” the university campus through their well-organised and strategic access to students. Some of this access is through the very structures that govern secular, civic student activities. Indeed, new Pentecostal churches use the structures that govern civic engagement on campus to expand their activities and evangelise. In response to growing religious competition on campus, UZ has restricted all religious activities on campus to its Chapel. Since this limited space cannot accommodate all the churches vying for space and converts, the Chapel has become a site of religious struggle (see chapter 4).

Chapter Outline: Organisation of Thesis

This thesis consists of eight chapters, six of which are empirical chapters. Throughout the various chapters of the thesis, I highlight the existential worries confronted by young people in Zimbabwe such as unemployment, political marginalisation, poverty and social suffering.

In the second chapter, I discuss the methodological orientation and the research design of the study. I also discuss my positionality in the field and how this shaped the research process while providing a detailed discussion of the ethical issues that were considered in this study.

In my first empirical chapter, chapter three, I map out the complex intersections between politics, religion and the university. The chapter provides an institutional history of the University of Zimbabwe with particular emphasis on the place of politics and religiosity in the institutional life of the university and how it has evolved over time. In this chapter, I argue that the university does not have an autonomous existence, but that its life is complexly entwined with the political and the religious, locally and nationally.

The fourth chapter I discuss the dynamics of space and map out the diverse religious landscape on the UZ campus by starting with mainline churches and their relationship to the university administration. I show how their long-standing relationships with the university and its administrators give them leverage over their new PCC counterparts. In particular, I discuss how they exploit their strong patronage networks to gain access to university resources and maintain a monopoly over space. I consider how these groups perceive and

interact with each other. This relational group politics is crucial to understand the friction and fissures symptomatic of the religious landscape on campus. This chapter also discusses the recent growth of new PCCs on campus and highlights the various challenges that they experience in expanding their activities on campus. I argue that some of the new PCCs have not remained passive victims of institutionalised exclusion and marginalisation and that they creatively exploit alternative visual and virtual spaces for religious activities, which are beyond the purview of university control. New PCCs also use their political clout on the Student Representative Council (SRC), the Student Executive Council (SEC), and connections with strategically positioned university staff and students to further their interests, sometimes against regulatory restrictions imposed by the university.

In chapter five, I focus on the dynamics of students' associational life at the university. I show how the Vice Chancellor and other senior university authorities try to regulate and control the behaviour and activities of students, through various techniques and strategies. Surveillance and spying as well as the deployment of state security agents were some of the key strategies. Such control embodies the senior administrators' political and religious dispositions as well as their personal vested interests. Further, I also discuss how PCCs on campus also act as a form of surveillance on their student members on campus through surveying their behaviour, activities and associational life. I show how PCC try to cultivate particular desirable forms of moral and political subjectivities. Such processes on campus show parallels with national state-church relations.

In chapter six, I focus on the phenomenon of student Pentecostalism on campus, profiling students who join these churches in terms of gender, level of study, their faculty and academic disciplines. I address the question of why and how students join new PCCs on campus, paying particular attention to their subjective experiences. In a context of protracted economic meltdown and massive unemployment, I discuss what it means for students to join PCCs in financial terms. I show how the required frequent monetary sacrifices in PCCs can be both rewarding and painful, arguing that the socio-economic and political turmoil makes the realisation and sustainability of promises problematic and elusive, with negative implications for church commitments.

In this chapter seven, I focus on the discourse of prosperity and how it (re) shapes the aspirations (Appadurai 2004) and subjectivities of university students on campus. Central to this chapter is the various ways in which students imagine their post-university life and their

future more broadly. I focus on students' personal framings of educational attainment, professional careers, love, dating and family. I show how new PCCs reconfigure their students understanding of time and how they reorient them towards very specific futures. In doing so, I draw on the PCCs teachings, ideologies and activities and how these coalesce to create a sense of hope, optimism and industriousness. This is marked in very particular ways through engagement in elaborate spiritual warfare with the demonic spirits. Thus, I discuss the various ways through which students fought and how the church affords them prescribed ways of fighting and the weapons which they use in the battle with demons. In the spiritual warfare spiritual technologies like prayer, fasting, tithing, seeding and the creative use of church paraphernalia are important ammunition. In this fight, PCCs help students to make sense of their prevailing material realities as spiritual ones and provide them with efficacious material and spiritual technologies to overcome it. The technologies that I focus on in this chapter include business workshops, wealth creation and billionaires' Mindset summits, university scholarships, prayer vigils, anointing oil, etiquette mentorship and dating classes.

In my concluding chapter, I argue that new PCCs inspire a sense of hopefulness amidst a protracted hopeless socio-economic context in Zimbabwe. For some students, new PCCs are simultaneously spaces of opportunity, hope and disappointment. While PCCs cultivate optimism and aspirational subjectivities, these are often frustrated by unfulfilled promises and expectations. More broadly, I discuss the implication of this burgeoning Pentecostalisation and politicisation on the university and the production of its knowledge.

Chapter Two: Methodology

Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed description of the methodological journey into the field and sketches the specific methodological orientation that informed this study. In this chapter, I discuss how I negotiated access into the field and the challenges I encountered in gaining access to and in doing research in politicised spaces, particularly in navigating spaces of fear and state violence in which I was often viewed as a potential Intelligence Officer or a government spy. I also describe my sampling technique and data analysis, describe the research setting and discuss my reflexive position in the field. Further, I also discuss various ethical dilemmas and issues.

Researching PCCs

Scholars have noted that quantitative data tend to be problematic in the study of PCCs because, unlike older and mainstream churches, their membership is fluid and church records may not offer a viable sampling frame (see Maxwell 1999:194). In many cases, PCCs tend to have intermittent congregants and high membership turnovers (see van Wyk 2014). The explorative nature of this study on the complexities of campus religiosities meant that a qualitative research design was the most appropriate methodology. Qualitative research requires the forging of personal relationships with the study participants through engaging in their everyday social activities (see Hammersley & Atkinson 1995). According to Lincoln and Guba (1995), qualitative research is interested in developing a deeper and more situated understanding of the research problem within its specific context (cf. Silverman 2005).

My study employed an ethnographic approach in which informal conversations, participant observation and in-depth interviews were conducted in various spaces. I adopted an ethnographic approach and more particularly a case study research design because it enabled an in-depth understanding of the everyday lives of my participants (see Yin 1998; Yin 2003). The unique strength of case study design is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence; observations, artefacts, interviews and documents (Yin 2003: 8). It is also flexible, typically evolving in response to the specific contexts and lived realities of participants (see Yin 2003). By going to “where the action is” (Grills 1998:11), I became familiar with the in-depth dynamics, routines, relationships and nuances that are part of the everyday life of my participants and developed a nuanced understanding of the everyday life of my participants

and the dynamics of campus religiosities. This enabled the development of ‘thick descriptions’ (Geertz 1973) of everyday life on campus.

Epistemologically, this study’s orientation is phenomenological and/or interpretivist. Interpretivism underscores the subjective nature of human behaviour and emphasises the Weberian ‘verstehen’; understanding social phenomena from and through the eyes of participants (see Bryman 2004: 280). As such, it privileges an interpretive and subjective construction of social reality through the meanings people attach to their social world and everyday lives (Denzin & Lincoln 1998; Silverman 2005; Baxter & Babbie 2003).

The fieldwork

This ethnographic study was conducted from November 2014 to February 2016 in Harare and at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) more specifically. Preliminary fieldwork was conducted between August and September 2014 before my data collection commenced on November 2014. In choosing my research setting, I was initially torn between the University of Cape Town (UCT) and the UZ campuses. At some point, I contemplated doing a comparative study of the two campuses. For almost eight months, I did preliminary fieldwork at UCT where I harvested very rich and fascinating ethnographic data. However, a feasibility study at UZ convinced me that Zimbabwean research would be interesting. I left for Zimbabwe in early November 2014 and spent 15 months in the field. I then made the hard decision to drop UCT from my study. My final decision to focus on UZ was rather pragmatic given my strong familiarity and deep understanding of the university space at UZ.

Prior to enrolling for my PhD studies at UCT, I had spent almost six years at UZ. I started my undergraduate studies in Sociology in August 2005 at the university. After completing my undergraduate studies, I proceeded to do my MSc in Sociology and Social Anthropology at the same university from 2008 to 2010. While doing my postgraduate studies, I was also working as a teaching assistant and later as a graduate teaching assistant. The other reason for selecting UZ was because of the nature and rootedness of religiosity at UZ. While much of the data was collected from November 2014 to February 2016, I also did a number of follow-up interviews and archival research for two months from May to July 2016. These follow-up interviews followed from questions that arose as I transcribed and analysed my data.

Looking for accommodation close to the University Campus

My first port of call when I commenced fieldwork in Harare was to look for a house close to the university campus. Although I would have loved to stay on campus, that option was morally problematic given the acute shortage of accommodation on campus (Mukwati 2016). While the university's total student population during my fieldwork was 14,000 students, the university could only accommodate 4500 students in its halls of residence, this after introducing bunk beds in former single rooms. The vast majority of students lived off campus in rented accommodation. Media reports revealed that conditions in rented accommodation were often deplorable, overcrowded and precarious (Zhangazha 2014; Zivira 2014).

I wanted a place close to the university so that I would be able to stay late at night and observe the nature, flows and rhythms of campus life after hours. A place close to campus would also enable me to observe the everyday lives of non-residential students renting apartments in the areas surrounding the university. I initially looked for accommodation in Mount Pleasant, Avondale, Alexandra Park and Gunhill-suburbs, which surround the university campus. Though I would have loved to stay in these areas, I realised that it was extremely difficult to get affordable accommodation due to the high demand by UZ students, especially in Avondale and Mount Pleasant. At the time of my research, the cheapest room I could find was US \$240, which was beyond my reach. Most landlords asked if I was a UZ student, or what my budget was before they turned me down as a potential tenant. I eventually managed to secure a neat two-bedroomed apartment in Borrowdale, an affluent residential area in the northern part of Harare, just a 15-minute drive to the university campus.

Negotiating Entry and Everyday Politics in the field

Negotiating entry into the field is often a political and complicated process, which requires meticulous and continuous management of one's identity and skills of forging cordial relationships with interlocutors (see Mare 2016). Prior to my fieldwork, I assumed that returning to UZ as a researcher would not be complicated; it was my alma mater and I had also worked here. I still had a number of contacts at the university. However, my first week of fieldwork on campus was a rude awakening and revealed the unpredictability of research. While many scholars argue that "insiders" have easier access to the field and the community under study (Merriam et al 2001; Taylor 2011; Van Heugten 2004), this was not the case in

my research. Although I am a Zimbabwean and former UZ student, studying students at UZ, gaining access and acceptance in the community under study was more complicated, politicised and difficult than I initially anticipated. The moment I arrived on campus, I realised that my imagined identity of an insider by virtue of my previous history at UZ was unstable and contested.

My initial attempts at negotiating entry into this field started in August 2014. During this period, I devoted much of my time identifying the key gatekeepers and establishing contact and rapport with some potential participants. I met the university senior chaplain and we had a discussion about my study and impending fieldwork. The senior chaplain became a crucial entry point into my field because he is the one who oversees all religious matters on campus. Given that my study focused on a number of churches and the university, I realised that I had to negotiate entry with a number of gatekeepers from different churches.⁴¹ My access had to be physical and virtual because student leaders and WhatsApp group administrators were not always the same. Negotiating entry was thus not a once-off process but rather iterative and continuous.

On my first day of fieldwork, I used public transport to enable me to conduct “ethnography on the move” (Wittel 2000; Melly 2013) as students and pastors often preach on public transport and in public spaces. As I boarded the taxi, a smartly dressed young man in a black suit stood up and started preaching. He only stopped when we reached the university bus terminus. As we got off the taxi, I approached him and exchanged mobile phone numbers. Patrick would later become one of my interlocutors. All pedestrians entered campus through a small gate next to the bus terminus. As I made my way there, the students in front of me put their identification cards (IDs) round their necks as they approached the two security guards manning the gates. When my turn came, I was stopped at the gate by the security guard who interrogated me on where I was going, who I was visiting, and the purpose of my visit, among other things.

The conversation went on for some few minutes before I was allowed to make a call to my friend, who confirmed to the university security guards that I was a legitimate visitor. I was given a temporary visitors’ card, which I was sternly told not to lose since I would need it on my way out. They also recorded the serial number and type of my laptop before I was asked if I knew where my friends’ office was. As I made my way to my friend’s office, a

⁴¹ Case study ethnographies often involve negotiating a myriad of gates of entry (see Wittel 2000).

security guard on a motorcycle stopped to ask why I did not display my ID. I took out my visitors' card and explained that I was visiting, before he took off. It was an experience that was repeated as I continued my fieldwork on campus. The complexity of access became part of my ethnographic data (see Apter 2005: 101)

On campus, I made initial contact with the PCCs operating there through a friend whose younger brother was an ardent member of the United Family International Church (UFIC). Gaining access to their church services was made easier due to the open door policy symptomatic of many new mega Pentecostal churches (see also van Wyk 2014 for a mega Brazilian church in South Africa; Van de Kamp 2011 for Mozambique). When it came to identifying individual church members on campus, this was made easy because of a new phenomenon where members wore church wristbands at all times. But approaching potential interviewees and participants required more than simple identification; I first needed to establish sufficient rapport. To this end, I participated in a number of church activities organised by UZ students like weekend outings, bible study groups and cell group meetings. I also spent time at the chapel, which was the epicentre of religious activities on campus. Before services, students would be seated outside in the chapel gardens talking to each other. I always tried to listen in on conversations with the students that I met before and after church activities and other events on campus. This cemented my rapport with several students who ended up giving me their contact details and sharing with me their personal experiences. Spending time around the chapel also exposed me to many opportunities to observe diverse groups and individuals going about their business. I was interested in observing such things as the religious rituals students engaged in, the nature of sociality and networks students participated in, their tastes and modes of consumption and the type of clothes they wore. Although much of my participant observation was done on campus, I also attended church services off campus and, whenever possible, accompanied my participants into town for shopping and other social outings. I regularly attended church services, university meetings and other events like youth meetings and social outings off campus.

On campus, I would hang out with students for hours, observing their social interactions in various spaces. I would often sit in public spaces, sometimes with my interlocutors, where students gossiped about the goings-on on campus and in Harare.⁴²

⁴² These rumours and gossip were quite illuminating of the micro-politics and dynamics of the worlds my participants inhabited. Some of the rumours I included in my study did not only come from my participants but also from many other sources like newspapers and radio stations.

During my fieldwork, I usually shared the departmental library with two MSc students in the Sociology department. Our office was very busy with students coming in and out to get tutorial readings and sometimes to ask questions pertaining to their tutorial groups and assignments. This space provided me with an ideal platform to talk to and observe many students as they went about their university business. It offered me opportunities for chance encounters with potential participants and was a productive point of access. Some of the tutors mediated my access to students by introducing me to a number of their friends on campus. This made my access to potential participants very easy. I was able to observe how students experienced life on campus. After some months in the field, I became a familiar stranger to many students on campus. My participant observation in all these activities was overt. Participants knew that I was participating as a researcher because I disclosed the purpose of my study to all of them on first meeting them.

Apart from my direct interactions with students, the campus notice boards were crucial for information on church activities. On a daily basis, new notices and adverts were pasted on these boards. It was through the notice board that I came to know of some groups and events like the entrepreneurship forum by Dr Shingi Munyeza of Faith Ministries. Posters advertised the contact details of key people in various groups on campus. Each morning I would check these boards for events on campus, which, in conjunction with my network of connections, kept me abreast of all events and activities on campus.

Suspicion and Surveillance in the field

Practically, my first few months in the field revealed the grim reality of researching an authoritarian, politicised and bureaucratic institution. I hopped from one university office to another trying to secure clearance to do research at the university (see Posel and Ross 2014). After my first application, I returned to the offices to check for feedback, only to be told that I have to make a fresh application with a lot of new paperwork, including a letter from my university, my student identification, my proposal, to mention a few requirements. I compiled another application but still had no response from the institution. I observed that other researchers, especially those affiliated to foreign universities, were treated with suspicion and were not trusted to do research at UZ because they could potentially expose malpractice and political interference at the university. During my fieldwork, the university had been implicated in a number of controversies, which attracted both local and international media attention. The private media and international newspapers denounced the university

management for being implicated in such high-profile scandals. In informal conversations with other academics and researchers, they told me how it had become almost impossible to do research at government institutions due to the ‘recent’ politicisation of such institutions, the UZ included. In fact, during my fieldwork there was no one I knew who was doing research on and about the UZ. I decided to start doing research without official clearance after the university registrar took forever to provide me with an approval letter. In fact, I realised that this was not an ethical challenge, but a gatekeeping one which many researchers encounter in the field.

Initially, many people on campus whom I approached were clearly suspicious of my motives. The politicised nature of the university made it worse; some participants thought I was a government spy, a member of the feared Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO). It was widely believed that this organisation spied on students and workers alike. In fact, many students and academics believed that they were under the constant and ubiquitous microscopic gaze of the state. Indeed, student activists often remarked, “You may have the freedom of speech, but you have no guarantee of freedom after the speech here”. This suspicion was particularly acute at the beginning of my fieldwork when I approached some people who did not know me. This tended to have a silencing effect on some of my interlocutors especially with regards to politically sensitive issues. Their reluctance to talk compelled me to rethink my questions and use of space for interviews. For safety reasons, I began suggesting that we have interviews off campus. Initially, some of my interlocutors, especially student political activists were reluctant to be digitally recorded. In such cases I resorted to taking detailed notes. However, once I established rapport, these interlocutors were more amenable to being recorded.

Some university staff and PCC members also wondered if I was a journalist. Oftentimes I had to spend a lot of time explaining to my potential participants that I was a student doing research for my doctoral studies. Not all were convinced by my explanations. Indeed, some would flatly reject being interviewed.

After about five months in the field, I had established stable contacts and built strong rapport with many students in various churches, clubs and religious societies on campus. These contacts would keep me abreast of information on several events on and off campus. Sometimes they invited me to their cell group meetings, bible study and political meetings on campus. Many students were now willing to assist me and introduce me to their Pentecostal

and non-Pentecostal friends. Indeed, a good number of students volunteered to participate in the study and were willing to slot me in their tight daily schedules for an interview or informal conversations. They trusted me with very confidential information as they developed trust in me. These students shared with me their experiences of university life, their social life, church experiences and life histories. Inasmuch as the motive of my participation in these religious societies was to do my research and to collect data, most of the participants regarded me as an insider. As a Christian researching fellow Christians, I was not just an observer but a believing observer, albeit not a member of the churches I attended for the study.

Given that I was almost the same age as most of my participants; students treated me as an older brother. In fact, many of my participants started addressing me as *mukoma Simba*. In Shona, the term *mukoma* normally refers to an older brother or more loosely just a brother.⁴³ In Pentecostal circles, *mukoma* may mean a spiritual or social brother. Pentecostals commonly refer to each other as brother and sister. Being *mukoma* can be seen as marking temporalities of power, but it also burdened me with responsibilities. For instance, the group leader often asked me to ferry goods for their outing from campus to the venue on the outskirts of Harare.

Some of my interlocutors knew I was doing a PhD in Sociology because they always saw me in the Sociology department and often approached me for assistance on their Sociology and Anthropology assignment questions and dissertations. Indeed, for some students I became a *de facto* supervisor on their dissertation. I always felt duty bound to give my participants something in return for their assistance. I developed a give-and-take kind of relationship with my participants and this cemented my rapport with the participants and cultivated relations of trust and indebtedness (see Esterberg 2002: 70). Such relationships enabled me to verify narratives my interlocutors told me through sustained interaction with them in various spaces. As Willot (2009: 82) argued, trusting relationships in the field are ethnographically productive and enable the researcher to get beyond the “front stage” encounters they have at the initial stage of their fieldwork. This kind of relationship building in the field often created social dilemmas for me. For instance, when one of my main interlocutors struggled to raise his tuition fees, he approached me for assistance. I did not

⁴³ Anthropologists refer to this as fictive kinship.

have the money to help him at the time, which often made me feel bad given that he was one of my key informants.

Negotiating Access: Big Man Syndrome in the field

Negotiating access to the “big man”, both at the university and at new Pentecostal churches was a daunting task. The “big man” in this study refers specifically to the PCCs prophets and the senior university administrators such as the VC. Their assistants often said that these men were too busy or that their schedules were too full to grant me an interview. I suspected that the secretaries were told not to entertain so-called anonymous people like me. I remember that a booked appointment for an interview with one famous prophet never took place- his secretary kept me waiting for hours. Because I needed to talk to these men for my study, there was a lot of waiting involved in my research. In fact, getting access to them, even getting their phone numbers was near impossible. Very few of my research participants knew the prophets’ phone numbers and only saw them during church services. In Shona, people would say “*dzinonanzvana dzakakora*”, which basically means that the powerful and rich only mix with fellow powerful and rich people. As such, for ordinary researchers like myself (and ordinary church members), face-to-face access to the prophets and other senior key informants would remain elusive. Fortunately, my study was not dependant on the narratives of the PCC prophets and other institutional big men but on the youthful members of such organisations.

Specific research methods

In collecting data, I utilised a range of qualitative methods. To augment primary data, secondary sources were also utilised. These included church publications, newspaper publications, television programmes and advertising materials on campus. This multi-method approach was ideal since it enhanced the richness of the information collected while also covering up the weaknesses of each individual method. It also revealed data that would have been concealed had I used one method. As such, this approach helped to enhance the credibility, reliability and validity of information.

Participant Observation

Participant observation was one of my main data collection techniques. It entails the researcher's immersion in participants' everyday practices as well as being involved for an extended period with the people (or social groups) under study (Singleton, Straits and Straits 1993). Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) is often credited with first developing this technique. According to him, the main strength of ethnography is its capacity to enable the researcher to understand the world and grasp the nuances of everyday life from the native's point of view. Through ethnography, the researcher engages and observes social life, assembling detailed and copious notes. It is only at the end of a project that the researcher analyses and categorises data to enable the meaning people attach to their social activities within the specific context in which they transpire to come to the fore (see Robbins 1988: 6; Willis & Trondman 2000; Walsh 1998).

In this study, I adopted the position of "observer as participant" (Adler and Adler 1994; Grills 1998), since my primary goal was to collect as much data as I could. Adler and Adler (1994: 30) argued that, in this form of participant observation, the researcher takes a "peripheral membership role" which enables the researcher to observe and interact closely enough with members to establish an insiders' identity, without participating in those activities constituting the core of group membership. I believe that this position was ideal for me because it enabled me to balance the roles I took within the field as a fellow Christian but non-member and researcher. I was able to observe and record proceedings as they occurred, while participating in the social networks that animated membership. Being an observer and participant was also crucial in enabling me to familiarise myself with students and the complex dynamics of their everyday lives and practices on campus. While observing church activities, I took several photographs and used the pictures that were posted on the church websites, which I later analysed for symbolism with the help of my participants. As research tools, these photographs invoked a nuanced understanding of certain events which observation alone could not do.

Social Media-WhatsApp Ethnography

After about four months of engaging interlocutors from the UFIC, I was added to the students' WhatsApp group by one of the group administrators. Membership to this online community offered me access to a range of information. As a member in this group, I was able to see debates in real time. In using and analysing online data, I make the case for what Postill and Pink (2012) referred to as social media ethnography and what other scholars termed "netnography" (Kozinets 2002) or cyber ethnography (Chiweshe 2013).

Kozinets (2006) argues that with "netnography", researchers creatively deploy traditional ethnographic tools from Anthropology to study virtual communities through online-mediated forms of interactions. In classical ethnography, participants' speech acts occupied a superior position as compared to written texts. In contrast, netnography relies on written texts which become ethnographic data that helps us to understand the lifeworlds of our participants and how they attach meaning and make sense of the social worlds they inhabit (see Hine 2000; Mare 2016).

In this study, I engaged with the WhatsApp group-community for an extended period of time. Much like the physical religious community, this virtual community provided important socio-cultural repertoires and helped to corroborate data I collected through in-depth interviews and other methods. Through WhatsApp, I was able to observe what my interlocutors talked about, how they talked about it and the varied meanings they attached to their everyday activities. The strength of social media ethnography is that participants tend to be spontaneous and hence reveal more about themselves and their personal perspectives on certain topics (Hine 2005).

For this group, WhatsApp was a space for sharing information, seeking advice, bible study, sharing testimonies and forging convivial relationships with colleagues on campus. In light of the spontaneity and voluminous nature of information exchanged in the group, WhatsApp became an important source of data. My role in this WhatsApp group was largely that of an observer with intermittent participation. My minimal participation in the debates and conversations was deliberate so as to minimise my influence on the progression of the debates. I would only contribute with birthday wishes or when asked for my opinion, which was rare. WhatsApp was not only important for harvesting rich data but also for maintaining

social relations with my participants. It also allowed me to follow up on testimonies posted and to probe specific issues discussed in the group. Much of this information was archived manually to avoid losing the data. For example, some of the information I actively archived included the daily devotional messages, which were called spiritual links. These spiritual links are messages based on verses in the bible which the prophet sends every day to subscribers.

Unstructured Interviews

Patton (2002) conceptualised unstructured interviews as a natural extension of participant observation because they so often occur as part of on-going participant observation fieldwork. In this study, unstructured interviews formed a crucial part of my research. I conducted a number of unstructured and semi-structured interviews with student members of several churches, especially new PCCs on campus. In selecting participants, I used purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Thus, my initial contacts were very important in the recruitment of other participants. I asked interviewees to introduce me to their acquaintances on campus. Purposive sampling enabled me to select and focus on informants who were information-rich cases such as those who actually actively participated in the everyday activities of selected PCCs on campus. Sometimes I identified and selected participants during personal encounters during various church activities on and off-campus.

I conducted several unstructured interviews to elicit participants' lived experiences and perceptions of PCCs on campus (Bryman 2004). Further, unstructured interviews gave me the opportunity to probe and follow up on critical issues emerging from the interview discussions and WhatsApp debates. Interviews ranged from semi-structured to unstructured conversational interviews (Baxter & Babbie 2003). These types of interviews enabled my informants to broaden their responses, without losing focus of the research questions under discussion. Often, individual interviews would begin with a reflection on issues that would have been discussed in the WhatsApp group or church services during the week. This helped to make my interlocutors more comfortable about expressing themselves. As noted by Du Plooy (1995: 112), in-depth interviews offer "extensive data concerning participants' opinions, recollections, values, motivations and feelings".

A total of 45 students belonging mainly to new PCCs were sampled for this study. In addition, 15 more students from non-Pentecostal and non-religious background were also

interviewed. With permission from the interviewees, I recorded as many interviews as possible while simultaneously taking detailed field notes. My interview questions explored a number of issues, including the demographic profiles of students who join PCCs, their modes of consumption, students' tastes and bodily behaviours, the gender micro-politics of students within these mega-PCCs, the processes and procedures required for PCCs to operate on campus, the role that students play in the growth of PCCs on campus, the employment opportunities and other benefits that accrue to students, as well as how the university regulates and perceives PCCs on campus, among other themes. Transcription of interview data was usually done soon after each interview. In doing follow-up interviews, transcripts were studied prior to the interview. This helped me to pick up from the first interview and identify research questions, which were not adequately addressed in the first interview. Sometimes I used WhatsApp to pose follow-up questions or probe my interlocutors on issues being discussed in the WhatsApp group via their private inbox. My interviews lasted between 30 minutes to 4 hours and were mainly conducted in English. Some interviews were conducted in a mix of Shona, the dominant native language in Zimbabwe, and English. The majority of my interlocutors were comfortable responding to questions in English.

Students would usually choose spaces in which our interviews were conducted. These spaces included halls of residence rooms, open spaces on campus, in my car and sometimes off campus, especially in town. Similarly, most of my interviews with university staff, especially academics, were done in their offices and other spaces that were convenient to them.

Key Informant Interviews

In this study, key informant interviews also played a key role in broadening my understanding of the phenomenon under study. In addition to 50 semi-structured interviews with students, 15 key informant interviews were also conducted. Key informants were drawn from church structures, student group leadership and university structures. Students who occupied leadership positions in their respective groups or committees such as cell group leaders and youth leaders were some of the key informants. The University Chaplain as well as other UZ management officials were also part of my key informants. Key informants were chosen by virtue of their expert knowledge on the phenomenon under study and helped to corroborate information gathered through observations and unstructured interviews with students. I also interviewed some members of the UZ Student Representative Council.

Secondary and Online Resources

Most PCCs have their own websites and make extensive use of social media in their proselytising and advertising (Togarasei 2012: 259; White, Tella & Ampofo 2016: 4; Asamoah-Gyadu 2007:228; Faimau 2017: 85). Church sermons are often posted online; I downloaded and analysed the content of these sermons for themes and symbolic patterns. Further, archival information was collected from various sources such as the national archives of Zimbabwe and the university's library. At the University of Zimbabwe, I managed to gather rich historical information from its archives. This archival and historical information helped augment primary data collected through interviews. In addition to this, I conducted several informal conversations with other students and university staff who were not part of my sample. This helped to broaden my understanding and perspective of the politics of the everyday on campus.

Data Analysis

In execution, my data analysis was not entirely detached from data collection. However, the data analysis process peaked upon the completion of data collection in the post-fieldwork phase. In analysing both primary and secondary data, content and thematic analytical approaches were very crucial. Rigorous data analysis began in the fieldwork phase of the study with detailed transcription of the recorded interviews. All the recorded interviews were transcribed verbatim. All the transcribed data were then coded. In coding my data, I also triangulated manual coding with qualitative data analysis software like Atlas-ti to code and analyse the data collected. Through these approaches, I was able to identify dominant themes emerging from the data based on their recurring frequency. I also listened to the recorded interviews several times and took down detailed notes, which enabled me to generate specific thematic categories from the data. In developing these themes, I paid attention to the specific narratives and terms that my interlocutors used in our conversations and in response to my questions. Repeated ideas and themes that emerged from the data, which resonated with the overall study, became my initial analytic themes.

Ethical considerations

In embarking on this project, I was guided by the ethical provisions enshrined in the American Sociological Association Code of Ethics (2008). Apart from this disciplinary code

of ethics, I also ensured that the UCT ethical research standards and guidelines were strictly followed throughout the research process (Humanities Research Ethics Guidebook 2016). In my study, ethics are crucial given the personal and intimate nature of my study which deals with the private individual life words of young people.

Professional Competence

My academic background in Social Sciences, and particularly my training in Sociology, has equipped me with the requisite skills and competence to engage in ethnographic research of this magnitude (ASA 2008:3). In my MSc degree in Sociology and Social Anthropology at UZ, I did similar fieldwork research and a dissertation was required for the completion of the programme. I have also undertaken several research projects, which has given me the experience of handling the dynamics of research in contexts such as UZ and PCCs. Apart from this prior experience and familiarity; I have also received training in qualitative research methods, which was crucial for my fieldwork. In terms of language competency, I speak English (the official English language used at UZ and by many PCCs), Shona and Ndebele and familiarised myself with the literature on PCCs.

Integrity

In conducting my research, I was conscious of the need to maintain professional and scientific responsibility (ASA 2008: 2). I tried to protect the rights of my participants and tried to be respectful, tolerant and sensitive to their beliefs and ritual practices. I entered into the field as a non-PCC Christian believer, a position I declared openly to participants. Furthermore, because my research dealt with institutions (churches and UZ) that were sometimes implicated in all sorts of controversies and stigmatised by outsiders,⁴⁴ obtaining permissions to do my study was laborious and though I made an application to that effect, the response took forever. After realising that this was a gatekeeping issue, rather than an ethical problem I began conducting my fieldwork. There is a large body of work that debates the complex politics of studying huge corporations. For instance, anthropologists suggested that given their massive financial, media and legal resources, researchers' responsibilities to such entities should perhaps be framed differently (Van Wyk 2013; Nader 1972: 284-308; AAA

⁴⁴ <http://www.herald.co.zw/magaya-wants-me-back-bev/>

See also <http://nehandaradio.com/2013/07/01/pastor-alleges-prophets-makandiwa-and-angel-received-ritual-charms/>

2009). These scholars argue that instead of protecting the safety, dignity and privacy of such organisations, it is more ethical to truthfully represent those in power (Nader 1972: 307; Wedel 2009: 18; Wedel and Kideckel 1994: 37). While respecting the integrity of the institutions, I did not provide them any power to access information from my participants.

Confidentiality

Participants' right to confidentiality is crucial to this study and I made sure that confidentiality was observed at all times (ASA 1998:11). Participants were informed that the information collected would be shared in the academic research community and the general public as publications. I ensured their anonymity by using pseudonyms whenever I wrote about them and tried to remove all information that would identify my participants.

Privacy

I also tried to respect the privacy of my informants. As such, interviews were only conducted in spaces where my participants were comfortable and where our conversations were secure (ASA 2008: 9). To further enhance my participants' right to privacy (Hammersley & Traianou 2012), all recorded interviews were securely saved in a folder on my laptop with a personalised password.

Informed Consent

Participation in this study was voluntary and based on informed consent (ASA 2008: 12). Prior to participation, informed consent was sought from all participants via consent forms. All participants in this study were literate and most of them had participated in (or conducted) other research that involved the signing of consent forms. Informed consent in this study was an on-going process and hence there was continuous negotiation and renegotiation at every stage of the study. Participants were also told that there would not be any financial or material gain accruing to them by participating in the study.

This was not a covert enquiry. Deception and misrepresentation was avoided throughout the study (ASA 2008:4). Furthermore, I was aware of spontaneous ethical dilemmas that may emerge during fieldwork. In dealing with these dilemmas, I was always guided by the ethical best practice and provisions within the American Sociological Association Code of Ethics ASA (2008).

Potential Harm

Considering the pervasive state surveillance on the UZ campus, it was important for me to be cautious and conscious of the potential harm of the study to my participants. As such, throughout the research, I tried to safeguard the welfare and protect my participants from any form of harm that may emerge as a consequence of their participation in this study. I also thought through the potential harm that could accrue to me due to this study, and especially the political consequences of doing critical research in an oppressive political milieu.

My use of visual data in this study also meant that ethical issues on visual data collection become critical (see Langman & Pick 2013: 1). Though most of the spaces in which I captured pictures may be viewed as public spaces, Wang and Redwood-Jones (2001) argued that individuals have the right to privacy in such spaces. As such, even if it is legal to capture pictures in public, it may not be necessarily ethical; it might even be viewed as a form of outsider arrogance (Spencer 2011) or predatory aggression (Sontag 1977: 10). In light of such concerns, I sought permission from my participants to take pictures, to use the images and to reproduce them in my research outputs. In fact, after taking images, I normally showed the pictures to the subjects captured in them so that they could choose the ones that they wanted used, if they consented to them used at all. I was also sensitive to the cultural norms of the people and institutions under study to avoid the possible intrusive nature of capturing images.

Furthermore, the recording of interviews was negotiated with the participants prior to interviews.

The ethics of Representation

Another ethical and moral dilemma that I grappled with in my study was the issue of representation of my participants, their churches and beliefs. My study focuses on a group that is constantly stigmatised and negatively framed by the secular mass media. As fundamentalists (see Harding 1991), they have been labelled as morally “repugnant” and unlikable subjects (see van Wyk 2013; Howell, 2007). As such, there is potential harm in writing and representing them to secular audiences. Historically, ethnographers’ negative portrayal or framing of participants, the cultural ‘Other’, has been fiercely condemned, even

if their portrayals were based on “objective” and truthful representation of the people under study (see van Wyk 2013).

However, unlike the marginalised cultural Others who are often the subject of negative portrayals, the participants in my study were not a marginalised group but upwardly mobile. The church organisations I studied were also rich and powerful. In this context, I decided to represent my participants in a way that best captured how they made sense of their social world while following van Wyk (2013:70) in believing that it is ethically and morally appropriate to candidly represent those in power.

Conclusion

This chapter dealt with my research journey, and the ways in which I navigated spaces of fear and violence on UZ campus. Given the pervasive milieu of fear on campus, the depth of my initial engagement with participants was at first compromised. Though my participants’ suspicion abated as my fieldwork progressed, it may have had lasting implications for my research. Even though I tried to transcend these strictures, the institutional milieu of fear, secrecy, and suspicion often imprinted itself on the research findings. What also emerged in this chapter is that it is quite difficult for researchers familiar with a context or space to rethink their belonging to it when political factors reconfigure the space. This unfamiliarity of the supposedly familiar points to the constantly shifting nature of the ‘field’ and the identities inhabited by researchers and their interlocutors. This chapter also contributes to the broader ethnographic debates about practical ethical dilemmas and quandaries (Posel and Ross 2014) that researchers encounter and are compelled to negotiate in the field which sometimes transcends the provisions enshrined in a professional code of ethics (see van Wyk 2014: 210).

Chapter Three: Complex Entanglements: Politics, Christianity and the University

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the complex ways in which the historical entanglements between religion, politics and the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) play out in its governance and its regulation of religiosity on campus. Although the university is imagined as a secular institution and pronounce freedom of worship, it has long been involved with mainline Christianity. This is particularly evident in the university chaplaincy, which has long had support from the university management and functioned on ecumenical principles. In recent years, however, the explosion in the growth of Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (PCCs) on campus has threatened the institute's ecumenical and secular commitments with management clamping down on the functioning of PCCs on campus. Apart from its religious entanglements, the UZ is also a deeply political institution; the country's president is its chancellor while its Vice Chancellor and other important office-holders are political appointees. The university's student body has also long been a breeding ground for political dissent in the country. Such historical political patterns on campus have also been disturbed by the entry of PCCs. In this chapter, I discuss these changes.

The first section of this chapter deals with a short institutional history of the UZ. In the second section, I explore the history of religiosity at the UZ and religion's increasing influence on its institutional life before delving into the religious and political landscape of the university space. The last section deals with the university's political transitions and their impact on its governance and student politics.

A short history of the UZ

The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (UCRN) was established by a Royal Charter as a non-racial institution in February 1955 (Cheater 1991:189; Gaidzanwa 1993: 16; Gelfand 1978: 376). Although the Rhodesian government originally intended to establish the college as a whites-only university, the British government insisted on a non-racial Royal Charter (Gaidzanwa 1993: 15; Gaidzanwa 2007). Mackenzie (1987) noted that without the assurance that the college will operate on non-racial basis, it was unlikely that the British government would have agreed to the huge financial outlay. In fact, the British government

initially contributed £1,250,000 towards the capital costs of the UCRN (see UCRN Newsletter of April 5 1957). Other notable funding came from J. F. Kapnek who donated £20,000, the Rhodesian government and other local and international donors. The UCRN was meant to serve the federation as a whole, which included Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The new university had a special relationship with the University of London whose degrees the college awarded until 1970 when it became the University of Rhodesia (see Kamba 1981; Cheater 1991; Gaidzanwa 1993). On 5 July 1953, Queen Elizabeth was installed as the first President of the UCRN after laying the foundation stone at the university.

The UCRN started with a total of eight faculties, which included Education, Social Studies, Law, Arts, Agriculture, Engineering, Commerce and Medicine. Presently, there are ten faculties after the addition of Veterinary Sciences and the Faculty of Science. At its inception, it had 68 students, with 60 of them being whites and 8 black Africans (Kamba 1981: 58). The majority of academics teaching at the UCRN were white expatriates from the United Kingdom and other European countries. Most of these expatriates stayed on campus in university apartments. Given its colonial roots, the university adopted British, particularly Oxbridge, academic traditions such as having academic life-tutorials, a university chapel, halls of residence and high table (Kamba 1981: 58; Mills 2006). It was a model widely copied across the colonies, for instance at Makerere university (Mills 2006: 249).

White students continued to be a majority until 1976. At independence in 1980, the university was renamed the University of Zimbabwe. At that stage, the student population stood at 2,240 with an almost equal number of black and white students. The 1981 Conference saw UZ appoint its first black Vice Chancellor, Professor Walter Kamba. Kamba served as VC until 1991 when he controversially resigned at a graduation ceremony. After the resignation of Professor Walter Kamba, Professor Gordon Lloyd Chavunduka took over in 1992 and served until 1996. He was then replaced by Professor Graham Hill who took over in 1997 up to 2002. The tenure of Chavunduka and Hill were marked by unprecedented student unrests as it coincided with the socio-economic and political crisis that forced the government to reduce its funding to the university and students.

Historicising Christianity at the UZ campus

The material presence of Christianity at the UZ is as old as the institution itself. By the time the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (UCRN) opened its doors to the first group of students in 1957, there were two religious societies already operating at its temporary campus in town. According to the UCRN Newsletter of 7 May 1957, the two religious groups were the Student Christian Fellowship and the Roman Catholic Society.

The Catholic student organisation on the UZ campus has a long history of activism and resistance to state authoritarianism on campus. The Catholic student body and ZINASU fiercely campaigned against Mugabe's intentions to establish a one party state in the 1980s. Influenced by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), the Catholic students also castigated the Gukurahundi atrocities committed in the Midlands and Matabeleland provinces in the 1980s. Furthermore, some of their students joined ZINASU in castigating politicians for being corrupt. Indeed, during my fieldwork, the Catholic Church offered space for political debates and civic engagements at its Prestage complex adjacent to the UZ campus. The Catholic Church always offered students, civil society, political activists and opposition politicians, space to engage with each other at the Prestage complex. For instance, during my fieldwork, the late MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai was denied the chance to meet students at UZ but the Catholic student organisation offered him space to address UZ students (Machamire 2016).

While the Roman Catholic student organisation and the Student Christian Fellowship were the oldest religious groupings at UZ, they were later joined by the Anglican society and the Student Christian Movement on campus. Apart from student societies, many orthodox mainline churches pledged money for construction projects at the main campus in Mount Pleasant. According to the UCRN Newsletter of 25 July 1957, several churches like the Methodists, Roman Catholics and Anglicans also made donations to the university through their primary and secondary schools. Indeed, the centrality of Christianity in the institutional life of the university was borne out by the fact that the university chapel was one of the first buildings to be constructed. According to Commissioner Stuart Mungate, a part-time preacher at the University of Rhodesia, this was "testimony that religion was a crucial service

to the university community”. Although the university could not employ a full-time chaplain at that time, mainline churches readily supplied preachers for this role (Zvobgo 1996). The first deputy chaplain at the University of Zimbabwe, Dr Murefu, noted in an interview,

The Anglican and Catholic element was always there at the university since its early days and if you look at the university chapel like the way it was built is according to the Anglican setup but there was no real structured chaplaincy- there was just some visiting preachers who would come and administer services to the students.

While mainline churches’ contributions to the university were in service of extending Christianity on campus, it also had political intentions. Reverend Murombedzi Kuchera noted that in the 1960s, the predominantly white heads of Christian Denominations contributed money towards the construction of the chapel to contain and pacify the growing unruliness and political radicalism of especially black students on campus. According to Reverend Kuchera, the Student Christian Movement (SCM),

resorted to direct confrontation of the colonial regime and on 11 November 1965, after Smith’s Unilateral Declaration of Independence, we spent a couple of days at the central police station after being arrested for protesting and we were charged with obstruction of traffic in town. We became the voice against the oppression and injustices which was rife in the colonial regime.

To underline the centrality of Christianity in the institutional life of the UCRN, religious courses were introduced as early as 1957. For instance, from 2 to 3 August 1957, there was a large religious event on campus, which was opened by the then-Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Garfield Todd, who spoke about “Religion in the daily life of our country” (see UCRN Newsletter 1957: 4). Several key Christian leaders also occupied influential positions at the UCRN. For instance, Reverend M. Konviser was the vice chairman of the University Association Salisbury branch for a number of years (see UCRN Newsletter, April 1957). Roman Catholic schools also seconded teachers such as Father Townsend and Father Crehan to assist university staff with lectures in Latin. In 1969, Professor Robert Craig, an ordained Church of Scotland theologian and professor in theology, was appointed as principal of the University of Rhodesia. At his installation, Craig noted that the freedom of worship and non-racialism espoused in the Royal Charter were reasonable principles that fitted perfectly with his notion of the Christian religion (The Rhodesian Herald, December 19, 1969). In an interview with the Rhodesian Herald, Craig said,

I think a university is very like a church, in the sense that the church is a community of faith in God, a university is a community of faith in reason and it is a community which is guided by reason in all its activities.

Since its inception, major university events like graduation ceremonies have always been opened with the university's formal prayer, which was authored during the early years of the university.⁴⁵ Graduation ceremony programmes repeatedly record this as part of the proceedings (see for instance the 13 May 1960 graduation programme). The university prayer reads,

Eternal and ever-blessed God, we offer Thee our worship and our praise. We worship Thee that Thou art the Lord and Giver of Life, the Creator and Sustainer of men. We praise Thee for, that in every generation, Thou hast called men and women to high and noble enterprise and, calling them, Thou hast endowed them with the grace and strength necessary for the task. Look on us; we pray Thee, who are committed here to a mighty enterprise and grant us the assurance of the guidance of Thy Holy Spirit, giving us wisdom and courage and tenacity that we falter not in our design.⁴⁶

Despite such formal Christian elements and influences on the university, it was only in 1985 that Christianity was formally institutionalised when the Zimbabwe Heads of Christian Denominations, now the Zimbabwean Council of Churches (ZCC), established an ecumenical chaplaincy at the university. Dr Murefu insisted that this was the first time that the university had “structured continual religious Christian activities” on campus. Reverend Murombedzi Kuchera from the United Church of Christ in Zimbabwe recalled in an interview,

Religion was always there at the university. When we were still students, the Catholic and Anglican student societies were the most dominant groups with many students and workers being members. What we only did as ZCC in 1985 was to institutionalise religion with the formation of the university chaplaincy with a full-time resident chaplain.

The establishment of the ZCC's chaplaincy coincided with growing student unrest and violent protests against the colonial regime on campus (see Mlambo 1995: 475). After the Chimukwembe demonstrations of 1974, and other later demonstrations, many students were suspended and others lost their financial assistance from the colonial government. In response, the ZCC mobilised financial support from its international donor networks to help

⁴⁵ There is no agreement as to when the university prayer was formally accepted and who authored it

⁴⁶ <http://www.uz.ac.zw/index.php/about-uz/university-informationn/uz-prayer>

the affected students, most of whom were on the Student Representative Council (SRC). In an interview with the former ZCC secretary general, he stated that as heads of denominations, “we wanted to fight the injustices that inundated the Rhodesian society including at the university campus”.

After independence, the ZCC continued with its political activism and support of student leaders. As the economic crisis of the early 1990s worsened, student demonstrations skyrocketed. In response, the chaplaincy established a hardship fund to assist students who were struggling to pay their tuition fees and whose government support was withdrawn for leading anti-government demonstrations.

While earlier student movements were affiliated to mainline churches, Christian student movements after independence were largely Pentecostal. These included the Student Christian Movement and Christian Union. Although the Christian Union was a non-denominational group, its activities had a Pentecostal bias. Such groups provided an entry point and springboard for Pentecostal growth on campus in the 1980s. Although mainline denominations were dominant, from the 1970s, Pentecostal groups were beginning to infiltrate the university religious landscape. This was part of the wider infiltrations of third-wave Pentecostalism on the continent (Maxwell 1998; Jorgensen 2005; Corten and Marshall-Fratani 2001; Van Wyk 2014; Anderson 2005; Meyer 2004). For instance, the powerful non-denominational group, Fellowship of Christian University Students (FOCUS), began to manifest Pentecostal traits. Predominantly formed by disgruntled students from mainline churches who were attracted to the growing Pentecostal movement, this group was later renamed the Christian Union (CU). From the late 1980s, the Christian Union (CU) invited Pentecostal pastors to preach at their non-denominational services. Dr Murefu from Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) became a regular preacher on campus after a series of invitations from the CU students. In an interview he said,

In 1983, I had just returned from theological training in the United States and the CU committee members got in touch with me and asked me to come and preach to them and I preached to them my first message. And they wanted more, so I became more like a frequent visitor or visiting speaker to the CU but it was the students who were just organising themselves with a few pastors who would come once in a while to provide fatherhood to the students. And when the ZCC seconded the first chaplain to the university, Dr Sebastian Bakare, who then identified me as having been working with students for two years to deputise him in the new chaplaincy.

As such, it was Dr Murefu who formed the first official Pentecostal society on campus in 1989, the AFM-on-campus group. After the establishment of this group, other Pentecostal groups followed, including the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA), ON CAMPUS, Family of God (FOG) and others. FOG, one of the earliest third-wave Pentecostal churches on campus, was established by the former prominent CU member, Apostle Andrew Wutawunashe, after he led a number of revival gatherings in 1976. According to several media reports, Wutawunashe was a ZANU-PF apologist and member of the notorious Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO).

Since its official inception in 1985, the chaplaincy occupied a central position in the institutional life of the university. Physically, it was also built in the middle of the university between lecture theatres and halls of residence, which symbolises the centrality of spirituality and religion at UZ. Although the UZ chaplaincy was the brain-child of the ZCC, then called the Heads of Denominations, the university also offered strong support to the chaplaincy department. While the chaplaincy was still controlled and heavily funded by the ZCC, the Walter Kamba-led administration gave it autonomy and material support. Reverend Murombedzi Kuchera, secretary-general of ZCC at the time, told me that there were long and protracted discussions with the university in 1985 with regards to funding the chaplaincy. In these negotiations, the university bursar, Blair, refused to shoulder the costs of the chaplaincy, which was why the ZCC funded chaplaincy activities and the salary of a resident senior chaplain at the university. Commissioner Stuart Mungate, who was a voluntary preacher on campus during this time, remembered,

The university was insisting to the ZCC that you are the people who brought this chaplaincy here on campus so it's your baby and you are responsible for funding its operations. They rejected the liability of shouldering the burden of funding the chaplaincy.

After these negotiations, the ZCC appointed Reverend Sebastian Bakare as the first official full-time chaplain at UZ in 1985. Reverend Sebastian Bakare then selected Dr Constantine Murefu as his assistant. In the early years of Pentecostal growth on campus, relationships between mainline churches and the new Pentecostals were hostile. As one key informant recalled,

When the chaplaincy was established in 1985, the Christian Union students had a rather confrontational relationship with the senior chaplain, Dr Sebastian Bakare, who was an Anglican bishop. Some Pentecostal student fanatics from this group did not regard the

chaplain as a true Christian and had very little respect for his Christianity. That after almost each and every service at the chapel, they would stop at his office window and start to speak in tongues as if they are casting demons out of him until I intervened.

To quell these hostilities between Pentecostal CU students and mainline churches on campus, Dr Constantine Murefu convened a lecture on Pentecostalism to the senior chaplain and other mainline clergyman and academics on campus. After this lecture, there was a gradual acceptance and growth of Pentecostalism on campus.

Relationships between the chaplaincy and the university administration were cordial. The senior chaplain met with the Vice Chancellor on a weekly basis, every Friday, to report on religious and related issues. At the time, the Vice Chancellor allowed churches to freely engage in their activities on campus. Commissioner Stuart Mungate recalled,

Of course Professor Walter Kamba was that man who had a strong respect for religion because he himself was a strong member of the Anglican Church and he did not want to be very different from the white man as the first black Vice Chancellor of the university. Even Mugabe tried to do the same when he took over and the country was quiet and progressive for the first ten years or so and when he changed, things went haywire until now we have never recovered.

Similar sentiments about Professor Walter Kamba's leadership and religious tolerance were also echoed by Dr Murefu, who served as the deputy chaplain from 1985 up to the late 1990s,

Things changed with the change in administrative hands but the best times that we functioned well as chaplaincy was during Professor Walter Kamba and in my view he is the best ever Vice Chancellor the university had since independence. He would just allow you to function the way you wanted as chaplaincy, maybe it's because there were few religious societies then as compared to now, but generally the man was just good.

In 1998, the ZCC handed over the chaplaincy department to the university. The current ZCC Secretary General, Mr Gabriel Manyangadze, explained that while the ZCC used to appoint a minister of religion from its member churches to serve the UZ chaplaincy, they were forced to hand this responsibility over to the university because of dwindling donor funding. This hand-over was not easy and after protracted discussions between the ZCC and the University; the latter reluctantly included the chaplaincy on its general operating budget.⁴⁷ From 1998,

⁴⁷ This reluctance was understandable given that Professor Gordon Lloyd Chavunduka, a strong traditionalist and president of the Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association (ZINATHA), was still the university

the UZ senior chaplain became a full-time employee of the university with a university house on campus and a university vehicle. With these changes, the chaplaincy ceased to be autonomous and the senior chaplain became accountable to the university. The senior chaplain reported to the dean of students. In 2003, the chaplaincy department was added to the students' services division. The university conceptualised religion as a key service for the university community, especially during the time of recurrent anti-government demonstrations.

In 2003, Professor Levi Nyagura became the university's Vice Chancellor. He was directly appointed by former President Robert Mugabe and was widely seen as a party stooge. It was at around the time of his appointment that the university began to develop a strong interest in regulating PCCs and their activities on campus. Prior to his appointment, churches were loosely regulated and were allowed to use university facilities like lecture halls, common rooms and other open spaces for their religious activities. All church activities after Levi Nyagura's appointment were restricted to the chapel. Apart from its inadequate space, PCCs were uncomfortable using it because of the mainline church setup. In other words, these new restrictions hardly affected established mainline churches but impacted heavily on the new fourth-wave PCCs.

One of the former senior chaplains told me that during Levi Nyagura's tenure, there was also a progressive erosion of the autonomy of the chaplaincy. Mr J.D. noted,

Most of our problems started and worsened when Nyagura became the Vice Chancellor, with the other vice chancellors before him, things were OK. Nyagura does not have a human face, unfortunately, and he always complicates things unnecessarily and he doesn't care about the chaplaincy. So when he came, we started facing budgetary challenges even for buying things like electricity bulbs and toilet paper at the chapel. So we started to raise money by charging a nominal fee on people who wanted their documents certified by the chaplain to raise money.

Mr J.D. further noted that since 2006, all religious activities on campus were strictly confined to the university chapel. These changes coincided with the growth of PCCs such as the United Family International Church (UFIC), Spirit Embassy and Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries (PHD) on campus. The university administration has been hostile to these new churches. Some staff members claimed that it was because these churches

VC. Though Chavunduka had strong links with Mugabe's ZANU-PF, he later became personal adviser to MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai and sat on the party's Council of Elders when he passed on in 2013.

exploited poor students by demanding tithes and seed money.⁴⁸ Others believed that the motives were political. In fact, the university authorities have criticised fourth-wave PCCs for dabbling in student and national politics and for radicalising students. Unlike some churches, which scholars suggest instil political apathy because of their emphasis on other-worldly concerns (see Comaroff 1985; Haynes 2009), PCCs on campus not only encouraged their students to participate in student politics and assume leadership positions, but also imagined secular politics as part of their spiritual warfare against the devil (see Stambach 2010; Frahm-Arp 2010:256).⁴⁹ In fact, their teachings encouraged taking over all secular spaces and Christianising them as part of their dominion over the devil (see Kramer 2002; Kramer 2005). Yet other staff members, like one administrator called Mr Zhombe, claimed that the strict regulation of Pentecostalism on campus was an attempt to dampen noise,

It is more to do with their style of worship, which caught the attention of the authorities. You know, these new Pentecostals seem to be obsessed with noise even with very few people they would want loudspeakers, microphones, keyboards and guitars full blast. Shouting even when they pray, disregarding the presence of students in the libraries and workers in the offices who would want quiet time to read and concentrate. That is one of the major concerns, unlike the traditional mainline churches which are quiet and orderly. So that insensitivity caused the concern.

From a more academic point of view, some senior academics I interviewed, like Professor J.B., insisted that the restrictions were put in place to protect the university's epistemological and ethical project,

The problem I have with these new churches is that most of their teachings are at odds with the culture we are trying to inculcate in students. Some of them want to pass without reading- they believe they can go for an all-night prayer even if they have an exam in the morning and still pass. They want a good, high-paying job when there is none and worse still, straight from university without any experience. They want a big, beautiful house when they cannot afford it. They are taught that these things can miraculously happen and this disrupts their work ethic where you have to work hard to pass.

⁴⁸ The seeding concept relates to the money congregants sacrifice to the church with the hope of reaping more money and other material blessings in the future

⁴⁹ Inspired by their liberation theology, some mainline churches are also often involved in student and national politics.

A sizeable number of academics concurred with Professor J.B., with many expressing their reservations about PCCs' prosperity teachings. They insisted that these teachings negatively impacted on teaching and learning. Dr K.P. summed up their concerns,

For me, allowing religion to grow in influence on campus is dangerous. I think it stifles academic debates and vibrant intellectual engagements. I have observed that most of my students bunk some lectures on witchcraft, ancestral worship and spirit possession. I will have very few students and sometimes when you frame Pentecostalism as an anthropological phenomenon, some students fiercely resist that because for them it's the truth and I have heard some students don't attend evolution and biology classes in the health sciences. It's difficult for me. I think Pentecostals are taking over everything.

While university authorities certainly reacted to the aggressive ways in which PCCs attempted to stamp their authority onto its secular spaces, the institutionalised marginalisation and strict regulation of fourth-wave PCCs on campus should also be understood within the context of the complex politics of the churches themselves and the material configurations of power at the university.

Central to this configuration is the politically powerful 'big man', men like Levi Nyagura whose own membership to certain Christian churches dictated their decisions on Christian practice and access to university space. Dr K.P. explained,

The thing is, most of these elderly university leaders were educated at mission schools so they are not only members of the mainline churches themselves but also beneficiaries of mission education. Even the President himself grew up in a Catholic school and family, so they tend to be very conservative and sympathetic to these mainline churches. And now PCCs are directly threatening their influence not only on campus but even outside, criticising them. So these old leaders become very defensive and try to suppress and restrict these PCCs on campus.

Such personal Christian affiliations have seen orthodox mainline churches enjoy a special relationship with the university management. In fact, the majority of senior managers at the UZ are members of these old mainline churches. For instance, Levi Nyagura and one of the Pro-Vice Chancellors, Chipo Dyanda, are Seventh Day Adventists. The other Pro-Vice Chancellor, Takaruzza Munyanyiwa, is a United Methodist member while the dean of students is a pastor at Celebration International Church, a fourth-wave Pentecostal church with one of

the largest and most expensive church buildings in the capital.⁵⁰ Of note is that the religious dispositions of these senior administrators tend to have a strong influence on how the university is managed. Dr S.G. recalled one such an attempt on management,

I think I remember there was a time when the university tried to cancel all Saturday lectures but we resisted that move because we could not just accommodate Adventists. What if Muslims say they can't do lectures during their prayer times or Ramadan? So there was that proposal and some quarters in the admin tried to push for that but it just died a natural death.

While not all attempts at regulation are successful, the university management's religious dispositions influenced the everyday life at the university and actively marginalised PCCs. One student leader of a new and popular PCC reiterated the institutionalised marginalisation of fourth-wave PCCs by saying,

What is being regulated here is not just religion or Christianity- what is being regulated is our new churches, these are the churches that do not have access to space for their activities. If you look at the chapel time table, all the mainline churches and a few old classical Pentecostals have access to the chapel and we are systematically excluded.

Such views were widely shared among PCC students who complained about their stigmatisation from other churches on campus and the university administration. One of these students voiced his frustration when he said, "in a sense you feel like you don't belong, you feel like you are an outcast just floating somewhere. That's how most of my colleagues feel but we have to keep fighting!"

The UZ's Political and Religious Landscape

As a microcosm of the larger Zimbabwean society, the UZ community is predominantly Christian and contains multiple denominations. These include mainline churches, African Initiated Churches (AICs), Zionists and PCCs. This apparent religious cosmopolitanism makes the UZ campus a very interesting "religious marketplace" (Selka 2010; Adogame 2000) epitomised by stiff competition for membership and influence. Approximately 80% of the university community is religious with the majority of them being self-proclaimed Christians. It is not uncommon on campus for students and staff to publicly declare their religious faith and invite each other to church. In fact, a number of students and workers wear

⁵⁰ This is an exception to the general rule for one of the senior managers to be part of these churches. This may be because the dean was relatively younger than other senior managers.

church-branded wristbands; have church stickers on their vehicles and laptops and display church calendars in their offices and university residence rooms.

As with the university management, the majority of older university staff are members of mainline churches, while most young staff and students are affiliated to PCCs. This generational difference is expressed in some of the university rules that govern what students can and cannot do. For instance, when Levi Nyagura took over as the Vice Chancellor in 2003, he banned the drinking of alcohol on campus. His administration immediately revoked the student bar's liquor licence. The bar was called October 4 and was housed in the student union building (Gumbo 2016).⁵¹

The VC's moral crusade on campus cannot be fully comprehended outside of a wider political context. Historically, political demonstrations at UZ used to be planned at and organised from the October 4 bar. Terrance, a vocal member of the UZ SRC, explained,

It's not just about imposing his religious beliefs on us; it's also a very political move because when students are drunk, they will definitely find the courage to demonstrate. In fact, October 4 used to be the revolutionary hub and all demonstrations started from there. So Nyagura is well aware of that threat. This is also why he gave more halls of residences to female students recently because having more male students on campus is a potential threat. Nyagura is reducing this university into a celebrated mission high school!

Like Terrance, UZ students contested these moral impositions and confronted the authorities in various ways ranging from demonstrations, petitions and court challenges. They were particularly critical of VC Levi Nyagura's attempts to exercise greater control over their social lives and interactions on campus.

Although the university in principle claims to promote non-partisan student politics on campus, the UZ student body is politically split between the two dominant national political parties; Morgan Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and Mugabe's ZANU-PF party.⁵² As such, the two dominant student unions on campus have strong affiliations with the Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU), which is the oldest student union in the country and is largely aligned to opposition parties. Their rival union, the Zimbabwe Congress of Students Union (ZICOSU) is a state-sponsored student

⁵¹ <http://www.herald.co.zw/we-want-beer-on-campus-uz-students/>
www.chronicle.co.zw/uz-students-demand-beer-on-campus/

⁵² During the colonial era, such political splits in the university body were more complex and followed race, class, political and ethnic lines (see Gaidzanwa 1993: 22).

union, which was created to counter the growing influence of ZINASU at all Zimbabwean universities. ZICOSU is heavily funded by the government (Moyo 2016)⁵³ and often held special meetings with former President Robert Mugabe and his ZANU-PF henchman (Masenyama 2013).⁵⁴ Like the national elections, the UZ SRC elections are largely a two-horse race between ZINASU and ZICOSU. Given their close ties with the ZANU-PF government and their supposedly modest backgrounds, it is widely rumoured that some of the ZICOSU students are employed as government spies and informers on campus. It was also not uncommon for ZANU-PF politicians to interfere in student politics at UZ and reports revealed that they sometimes engaged in vote buying and rigging the elections in favour of their ZICOSU students (Mfambi 2013).⁵⁵ By contrast, ZINASU members often complain of being victimised by the university and the notorious Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), a government department with a presence on campus.

At the height of the Zimbabwean crisis, a senior member of the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), Tawanda Mutasah, conceived of the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) (see Tendi 2008; Kagoro 1997). For Tendi (2008:338) the NCA was an amalgam of churches, the student union, labour movement, lawyers, academics and human rights groups, which sought to demand democratic constitutional reforms from the government. Thus, churches, students and academics at UZ affiliated to these organisations actively challenged the Mugabe regime and questioned his legitimacy as a leader, especially after the violent land reform programme and the political violence that characterised the 2008 elections. Recently, critical voices have reemerged in the religious spaces. For instance, a youthful pastor; Evan Mawarire, mobilised students and other citizens through his #ThisFlag movement to protest against endemic corruption, poor service delivery and skyrocketing unemployment rates (Gukurume 2017a). Similarly, another PCC pastor and leader of the Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), Dr Shingi Munyeza, who often preached to UZ students, also became critical of the protracted socio-economic and political crisis. Through his organisation composed of amalgamated PCCs, Munyeza urged church leaders to support the #ThisFlag movement and its leader (Mushava and Chidza 2016).

Pastor Mawarire's #This Flag movement had many followers on campus. In fact, in June 2017, Mawarire was arrested while praying with some UZ students who were protesting

⁵³ <http://www.theindependent.co.zw/2016/02/05/zicosu-milks-government/>

⁵⁴ <http://www.herald.co.zw/unpacking-presidents-meeting-with-zicosu/>

⁵⁵ www.zimbabwesituation.com/old/may22_2013.html

against fees hikes (Herald Reporter 2017; Mail and Guardian 2017). Mawarire was accused of inciting and supporting protesting students. One of my key informants on campus told me that the university administrators also viewed these men of God as having a bad political influence to students. Not only were some Pentecostal church leaders organising protests against the Mugabe regime, some of them were also making political prophecies about Mugabe's political demise (Mhlanga 2016) and death. One of the pastors who prophesied Mugabe's death was arrested and detained for months (BBC 2017).⁵⁶ State owned media labelled Mawarire and other pastors as agents of regime change funded by the West.

While political criticisms on campus were common, it was less common for people at UZ to be openly critical of Christianity. Critiques of Christianity were commonly voiced by a group of old and outspoken traditionalists who alleged that Christianity was destroying traditional norms and values in the country. People like Professor Claude Mararike, Professor Sheunesu Mupepereki, Dr Tafataona Mahoso and the late Dr Vimbai Chivaura⁵⁷ were some of the leading traditionalists who were openly critical of Christianity. These traditionalist academics were part of senate and were politically extremely well connected.⁵⁸ They openly spearheaded Afrocentric and ZANU PF propaganda through programmes like “National Ethos”, “*Zvavanhu*” [Shona: African pride] and “*Nhaka Yedu*” [Shona: Our heritage], which were all featured on the national television station, ZBC TV. In these programmes, President Robert Mugabe is often framed as an African icon akin to a spirit medium, “*svikiro*”. Known as ZANU PF apologists with strong connections to Mugabe, they are very influential on campus, often referred to as “untouchables”. Indeed, these academics actively produced and propagated a narrow and biased “patriotic history” (Ranger 2004; Kriger 2006; Tendi 2008) which constructed Mugabe as the past, present and future of Zimbabwean politics, the alpha and omega. It is also widely alleged that they have received farms in Zimbabwe's controversial land reform programme as payment for their loyalty. Two former senior chaplains informed me that they would constantly clash with these traditionalist academics over religious issues on campus.

⁵⁶ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38651506>

⁵⁷ Chivaura died on the 24th of November 2015 while I was doing my fieldwork and was declared a national liberation hero.

⁵⁸ For instance, Professor Mararike claims to have supervised the former First Lady Grace Mugabe's thesis.

From the Royal Charter to the Act of Parliament: Politics, academic freedom and university governance

In September 1981, at an International Conference titled “The role of the university and its future in Zimbabwe” hosted by the UZ, former President Robert Mugabe, then Prime Minister, made it very clear that his government’s intentions were to control the running of the University and the production of its knowledge when he said, “Higher Education is too important a business, to be left entirely to the deans, professors, lecturers and the university administrators” (see Hwami 2013: 38; Chideya et al 1981: 6).

A few months after this Conference, the Royal Charter, which established the university, was replaced by the University of Zimbabwe Act. This transition had political implications for the governance of the university. For many academics, the transition from the Royal Charter to the Act of Parliament marked the beginning of the political capture of the university (see Cheater 1991; Gaidzanwa 1993). With the 1982 Act of parliament, the country’s president was made the chancellor of the university and all other state universities that would be established thereafter. Prior to the adoption of the Act, the position of university chancellor was largely ceremonial. To justify the replacement of the Royal Charter with the Act, Mugabe framed the Charter as a colonial anachronism curtailing the sovereignty of the new government. He also claimed that it was out of touch with the contextual realities facing Zimbabwe (see Cheater 1991: 190). At the infamous conference where he first revealed his directions in this regard, Mugabe said,

The modern African university is a creature of colonialism and in varying degrees bears the stamp of that genesis... we should demand that the African University shall acclimatise itself to the African environment. We insist that if the African University has hitherto, for whatever reason, hovered in the outer space of foreign ideas, and practices, it should now effect a re-entry into the African atmosphere and, if I may change the metaphor, plant its feet firmly on our African soil. In particular, we insist that our own University shall convert itself from a University in Zimbabwe into a genuine and authentic University of Zimbabwe.

As an early signifier of the university’s capture by the young ZANU-PF government, the new Act also gave the chancellor the right to be an *ex officio* member of the prestigious university

council.⁵⁹ Under the Act, the chancellor was also given the authority to preside over any assembly or meeting at the university (Cheater 1991: 190), giving him the authority to confer, withdraw or restore degrees and awards.⁶⁰ With this Act, for the first time, the Minister of Education had to approve the council's appointment of the Vice-Chancellor as well as that of the two Pro-Vice Chancellors (see Cheater 1991:190).⁶¹ In addition, the Minister was responsible for appointing twelve out of the 38 members of the university council,⁶² and for appointing eight of the 20 members of the Council's Executive Committee.⁶³ Not surprisingly, this Act became the initial source of conflict between the government and the university community. One senior academic at the university, Professor T.J., said in an interview,

The 1982 changes did not affect the governance of the university much because the State presidency and Chancellorship were just ceremonial offices. However, from the mid-1980s, the government began to impose itself on the university administration and asserting direct political control. Academic freedom and university autonomy was being eroded progressively.

In December 1990, the government imposed even more draconian Acts in the form of the controversial University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act and the National Council for Higher Education Act of 1990. The promulgation of these two Acts further entrenched the government's political control of the university. In fact, the Amendment Act of 1990 cemented the power of the Chancellor, Minister and the VC pertaining to the governance of the university. With the Amendment Act, the university Chancellor was given the mandate to directly appoint the VC after consultations with the Minister and council.⁶⁴ Before the UZ Amendment Act of 1990, the university council appointed the VC and Pro-Vice Chancellors. Further, this Amendment Act increased the VC's power, making him the chief academic, administrative and disciplinary officer of the university.⁶⁵

The 1990 Amendment Act also gave the VC the authority to suspend from duty any university staff member, prohibit the admission of students, prohibit students from attending lectures indefinitely, suspend or expel any student or group of students indefinitely as well as

⁵⁹ University of Zimbabwe Act 1982, Section 11 (1) (a).

⁶⁰ UZ Act, Section 7

⁶¹ UZ Act, Section 8

⁶² UZ Act 1982, Section 11 (1)(b)

⁶³ UZ Act 1982, Section 14 (3)(c)(ii)

⁶⁴ University of Zimbabwe Amendment Act (no. 21), 1990, section 3(a).

⁶⁵ UZ Amendment Act, 1990, section 3(2).

to dissolve or suspend indefinitely the student's union or any of its committees. In addition, the Minister would now personally appoint up to 26 members of the 43-member council and controlled about 65 % of the university council appointments (see Cheater 1991: 191). Worse still, one of the two "distinguished academics" seconded by Senate for council meetings was removed and the Amendment Act also scrapped representatives from the convocation as well as those from the technical and clerical staff from the university council (see Cheater 1991: 191; Gaidzanwa 1993: 25).

Likewise, with the National Council for Higher Education Act of 1990, the government established a council that was chaired by presidential appointees. Although VCs from both private and public universities were part of this council, ministerial appointees dominated its composition. The mandate of this council was to establish⁶⁶ and regulate the admission procedures⁶⁷ of university students, examinations and qualifications at all universities.⁶⁸ This council was also tasked with making recommendations to the Minister pertaining to applications for the establishment of all private universities, or revoking their respective governing charters (see Cheater 1991: 192; Gaidzanwa 1993:25).⁶⁹ Given their numerical majority, the ministerial appointees in this council had the power to out-vote VCs. Prior to this Act, the Academic board and the Senate regulated all research and teaching at the university but after it, the state deprived the University of this autonomy (Cheater 1991:193).

These Acts were fiercely criticised and resisted by both university students and staff on campus, culminating in violent anti-government demonstrations on campus. For instance, the Association of University Teachers (AUT) marched from the University to parliament to protest against these draconian Acts while university academics engaged in a demonstration in October 1990 demanding the immediate withdrawal of the two Bills (Gaidzanwa 1993: 25). The government passed the two bills through parliament during the university vacation when students were not on campus. University students and staff's resistance to these Acts dovetailed with wider concerns about President Mugabe's concerted efforts to turn the country into a one party state (Cheater 1991: 204). Openly opposing this project, one former chaplain of the university said to me,

⁶⁶ National Council for Higher Education Act 1990, Section 4 (1)(c)

⁶⁷ National Council for Higher Education Act 1990, Section 26 (2)(c)

⁶⁸ National Council for Higher Education Act 1999, Section 4 (1)(a)

⁶⁹ See also National Council for Higher Education Act 1990, Section 18 and 22

We marched with students against the idea of a one party state and we organised prayers on campus and outside to urge the church to denounce Mugabe's intentions of creating a one party state. We were so vocal but I can say even now we are still a de facto one party state.

The government ignored or brutally oppressed these protests and continued the university politicisation project. In protest, the first black VC appointed by an independent council under the Royal Charter in 1981, Professor Walter Kamba, resigned during a graduation ceremony in July 1991. In front of the media, the president, the cabinet and the general public, he cited excessive political interference in the running of the university as the reason for his resignation. In his controversial graduation speech, professor Kamba said, "I will be stepping down as the Vice-Chancellor of this university because there are many unprofessional fingers meddling in the business of this university".

Professor Kamba's successor, Professor Gordon Chavunduka, was directly appointed by the president. This appointment accelerated the political capture of the university and became more pronounced after Levi Nyagura was appointed as VC in 2003. In an interview, Dr K.P. summarised the changes at the university,

You know, when I started working here, maybe that's where I can start so that we can make that comparison. We were freer, happy and you could express yourself, you could protest without fear of victimisation, memos flew back and forth to say I am not happy with this or that. But now there is this muzzling of dissent and we can't ask questions anymore, we can't protest. In fact, we follow the line. We don't know what the line is but there is a line somewhere and a general suspicion that you are being spied on. You became very cautious of what you say in meetings, lectures and even ordinary conversations with colleagues on campus. When Levi Nyagura took over as the Vice Chancellor in 2003, a lot of things changed on campus because his leadership is in the mould of another dictator.

For Dr K.P., the nebulous line she had to toe had its own existence outside the individual and yet imposed serious constraints on what could be done and said on campus. This line was personified by the VC and government spies and became an everyday way of life for students and staff at the university. Magaisa aptly described it in his explanation of the ZANU-PF surveillance system in the country when he said,

The way this system operates, no one is ever sure of who could be watching them. Everyone thinks he or she is being watched by someone else, even though they are never sure who is watching them. Perhaps the person they are watching is also watching them. This way

everyone is suspicious of each other, except of course the godfather of the system Mugabe (Magaisa 2016: 6)

There was a clear disjuncture between the ways in which academics such as Dr K.P. and VC Kamba imagined the university should function and current realities. As Professor Kamba explained at a conference in 1981,

We must promote effective understanding between the University and government and also effective understanding between the University and community, but if course for the University to do this it must enjoy a substantial degree of autonomy, autonomy which is compatible with the realisation of these objectives, autonomy which leaves it with means to be an effective institution to provide policy-makers with a number of options.

Several senior academics I spoke to concurred with Prof Kamba that the university should be an autonomous space epitomised by academic freedom and free scientific enquiry. They were extremely critical of VC Nyagura's rise and continued employment, noting that it had nothing to do with merit but with ZANU-PF's safeguards and Mugabe's hold on power. Nyagura has become the first VC to exceed two terms in office. Further, although the CIO spies have long existed on campus, I was told that Professor Nyagura offered them a huge building on the university campus from which to operate even though the university has an acute shortage of space for key university business. In 2014, left-wing media reported that Nyagura also controversially awarded President Mugabe's wife a PhD degree. This attracted a lot of outrage in the academic community.⁷⁰ On 21 September 2014, one senior academic commented in the Standard,

I worked hard to get my UZ degree, and if it so easy for some people to just arrive and get a PhD the following morning, I feel ashamed of my old university. It is a disgrace that a reputable university which has produced so many academics of high standing can do this to us. After all, procedures have been breached even in the case of the Vice Chancellor who has been there for longer than the rules of the university's Vice-Chancellorship. His term is supposed to be maximum two terms of four years each, adding up to 8 years. But Prof Nyagura has been there for over 14 years. What is this?

Under his tenure, Professor Nyagura introduced new rules and regulations that saw student leaders arrested, imprisoned, suspended and expelled from the university. For instance, in 2013, a 20-year-old student called Romeo Tanyaradzwa Musemburi was arrested over a

⁷⁰ <http://www.thestandard.co.zw/2014/09/21/grace-mugabes-doctorate-uz-remains-mum/>

comment he wrote on the Facebook page of an anti-ZANU PF character called Baba Jukwa (Machakaire 2015; Rupapa 2014).⁷¹ He was remanded in prison for three months before he was granted bail. Upon his release, the university refused to register him or issue him with a student identification card, without which he could not sit for examinations or enter the university premises.⁷² In 2013, newspapers reported that Nyagura also rejected the MDC-T youth leader, Solomon Madzore's application to resume studies after he was briefly imprisoned for his alleged involvement in political violence, although he was acquitted by the courts (Gumbo 2013).⁷³ Similar cases abound.

Conclusion

This chapter showed that Christianity at UZ was for very long of a very specific kind, non-Pentecostal. And even though Pentecostalism's appeal grew in the wider society, mainline churches dominated on campus and tried to undermine the increasingly Pentecostal student Christian movements. Their historical and longstanding relationship with the university meant continued to have an impact on the present structures and political influences on campus. I showed how at UZ, Christianity had and continues to inhabit an important part of the institution and shapes the institutional life and governance. While universities and politics are often framed as secular entities, this chapter illustrated that at UZ and in Zimbabwe more broadly, both religion and politics are not secular. Instead, what we have is a very religious state and a religious university where Christianity plays an important role in shaping the everyday life of the institution. I also demonstrated in this chapter that the state's capture of the university took a very specific historical trajectory, a trajectory that was deliberately manipulated by the political big man, Mugabe, for his political ends. Indeed, ZANU-PF used the university as a weapon through which to fight opposition, suppress dissenting voices and protests and to cultivate its propaganda. The state's capture of the university helped to normalise and sustain its hegemony on campus and beyond. This hegemony was not uncontested as various church bodies on campus politicised it. In fact, some of them mobilised their student membership to resist and protest against the state's capture. For the most part, this resistance came some from PCCs. However other PCCs prophets were

⁷¹ <http://www.herald.co.zw/student-in-trouble-over-baba-jukwa/>

⁷² <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/news-17146-UZ+tries+to+block+Jukwa+student+from+exams/news.aspx>

⁷³ <http://www.voazimbabwe.com/a/mdc-leader-denied-application-for-uz-enrolment-turned-down/1583679.html>

complicit to the Mugabe regime. Thus, the university space became religious and political simultaneously, a scenario which raises critical questions about its autonomy, rationalism, liberalism and secularity. Indeed, I show a complex entanglement between politics, Christianity and the university, which resulted in a very unique operational logic that is embedded in a patriarchal big man politics. This politicisation and Pentecostalisation of the university had political and religious implications for the student body at UZ. It led to the incursion of the state and PCCs in student politics and the eventual bifurcation of the student union along political and religious lines.

Chapter Four

Space and Place-making on campus

Introduction

During my first day in the field at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ), I decided to use public transport to go to the university campus. While in town waiting for transport at the Mt Pleasant terminus, a young, smartly dressed woman approached me with a broad smile. She handed over a colourful and well-designed pamphlet and added, “Would you mind joining us for the event?” She did not wait for my response, but muttered to the next person in line, “Please make a date with us.” The pamphlet advertised a Pentecostal Charismatic Church (PCC) conference at the large national sports stadium in just over a week. A few minutes later, a *kombi* arrived to pick us up. On the front and back of the *kombi*, the owner had stuck large stickers that declared, “God’s Answer” next to a new PCC logo. I climbed aboard and sat in the front row. Seated next to me were two well-dressed young men, one wore a PCC wristband and brandished a bible. I realised the other one was carrying the same pamphlets I was given earlier. As we waiting for the *kombi* to fill up, the driver played some popular gospel music. As soon as we took off for UZ, the young man with the Bible started preaching. He only stopped when we reached the university. Throughout my fieldwork, I kept on receiving church invitations and pamphlets on the streets, listened to public preaching, saw countless people display their PCC bangles, stickers, wristbands and other regalia. Such public markers of church affiliation and aggressive proselytising became part of my everyday experiences and encounters in Harare.

What was revealing about these experiences was the ways in which new PCCs at UZ and in Harare more broadly were not only increasing their public visibility but also created new Christian spaces for themselves. These churches were also very pragmatic in the ways that they went about deploying their marketing; no object or vehicle was too lowly to be pasted with their stickers while no space was too profane for their use. This was in stark opposition to more mainline churches that rarely advertised their services and that held most of them in consecrated buildings.

Social theorists often focus on the ways in which power is operationalised in human relationships. In chapter 2, I showed how the UZ's big men have leveraged their connections to national politicians to impose a range of regulations and bans on campus and how that has led to the privileging of one kind of Christianity above others and lead to a culture of fear on campus. In this chapter, I look at the material consequences of that culture, and specifically at the ways in which power is sedimented in space at UZ. In particular, I will show how the patronage networks that have advantaged mainline churches, and that have tried to suppress dissent on campus, have led the university to restrict all its religious activities to a single chapel under the control of mainline churches. This is, however, not a story of total control. In this chapter, I also show how fourth-wave Pentecostal newcomers try to work around this material reality on and off campus.

Christian centralisation and the UZ chaplaincy

Article IV of the UZ Royal Charter guarantees, at least in principle, freedom of religion and worship as well as non-racialism on campus. For many years, the university chaplaincy has also operated as an ecumenical department catering to all Christian religious groups on campus (see Chapter 3). Both of these freedoms have in recent years been curtailed as the UZ was captured by the state and new PCCs threatened to unsettle established patronage networks between UZ management and mainline churches. While previous provisions allowed for a relatively loose configuration of Christian bodies to operate on campus, under Vice Chancellor (VC) Levi Nyagura, this arrangement has been suspended in favour of a centralisation of control over both space and Christianity in the office of the chaplaincy. Today, the university senior chaplain presides over all religious activities on campus, wielding enormous power over all religious groups operating on campus. The majority of senior chaplains are drawn from mainline churches. As the former UZ senior Chaplain, Mr

Gavaza⁷⁴, explained to me, there was a historical dominance of mainline senior chaplains at UZ. He noted,

The university authorities prefer a senior chaplain from the mainline churches. They always said they want a chaplain from the churches they have always known and at UZ if you observe the pattern and the trend has always been recruiting a senior chaplain from mainline churches like the Anglican, Catholic, Methodist to mention a few. It was anathema to have a Pentecostal senior chaplain at UZ and I broke that jinx in 2003 because I am a Pentecostal from the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM). When I came in, Pentecostalism was peripheral and waylaid but they warned me that I should not register new Pentecostal churches.

Mr Gavaza's appointment coincided with an era in which mainline church leaders openly criticised Mugabe over human rights abuses and political violence against his political opponents (Chitando & Togarasei, 2010: 153). Indeed, during this time, mainline churches progressively withdrew their support and questioned the legitimacy of Mugabe and his ZANU-PF henchman. Consequently, Mugabe turned to Pentecostal Churches (Maxwell, 2000: 261) and the white garment *Mapositori*⁷⁵ churches for much-needed support and legitimacy (Vengei 2011:334). As the mainline churches and the Zimbabwe Council of Churches lost its political eminence nationally, the old Pentecostal churches were progressively gaining ground.

As Pentecostalism started to infiltrate mainline Christianity from the 1960s onwards and gave rise to large new PCCs (see chapter 3), the balance of power between denominations shifted. Whereas old Pentecostal churches were marginal in terms of public visibility and political power, new PCCs were upsetting such old patterns. UZ was not spared this change- but neither did it embrace it wholeheartedly. While it allowed the appointment of Mr Gavaza as senior chaplain and displayed a new openness to old Pentecostal churches, it did not marginalise mainline churches. Due to their strong connections on campus, mainline churches were regularly invited to major university events. For instance, during my fieldwork in 2015, all the mainline churches were invited to the UZ 60th Anniversary Thanksgiving ceremony. Only a few old and established Pentecostal churches such as the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM), Celebration International church and the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God, Africa (ZAOGA) were invited. While mainline clergy officiated at the event, the Pentecostals played a peripheral role in the proceedings.

⁷⁴ Pseudonym

⁷⁵ The fall within the Zionist churches

Under VC Nyagura, the chaplaincy, which is controlled by mainline churches and older Pentecostal ones, have seen an increase in its powers and responsibilities on campus. In 2005, Nyagura declared that all religious activities would be restricted to the university chapel and the chapel greens. The university chapel is arguably one of the smallest buildings on campus. It accommodates approximately 250 people and most of the time; it is filled to capacity, with many people standing outside during church services. The senior chaplain told me about plans to build a bigger chapel, although financial constraints have hindered the progress of the project thus far. When rich prophets such as Prophet Magaya and Makandiwa offered to shoulder the costs of a new place of worship, VC Nyagura apparently refused their offers. In the past, with the pressures on the small chapel, PCCs were allowed to use common rooms and lecture theatres for their services but this was cut short in 2005. The ban by the VC was interpreted by Pentecostal pastors and students as a direct attack on especially new PCCs.

Explaining the imposition of strict restrictions on religious activities on campus by the Nyagura administration, Mr Gavaza told me that,

These restrictions started when I was there, of course there were many issues that led to that, like the authorities complained that some Pentecostal churches that were using lecture rooms were damaging and vandalising property like chairs, windows and all. But the most serious thing was Satanism. There was a spate of what I would call Satanism in 2012. Students received messages through their cell phones. We dealt with it but we kept the issue under the carpet because the authorities did not want the name of the university tarnished. So from then, they said all religious things should be strictly monitored at the chapel.

Satanism scares were recurrent on campus. Indeed, during my fieldwork, one UZ electrical engineering student live-streamed his suicide to all his friends. His parents were convinced that their son was initiated into Satanism and became involved with supernatural evil forces while at university (Moyo & Bepete 2015). During the same week, three other students also committed suicide on campus under mysterious circumstances (Musarika 2015). These tragic deaths and their connection to dark forces were not unconnected to the new restrictions on PCCs. On campus and in several newspaper reports, some of the new PCCs have long been accused of using occult forces and Satanism to lure congregants, accumulate wealth and to perform miracles (Meyer 1995; Ncube 2015a; Sibanda 2015; Newsday 2010). The university officials I talked to made reference to these Satanism allegations to officially explain why they wanted all religious activities to be held at the chapel.

For instance, one of the former senior chaplains noted that it is easier to monitor and regulate religious groups when they are operating within the chapel fence. In the literature on gossip, rumours and witchcraft, scholars argue that informal gossip and rumours are used as techniques of social control at formal institutions (see Merry 1984; Besnier 2009; White 2000). This body of work situates satanic and witchcraft rumours within the broader context of protracted conflicts and uncertainties. Some scholars have also shown that rumours and gossip serve a very specific function and that in the event of misfortune; they served as a social stress-relief outlet (Elias 1956; Stewart and Strathern 2004; Ashforth 2005). At UZ, Satanism rumours and gossip strengthened the configuration of the university's power over the allocation of space. Given that Pentecostal churches were the ones using common rooms and lecture theatres for their activities, while mainline churches used the chapel in the pre-Nyagura era, believers suspected that the production and dissemination of Satanism gossip and rumours were a deliberate plan to control and monitor the growth and activities of new PCCs on campus.

The centralisation of all religious activities at the chapel has not been unproblematic. In order to use the chapel, all church groups and societies needed to be registered with the university through the offices of the senior chaplain and dean of students. They then had to petition the senior chaplain for a spot on the chapel time-table. In an interview, the senior chaplain said that the growing number of churches on campus saw a high demand for chapel space from new religious groups. For instance, when I started my fieldwork, there were only 25 registered churches, but towards the end of my fieldwork, there were 52 registered churches and 22 churches on the waiting list. During the week, the senior chaplain noted that each church was given two slots on the timetable but that on Saturdays, the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) used the chapel from 8 am until 5 pm.

Mr Charles, one of the pastors working with students, commented on the SDA's preferential treatment at the chapel,

The SDA are the untouchables, they enjoy a lot of benefits like they don't face the constraints that we face here as Pentecostals. There was a senior chaplain from AFM here on campus [Mr Gavaza] some years back and I remember he was trying to create space for other groups and decided to cut the time of the SDA on Saturday. Like the SDA normally use the chapel the whole day on Saturday but he ordered them to end their activities at lunch time so that other groups could use the chapel after lunch and his contract was not renewed and I think it's linked to how he treated the SDA because they are backed by senior management.

Two months later, in an unrelated conversation, a young pastor working for AFM at the university chapel remarked,

If they want space, the SDA don't even go to the senior chaplain or dean of students like all other groups do. I was told they take their request to the youth pastors on campus and then from there the message is given directly to the VC, so they get what they want. One of our former senior chaplain's contract was not renewed by the university after he reduced the time slots of the SDA in the chapel on Saturday.

Mr Gavaza recalled of his time as senior chaplain,

Yaah [yes] the SDA didn't attend our ecumenical services; they didn't even want to come to Christian Union (CU)⁷⁶ services on campus. They did their own things and they felt that they cannot mix with other religious groups. They said their doctrine and principles do not allow them to mix and they think they will be adulterated. We tried several times to convince them to attend but they refused. They were connected to the bosses, so they would do what they wanted and there was nothing we could do about that.

What made the SDA's preferential treatment especially galling was that the church refused to cooperate in the chaplaincy's ecumenical project.

The SDA used the chapel for most of Saturday, and on Sundays some mainline churches alternated to use the chapel. Churches and groups that wanted to meet outside their allocated slot in the chapel usually had to meet on its grounds, with groups jostling for space under the trees and open spaces. During the university's lunch hour and after classes, the chapel grounds were always filled to capacity. In one of the lunchtime services I attended, there were more than 20 old and new Pentecostal groups in the chapel grounds. These groups filled up every inch of the grounds and sang, spoke in tongues and prayed loudly. They seemed to be in competition with one another as each group tried to out-sing, out-pray and out-speaking-in-tongues their rivals. A Catholic group held a service in the chapel. After a few minutes, a Catholic student leader exited the chapel to complain about the noise to a group standing closest to the chapel door. He quickly moved to a few other groups and asked them to lower their voices. No one paid him any heed and they continued singing and praying at the top of their voices. While the group I was with agreed to lower their voices, it was only for a few minutes and in no time, there was deafening noise again. It was only after the

⁷⁶ The Christian Union is a non-denominational Christian organisation which promotes Christian ecumenism (see Chapter 3)

Catholic student leader approached the chaplain to intervene that the noise subsided. The chaplain had pleaded with the groups on the grounds.

Disputes over the noisiness of new PCCs were not uncommon during my fieldwork. Mainline church groups always complained that their Pentecostal counterparts made noise during their services. Indeed, most Pentecostal churches often used loud speakers, keyboards and other noisy instruments for their praise and worship sessions. This made the sharing of space problematic and sometimes led to serious disputes between religious groups. The chaplain always intervened to mediate such disputes. In informal conversations, Pentecostal students complained that the mainline churches did not understand the nature of their spiritual warfare against Satan and his demons- nor the role that “noise” played in this fight.

The noisiness of PCC activities on the chapel grounds meant that quiet Bible study meetings, cell group meetings and administrative meetings could not be held here because they would likely be disturbed by other groups. Indeed, the noise and overcrowding meant that certain types of worship had to be kept to other spaces off campus. Although particular groups claimed certain spaces in the chapel grounds as theirs, contestations often erupted when new groups staked claims to the same occupied territories. Staking one’s territory in the chapel grounds meant that one had to use the space consistent over time. In an informal conversation with the Catholic student leader after their service, he asserted;

The main problem we have with Pentecostals is that they think they are the ‘Holier than thou’. They come in the chapel grounds when we are having our services and they start to speak in tongues so loudly and they think that possessing these gifts of the Holy Spirit makes them superior to other Christians. Worse still, even when they are less than 20 people they want to use the keyboards and the loud speakers and they don’t care about other groups worshipping next to them.

Such conflict over the ‘noisiness’ of new PCCs is of course not unique to UZ (see Larkin 2004; Larkin 2014: 992, 1003; Trovalla 2015: 307). In other contexts, new PCCs deployed sound as a way of illustrating their power and making their messages inescapable to people in their vicinity. Many PCCs imagined sound as a weapon in the Christianisation of secular spaces (Trovalla 2015: 308). These dynamics were of course heightened in the cramped chapel grounds where conflicts often erupted over the use of musical instruments like keyboards, guitars and loudspeakers. Non-PCC Christians, students and some staff included,

often perceived this noise as forceful attempts to claim control of the university space and to increase the visibility and power of PCCs.

For their part, PCCs students claimed that the mainline churches received favours when it came to space and preferential treatment on campus. Many PCC cell leaders on campus emphasised that the university's top leadership favoured mainline churches, especially the SDA. Gerald, a SDA student leader acknowledged this in a conversation,

Of course, I think you know the top leadership here at university is aligned to the SDA, so obviously they have a soft spot for the SDA student society on campus. We get some things that other groups don't get. I can say our main advantage is with our health programme on campus. Our health expos are a means of evangelism because we take the details of students who are interested and we follow them up

UZ and Islam

During my fieldwork, there were no non-Christian religious groups operating on campus. Although there were a few Muslim students, they tended to face a myriad of operational challenges in establishing a group on campus (Bakili 2014). Muslim students were a minority on campus (Masvawure 2010: 163) and struggled to get the required membership for official registration. The senior chaplain was also reluctant to register them as a group. This was worsened by the fact that Muslim students lacked support from the Muslim authorities and organisations off campus. A few Muslim students I talked to in informal conversations complained that they did not have space for their activities and rituals on campus. Because their registration had to go through what they believed were a biased chaplaincy, they could not see this changing. Indeed, one of the former senior chaplains remembered one occasion when the Muslim society tried to register a religious group with him,

I had a problem with Muslims at UZ when I was the senior chaplain around 2005. They wanted to register their group and I asked them to bring their constitution and all the paperwork as well as their student membership list but there was no adequate membership. They didn't bring me anything but they had some support from some Muslim lecturer [Mr Hakim] in the religious studies department. You know what they did? They just released money and took students from the Faculty of Arts and bought them lunch and food and after lunch at 2 pm there was a long queue and the leader came into my office and said, I have brought some Muslim students for registration. Unfortunately he had not trained them well so

when they came in one by one, and I would like ask them when they started worshipping with the Muslims and almost all of them were saying I just started today, so I became suspicious until I discovered that no, something has happened and further investigations revealed that money had changed hands.

While Mr Gavaza could disregard the Muslim students' attempt at registration in 2005, it became more difficult to do so when another university department and religious authorities became involved.

There was a time when the department of religious studies wanted to impose a Muslim chaplaincy and I am the one who stood against that because I said the ecumenical chaplaincy is for Christians. So if the Muslims want to have their own, they can have a para-chaplaincy and if there is a need to interact, then it will be determined by the two bodies. And I was accused of not being tolerant by one of the Muslim Sheiks. And that proposition actually died a natural death; otherwise we would have infiltration of the Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and other cultic groups at the university. So that way, we managed to maintain the chaplaincy as a Christian establishment and non-Christians by way of evangelising could come and be converted and become Christians. By formal declaration you would find that the UZ claims to be a multi-religious space, implying that African traditional religion has got a chance in that chapel and that Muslims also have got a chance in the chapel, but at the end of the day you find that it is only Christianity, which is the predominant religion and the rest by default are not allowed to operate. It's either they shy away or do not have the suitable environment to operate, like the Muslims during my time. They wanted to come together but would not find an appropriate venue because a Muslim would not go and worship in a chapel with Jesus' cross hanging in front. The university has restricted all religious activities to the chapel so for them it's a challenge.

Thus, after relegating all religious activities to the chapel, there were no other existing structures through which non-Christian groups on campus could run their religious activities. A few of my interlocutors speculated that the university would not allow Muslims to build a mosque or other places of worship because they saw Muslims as a threat. The few Muslim students I talked to told me that because they had no space on campus, they attended the Mosques in town and in Belvedere.⁷⁷ Because there was no ideal worship space on campus for them, Muslim students told me that during the holy month of Ramadan, they struggled to attend lectures and to go to the Mosque for prayers. Very much like their new PCC

⁷⁷ Belvedere is a predominantly Indian neighborhood in Harare and thus dominated by Hindu and Muslim mosques.

counterparts on campus, many Muslim students I talked to felt like they did not belong. Pertaining to the dominance of Christianity on campus, Masvawure (2010: 162) noted that a foreign visitor to UZ would be forgiven for thinking that the institution was deliberately and decidedly a Christian campus.

Waiting list PCCs

One of the ways through which the university frustrated new PCCs was through denying them access to the physical space on campus. For instance, while the chapel was meant for all Christian groups, not all Christians had access to the chapel and during my fieldwork more than 22 groups remained on the chaplaincy's waiting list. In a sermon during a cell group meeting under the trees on campus, one PCC student leader from UFIC moaned, "many of our colleagues are not attending cell group services. They want to come, but the problem is space. We applied to the chaplain in 2011 and until now we are still waiting. It's about six years now. We need to keep praying for decent space and God will answer our prayers". In my informal conversations with other new PCC students, similar stories were told. The majority of these "waiting" groups were fourth-wave PCCs such as Spirit Embassy, Heartfelt International Church, Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministry and Christ Embassy, among other churches. All these groups had been on the official waiting list for more than three years. Apart from the new mega-PCCs, there were also small churches that were trying to establish themselves on campus, albeit with little success. These small churches struggled to get registered and operated under in the chapel grounds like other new PCCs.

With some candour, Mr Gavaza admitted that he would never register some of the new PCCs and would not even consider their applications. Mr Gavaza said,

There are some applications that I would suppress if I don't know the origins, not really that I should know how Catholics originated but my main worry was there are some churches that are connected with especially to West African countries like Ghana or Nigeria. Those ones can be dangerous because they use things, let's put that in quotes, they use these mantles, the so-called consecrated objects and because of their usage of some other powers which are not Godly. If they come at campus they may toss all the students and they would go berserk. So once I discerned that this group or that group... I mean, they don't have roots or they are connected to people with questionable credentials, then it was difficult to register them.

While the university authorities like the chaplain and well connected mainline church members believed that new PCCs were waiting for space in the chapel and that by keeping them on the waitlist, they could rein in their activities, this was not effective. New PCCs did not think of themselves as waiting and refused to wait their turn at a chance to use the chapel. In fact, they busily made and fought for space in both spiritual and material terms.

Making space

Churches on the chapel's waiting list insisted that their exclusion from its grounds emanated from demonic sources, which informed their reactions to this denial of access to a university space. In the words of one of the junior pastors I interviewed, Mr Charles,

Why would a Christian refuse other Christians to do their activities and expand the kingdom of God on campus and beyond? I believe there are demons at work here, the VC and other senior administrators are being used by demons. That is how Satan fights us but we are not going to sit back. Satan and his demons are using many people including our fellow Christians and politicians.

Another PCC cell leader, Thomas, echoed his statement,

What is happening here on campus is influenced by what is happening out there, I have seen that many politicians including the minister of higher education⁷⁸ and the president [Mugabe] regularly criticise new Pentecostal churches and that cascades down to the university. This is the work of the devil and his demons.

In the main, PCC members responded to this threat through spiritual battles. They fought these battles through loud prayers, fasting and other spiritual rituals. Some PCCs sprayed anointing oil in the chapel and the surrounding chapel greens in order to “open” the chapel for their future use. They also held all-night prayers about the imposed restrictions and institutionalised exclusion on campus. These prayer vigils were meant to exorcise the demons that blocked their access on campus. Through prayers and the use of anointing oil, students tried to cleanse the chapel from demonic blockages. In one of the prayer vigil meetings, a cell

⁷⁸ During my fieldwork, the then minister of higher and tertiary education, Jonathan Moyo rubbished a prophecy made by Makandiwa in which he claimed that God showed him massive oil reserves in Zimbabwe but he would not disclose where exactly (see Mushava 2015) www.newsday.co.zw/2015/09/moyo-rubishes-makandiwa-prophecy/

leader urged students to fast and pray so that space would be opened up for them in the near future, “We need to fight for recognition here on campus and we need to fight for space, if it means fasting the whole week or month then let us do that!” His listeners responded with loud prayers, agitated bodily movements to “stamp” the devils and a lot of fist shaking. New PCC students told me that they would not accept a subsidiary status in the university religious marketplace and that they would continue to resist the dark forces working against their churches. Their daily spiritual fights left many PCC students optimistic that their quest for recognition and space on campus would be eventually yield fruit. And once they had access to the chapel grounds and could defeat the demons that undermined their work on campus, the membership and attendance at PCC meetings would be much bigger.

The spiritual war on the UZ campus over public spaces, souls, influence and political was but a microcosm of wider national struggles. In 2018, UFIC announced that their “theme” for the year would be “The year of territorial dominance”. Inspired by this quest for territorial dominance on campus and beyond, the UFIC ON CAMPUS cell group has intensified its fight and spiritual warfare through organising elaborate all-night prayers as a way of trying to assert its territorial dominance in the UZ religious marketplace.



Figure 1 A UFIC poster advertising one of their many all-night prayers for students

The poster above provides contact details of all UFIC student leaders at various universities which show the extensive nature of the spiritual fight and that these prayer vigils are done across many universities in the country. While PCCs have reacted to their spatial constraints on campus in spiritual ways, they have also made space on campus in very material ways. The new fourth-wave PCCs made themselves publicly visible on campus through erecting huge billboards adjacent to the university. They also stuck stickers to university announcement boards, on toilet stalls doors, on walls and poles across campus. PCC followers were also visible on campus because they wore brightly coloured wrist bands and branded church regalia. They also organised and preached in public spaces during mass

crusades, often at huge sports stadiums and advertised such events with huge posters on billboards close to campus and on popular radio and television stations. On campus, public spaces, university walls and notice boards were inundated with religious images and posters. The majority of cars in the university parking lots had stickers that openly professed the drivers' religious orientation. This new phenomenon was a brain child of new PCCs and was quite prevalent in Harare. The stickers and posters were well designed and often used bright and hyper-visible colours. They proclaimed messages like, "shifting levels", "I am determined to prosper", "this is my year", "I am a winner", among others. Some of these stickers also bore the faces of church prophets and logos. On campus, church posters were pinned to strategic notice boards near busy intersections. One of my interlocutors told me that when walking around campus, it was hard to ignore the Pentecostal images, posters and pamphlets because of their eye-catching designs and colours.



Figure 2 One of the many UFIC on Campus posters



Figure 3 Some of the large billboards close to the university campus.

Apart from their imprint on public spaces, PCCs also visually marked off private spaces. Many PCC followers owned and displayed church-branded items in their hostels. For instance, Jonathan's hostel room was decorated with a myriad of church paraphernalia like the church calendar, pictures of the prophet and his wife and some church stickers. For Jonathan, having these "anointed mantles" in his room shielded him from the territorial demons that worked on campus. Indeed, many of the PCCs I talked to insisted that at UZ there were very unique territorial demons; the demons of AIDS, peer pressure, alcohol and drugs and academic failure. During my fieldwork, church wristbands, stickers and other paraphernalia had become fashionable on campus. I observed that many students put stickers on their hostel doors and even on expensive gadgets like laptops. One of my interlocutors told me that a thief broke into their shared room while they were attending lectures and stole his colleague's things but his wardrobe was untouched. He explained this lucky escape by saying that the thief was warded off by a church sticker and poster on his wardrobe door. There was a general belief among PCC students that church paraphernalia like stickers, bangles, calendars, wristbands and branded picture frames had a special protection against misfortunes and demonic attacks.

In the struggle for spatial dominance, the university notice boards played an important role. Stories of rival religious groups removing each other's posters and stickers on the notice boards were commonplace. For some of my interlocutors, this practice of tearing down their

rival churches' posters was framed as a form of spatial cleansing (cf. Trovalla 2015:306).



Figure 4 A picture of the UZ Chapel

Another way that new PCCs made space for their meetings was by renting space off campus and by using their pastors' or other congregants' houses for cell group meetings.⁷⁹ However, for bigger services they often used large venues off campus. For instance, Spirit Embassy church used the conference space at the affluent Harare International Conference Centre (HICC) while UFIC used the City Sports Centre and the 80,000-seater national sports stadium for their mega-events. Indeed, every Sunday morning and during mega-church events held in the national sports stadium in Harare, new PCCs drew thousands of students from the university campus. Some new PCCs sent several branded buses to pick up students from the university campus to attend these "conferences". Sometimes, Pentecostal students hired their own buses to attend church services in and around Harare.

During my fieldwork, two new PCCs were constructing state-of-the-art auditoriums in Harare which would accommodate thousands of congregants. Prophet Magaya planned to construct a world-class 200,000 seater church in Harare (Sibanda 2014).⁸⁰ I was told that the impressive church would house a coffee shop, bookstore, internet café and other modern facilities. This was a multi-million dollar project. Similarly, prophet Makandiwa was

⁷⁹ Some PCC congregants staying close to campus offered their houses to students to do cell group meetings and prayers. This was not unique but was a common practice even in other spaces beyond the university.

⁸⁰ www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/1218-prophet-magaya-goes-for-200-000-seater-church-to-give-away-420-houses.html

constructing a huge church building in Chitungwiza and planned to build the biggest church building in Southern Africa at the church's Mt Hampden headquarters. Unlike the modest university chapel that could seat only 250 people, the new PCC auditoriums were well decorated, carpeted and had high-tech sound systems imported from Germany. The churches also had large Liquid Crystal Display (LCD) and Light Emitting Diodes (LED) screens displaying the scriptures, announcements and lyrics of the songs being sung in church. By going off campus and using large, impressive venues, the new PCCs were making spaces for themselves that were qualitatively and quantitatively set apart from those used by their campus rivals, especially the mainline churches.

PCCs' attempts to create welcoming spaces for their followers on campus have also meant that some of them have turned to university politics to change the status quo. Many students affiliated to new PCCs were deeply interested in student politics. Their pastors and prophets encouraged them to enter student- and national politics and to assume positions of influence. In their emphasis on the "here and now", PCCs expected their followers to influence the economic, social and political realms of "this world". This growing interest in student politics was linked to their spiritual warfare project. Students from new PCCs voted their colleagues into the SRC as both a political and spiritual act. Occasionally, political success allowed them to negotiate access to alternative physical space on campus for their church services. For instance, during my fieldwork, one of the new PCCs secured alternative space for its services and activities at night. Although this went against the university laws, the church used its networks within the SRC to access the space when the university administrators and the chaplain had left the campus.

They were thus able to subvert institutional rules and regulations about religious activities on campus. Further, some new PCCs targeted and converted strategically positioned university staff such as the wardens in an effort to create space for them to operate on campus. This was revealed in informal conversations with some of my interlocutors who noted that the wardens often offered common rooms to students from their church to hold meetings and do Bible study. PCC prophets and prominent members courted these staff members and appointed them to church positions. For instance, during my fieldwork, UFIC managed to convert the chief security officer and made him the cell leader of the campus group. Likewise, Celebration International church had successfully converted the dean of students. However, the dean was converted to Celebration church long before my fieldwork and before he became the dean. Indeed, several other lecturers and wardens working in the

hostels were similarly converted and created important entry points for PCCs into the university.

Further, through their colleagues in the SRC, some new PCCs were optimistic that they would be able to engage the authorities and would eventually manage to access space in the future. New PCCs also worked hard to forge networks with senior university administrators and politicians, including the former president Mugabe. Apart from the conversion of the dean of students, these attempts have largely been met with little success. Without the all-important patronage networks on campus, some new PCCs had to resort to renting venues close to the University or to construct their own venues off-campus as UFIC and PHD had done.

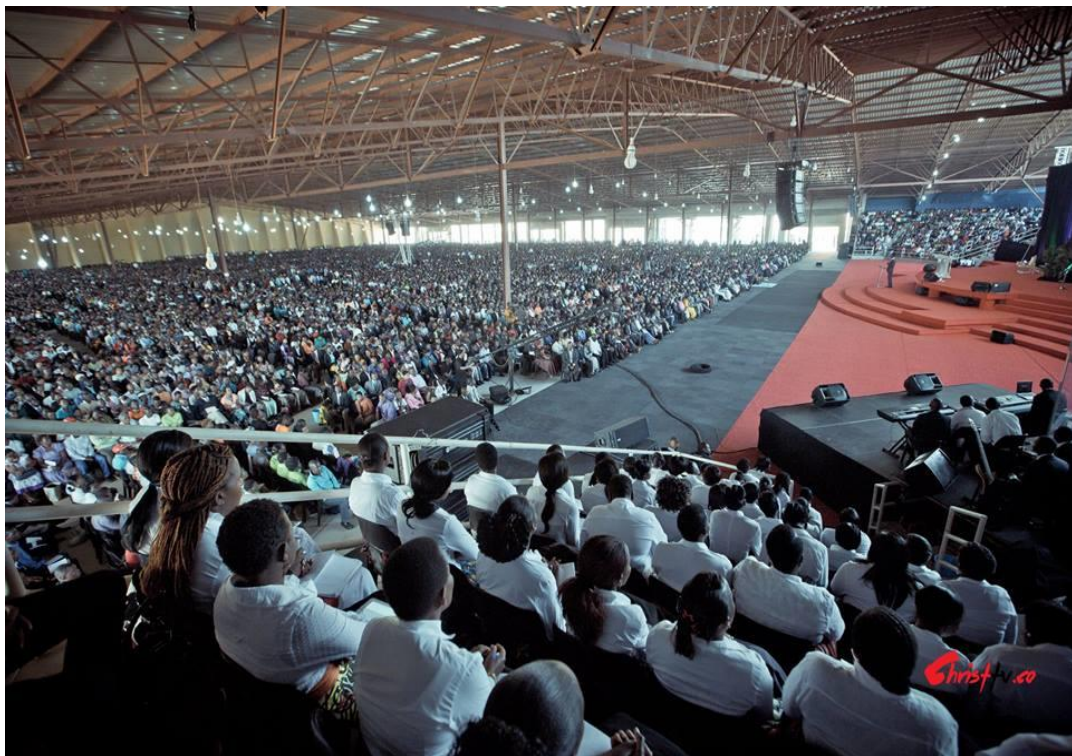


Figure 5 UFIC's near-complete 30, 000-seater Cathedral in Chitungwiza



Figure 6 Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) church poster on the University Notice Board

Cyber space Communities

Another innovative way through which new PCCs at UZ carved out space for themselves on campus was through extensive use of social media and other online platforms. For instance UFIC, Spirit Embassy and PHD maintained an active presence on various social media platforms as churches. For instance, all the churches had their own Facebook pages, Twitter handles, Instagram accounts, Pintrest, Snapchat and Periscope among other online spaces. Their church leadership was also very active on social media. Apart from global popular social media spaces like WhatsApp and Facebook, new PCCs are also creating their own. For instance, in 2018, prophet Magaya launched an interactive mobile application called 'Lets Chat'. According to reports this messaging messenger application allows as many as twenty video conference calls and can also be used to pay electricity, buy books from Yadah store. With this mobile application, congregants can also connect directly with the prophet through instant messaging and to book a one on one with the prophet by the click of the button. Just like WhatsApp, Facebook and other modern apps, this application also allows the creation of

groups and group chats. The church was in the process of upgrading and adding more advanced features and functions to the application (Gatsi 2018; Maphosa and Chiyangwa 2018).⁸¹ On a statement on their Facebook page about the app, the church promised to surpass all existing social media apps. All the PHD students at UZ were active users of the Lets Chat app. One PHD student commented; ‘this application is everything in one, I can message, make phone calls, video calls, post pictures, group discussions and most importantly connect with the men of God, we are quitting our WhatsApp group for Lets Chat now’. At the time of writing the application had over 300, 000 downloads. Therefore, by moving with the current trends such as appropriation of social media in church activities and rituals, these PCCs like PHD managed to attract young people like university students.

Of note is that the ICT boom has allowed new and creative ways of constituting a Christian community among university students at UZ. While classical mainline churches believed in the idea of physical presence and congregations of its students in the bounded and material space of the chapel, in contrast new PCCs have successfully appropriated ‘modern’ technologies which have reconfigured traditional understandings of Christian bodies and how they are constituted. In fact, here what we have is the creation of what scholars like Anderson (1999) call ‘imagined communities’ or ‘cyber communities’ that congregate and consume religiosity online. PCCs student did not always meet in the physical-for them this constrained the way they engage in the temporalities of worship. Therefore, by creating a vibrant cyberspace, where they met for bible study, discussions and other things, new PCC student were not only engaging in a symbolic act of resistance, they were also transcending the limits of time and space and circumventing the material constraints imposed by the university and its mainline churches. In fact, this PCC use of all these modern technologies signifies where and how they locate themselves in the world. Therefore the symbolic importance of this connectedness to the world is to legitimate the church as a global movement. Indeed, most of the PCCs I focused on envisioned themselves as global entities.

Ecumenism and space

In theory, the UZ chaplaincy operated as an ecumenical department where all Christian groups were welcome and organised ecumenical services to which all religious groups were invited and encouraged to attend. In practice, such ecumenical ideals often suffered as

⁸¹ The Information Communication Technology and Cyber Security Minister Supa Mandiwanzira applauded prophet Magaya and his church for their innovative inventions (see Maphosa and Chiyangwa 2018)

churches boycotted the chaplaincy services and tried to openly discredit rival churches. Mr Gavaza acknowledged these tensions and said, “One thing that I failed to rectify during my tenure at UZ was to convince churches to work together, it was a big problem because churches do not want to work together. They always try to outdo each other and sometimes they denigrate each other in their services. Other churches think they are better than others.”⁸²

In informal conversations with the chaplain, he noted that due to the competition for space between churches on campus, the tensions and hostilities between mainline and Pentecostal churches were commonplace. For instance, Anthony, one of my interlocutors insisted that,

These new Pentecostal churches are led by false prophets masquerading as man of God. They are not true Christians; they worship personalities instead of God. We can't mix with them in any of our religious activities. Everyone knows our position, doctrine and principles, so we don't even attend their services because we don't believe in what they do which is not scriptural. Adventists and Pentecostals are like oil and water, they will never mix. The other problem is that these Pentecostals are too noisy in whatever they do which disrupts the activities of other groups.

Such assertions were common in the narratives of students from rival religious groups on campus. Competition between churches for influence, power and membership is well known in the African and Zimbabwean religious landscapes (see Maxwell 2000; Kirsch 2004; Chitando 2005; Peel 2003; Biri 2014). For scholars like Kirsch (2004), this goes beyond mere competition for membership and indeed constitutes a vital part of the ways in which Pentecostals situated themselves in the world and made claims to spiritual ascendancy over others. This was a typical way of being PCCs. These tensions played out in everyday activities on campus and undermined the chapel's ecumenical project. There is an emergent literature on the dynamics of anti-ecumenism (Van Wyk 2018; Grant 2018). For instance, in her ethnographic work in South Africa, Van Wyk (2018) argued that the entry of PCCs into the country's religious landscape in the post-apartheid epoch has triggered very specific and decidedly anti-ecumenical tendencies. Similarly, in her work in Rwanda, Grant (2018) echoed similar sentiments and noted that the prospects of ecumenical alliances between the Catholic Church and new Pentecostal church were problematic and complicated because of their radically different ways of understanding the presence of God in the world.

⁸² For instance, during my fieldwork, all the SDA students I talked told me that they cannot mix with religious pretenders such as new PCCs whose leaders lack proper ministerial training and understanding of the bible.

While some of these anti-ecumenical assertions played out in the spaces around the chapel, a lot of it spilled over into cyberspace and especially into the social media domain where students regularly took against other churches. Some students formed Whatsapp groups and these groups became spaces where, and through which to deride other rival church groups. These anti-ecumenical issues often popped up in everyday conversations in the Whatsapp groups, online Bible study and cell meetings. In the Whatsapp groups I joined, it was rare for a day to pass without some members castigating other rival churches. For instance, one student from a new PCC once complained to her church mates in a WhatsApp group conversation that she was having a torrid time with her roommate from the SDA. She noted that her SDA roommate was not comfortable with her use of anointing oil and demanded that she should not put her church calendar and stickers on the wall. In response, her colleagues asked her to see the hostel warden and ask to change or swap the room with another SDA student. Indeed, it was not uncommon for students to approach the wardens to swap rooms to bunk with people who attended the same church with them. For the wardens, the growing demands by students to share rooms with their church colleagues were a manifestation of religious tensions on campus. One warden I interviewed noted that this was a new phenomenon and had become more pronounced with the increasing number of new PCCs on campus. In his words, “some students are uncomfortable sharing rooms with students belonging to some new churches, they are suspicious of their rituals and use of things like anointing oil and other anointed mantles, so then approach me about this and ask to change rooms”. After a minute of silence, he concluded that, “if this continue, very soon we might end up with religiously segregated residences with some hostels being wholly Pentecostal and others mainline”.

Of note was that this anti-ecumenism was not only prevalent between new PCCs and mainline churches but also played out among new PCC students. Students often posted and discussed rival church scandals on social media like Facebook and WhatsApp. For instance, when prophet Magaya was arrested and taken to court on rape charges (Majaka 2016; Matabvu and Towindo 2016; Mhlanga 2016; Murwira 2017) many students from rival PCCs took to Facebook, WhatsApp and Twitter to deride the prophet and to question his spiritual and religious authenticity. Other published their comments in online publications. Magaya’s followers responded by defending the prophet and dismissing his accusers as working with rival church leaders and demons.

Likewise, when prophet Makandiwa and Prophet Angel were sued and taken to court by individual church members over allegations that they had made fake prophecies (Chitemba 2017; Laiton 2018;), rival PCC students took to social media platforms and other cyberspaces to deride the prophets. Indeed, even newspapers carried articles on the rivalries between new PCCs (Sunday Mail Religion writer 2017).⁸³

Conclusion

While my previous chapter discussed the complex ways through which religion, politics and the university in Zimbabwe were entangled, this chapter showed how these complex entanglements played out in the politics of space on campus (Lefebvre 1991). The chapter explores the ways in which mainline churches accessed and monopolised physical space on campus at the expense of new PCCs. By discussing the politics of space on campus, this chapter illuminates the role of networks, patronage and technology in the ways in which churches make claims over space and how space is accessed, negotiated and maintained in everyday life on campus (Lefebvre 2004). The chapter argues that mainline churches deploy their historical and longstanding relationships and patronage networks at UZ to foreclose physical space and other material resources on campus to their rival PCCs groups. Through their networks, embodied in the UZ senior administrators, mainline churches (re)produce systematic and institutional ways of excluding and marginalising new PCCs in very specific ways. Mainline churches are able to systematically marginalise new PCCs on campus through indirectly influencing decisions in the senate and other structures as well as influencing the appointment of university staff like the mainline aligned chaplain, who then determines how resources are allocated to religious groups on campus. I assert that it is important to note that the religious and political subtleties on the UZ campus are a microcosm of the broader national political and religious dynamics. Indeed, as the balance of power tilt in the national religious landscape, this will also reconfigure the campus religious landscape. For instance, when former president Mugabe fell out with some mainline churches that openly criticised his government's violence, human rights violations and corruption, Mugabe sought legitimacy from older Pentecostal denominations like ZAOGA and FOG. In parallel, on campus, Levi Nyagura appointed the first Pentecostal university chaplain affiliated with AFM.

⁸³ www.sundaymail.co.zw/makandiwa-obsessed-with-magaya-downfall/

Although PCCs seem to be marginalised on campus, their religious views determine their interpretation of such exclusion in spiritual terms as the work of Satan and his demons. They consequently engage in various forms of spiritual warfare to navigate this exclusion. Part of this included an innovative use of public notice boards, electing their own students in the SRC, converting strategic university staff and the appropriation of social media to make their presence felt in virtual space, which is beyond the purview of university control. In this chapter I thus show that new PCCs have not been passive victims of the restrictions imposed on them by the university. Instead, they have devised strategies and innovative ways of circumventing university control and appropriated alternative spaces. Indeed, I argue in the chapter that the ICT boom has allowed new and creative ways of constituting a Christian community among university students at UZ. While classical mainline churches believed in the idea of physical presence and congregations of its students in the bounded and material space of the chapel, in contrast new PCCs have successfully appropriated ‘modern’ technologies which have reconfigured traditional understandings of Christian bodies and how they are constituted. In fact, here what we have is the creation of what scholars like Anderson (1999) call ‘imagined communities’ or ‘cyber communities’ that congregate and consume religiosity online. PCCs student did not always meet in the physical-for them this constrained the way they engage in the temporalities of worship. Therefore, by creating a vibrant cyberspace, where they met for bible study, discussions and other things, new PCC student were not only engaging in a symbolic act of resistance, they were also transcending the limits of time and space and circumventing the material constraints imposed by the university and its mainline churches. I contend that the mainline monopoly over physical space on campus hardly dampened new PCCs zest and proselytization. Instead, this exclusion and marginality spurred new PCCs to become more pragmatic and innovative in their fight to make space for their communities and activities on campus.

Chapter Five: Students' Associational Life and the Politics of Control

Introduction

This university is more like a prison for us students. Eh, it's like you don't have any freedom at all in whatever that you do on campus. It's like a military institution where your rights and freedoms are somehow taken away from you by the authorities. I have been here for almost three years now and I don't think this university is any different from my mission high school. Political meetings are totally banned on campus and the state security agents are everywhere; beer drinking was forbidden some several years ago when Nyagura took over as the Vice Chancellor. In fact, the mission high school is far much better. Adults like us should not be treated as little children. Like when I came it was taboo for a female student to visit a male student in their hostels. What is worse is that that even holding hands say at night with your girlfriend was criminalised under the UZ Ordinance 30. The GBs [university security guards] would arrest and fine anyone caught in the so-called secluded places with their girlfriends and sometimes expels them from the halls of residence. Would you believe in this day and age at the country's finest university? The university authorities want to impose their moral standards using the dictates of their religious beliefs. But we will not accept that. It's a big joke!

This was how Richard, one of my interviewees at the men's hostel, summarised the authoritarian nature of the UZ campus. Like Richard, the majority of my participants complained that the state and university authorities' imposition on their daily lives turned the campus into a "prison", a "mission high school" or "an army barrack". This microscopic gaze, however, was not the preserve of state and university authorities alone. In this chapter, I show how the church and other associational groups brought similar surveillance in the name of a religiously legitimated mode of control to bear on their members' lives.

This chapter shows how the (re)configuration of power and authority on campus transformed the university from a liberal to an authoritarian institution. It describes how this transition became epitomised by the omnipresent surveillance of students' associational lives. This chapter is organised into several thematic sections. In what follows, I explore how university authorities' used religious morality to regulate students' sexual behaviour, sexuality and associational lives on campus. The chapter focuses on the specific instruments that the university used to assert control over students. I draw primarily on two pieces of legislation, the UZ Act and its Amendments as well as Ordinance 30. In the next section, I

turn my attention to state surveillance techniques on campus and discuss how students experience and make sense of state control as well as how they try to navigate, negotiate and sometimes subvert state and university control. This section also touches on state and university surveillance on campus churches and their activities. In the last section, the chapter delves into the PCCs' surveillance of their own student membership.

Morality and University control

In 2014, the University of Zimbabwe attracted widespread media attention for banning kissing, hugging and holding hands on campus and for prohibiting students from “loitering” in dark and secluded spaces on campus (Mawere 2014; BBC 2014; Tseisi 2014). This ban came immediately after the university had also proscribed male students from visiting their female counterparts in their hostels. Reports in local newspapers noted that the university authorities cited frightening levels of promiscuity at the university and wanted to restore “morality” on campus. The Vice-Chancellor (VC), Levi Nyagura, was quoted in the state media as saying,

Allegations that my management style is heavy handed and infringe on individual rights of the students will not deter me from condemning promiscuity. Not so long ago we had a survey here, which revealed that the majority of student who went for voluntary HIV testing were found to be positive. As a parent that is a worrisome stat. So the grim statistics of sexually transmitted diseases have forced us to have a limit for inter-residence visits between female and male students. We have consulted a lot of parents who also do not want to promote promiscuity by allowing students to enjoy married lifestyles by staying with their girlfriends in the halls of residence. At some stage I was surprised that Swinton hall had almost become like a maternity wing with hordes of students pregnant. While we acknowledge that this is an adult institution, we do not think it's good for us to encourage cohabitation of male and female students (Mukwati 2016).

The students were very critical of Nyagura's ban, insisting that he used the HIV statistics or manufactured them to impose his religious values on campus. Several students in the Student Representative Council (SRC) told me that each time they tried to engage the VC on these issues, he would invoke moral and religious discourse to justify his decisions. Judith, a third-year student in the Faculty of Law, noted,

The vice chancellor is a Seventh Day Adventist [SDA] and the dean of students is a pastor at Celebration Church, so they always connive to limit any form of freedom that they think

promotes immorality even though we are adults. So it's now criminal to visit each other or hanging out around campus based on their religious moral values. What the VC did was to pay a journalist to fabricate a story, which exaggerated pregnancy and HIV statistics on campus so that they could justify and buttress their draconian policies that limit the freedom of students on campus.

Prior to this ban, male and female students were allowed to visit each other in their rooms, albeit during strictly controlled time slots. At UZ, male and female students were segregated into male-only and female-only hostels. During the week, visitors were allowed from 10 am to 10:30 pm, while during the weekends, visitors were allowed from 10 am up to midnight. To enforce adherence to these time slots, the sub-warden, known at UZ as a janitor, was always in his office to monitor students' movements in and out of the hostel. The sub-wardens' offices are strategically located in hostel foyers. At five new hostels there are single entrances while older hostels like Car Saunders and Manfred Hodson have multiple entrances, which make it difficult for the warden and sub-wardens to monitor and regulate movement in and out of these hostels.

To enforce the so-called kissing bans on campus, the university security was ordered to patrol the campus and arrest students who were found in contravention of the ban. In their first week at university, new students were given so-called misconduct forms, which they had to sign before they were given their hostel room keys. Indeed, during orientation week, wardens, sub-wardens and the dean of students constantly reminded first-year students of the consequences of violating the agreement. These rules and regulations are detailed in the University's Ordinance 30, which the VC could change at will as he was given these powers in the UZ Amendment Act. Transgressing the new code of conduct had dire consequences for students; they could immediately be evicted from the university hostels and could be fined. Many students told me that it was impossible to have any privacy for romantic assignations on campus. Tinotenda Mhungu, the current UZ Student Representative Council (SRC) president and Zimbabwe National Student Association (ZINASU) board member, complained,

These rules infringe on our rights as adults. We cannot be treated like secondary school children. The university is giving too much power to the university security guards, who are left to define what intimate positions or dark places means. We cannot allow it because it's not fair at an institution like this (Mawere 2014)

After many attempts to engage the university management on these issues, student leaders approached the media and tried to challenge the new regulations in court as blatant violations of their rights. As Leonard, a senior member of the SRC, told me,

I think some people were shocked to read on BBC news that a leading university in Zimbabwe has banned hugging and kissing on campus and there was now political pressure on the VC to reverse the decision.

By exposing their grievances in the media and challenging the VC's decisions in court, students tried to circumvent the VC's control in arenas where he had little influence. With time, enough political pressure was brought to bear on him and the kissing ban was eventually reversed towards the end of my fieldwork.

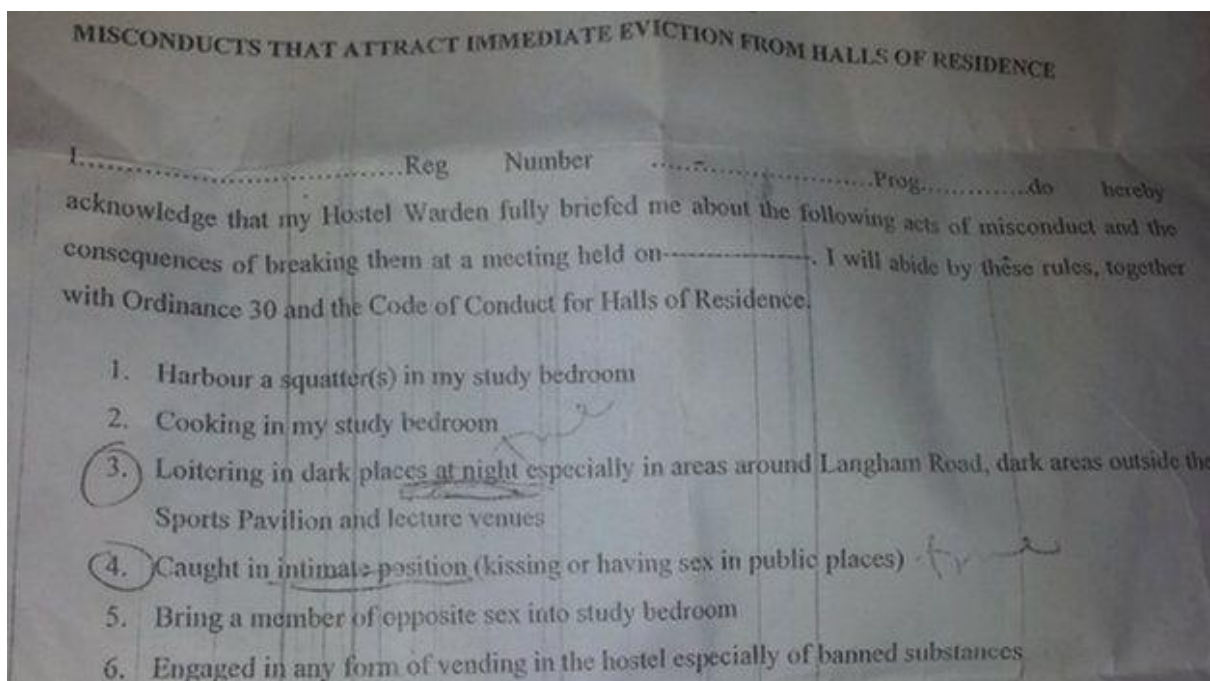


Figure 7 Showing a misconduct form that students were forced to sign on campus

Picture credit: BBC

The kissing bans were not VC Nyagura's first attempt at "moral regeneration" at the UZ. In 2005, he prohibited the consumption of alcohol on campus. In an interview with state media, Levi Nyagura explained that he banned alcohol because, "it tends to worsen acts of vandalism and extreme wayward behaviour which is detrimental to the learning environment" (Mukwati 2016). In another interview, he said,

We used to have a bar here but students used to indulge in terrible acts after being drunk. One student slit open the stomach of another student with a broken bottle. There was also rampant destruction of property and hooliganism and I decided this has to stop. So if anyone wants beer, he can go outside campus and drink in surrounding night clubs or beer halls but not on campus (Mataire 2016).

Many students dismissed Nyagura accusations of drunken, violent hooliganism on campus, claiming that the violence originated from state and university forces. Indeed, throughout my fieldwork, there were a number of peaceful demonstrations on campus, which were brutally crushed by anti-riot police. Instead, student leaders claimed that the banning of alcohol was a deliberate political move to disempower the SRC and curb its activities. Prior to the alcohol ban, the SRC used to control the Student Union (SU) building and used the money it generated from renting out space in the building to further its activities. The large SU building houses many offices; a boardroom, a lower and upper cafeteria; a gymnasium, an events room, tuck shops and indoor sports facilities, among other things. The building also used to house a bar called October 4 in honour of the historic day in 1989 when the university was shut down following student demonstrations and clashes with police on campus. The SRC operated October 4. VC Nyagura's ban on alcohol also saw the closure of the whole SU building, which closed off the SRC's main source of revenue. The only source of income they had left was the small levies on student tuition fees, but this fund was controlled by the VC. When the SU building was reopened in 2013, the VC ordered that the students' bar remain closed. SRC members complained that although the SU building was reopened, they only had control of their offices and the boardroom, which they used for meetings. The VC now controlled the rest of the building. It was not clear where the revenues from this building went; to the university's central fund, to the university or to the VC's fund. Recently there have been reports of massive corruption at the university implicating senior management. Lecturers at the institution raised this with the Zimbabwe Anti-corruption Commission (ZACC) (Kamhungira 2018). On 17 February 2018, the Vice Chancellor was arrested by ZACC for abusing his office over the controversial award of a PhD degree to the former first lady Grace Mugabe in 2014 (Razemba and Nemukuyu 2018; Chidza 2018).

Although alcohol was not allowed on campus, there was a conspicuous drinking culture at UZ. The majority of male students went off campus to places like Bond, Groombridge and Avondale shopping centres on beer-drinking sprees. While most of these places were within walking distance of the campus, some rich students sometimes drove to

town to drink and shop. I was told that students sometimes sneaked in beer or negotiated with the security guards at the gates to bring beer into their halls of residence. As Leonard noted, the alcohol ban started in the halls of residence but was “upgraded” to a total ban on campus. He complained that the security guards would arrest and expel you from the halls of residence even if they caught you “with an empty bottle of beer”. Leonard did not blame the university authorities for these draconian measures, saying that they were “just imposed by a few people. It’s just the VC and the dean of students who feel that students should not be allowed to drink beer, so it’s more of the VC exercising his power over the students”. Like other students I interviewed, he insisted that the VC and the pro-vice chancellor’s SDA membership were central to the alcohol ban. At no point did the VC consult with the SRC on these bans. As Leonard complained, “I think the VC is failing to separate his personal values with his professional duties and at the end his professional decisions are clearly informed by his personal political and religious beliefs at the expense of students’ interests”.

As with the kissing ban, students have openly contested the alcohol ban on campus. For instance, when the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Higher and Tertiary Education toured the university in April 2016, students protested in front of them and demanded the reversal of the alcohol ban and other restrictions. The next day, state media announced, “We want beer on campus says UZ students” (Gumbo 2016). In spite of these protests, the VC stood his ground and reiterated that he would not allow alcohol on campus or reopen the students’ bar. The university issued warnings to some of the students who participated in the protest. This was a mild response compared to his response to the March 2015 protests that demanded his resignation. At that time, the VC responded by forcibly evicting all students from the halls of residence and closed the university. Student leaders challenged the eviction and closure of the university through the courts (New Zimbabwe 2015). While students could resist and challenge new bans on campus, the older Ordinance 30 and Act of UZ (see Chapter 3) were harder to change. In an interview, Jonathan told me that they have tried in vain to amend these acts. I asked him why it was difficult to do so and Jonathan responded (shaking his head in disappointment),

Some SRC students told me that all the regulatory documents at UZ are very old. For instance, student leaders told me that the constitution they were using at the SRC was drafted when the current VC was part of the SRC himself, and has never changed since. They narrated how they tried to change and update it on several occasions, but their attempts were rebuffed by the VC who refused to listen to their proposal. One of

the SRC executive members explained, ‘The thing is, for you to change the SRC constitution and the Ordinance 30, you would need a General Assembly of students which is something we have been barred from doing by the VC’. He told me of some two students who tried to defy the VC directive not to convene a general assembly and ended up being expelled from the university. The reason why the VC was thwarting students from convening a General Assembly was that when students pass a decision in the General Assembly it becomes mandatory. For instance, if they decide to pass a vote of no confidence on the VC they would succeed in relieving him of his duties. For this reason, the VC made sure that student would not organise a general assembly meeting.

In theory then, the students could not only overthrow retrogressive legislative documents, but could also dismiss the university VC. However, under Nyagura this became impossible as the state increased its grip on the university. For many students, the realisation that there was nothing they could do to change the situation was particularly frustrating.

Student social life

My student participants bemoaned living under a combination of university and state authoritarianism. The kissing and alcohol ban impacted on students’ socialisation on campus. This was further curtailed by more bans on and censorship of live entertainment and non-academic events. Gigs, live music events, beauty contests and parties were only allowed at the beginning of each semester and towards the end of the semester. When they were allowed, these events had a strict curfew of 10 pm, which was enforced by university security guards under orders of the VC and chief security officer. While the students were sometimes successful in bribing the university security guards with money and food to allow them a few more hours for parties on campus, this was a frustrating situation. As Peter complained,

It is baffling that to do an event on campus like eeh using the Great Hall; you have to get the vice chancellor’s clearance. If he is not there, then you have to postpone the event. I think it’s not normal to have someone as big as the VC wanting to approve everything himself, especially trivial events like gigs on campus. Under normal circumstances, the dean of students should be dealing with that. So, you write a memo to the VC for approval of any event on campus and when the VC approves it, he always gives an order to end by 10 pm...[and] if not then you can cancel it.

Since most university social events only started at 7 pm, this allowed a mere three hours for events that in the past lasted deep into the night. The SRC entertainment office, which organised several gigs on campus, lamented this state of affairs, saying that “the vice chancellor always raises security concerns in justifying [the early curfew] even though there are many security guards.” Other SRC leaders compared the university to their former high schools. Peter noted, “Imagine, at my former high school we used to have bashes that ended around 12 midnight and I am now at university and the VC tells us to end gigs at 10 o’clock! We pay famous artists a lot of money to come and perform here just for three hours.” Demonstrating his disgust with the university, Jonathan, a third-year Bachelor of Arts student opined that after his appointment, “Nyagura successfully converted this esteemed institution into a glorified high school!”

Not surprisingly, most university social events have moved off campus. For instance, the campus shutdown party in December 2015, the Miss UZ event and the campus welcome party in March 2016, were all held off campus. While hiring venues off campus was more expensive, students preferred to have their parties and social events in spaces where the university restrictions and surveillance were not ubiquitous.

For many students, such compromises were not ideal. Apart from the increased costs of off-campus entertainment, it also frustrated the social expectations they had of university life. Lameck, a third year student, explained,

When I was growing up, my sister who was at UZ always told us stories of how they enjoyed the freedom at UZ, and I remember saying to myself that I would work hard and go to UZ too. Now I am here, but things are totally different from what my sister used to say. People no longer enjoy the kind of freedom that she told me anymore. In my first semester, I was so disappointed; I was disappointed with the way students are treated here. It’s like you have no control over how you should live your life.

For students like Lameck, there were huge differences between their previous imagined and everyday experiences on campus. As Lameck stated, the university had become “a space where particular forms of being are not tolerated and [are] precarious”.

As Jonathan remarked,

I don’t think there is any university with such strict regulations and control, even during the colonial era; students were not subjected to this kind of control. You don’t have any freedom

to express yourself here, be it academically, politically or socially, because you risk being expelled from the university or being picked up by government spies on campus.

I had several conversations with students on campus pertaining to their lives and experiences who shared Jonathan's frustrations. Their narratives point to a highly totalitarian space where everyday life was always under perennial authoritative and disciplinary gaze.

Religious social lives

Religion played a key role in the everyday lives of students on the UZ campus. However, the university's control of student activities on campus did not exclude their religious lives and activities. The VC's well-known disdain of new PCCs as "inauthentic" churches has not only seen their activities on campus curtailed (see previous chapter), but has also seen them closely monitored. In an interview with one of the former senior chaplains at UZ, he asserted that the Dean of Students had ordered him to monitor the activities of new PCCs on campus lest they "cause chaos and disorder". The chaos and disorder he was referring to here related to the loud PCCs prayer vigils, their use of loudspeakers and the often dramatic ecstatic ways through which the Holy Spirit manifested in PCC congregants during church services. This perceived disorder, however goes beyond this. It is also political in nature.

During my fieldwork a number of religious organisations began to confront the state due to increasing poverty and other social vices. In the wake of the #ThisFlag movement (see chapter 3; Gukurume 2017), the university has wielded the UZ Amendment Act of 1990 and Ordinance 30 to retain a tight grip on students and to crush dissent (see Hwami and Kapoor 2012; Cheater 1991). This meant that religious meetings also began to be put under constant university and state surveillance. After the influence of the #ThisFlag movement within the university many critical PCCs were subjected to the constant gaze of the state and its security agents.

Though the university and the state kept a close watch on students and churches on campus, the churches themselves also had elaborate surveillance techniques that allowed them to control the lives of their own membership on campus. Churches were very interested in the behaviour of their student members. Much like the university itself, some of the churches maintained a very strict control of their university constituency. For instance, one of my student interlocutors, Miranda, complained in an informal conversation that her church peers were always pressuring her to change the way she dressed. The church pastors felt that

Miranda's clothes were indecent because they were tight and short. Miranda's church expected "girls" to wear clothes that did not reveal "every corner of the body" and that fell to at least below the knee. However, Miranda was not comfortable dressing like an "old woman", especially at university where people competed to be fashionable. Miranda also landed in trouble because she associated more with non-church members, whom the church considered a bad influence and a source of peer pressure. Miranda's complaint was also shared by several other female and male students who believed that some of their church colleagues were too intrusive and that their private lives were no longer private. Such close peer monitoring and surveillance often created tension between students on campus. These techniques of control through surveillance can be viewed as what other scholars have referred to as 'Pentecostal governmentality'. Pentecostal governmentality entails a form of Pentecostal control and regulation of the students' everyday life on campus. In this case, the miniature of PCC students' everyday life like Miranda was mediated through Pentecostal governmentality embodied in the figure and power of the pastor. Katsaura (2017a) referred to this as pastoral power and bio-power. These Foucauldian concepts denote spiritual direction and governing of believers and the presence of a sovereign power in everyday life (see Katsaura 2017a:237).

New PCCs that I studied were particularly interested in regulating and shaping the socio-sexual lives of their members. In some churches on campus, intimate relationships had to be mediated through church pastors, a phenomenon they referred to as *kumasofa* (literally going to the sofas). Going *kumasofa* here equates to euphemism for courting in which the two parties were never left alone. This practice of *kumasofa* is not new. Indeed, it started in old PCCs like ZAOGA where the courting was mediated by the pastor and announced in church to make it public. Masvawure (2010: 180) noted that for people "under courtship", it was taboo to meet without a chaperone. As Masvawure showed, this strategy ensured that the relationship was always in the public gaze, which reduced sexual relations. Close bodily contact and kissing in some PCCs was also viewed as a sin and as a demonic "doorway", which exposed offenders to demonic attacks. Indeed, students were told to desist from "fornication", drinking and smoking. It was not uncommon for some students to be summoned and sanctioned for engaging in activities that the church disapproved of, such as drinking (Frahm-Arp 2010). This punishment of offenders was referred to as "*kuenda pasi peshamu*" (being sanctioned) in some churches. To face this punishment meant being publically banished from active participation in church activities except mere attendance. In

my informal conversation with male students, a sizeable number noted this as the reason why they did not want to sign up for religious societies on campus.

Apart from such strict prohibitions, PCCs also tried to shape the social and gendered behaviour of their followers on campus. In particular, some churches on campus targeted the bodies and sexualities of female PCC students in their surveillance and control. Some PCCs prescribed the ways in which their female students should enter into romantic relationships and the kind of clothes they should wear. They defined what would count as decent dress for their female followers and encouraged students to follow these rules by hosting various workshops for women in which dress, etiquette and make-up lessons were integral parts of the teaching. For instance, UFIC regularly organised image, beauty and etiquette workshops and the ‘Victorious Ladies Convention’ where they invited fashion, make-up and other specialists for its members. Similarly, Spirit Embassy also organised its flamboyant ‘Purple Conference’, where issues of dressing, make-up, hairstyles and relationships were central. Many of my interlocutors attended these conferences and workshops. Skirts that were too short, bare arms, low necklines and tight-fitting sheaf dresses were frowned upon and often led to sanctions for the transgressors who flaunted their sexuality by wearing such clothes. Masvawure (2010) argued that within university spaces, churches often tried to create “disciplined bodies” in an undisciplined space. This surveillance of female students was deeply embedded in the institution, Christianity and wider society’s patriarchal ideologies. Sadgrove (2007) observed similar patterns at Makerere University in Uganda, where born again churches strongly regulated their followers’ behaviour and dress and cultivated alternative socio-sexual behaviour on campus (see also Green 2002). New PCCs at UZ thus functioned as moral communities on campus and mediated the internalisation of surveillance by PCC followers.

Apart from the etiquette and image coaching workshops, new PCCs also organised dating workshops, social outings and youth camps. These events made it possible for young people to meet and interact with their potential partners, future husbands and wives. Youths were urged to attend these events well dressed to attract the attention of their dream husbands and wives. Although pastors always noted that a “perfect husband/wife” comes from God, people were challenged to also play their part. A few of my interlocutors met their partners in one of these workshops. Like other PCCs, UFIC, PHD and Spirit Embassy imposed strict restrictions on sex before marriage. During dating workshops, young people were told that by

having sex out of wedlock or before marriage, they were potentially inviting demons into their lives. Celibacy before marriage was normative in many PCCs (see Frahm-Arp 2012). The church tried to impart specific feminine and masculine roles in which women were taught the ideals of wifely submission. Women were urged to submit to their husbands' sexual urges, domestic demands and spiritual guidance. In turn, men were taught to be loving, caring and responsible husbands whose masculinity was gauged by their abilities to financially provide for their wives and children and to remain faithful to their partners and wives.

During church services, Pastors openly castigated “small house” relationships (Mushinga 2015) or long-standing relationships with quasi-wives, and instead promoted monogamous and harmonious marriages. To have harmonious marriages, people were encouraged to date and marry from within the church. “I think by dating from church you avoid problems in relationship because you will be guided by the same principles and taught the same norms”, muttered Jenifer, one of my interlocutors. On campus, the female students' body, behaviour and relationships were particularly under constant church and peer surveillance. Although Jenifer and many other women desired to date in church, not everyone was able to find love in church. This was due to the fact that female students far outnumbered their male counterparts in the campus cell group. This trend was the same in the main church.



Figure 8 A poster advertising one of the Etiquette and Image Coaching seminars

Authoritarianism on campus

Many of my student interlocutors felt that VC Levi Nyagura generally ruled the university with an iron fist. They spoke out strongly against his leadership style as heavy handed and sometimes ruthless. One student told me that compared to VCs before him; Nyagura has

expelled the most number of students. During my fieldwork, it was not uncommon to hear stories of student politicians being suspended from studies or expelled from the university due to their political activism. After mega-demonstrations and protests, political witch hunts were always the order of the day at UZ. Students told me that the reason why Nyagura was given more than three terms when he should normally have served only two terms was his strong relationship with the Mugabe regime and his ruthless clamp-down on political dissent on campus. In university circles, many students referred to VC Levi Nyagura as the university's chief disciplinarian and insisted that he had centralised authority into his office.

For many students I talked to, falling under Mugabe was not the end of state control. In fact, the university VC instrumentalised authoritarianism which was embedded in his very localised patronage networks.

Although centralised control is common at many universities in Africa (see Mills 2006; Nyamnjoh et al 2012), the UZ Vice Chancellor seem to wield extraordinary power over the students and staff at UZ. Explaining the centralisation of authority at UZ, Leonard described the running of the university as a “one man show”. Leonard asserted that,

The VC on campus is like a little president; he runs the show alone. Everyone is afraid of him and he makes all the decisions, including what is to be grown at the university farm-the vice chancellor has centralised everything in his office. When he is not there nothing happens, no decisions are made-they wait for him. He is like a Demigod of some sort. Even with workers he can hire and fire as he so wish and that is what he does. Recently Assistant Registrar Mrs Takawira was fired after graduation by the VC.

Surveillance and state security agents on campus

At the UZ, one encounters its surveillance the moment one arrives at the university gates. All five official entrances are manned by two or more university security guards, who the students commonly refer to as “Green Bombers” (GBs). The name GB is derived from their green uniforms and derogatively refers to the huge green flies that patronise human excrement. For many students, GB is an apt name for the confrontational and ever-present security guards.

At the gates, a visitor is subjected to a barrage of questions pertaining to where they are going, who they are visiting and the purpose of the visit, before being allowed in with a temporary visitor's card. I experienced this form of interrogation during the first week of my

fieldwork at one of the pedestrian gates (see chapter 2). At the gates, all students are expected to present their university identification card to gain entry. On campus, students and staff had to wear their identification cards (IDs) around their necks at all times and could be fined US \$10 for a first offence and US \$20 for a second offence. A third offence attracted a fine and a disciplinary hearing for both staff and students. The university security guards were particularly likely to check IDs early in the morning when students rushed to get to their lectures or after lectures when they went home. Without an ID, students would sometimes be denied entry to the university campus.

The GBs were notorious for harassing students on campus. Some students complained to the media of their ubiquitous power, which made for great copy. For instance, the Herald reported that some concerned students wrote that they “were living in perpetual fear of being verbally and physically harassed by the university security guards who have turned the institution into their own fiefdom” (Rwafa 2014). The Zimbabwe Independent similarly noted that “The Green Bombers harass students everyday, forcing students to wear identification cards around their necks failure of which they violently arrest you and impose a fine-these systems of surveillance control has turned that wonderful place into an open prison” (Zhangazha 2014). These reports reflected the lived experiences of many students on campus and their deep-seated anxieties. Many of my interlocutors complained about this harassment and in informal conversations, they often related tales of GBs beating up students.

The university security or GBs was said to be one of the most powerful and well-funded departments at the university (see Zhangazha 2014). It was led by a very powerful and influential chief security officer, Mr Macleod Tendai Tarambiwa. Robert, a member of the SRC executive, had the following to say about the UZ security,

Here, the security guards are more powerful than academics. Yes, the guards can even arrest the university registrar for not displaying his ID on campus. I remember some time when the top three, the VC and pro vice chancellors were not there, the chief security was the *de facto* Vice Chancellor. I think the university is just a microcosm of the country. Eeh, you know Zimbabwe now is more of a security-centred country and the university has also become a securitised and politicised institution as well. I have always said that what is happening in the country, like the influence of the military junta is replicated and reproduced here on campus.

It was widely rumoured that the leadership of the university’s security were former and serving state security agents who were directly appointed by the president. This connection

between university security and state security was evident in Mr Tarambiwa's rise to power. Before coming to UZ, he held a relatively high position in the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP). When he left the ZRP, Mr Tarambiwa had risen to the rank of a member-in-charge of a police station (UZ Website). He joined the university as a deputy chief security officer in September 1990 after the establishment of a security unit at the university. He was elevated to his current position in 1998.⁸⁴

The university security worked hand-in-glove with state security agents on campus, especially during student demonstrations. It was widely accepted that young rank-and-file plain-clothed state security agents routinely masqueraded as students and staff on campus. Explaining the close connection between university security and state security agents on campus, Robert alleged that,

Some members of the university security here are not really university employees, they are government spies, some of them are members of the CIO, so they carry that power associated with the government intelligence into the university campus. So *yaah* [yes] that's what gives them so much power.

The deployment of military officials and state intelligence on campus resonated with the emergent discourse of militarisation and securitisation of state institutions in post-2000 Zimbabwe (see Maringira 2016; Alexander 2013; McGregor 2013; Masunungure 2011; Verheul 2013; Tendi 2016).

This surveillance and control extended to the students' halls of residence where each hall of residence was managed by a warden and sub-warden. These officers worked together with the university security guards and hall committee members. In this network, the sub-warden (janitor) was largely responsible for the day-to-day administrative duties of the hall and allocated rooms, issued keys, and enforced compliance with the hostels' rules and regulations. Sub-wardens operated in shifts and were expected to be always present in their offices, observing and monitoring people's movements. As such, the warden, sub-wardens, university security and hall committee members represented part of the university surveillance machinery on campus.

Of note is that some students collaborated and participated in this surveillance as informers and spies. It was often said that the state targeted poor students for this and that

⁸⁴ www.uz.ac.zw/index.php/about-uz/administration/campus-secuti

their compensation was generous. During my fieldwork, many rumours circulated about suspected student spies and evidence of their work for the state. For instance, their new cars rumoured to have been bought by the state, and their continued stay at university even though they had graduated, were some of the markers of state spies. My participants told me that they saw a student who did not complete his studies, they began to suspect them of being part of the spying network on campus.

It was also widely known that the state spies were not solely interested in politically subversive student leaders and that the state's surveillance was much more wide-ranging. Mr. J.T., the former university senior chaplain told me that,

There is an unsung role of politics and politicians at the university. *Eeh* there is a very strong political influence within the university community among the administrators, the students, literally everywhere and they shape even the thinking and knowledge production. Sometimes through intimidation, fear and outright violence, which we always denounced as chaplaincy. I don't remember any time it [state surveillance] was not there during my time at the university. Of course it would feature more prominently when the state or university felt their interests are being threatened. When their interests are not being threatened, you don't really feel it though it will be there, it will be more subtle. For instance, for us, then, as a Christian community- our encounters were not that much because we hardly threatened their interests. But now it's very different. The churches have become very much involved in the politics of the country because of the collapse of the economy and the widespread suffering of the people. So in that case, the state intelligence become interested in what you teach and preach to students.

Most of my participants acknowledged that the state security surveillance was also prevalent in campus church organisations. This surveillance, I was told, became more pronounced after growing dissent over the excesses of the Mugabe government by students on campus. As a perceived threat to the state, several churches started to fall under state control and surveillance on campus. In the words of one youth pastor, "state intelligence agents are everywhere on campus be it in church, class and hostels".

Many of my interlocutors noted that it was commonplace to find plain clothes state security agents and spies attending church services at the chapel and other church activities at the university. These spies masqueraded as students or university workers. Although church members could not always recognise them, they knew that spies might be in church and would report back to their bosses. Jonathan gave a good example of this constant surveillance

by pointing at Evan Mawarire's case. He explained, "the president said, I didn't know him, but surprisingly he had so much information about his church and everything after he started his #ThisFlag campaign which challenged the government". Jonathan believed that since the emergence of protests against the Mugabe regime, the eyes and ears of the state have become omnipresent in the church and other spaces on campus. According to Jonathan, the government agents and spies were constantly on campus attending activities, meetings and services.

Mawarire was accused of inciting and supporting protesting students. One of my key informants on campus told me that the university administrators also viewed these men of God as bad political influence on the students and wanted to stop them. Not only were some PCC leaders organising protests against the Mugabe regime, some of them were also making political prophecies about Mugabe's political demise (Mhlanga 2016) and death (Newsday 2017; see also chapter 1). One of the pastors who prophesied Mugabe's death was arrested and detained for months.⁸⁵ State owned media labelled Mawarire and other critical pastors as agents of regime change funded by the West. Pastor Owen's complaint about the pervasiveness of surveillance in churches was common among the majority of my participants.

Agency and Subversion of surveillance and control

Although students were constantly threatened and arrested by the CIOs and the police throughout my fieldwork, many of them devised creative ways of going around and circumventing state and university surveillance on campus. In informal conversations with students, it emerged that some of the students also interpreted the surveillance on campus as demonic. As such their response to the problem of being watched and being listened to was spiritual and material. For instance, it was not uncommon for students to organise all-night prayer vigils over anxieties wrought with surveillance systems on campus. By engaging in these prayer vigils students were communicating their problems to the 'father'. The father in this case referred to God. In turn, the father would help them to avoid being seen and being heard by the state security agents.

Yet other students also organised peaceful demonstrations on campus against authoritarian university governance. Indeed, in 2017 some PCC students participated in the

⁸⁵ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38651506>

examination boycott until Mugabe-then the chancellor and the VC resigned. They also demanded the demilitarisation of the university campus. Similarly, others took the university to court.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the surveillance of university students' everyday lives on campus. It looks at how surveillance was deployed as an instrumentalisation of power. I show how the university leadership adopted authoritarian techniques and surveillance systems to silence political dissent on campus. The chapter argued that surveillance is ubiquitous at UZ and served very specific purposes in the configuration of power and control on campus. This surveillance structured everyday forms of interactions and social relations on campus. Following on chapter 3, this chapter broadens the discussion and argument about space by showing how students' associational lives were surveyed and controlled by a variety of agents on campus. Instead of an ideal liberal university where students were free to associate with whomever they pleased and discussed ideas freely, I show that at UZ, very particular layers of power have introduced a logic of authoritarianism on campus that some students have internalised- for both moral and economic ends.

What all of this coalesced into was the production of a suspicious environment where everyone was living in fear of the next person- and their access to the kinds of power that could hurt their prospects. In the literature, scholars have often insisted that Christian communities act as exceptional islands of sociality and trust in otherwise harsh or alienating urban environments (see van Wyk 2014). So although students spend enormous amounts of time in their church communities and often describe them as "families" (see Chapter 4), even these communities do not escape the fear of surveillance that predominate on the UZ campus. Many PCCs know that their political "fight" have made them particular targets of the Mugabe regime and expect that state agents would attend their sermons and report back to the powers that be. Further, the churches themselves have become active agents of surveillance as they monitor the behaviour and associational lives of their members. This heightened tensions between peers and church members on campus. Many of my interlocutors tolerated church surveillance because they believed that this surveillance kept them from danger and from opening their lives to demons through immoral acts like sex and alcohol drinking on campus. They were more critical of the state and university's surveillance on campus. By looking at the students' agency I argue that they have not been passive victims of state, university and

church surveillance. Rather, they deployed multiple ways of getting past and circumventing this surveillance. For many of my interlocutors, state and church scrutiny was unwelcome because they felt that this was invasion into their private lives and indeed some form of oppression, state and university surveillance was interpreted differently.

I argue in this chapter that for my new PCC interlocutors this surveillance was interpreted as the work of Satan and his demons and hence it was something they had to actively fight. Their fight was a very specific; it was spiritual and required spiritual weapons such as prayer, fasting and the use of other church technologies like anointing oil. What this chapter revealed is how the balance of power was constantly checked by force, such that even though students in theory had the power to legally contest the VC's authoritarian rules and regulations and even to overthrow him, the state was directly implicated in the repression that prohibited assemblies on campus. Thus, I argue that the coincidence of interests between religious, political and university powers in the country resonates strongly with assertions made about the nature of post-colonial independence political terrain and indeed the excesses of the state

Chapter Six: Becoming Spiritual on University Campus: Students and new Pentecostal Charismatic Churches

Introduction

It was a chilly Saturday morning. I woke up early to prepare for the youth social outing organised by the UFIC cell group off campus. I was told that their destination was about 15 km outside Harare West. My phone started ringing. It was Patrick, one of my interlocutors from UZ. He called to remind me about the outing and to ask if I would be able to transport the food and other things with my car. I first met Patrick in the first month of my fieldwork at UZ. He was in his final year in the Faculty of Science, was an active member of the cell group and was also very active in student politics on campus. Earlier in the year, Patrick had introduced me to many of his colleagues who became my interlocutors on campus. He had been elected to the campus cell group structures and the university's Student Representative Council (SRC) committee. The cell group regularly organised social outings, normally two to three times per semester. Throughout my fieldwork, I had consistently attended all of their social outings and cell group meetings. Patrick bellowed that there was something special about this Saturday because they had a special visitor from church; a senior church pastor. Patrick told me that after the outing, he would be attending the "Billionaires Mindset" summit at the Harare International Conference Centre (HICC) in the evening and asked if I could join him. The Billionaires Mindset summit, a business and entrepreneurship conference organised by Prophet Makandiwa of United Family International Church (UFIC), had become an annual event. Held at a five-star hotel in town, the event was characterised by its flamboyance. For this event, the church normally invited local and international business tycoon-billionaires to share business ideas and their personal success stories. For Patrick and many of my other interlocutors on campus, these events, the youth social outings, business seminars and conferences were integral to their decisions to sign up and convert to new PCCs.

This chapter examines the ways in which students become members of and maintain membership of emerging Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (PCCs) on the University of Zimbabwe (UZ) campus. Central to this chapter is an in-depth exploration of why and how students join these new PCCs. In revealing the answer to this, and related questions, this chapter explores the students' lived experiences within these PCCs and importantly what

membership does to and for students. Further, the chapter also analyses and discusses the intersection between being spiritual and being “learned” (or educated) and what it means to inhabit these seemingly antagonistic identities. The dynamics of being and becoming a member of new Pentecostal churches on campus are mediated and shaped by the country’s protracted socio-economic and political crisis and its attendant immiseration for university students on campus. I argue that the emergence and proliferation of new PCCs has (re)configured the university campus into a spiritual space and students into spiritual subjects. This remaking of the traditionally “learned” university space into a spiritual terrain has also ushered in new forms of socialities and attachments mediated through new Pentecostal forms.

Spirituality on campus

The ways in which churches entered campus and advertised themselves to new students were often most conspicuous during orientation week. Taking place during the first week of the first term of every year, orientation week saw various student societies jostling for membership. In between more secular societies such as the ballroom-dancing society, churches displayed their branded tents and tables on the chapel greens. To attract students, they offered Bible study lessons and free food and drinks to students who visited their stands. Some churches played music and preached on loud speakers, displayed their posters and banners while church members wore their church regalia; full uniforms, branded t-shirts or sharp suits with branded ties. Since many of these churches, unlike the secular societies, were well funded, their displays became a public spectacle on campus. For instance, during the 2016 orientation week, some churches invited popular youth artists to perform at their stands. Their pastors arrived with an entourage of posh cars that were nicely decorated with church posters. They drove around campus hooting and handing out invitation cards for students to attend their music concert in a field adjacent to the campus. It is through such colourful and spectacular displays that churches, especially new PCCs, introduced themselves to new students on campus. During this week, PCCs handed out pamphlets and booklets that documented their various programmes, student activities and the kind of material and spiritual support they offered student congregants. Some new PCCs offered free exercise books, ballpoint pens and t-shirts to new first-year students who signed up to their societies. They often took down the names, programmes of study and mobile numbers of interested students in their registers and used these details to follow up on prospective members. Some PCCs offered free snacks and coffee, which were very popular and saw long queues of

students at their stalls. While most new PCCs offered colourful pamphlets, some mainline church societies had a couple of modest benches and tables taken from the chapel and invited students by word of mouth or offered photocopied pieces of papers with their contact details.

Throughout my fieldwork, I noticed that the majority of students from rural areas were largely affiliated to mainline churches or old Pentecostal churches. Based on my observations at UZ, the majority of students converting to and attending PCC services were undergraduate students. According to the UZ chaplain, the chapel's records showed that undergraduate students dominated the Christian constituency on campus but that hundreds of postgraduate students also regularly attended church services on campus.

Similar patterns hold true for students in other parts of the world. In their study of several universities in the United Kingdom, Guest, Aune, Sharma & Warner (2013: 208) showed that the Christian landscape there is dominated by undergraduate students. In Nigeria (see Obadare 2007) and Uganda (see Sadgrove 2007), undergraduate students also constituted the majority in religious societies on campus. I noticed that as students matriculated into postgraduate studies, some of them reduced their church attendance. The dominance of undergraduate students in new PCCs and other Christian groups on campus is understandable given that UZ has far more undergraduate students compared to postgraduates residing on campus.⁸⁶ Within the undergraduate student body, PCC membership is skewed towards senior undergraduate students. Several of my interlocutors told me that the majority of their members were final year students. Apart from marriage partners, the young women also asserted that they needed divine intervention to get jobs. As one of my interlocutors told me, “you know the situation in the country. Without God's grace, the chances of getting employed are next to zero”. Indeed, the majority of senior students that I talked to were concerned about their post-university life and future prospects. Many of my interlocutors agreed with Sue, one of my interlocutors, that,

Most of the first- and second-year students are not that serious about church; of course some do attend services but most of them are still enjoying their newly found freedom away from home and parents. They like having fun and experimenting on new things which the church might not allow.

⁸⁶ Given the accommodation crisis at UZ, first year, final year and students from outside Harare are prioritized when it comes to campus accommodation.

On campus, Christian demographics were normally captured during the registration of new students. All the first-year students were required to complete a form that stated their religion and denominational affiliation. These forms were standardised and also captured other information such as home language and gender. Some demographics were also captured on the religious group registers, which were submitted to the chaplaincy department.

Although many students self-identify as Christians, not all of them completed the section on religious identity on their university registration forms since it was not mandatory. For some students I talked to, stating their religious or denominational affiliation was unwelcome. Some of them felt that their church societies would use these forms to approach them and to force them to attend church. The senior chaplain noted that not all students who self-identified as Christians were practicing or active Christians on campus. In fact, other students I talked to felt that Christian societies on campus were too demanding of their time and resources. They did not want to be identified by societies on campus because they did not want to be visited or pressured to join them.

While a sizeable number of my participants converted and signed up for new PCC student societies while on campus, the majority of my interlocutors told me that they were Christians prior to coming to university and came from Christian families. Most of the students noted that they grew up in mainline churches but attended PCCs during term time. At home, some of them told me, they reverted back to their mainline family churches. For instance Joe, a student interlocutor, explained,

I was born and raised in a Catholic family and since I was young, I attended Catholic services. My parents and other siblings are still Catholic but for me when I came to university my friends introduced me to UFIC and I started going together with them to church and during vacation I would go with my family to Catholic, but now I have made up my mind and my parents know that I am now a UFIC member. I am now grown up and my parents respected my decision.

The Christian constituency at UZ is also dominated by female students. This was particularly the case with new PCCs that I interacted with. In all the church services I attended at UZ and off campus, the majority of the congregants were female students and women respectively. In fact, many scholars of Christianity in Africa (and beyond) have underscored that women constitute the majority of Christians globally (see Martin 2001; Robert 2006; Soothill 2010; van Wyk 2014; Clarke 2016; de Alminana and Olena 2016). This was particularly true for

female students who, I was told, were trying to settle down and look for steady and serious relationships. For these female students, the church was an ideal place to look for prospective husbands. These scholars underscored that Christianity in general and Pentecostalism in particular affords women empowering spaces which are emancipatory in patriarchal societies. Some of the anthropologists have also noted that Pentecostalism appeals to women because they help women to domesticate their previously wayward, violent, smoking and drinking husbands. Thus, new PCCs' capacity to tame their husbands into responsible and caring husbands, make these PCCs attractive to many women. Pentecostalism transforms men to be responsible husbands who spend more of their resources and time on their family than on beer or extra-marital affairs. Scholars like Chitando (2007; cf. Van Klinken 2012) note that Pentecostalism reconfigured men's sexual subjectivities "creating a new man for a new era" fostering what he referred to as "soft masculinities".

While some scholars like Robbins (2004) noted the patriarchal nature of Christianity and more especially PCCs, others viewed new PCCs as agents of women emancipation and equality; and provide opportunities for women's leadership and entrepreneurship (Hunt 2002; Chesnut 1997; Dombrowski 2001). Of note is the women's leadership breakthrough within PCCs and mainstream politics in Kenya (see Parsitau 2011). Thus, for these scholars, PCCs provide women, the platform, skills; knowledge and courage to (re)negotiate power and gender relations in patriarchal societies, especially at household level (Martin 2001:55; Chesnut 2003: 142; Smilde 1997: 343; Gill 1990). In fact, they argue that PCCs create an 'inclusive community' where men and women are equal servants of God (see Robbins 2004).

There was some awareness of the impact of PCCs on men among male students. Trust, a third year commerce student, asserted,

For many male students, new Pentecostal churches are less appealing because they discourage activities that boys enjoy like smoking, drinking alcohol and sex as well as the serious commitment demanded by these churches to their activities which most of the male students are not willing to do. You find that here at UZ excessive drinking, having sex with many girls, engaging in violent demonstrations and doing drugs are some of the many ways through which male students exude their masculinities, all of which run counter to the basic principles of Pentecostal churches which are very strict. I think that's why you find very few male students there. Some of the male students you see there only go when chasing some girls but may not be really fully committed.

In interviews with students, many echoed the reasons cited in the literature on why women would attend church in larger numbers than men. For instance, during my fieldwork, one of my female participants, Miranda, a second-year social sciences student, echoed what a number of scholars have found, that “women are conceived to be naturally more spiritual” (Robbins 2004; Hunt 2002). In her own words Miranda, noted,

I think we, the ladies, are more spiritual than men generally and we are easily persuaded to sign up and convert into Christianity. For men it takes time to convince them. Like when we do our evangelism programmes on campus, we have limited success with male students as compared to female students. I also think that for women whenever we have personal problems we quickly turn to God for help. The other thing is we can also get boyfriends easily and increase our chances of getting a good husband at church.

Because women were conceived of as being more “spiritual” than men, they were also more likely to be plagued by demonic spiritual forces and hence needed the protection and help of PCCs more than men (see also van Wyk 2014). In particular, senior female students complained that they were plagued by anti-marriage spirits and spiritual husbands who prevented them from settling down with a partner. The literature on Africa is replete with examples of women who explain the attraction of PCCs in terms of their ability to exorcise spirits that undermine their marriage prospects (see Van de Kamp 2011; Soothill 2007; Robbins 2004; Marshall 1993; Martin 1995; Chitando 2002; Frahm-Arp 2010).

Although this literature is illuminating, it seldom focuses on young university students, on the educated or on upwardly mobile women. There are a few notable exceptions. For instance, Maria Frahm-Arp’s (2010) study on upwardly mobile black women in South Africa. Frahm-Arp (2010) argued that new Pentecostal churches helped formerly marginalised black women to navigate and adapt to their new-found work success and the urban context. Frahm-Arp (2010) further argued that PCCs appealed to young black women because they provided them with networks of support as they tried to establish themselves and succeed in male-dominated professional careers. Through PCCs’ teachings and rituals, these previously disadvantaged women were empowered to negotiate and navigate networks of power and to understand the corporate politics at the workplace. Similarly, in her study of upwardly mobile women in Mozambique, van de Kamp (2010) noted that Brazilian PCCs’ teachings and propagation of a “pioneering theology” was compelling to young women because it enabled them to adapt to their new urban spaces by providing them with new opportunities, which transformed their lives. Further, in a context where many young women

were traumatised by “spirit spouses”, which prevented them from marrying and wrecked already established marriages, the efficacious yet violent technologies provided by the Brazilian church enabled them to wrestle with these spirits, albeit at a heavy cost to their socio-economic wellbeing. Van de Kamp (2016) argues that these technologies allowed young and upwardly mobile women to feel in complete charge of their future.

My female student interlocutors believed that demons and spiritual spouses were sent to them by jealous relatives, were inherited as ancestral curses and were embedded in jewellery and artificial hair/weaves, among other sources. They knew that in Zimbabwe’s patriarchal society, educated young women always find it harder to marry than their less educated sisters. This was due to the general belief that college women were promiscuous and too independent to make ideal marriage partners. Of note is that the university plays a fundamental role in the inability of female students to marry. For one, educated women were viewed as intimidating and unlikely to subscribe to local submissive ideals for married women. Another reason why men apparently avoided marrying educated women was because they were seen as more likely to be targeted by evil spirits and spiritual spouses sent by jealous relatives. Many female students who graduated without establishing serious and steady relationships at university found it hard to get married after university. According to Mushinga (2015), many of these women become “small houses”, a derogatory term that referred to their status as the secret, informal, quasi-polygamous and long-term sexual partners of married men. Realising the difficulties of young emancipated and upwardly mobile professional women, some of the PCCs have also begun to forge spaces where ‘being single’ is viewed as a normal(ised) and acceptable part of Christian womanhood (see Frahm-Arp 2012:370).

Knowing the spiritual dangers that attached to being a woman at university, many young female students found new PCCs attractive because they engaged in elaborate exorcisms of demons and “anti-marriage spirits”. By offering young women efficacious technologies to fight their perceived susceptibility to spiritual attacks, new PCCs became relevant to, and an answer to many young students’ anxieties. Indeed, manifestations of spirit and demonic possession as well as exorcism during church services were dominated by female congregants. Women and female students in particular were often possessed and exorcised from anti-marriage spirits (cf. van de Kamp 2011).

Like many other youth members in PHD, Miriam told me that she regularly attended dating and relationships workshops organised for the youth by the church. However, she never had a steady relationship. Miriam noted, “I have dated a number of people around but my relationships always end mysteriously, often over minor issues. This is one area I need to seriously fight demons”. Like Owen, Miriam attributed her misfortunes to demonic forces and was determined to keep fighting. Indeed, many of my interlocutors who were unsuccessful in their fight/spiritual war...did not sit back and accept defeat. Instead, they constantly sought to “upgrade” their weapons and technologies in the battle against the devil and the demons. This upgrading often meant that they had to part with large sums of cash and had to fast for days. This often led to quarrels with family members. Their perennial failures became a source of anxiety and frustration for some of my interlocutors.

Though these university women seemed to have concerns similar to their poor and less educated sisters, the fact of their university attendance in a patriarchal society heightened their spiritual vulnerabilities, a situation to which new PCCs provided ready remedies.

State and University financial support

Since 2008, the bankrupt state and the university have halted all financial support to students. In fact, due to protracted economic challenges, the government considered privatising state universities to reduce its bloated wage bill (Mawonde 2015). In the Herald of 25 May 2015, the deputy minister of higher and tertiary education claimed that the state had a proposal to this effect, which would see either a total privatisation or part-privatisation of state universities. On campus, rumours had it that the government would pay half of university workers’ salaries at all state universities by mid-2015. There was much visible anxiety among university students and lecturers after the deputy minister’s announcement. Many of the students and lecturers I talked to during this period speculated that tuition fees would increase, lecturers would strike, and wondered whether the university could manage this crisis and what would happen to them. These fears were justified because during my fieldwork, salary payments to university staff became erratic. For instance, in December 2015, there was much uncertainty about whether staff salaries would be paid since their November salaries were still outstanding. On 24 December, just before Christmas, the state paid university staff’s November salaries. This uncertainty continued throughout my fieldwork and led to many demonstrations and protests by university staff and students on campus (Herald Reporter 2015; Dube 2015).

The government's cash crisis had negative ramifications for the welfare of university students and staff (Herald Reporter 2015). During my fieldwork, civil servants and university staff struggled to pay rent, medical bills and school fees for their children, among other things. In an interview with the Herald newspaper, Vice Chancellor Levi Nyagura said that the government owed UZ money in excess of \$11.4 million as well as several months' worth of staff salaries and their 2015 bonuses (Gumbo 2016). He further noted that due to these financial constraints, the university was failing to remit money for workers' medical aid and pension contributions.

It is in this context of straightened times that new PCCs offered both material and spiritual relief to students and staff.

Becoming and being a member

New PCCs like UFIC, Spirit Embassy and PHD had large student membership on campus while mainline churches continued to attract sizeable numbers of congregants. There were various social, economic and spiritual reasons for this. My findings reveal that the churches provided refuge to students in economic dire straits by supplying accommodation. For instance, the Catholic Church provided very cheap accommodation for over 50 students at the Prestage complex adjacent to the UZ campus. This accommodation was only given to needy church members at subsidised rates. Given the acute accommodation crisis at UZ, the competition for places at this complex was acute because the quality of accommodation offered at this complex was much better than the halls of residence at UZ. Just like the Catholic Church, some new PCCs offered boarding houses to students, while others provided networks through which student members could access cheap accommodation.

Likewise, some PCCs like UFIC also offered generous scholarships and funding to underprivileged students from their church. During my fieldwork, there were about 12 students that received UFIC scholarships. I also interviewed 11 students who were on Spirit Embassy scholarships and 10 students who received PHD financial assistance. While these scholarships barely made a dent in the number of students that needed financial support at UZ, they allowed their recipients a rare opportunity. Without this financial support, the UFIC, Spirit Embassy and PHD scholarship holders would have dropped out of university. Some student scholarship beneficiaries told me that they were given pocket money, tuition and accommodation fees. The pocket money was usually a once-off payment of about \$150 given

at the beginning of each semester. However, not all students on scholarships received pocket money. It was given only to a few based on financial need and especially to orphaned and needy students. I was told that students with outstanding results at the end of the semester would often be rewarded with pocket money and some benefits like a laptop. To access these scholarships, I was told that one had to undergo a predictable bureaucratic process, though in some cases they depended on the largesse of the prophet and prophetess. In paying out, however, these scholarships were not always predictable and it was not uncommon for students to receive their money late or sometimes not at all. The charity departments of these churches handled the scholarships. At UFIC all charity work was handled by AGAPE Family Care, a charity arm led by prophetess Ruth Makandiwa. In 2014, Ruth Makandiwa received an honorary doctorate degree from the International Institute of Philanthropy for her charity activities (Mabehla 2014).⁸⁷ At Spirit Embassy, all charity activities, including scholarships, were handled by their charity organisation called Hand of Mercy (HOME), for which prophet Angel's wife, prophetess Beverly Angel, was the leader and patron. Similarly, at PHD they also had a charity department that was led by prophet Magaya's wife. By awarding scholarships, these churches tried to make themselves relevant to the material constraints and existential anxieties of many students on campus (see Obadare 2007: 523).

James, a second year student in the Faculty of Arts was one of the beneficiaries of a UFIC scholarship and told how the church selected him,

The prophet (Makandiwa) and his wife came to my former school in Chitungwiza where I was doing my form five and asked the headmaster to identify intelligent students who are struggling to pay their fees and fortunately I was one of the people selected. My parents are not working and have been struggling to pay my fees, so the prophet started paying my fees and bought us new uniforms. They told us that anyone who will score at least ten points will be funded at university. When my final results came, I had scored fifteen points and I was the best student at my school, so they are funding my studies up to now at UZ. My parents used to go to AFM but we have all converted to UFIC. For me that's the only way I can repay the kindness and generosity of the prophet. I will never leave this church. The prophet and the prophetess are like my social and spiritual parents now.

While James was selected for a scholarship before he enrolled at UZ, other beneficiaries were selected when they were already at the university. Unlike other scholarships that were based on merit alone, the church scholarships were based on financial need- and church

⁸⁷ www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2014/07/05/prophetess-makandiwa-awarded-doctorate

involvement. There were a few corporates that offered scholarships at UZ based on merit and these included Econet's Capernaum Trust,⁸⁸ scholarships by the Zimbabwe Power Company (ZPC) and Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA). Church scholarships were widely advertised and in church services, the prophets made much of them. For instance, in one of the church services I attended, the Prophet boasted about how their charity department was transforming lives before he showed a short film to illustrate this. Scholarship beneficiaries in the film shared their testimonies and gratitude to the prophet and the prophetess for their financial assistance. After the short film, about five students receiving AGAPE scholarships who were studying at different universities were called to the podium to share their stories one after the other. They all talked in glowing terms about the prophet and his wife's generosity and thanked them for changing their lives. One, a poor student from the prophet's rural area in Muzarabani who had scored an impressive 15 points in science subjects at Advanced level, also expressed his gratitude to the prophet for making his dream to become a medical doctor and change the fortunes of his entire family come true.



Figure 9 A picture of the prophetess and UFIC pastors at the site of the school

Picture Credit: Christ TV taken from the prophetess Facebook/Instagram page @ruthmakandiwa

⁸⁸ This scholarship is funded by Zimbabwean billionaire Strive Masiyiwa-a global Telecommunications tycoon. It is estimated that Masiyiwa and his wife support about 40 000 children see www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2013/10/04/masiyiwa-s-wife-supports-40-000-children/

These scholarships also featured on the churches' websites and social media platforms. For instance, Agape family care posted the following message accompanied by a picture of a beneficiary student studying accounting, "By transforming one child through education, you are empowering a future generation and adding value to the nation". Of note here is that for these churches such welfare activities were viewed as part of the broader prosperity gospel and spiritual warfare project, a war against poverty. Within these new Pentecostal churches, poverty is spiritualised and framed as an embodied manifestation of demonic blockages in the flow of God's material blessings (see van Wyk 2014: 153). For churches like UFIC who imagined themselves as a huge family, such scholarships signified discourses closely aligned to ideas about church families caring for one another as children of God.

Just like James, many other students from UFIC viewed prophet Makandiwa as their spiritual father. In fact, during interviews, most of them referred to him as *Papa* (father) and his wife as *Mhamha* (mother). The same was true for PHD and Spirit Embassy where the majority of the students from these PCCs viewed prophets Magaya and Angel as their spiritual fathers. Katsaura (2017) argued that such familial titles are crucial in the Pentecostal field and signify hierarchies of spiritual authority and semiotics of respect. Since new PCC prophets were largely viewed as the new African big man (McCauley 2012: 3), their patronage to loyal 'clients' such as students was central to their powers. But scholarships were just one way in which the prophet earned this moniker. Students also related to prophets in familial terms. This imagining of churches like UFIC as a family was cultivated by the church in its self-making as a big 'United Family'. Relationships forged between congregants were mediated through religious teachings, activities and rituals. For instance, UFIC on campus regularly organised youth camp meetings, social outings off campus during weekends as well as activities like "bring and share" where each student brought a gift and exchanged it with another. Classical anthropological literature has explored the functions and relationships of gift exchanges in various pre-capitalist spaces (see for instance Mauss 1954; Malinowski 1961; Sahlins 1965). These scholars show how gifts have mediated intimate social relationships and worked to configure acts of reciprocity and social solidarity in the society. Similarly, at UZ, such gift exchange rituals formed part of the new PCC gift economy (Cheal 1988), which also helped to cement social relationships between PCC student members creating a sense of solidarity and community (Komter 2005). This was crucial to many students on campus given that university life was often lonely. Indeed, many

students told me that life could be very hard on campus. This resonates strongly with observations made by some scholars that for new students fresh from high school, the university encounter could be alienating and destabilising (see Guest et al 2013; Sonya & Guest 2013). The students conceived of this religious community as a model family. For instance, Peter, a UFIC-member and a third-year student in the Faculty of Commerce told me that,

With my church mates on campus, we are like family; we always try to help each other all the time with advice, food, money and other things. We are each other's keeper and the prophet or father always encourage us to help one another and that's what we strive to do. We are inspired by the prophet and the prophetess who lead by example through their charity work toward church members and other people like orphans and widows whom they help. So we try to replicate that as a group on campus.

Ruth, a first-year student, echoed Peter's narrative of a close family-like church community on campus,

When I first came to Harare last semester, I didn't know anyone here. I had no relative or friend I knew. So my first week was a nightmare trying to look for accommodation and do registration and even moving around in town. But when I realised that there is my church around. I began to make friends, I began to adjust and adapt to university life and the loneliness and anxieties of my first week was fast disappearing. I now had people I could call brothers and sisters and they were all keen to assist me. They are my second family here on campus.

Ruth's narrative shows that churches could be conceived of as a coping mechanism for new students in alien and unfamiliar spaces. But these were not the only such support. There were a number of other secular organisations that tried to help student adapt to campus life. For instance, there were some ethnic and regional associations such as Midlands Student Association for students from the Midlands province, Matabeleland Development Association formed by and for students from Matabeleland. These organisations helped to create a network of social support for students and sometimes helped their members to find accommodation. There were also secular clubs like the Leo Omegas, AIESEC, Saywhat and Rotaract clubs, to mention just a few. These clubs imagined themselves as spaces of sociality and conviviality and homes away from home. The UZ Rotaract had 717 members on its Facebook page and regularly organised social activities. Similarly, AIESEC had 756 members on campus. Though they had a lot of likes on their Facebook page actual

membership were lower than the online likes. Unlike new PCCs, not all of these clubs had an open door policy and some engaged in painful hazing as a rite of passage and initiation into university life. Further most of the activities they engaged in were expensive for many of the students on campus. Although there were a number of secular student organisations that tried to overcome the alienation of first year students on campus, Pentecostal groups were viewed by many as more welcoming and easier to integrate into than non-religious groups. New PCCs offered new students a space to forge new social relationships, friendships and networks, which helped them to navigate the contours of university life. Christian students told me that in times of need, they could rely on their Christian brothers and sisters for emotional, material and spiritual support. Many of my interlocutors told me that they helped each other in times of need. For instance, it was not uncommon for church members to borrow money from each other. Sometimes well-to-do students provided free transport for fellow members to church and other social outings. Free gifts were also exchanged between members. During one of the social outings I attended, one student offered to pay for almost half the students the \$5 each that was required to attend the event off campus for everyone else. That was after another student bought most of the foodstuffs for the outing. Apart from material support, students viewed these groups as spaces of unending emotional support. For many students, churches on campus were viewed as alternative social safety nets which offered various forms of support and security to students in precarious circumstances.

Like the UZ students I studied, their Nigerian counterparts found social and material support in campus church communities, which the state and the university failed to supply (Obadare 2007). These socio-spiritual communities enabled students to negotiate their livelihood constraints on campus. Obadare (2007: 533) argued that the deepening religiosity on university campuses in Nigeria resulted from students' attempts to forge personal security in spaces inundated with chronic uncertainties.

Spiritual remedies

Many of my interlocutors, both students and staff, believed that the financial challenges on campus required divine intervention because they were caused by evil spiritual forces. Some of them believed that these spiritual forces emanating from the politicians' involvement in the dark world, the gifts and other things they touch in everyday interactions as well as from envious relatives and neighbours. To "fight" these forces and overturn their impact, the new PCCs held various individual and collective prayers. Likewise, the UZ chaplaincy also

organised ecumenical services and prayer sessions. In these ecumenical meetings, the religious ministers and chaplains often framed the country's protracted crisis in religious terms. This is not an unusual response to crisis from the country's mainline churches; during prolonged droughts, such as the one experienced in 2012/2013 season, they regularly held prayer meetings (Ncube 2016). Indeed, many Christians shared the conviction that evil forces were at work in the world, which led them to join together in the spiritual war. On campus, prayer meetings became a space where students from different PCCs converged for the same cause, fighting demons that blocked students' academic success, God's material blessings and upward mobility.

The religious and spiritual framing of the country's protracted economic and political crisis was reinforced by PCCs who not only urged their congregants to pray for the nation, but also regularly organised prayer vigils to this end. A prayer vigil is a sustained period devoted to prayer about a particular issue(s). In one of the prayer vigils I attended, students stood up in a big circle holding hands and praying loudly. In between the powerful prayers, students read the scriptures that related to the theme of the nightly vigil and sang songs. Prayer vigils often lasted the entire night or week. At the prayer vigils, congregants were reminded that God was the solution to Zimbabwe's problems. Many of my student participants from PCCs regularly attended prayer vigils for the country and for the university. PCCs on campus also organised specific vigils for the university to cleanse the university from demonic forces. For instance, one new PCC held a week-long prayer vigil that started at 7pm and lasted until 7am each day. At this prayer vigil, students devoted the whole week to prayer about the university and their studies. Students prayed for the end of drug and alcohol abuse, sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancies, academic failure, violence, Satanism and state surveillance on campus.

In another vigil that was held off campus, the prophet devoted the whole night to pray for Zimbabwe and its political leadership. People prayed for the healing of the country's economy, they prayed for peace and prosperity, that the country may be restored to its old glory which many people spoke about with nostalgia. They prayed for the end of corruption, violence and poverty in the country. In Zimbabwe, such vigils became a way of making sense of the prevailing socio-economic realities in the country. In fact, many scholars argue that the protracted economic crisis provided impetus for the recent proliferation of new Pentecostal religious forms in the country and in Africa broadly (see Maxwell 2000; Ibrahim 2001; Obadare 2007; Gifford 2004; Frahm-Arp 2010; Biri 2014). These scholars argue that

Pentecostalism provide meaningful frameworks for people to understand and engage with situations that are beyond their understanding or control.

Apart from prayer vigils, new PCCs also encouraged their students to engage in fasting as an important spiritual remedy to the challenges they encountered on campus. Further, to protect themselves from demonic infiltrations, students used anointing oil, church-branded wristbands and stickers. My interlocutors viewed these “anointed mantles” as having special spiritual power to protect them against demonic attacks and evil spirits. In some church services, students and staff testified about how they were offered scholarships, promotions and pay rises after engaging in elaborate prayer vigils organised by the church. Such was the faith my interlocutors had in church remedies that some sprinkled anointing oil on themselves when they were going for examinations and job interviews. Jonathan told me that church paraphernalia like stickers, anointing oil and wristbands carries a special spiritual covering which protects them from demonic attacks, bad luck and misfortunes like failure. Indeed, many of my interlocutors believed that wristbands and anointing oil are an important technology to fight demonic attacks, witchcraft and other evil forces. As such, many students bought wristbands and stickers from church. The wristbands prices ranged from US \$2-\$10 depending on the type and message inscribed on them.

However, it should be underscored that spiritual remedies like prayer vigils and anointing oil did not always work for everyone. Indeed, sometimes they had unintended consequences for their users. For instance, in an act of candour, one of my interlocutors told me of how he failed almost all his courses because he was too busy with church activities. Jephtha, one of my interlocutors was one of the most vibrant PCC student leaders at UZ; he doubled his religious leadership on campus with serious political activism. He told me that one semester, he got so busy with the SRC election preparations and church activities. He had an overwhelming schedule and could not adequately prepare for exams. Eventually, he passed only one course and was ordered to repeat. He told me, ‘I could have finished now-I could have graduated but that did not happened, I prayed a lot but I realised that God helps those who also help themselves, so yaah I am repeating and working hard’.

New PCCs’ and the Word

Many students I interviewed told me that they were drawn to new PCCs such as UFIC, PHD and Spirit Embassy (Good News Church) because of the “Word”. The word here specifically

referred to the prosperity gospel. In these new PCCs, the prosperity gospel was the lifeblood of their teachings and featured prominently in their sermons during services. In the new PCCs that I focused on, “seeding” was emphasised as an important prerequisite to accumulating material wealth. The concept of seeding is premised on the belief that financial sacrifices to the church (seeds) would be generously rewarded by God at some future date. Congregants were expected to “seed” for anything that they wanted God to help them with; jobs, cars, exam success, marital partners. Indeed, many of my interlocutors seeded money to their respective PCCs with the hope that their problems will be solved and aspirations fulfilled. They believed strongly that seeding and tithing were important technologies in attracting God’s material blessings in their lives. In scholarly literature, seeding is often framed as divine investment (Walton 2012). In one mega-business and entrepreneurship workshop organised annually by UFIC, dubbed the Empowerment Summit, pastors took turns to exhort congregants to seed in order to unlock and unblock the flow of God’s blessing into their lives. In the words of one of the pastors,

When you seed, do not expect God to ignore, the more you seed the more you reap, it’s as simple as that. The bible sayswhat a man soweth he shall surely reap.... (Galatians 6:7). As the Apostle Paul says, he who sows sparingly will reap sparingly and he who sows bountifully shall also reap bountifully. Your seed is no exception. A harvest has to come your way.

In all the PCCs I studied, seeding was equated to making a covenant with God. The majority of people who seeded believed that it was a surety and *sine qua non* for material prosperity.

Apart from the power of seeding, my student interlocutors were also impressed by PCCs’ prophecies, miracles and exorcisms. The prophets in particular were widely admired for their insights into the spiritual working of the world, the lavish lifestyles they lead and most importantly, their detailed teachings of the word. For instance, Joe told me that that he was impressed by prophet Makandiwa’s interpretations of the Bible, the revelations he received from God and his teachings on prosperity. Joe enthused,

I like the prophecies in church and the spectacular miracles he performs, you see people being healed instantly there and there right in front of you. It amazing how God is using our prophet to do wonders and deliver people miraculously

Many of my interlocutors believed that Prophet Makandiwa’s teachings and revelations of the word through his sermons was uplifting and captivating. They noted that his teachings

motivated them and empowered them to confront Satan and his demons. In Joe's words; "Every time I go to church even when I am low and stressed, I go back home hopeful and expectant. The man of God has this capacity to uplift your faith and hope for the future". Joe told me that the prophet's word urge him to remain optimistic that things would be well in his life one day. Joe was confident that he would also testify in church about his success story in one of the Sunday services.

Like Joe, many other students were impressed by the prophet's assertive motivational speeches and hoped that they too would be able to testify about their successes. In church services, this assertiveness was a constant hope and a bodily command. Congregants were ordered to declare that they were rich and that they would drive expensive cars and stay in affluent areas, even if they did not have a job. To underlie the centrality of prosperity, the PCC prophets lead by example. In public, they presented as wealthy celebrity preachers whose ostentatious display of wealth and whose glitzy lifestyles closely approximated those of American celebrities. For instance, during one Easter Conference, prophet Makandiwa made a grand entry at City Sports Centre, the church venue, with the latest Rolls Royce. A fleet of many other top-of-the-range cars escorted him. Similarly, Prophet Makandiwa and Prophet Angel both wear imported designer suits by Angelo Galasso, a popular Italian celebrity designer. Indeed, their expensive imported clothing, cars and lifestyles express their imagined direct connection with a God who owns it all. Many youthful congregants, and especially the students at UZ, enviously remarked on the prophets' lifestyles. Many of them hoped that they would one day live similar lives. Jonathan explained his admiration for Prophet Angel,

I do not want to go to churches where I am told that blessed are the poor, no-no-no. That is a wrong interpretation of the Word. In fact, I would never go to a church where a poor pastor tells me that I will be rich and I will make it in life. I should see God's blessings in his (pastor) life first and that is exactly what drew me to Prophet Angel. He is young and successful. He is filthy rich and what he says and teaches also personally relates to me and my aspirations for the future. We are encouraged to have our own things and be prosperous. That kind of message is relevant to me and other young people. So Prophet Angel is a role model to me. My dream is to have a life he is living; his cars, clothes, businesses, and his family. I have faith that with the anointing imparted on me by the prophet, I will live that kind of life and I will prosper.

Like Jonathan, many young UZ students were enamoured with the wealthy lifestyles of the prophets who had become the material embodiment or testimony of the truth of the prosperity gospel they propagated. Jonathan called the Good News Church, his church, a “prosperous church”, a church where “billionaires were made”. Indeed, Prophet Angel claimed that God called him into ministry to mentor and create a new generation of billionaire Christians. To this end, Prophets Angel and Makandiwa collectively organised a mega annual conference called the Billionaires Mindset Summit in Harare. In one of the summits I attended during my fieldwork, UFIC invited prominent local and international business tycoons to talk about how they made their billions and built their business empires. Aspiring businessmen and students flocked to these seminars to learn the secret to becoming rich and paid handsomely for the privilege; entrance cost \$200. At these seminars, participants were encouraged to draw up business plans and proposals in anticipation of establishing their own companies. They were also encouraged to share their success stories, no matter how modest. In fact, the prophet often asserted that each success begets more as individuals progress towards becoming a billionaire.

During their business seminars and other entrepreneurship activities, new PCCs often invited some of the young people (mainly former students) who have prospered in their various business ventures to give testimonies and to share their experiences with students attending such workshops. Sometimes the church would also share these success stories with incoming students as a way of motivating them to join their campus societies. Attending students were often told that the reason why people did not succeed in their businesses and in life generally. It was not uncommon for exorcisms to happen during or immediately after the seminars to cast out demons that prevented people from succeeding in their business or in their studies. While deliverance sessions were done to exorcise demons that block the flow of God’s blessings, it was often not enough to defeat demons that were said to constantly upgrade their ammunition against the children of God (cf. van Wyk 2014). Therefore, students had to augment the protections of an exorcism with prayer, making huge financial sacrifices to the church and through tithing. In some exorcism sessions I attended, demons often manifested and spoke of how they impoverished their victims, destroyed their businesses and caused students to constantly fail their exams.

Such ambitions were cultivated and reinforced in church services through prophecies about congregants’ financial breakthroughs and declarations of wealth and success in the

future. For instance, during a “Wealth Creation Summit” organised by UFIC, prophet Makandiwa boldly declared that the congregation was already prosperous,

I pray and declare that God will bless your studies, your work and business this day, whatever job, business and degree you are doing may God give you the grace to excel in that field and industry. Our God is a God of impossibilities. You shall become excellent at your work, business, and studies; let opportunities be made available to you. Whatever ground you are sowing shall give you a great harvest and produce. Let it be well with you, your profits, remuneration shall increase. Poverty, lack, hunger, failure and misfortune, I command them to leave right now in the mighty name of Jesus! From this day, your business shall grow and you will receive promotion. If you are unemployed, God is preparing a five-digit salary job for you! He is creating a business opportunity for you.

These declarations were often followed up by testimonies from congregants who had been promoted at work, who secured a job, whose businesses started flourishing and whose infertility were cured by the prophet’s prayers and declarations. In church youth services, students were told that they would not remain unemployed and that the “Grace of the Lord” would locate them and provide them resources and connections not only to work, but to start their own companies.

Many students told me that that since converting to new PCCs like UFIC and the Good News Church, they had become “ambitious” and “enterprising”, often echoing the business talk of the prophets’ Summits and Seminars. Even though they were still at university and had little experience of the business world, or capital to start businesses, most of these students imagined themselves as prospective employers rather than as employees. Arnold’s case is illustrative here. Arnold was a third-year law student who was a member of Spirit Embassy. He always told me that his dream was to become a successful international businessman just like Prophet Angel. In one of our conversations, Arnold declared,

Yes, I am doing a law degree here at UZ but I don’t really want to be a full-time lawyer for the rest of my life. I want to do business, to be a big business person that is my dream now. I have faith that with the anointing and support from the prophet, I am certain I will achieve my dreams and become a prosperous and rich businessman. I have strong interest in real estate business. I am inspired by the prophet because he is also into real estate. I will be up there with the best someday. So my law degree will help me mobilise some start-up capital for my business. I already have a business proposal in place.

Arnold's dreams seemed at odds with his prospects given the prevailing socio-economic and political reality in Zimbabwe. Like many of his fellow student members however, Arnold remained determined to achieve his goals despite various setbacks. Arnold lost his father and had to use part of his inheritance to foot funeral expenses. Since then, he struggled to raise enough money to start his business. He was not sure why his money was disappearing so fast and suspected dark forces at work. However, Arnold was adamant that he would succeed and told me that he was the one who was going to break the vicious cycle of poverty in his family. He strongly believed that the enduring poverty in his family was a result of generational curses and witchcraft.

Apart from the reinforcement of testimonies and the efficacy of exorcisms and seeding, music also played a large role in bolstering the prosperity gospel in new PCCs. Young popular artists were regularly invited to perform during Sunday services and at mega conferences. The young artists' music, fusing contemporary local and international music genres with prosperity gospel messages, was played at youth services and conferences (see Taru and Settler 2016; Gukurume 2017b). For instance, during my fieldwork, Mudiwa-Hood, a popular Hip Hop gospel artist, was a regular performer at UFIC and the Good News Church. Mudiwa's popular song titles include; "Ndaita Mari" (I have accumulated money) and "Shaina Neni" (Bling with me) as well as "Mwana Wamambo" (The King's/ God's child). Songs like Ndaita Mari chronicles how Mudiwa made a lot of money after God apparently blessed his life (Gukurume 2017b).

Aaron, a second-year student in the Faculty of Commerce, had this to say about the entertainment in church,

What I like about my church is the electric atmosphere during praise and worship. The thing is some of us are still young and energetic. We like to sing and dance to the modern music genres that we enjoy as young people. That is exactly what I get at church. No one minds how you dance, so you really feel at home. At my church, we play contemporary popular music genres like gospel, Hip Hop, Dancehall and RnB which young people like me enjoy so much. You feel like there is no need for me to go clubbing because if I can get the same kind of entertainment in the church then I would rather go and enjoy it at church.

As some scholars have argued, these new rituals and church entertainment point to a dissolution between the secular and the sacred within PCCs, "affirming an elaborate sense of contemporaneity" (see Czeglédy 2008: 305; cf. Gukurume 2017b: 38). These scholars argue

that churches tried to incorporate most of their members into this sense of “contemporaneity” by displaying all lyrics on big screens during church services, allowing congregants to sing along. This contemporaneity was a process of transforming the congregants into global subjects. Songs were predominantly sung in English although Shona and Ndebele, the two dominant languages in Zimbabwe, were also used. The dominant use of English in UFIC and Spirit Embassy church services related to the church’s aspirational theology, where English was viewed as a global and business language.

While PCCs’ mix of secular and religious music genres was relatively uncontroversial, its “miracle money” caused much scepticism and alarm on campus. Both UFIC and the Good News Church were known for promising their followers that money would miraculously accrue to them from nowhere and make them rich. Prophets Makandiwa and Angel both claimed to have the capacity to produce miracle money. My student interlocutors believed that miracle money was a manifestation of Godly blessings. One of the Spirit Embassy DVDs was of a service in which hundreds of congregants testified that they had received miracle money in their bank accounts, pockets and on their mobile phones as Prophet Angel declared that this would happen. In response to his declaration, many congregants shouted, “I receive, I receive my miracle money, I receive!”

While many critics on campus have questioned the authenticity of “miracle money” and the gullibility of those who believed in it, many of my interlocutors reported that it was real. One of my participants, Joe, told me that he once paid his university fees with money that had miraculously appeared in his bank account when the prophet made his declaration. At the time when he attended the service, Joe was on the point of deferring his studies due to his financial situation. To his surprise and amazement, US\$500 had been deposited into his bank account on that day. Like other congregants, Joe rushed to the pulpit to testify about his miracle money. Another student interlocutor, Patrick, also told how he had once used miracle money, which was miraculously transferred onto his mobile phone, to buy clothes and food on campus.

Joe and Patrick’s critics on campus scoffed at their beliefs and expected that their education would have inured them against such “delusion”. Some academics I talked to were incensed by these miracles and felt that people were being hoodwinked. Some high-profile politicians and mainline churches were also critical of miracle money claims. Initially, the then Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) governor Gideon Gono summoned prophet

Makandiwa and Angel over miracle money claims, while the then Finance minister dismissed miracle money by saying,

I respect the men of God, Angel and Makandiwa because of the miracles they are performing. But if they are printing real money, I am asking them to deposit the money in our Treasury account at the Commercial Bank of Zimbabwe (CBZ) so that we can pay some of our areas and debts (The Herald 2013)

Similarly Mugabe, addressing thousands of people, also commented;

Given the high level of literacy in the country, it is mind-boggling how educated people fall prey to the tricks of the so-called prophets.....they come to you and say you are all going to be rich if you sacrifice money to me- we are educated but we can still be swindled and cheated to fill those buckets with money (Mugabe 2017)⁸⁹

But students who believed in miracle money often countered such scepticism by claiming that their God was capable of “miracles”. They often berated fellow Christians who questioned the power of their God. In an interview about miracle money with Nehanda Radio, Prophet Uebert Angel said,

The moment you put God into the equation you can't explain a miracle. God is still in the business of doing miracles in the here and now. If the thing is of man you can explain it, but if the thing is of God, you can't explain it. Any miracle cannot be scientifically or logically explained, that's what makes it a miracle. Can you explain Jesus walking on top of water? You can't explain that because it's a miracle. Scientifically Jesus should have sunk but no, he didn't. That's a miracle. The laws of nature or physics cannot explain miracles and that is the same with miracle money. It's money from God to his children and I am just used by God as a vessel to deliver his children from poverty and suffering through miracle money.

Frustrations and departures in PCCs

Not all my student interlocutors in PCCs were blessed with miracle money or successful careers or jobs. In some cases, the churches' promises of prosperity and expectations of upward mobility remained unfulfilled for quite a long time. This often had a negative effect on the commitment of individual members. When their blessings were “delayed” or “blocked” for too long, students often moved from church to church in search of a solution.

⁸⁹ www.herald.co.zw/president-blasts-fake-prophets/

This was the case with one of my interlocutors, Tafadzwa, who had been to three different PCCs in three years. His reasons for leaving each church were constant disappointments with the non-materialisation of promises and expectations. Tafadzwa graduated with a degree in Economics and looked for a job in vain. He started a small business selling stationery in town but struggled to make a living and eventually stopped. He continued looking for a job with limited success and then decided to enrol for an MSc in Economics. During my fieldwork, he almost completed his second degree but had never worked in the formal sector. Tafadzwa's experiences were not unique. There were a number of students who shared similar stories and experiences with me. Many of them completed degrees and despite the promises in their PCCs, failed to see their new lives materialise. Some of them left the churches they attended and joined new churches.

Not all of my interlocutors who failed to succeed left their churches; many of them remained and instead worked hard to upgrade their spiritual weapons. They believed that their colleagues' failures might be due to the level of their faith. According to them, with the right faith and belief God's material blessings would be unblocked. Students who left the church were often blamed by their fellow church mates for lacking enough faith and for being impatient with God.

During my fieldwork, it was also not uncommon for students who had decided to leave or stop going to PCCs due to disappointment and unfulfilled promises to return to their old churches when they realised the church they left was better than the new one they had joined. In such cases, some students ended up internalising the reasons for their failure as personal, which often resulted in self-blaming discourses such as not doing enough to fight demons, not sacrificing enough money and not having the requisite level of faith. Indeed, some blamed themselves for getting the demons in the first place and for failing to confront and get rid of perceived witchcraft and ancestral curses which they believed stopped them from succeeding.

Church networks and mentorship

Apart from spiritual remedies, PCCs also offered their student members the opportunity to join professional social networks that were supposed to help actualise their prosperity in a context of scarcity. These networks were consciously set up towards this end. For instance, all the PCCs I studied on campus operated through a system of departments. These systems

typically had a legal department for lawyers and law students, a health department for doctors, interns and those studying health professions, marketing and sales departments for people in the profession and those studying these topics, accounting departments, statistics departments, charity departments and media departments, to name but a few. Members in these churches were encouraged to join church departments aligned to their professional interests. In these departments, students were introduced to established professionals in their respective fields. These established professionals mentored the young students at university. For many young students, departments became spaces where they forged networks and relationships with those who had already made it in their respective professional fields. The departments afforded easy access to professional role models and the possibility to interact with prospective employers. Through and within these departments and the informal spaces created by the church, jobs were advertised, tenders and contract deals were sealed and business ideas and opportunities were shared (see Taru and Settler 2016). It was in this context that new PCCs generated meaningful social capital that students could harness to enhance their employment opportunities and upward mobility.

Arnold's case was illustrative of the importance of such departments as spaces where life opportunities emerged. Arnold, a 25-year-old final year law student was one of my interlocutors. He started going to Spirit Embassy in his first year at UZ after a close friend invited him. For the first semester, he was just a visitor but he finally converted towards the end of his first year. Arnold's friend urged him to join the church's legal department as a serving member, which he did at the beginning of his second year. Arnold recounted how his experiences in the legal department at church transformed his life,

My friend told me that there are prominent lawyers in the department. Eeuh, when I joined the legal department let me say I was exposed to many opportunities that I never imagined possible at church. I can proudly say that is one of the wisest decisions that I have ever made in my life. I started interacting and receiving mentorship from some of the best lawyers in the country who are members of the church and my department. In my second year, I managed to easily secure attachment [internship] at a big law firm owned by one of the leaders in my department at church. As if that was not enough, I managed to impress him so much during my attachment that he has since offered me a job even though I have a semester before finishing my studies. God's grace located me and thanks to the God of my father prophet Angel. Can you imagine such grace! In this country getting a job before you finish your studies is a miracle.

Some of my interlocutors and the churches I studied often presented stories and testimonies that portrayed experiences similar to Arnold's as the norm. However, this was far from the reality for many graduates who did not have his connections or supportive network. Arnold told me that due to joblessness, many of his non-PCC students have never been employed and have joined the fledging informal sector to become street vendors. Arnold's framing of getting a job before completing his studies as a miracle should be understood within a context where chronic unemployment is commonplace- where unemployment rates were estimated to be above 80 % (Morreira 2009; Gukurume 2015). Newspaper articles reported that many university students in Zimbabwe were graduating onto the streets where they joined the burgeoning informal economy as street vendors (Masekesa and Chibaya 2014).

While Arnold's experience did not conform to that of many UZ graduates, it was not unique in new PCC circles. New PCCs encouraged successful members to employ fellow churchgoers and to support young professionals in church. For instance, PHD and UFIC had several members and congregants who were government ministers, Chief Executive Officers, Human Resource Managers, business tycoons and many other captains of industry. Most of these important men joined the church departments and were socially active at church (Ncube 2015).⁹⁰ Indeed, in 2015, Prophet Magaya prophesied and took credit for Nyasha Chikwinya's appointment as a government minister before the news was made public (New Zimbabwe 2015).⁹¹ As more rich people and senior politicians converted to new PCCs, rumours circulated about the exclusive social circles that formed at these churches and how they controlled access to the highest echelons of society. But for most students, their church departments were not simply about impressing future employers or creating powerful networks, they were also deeply spiritual networks that provided important spiritual guidance in difficult times.

Money, time and church commitments

Although new PCCs appealed to many students on campus, conversion required enormous commitments in terms of time, money and responsibilities on the part of students. All church groups on campus required students to commit themselves to all church activities and to sacrifice money to the church. On campus, the schedule for new PCC events and activities

⁹⁰ www.newsday.co.zw/2015/10/05/zim-ministers-mps-attend-magaya-pretoria-crusade/

⁹¹ newzimbabwe.com/news-23631-Magaya+claims+credit+for+minister+job/nes.aspx

were almost always jam-packed. For instance, PCCs held daily morning prayers from Monday to Friday from 7 to 8 am. Students also met for Bible study on a regular basis, held lunch-time prayers, all-night prayer vigils and met in cell groups. Apart from these regular meetings, students also joined church choirs, church departments, proselytising groups, prayer teams and voluntary security services and cleaning at church. Off campus, students attended zonal meetings; church services thrice a week, and crusades, seminars and workshops.

Some of these activities imposed huge financial strains on students who often struggled to survive a semester after sacrificing money to the church. New PCC groups also organised social outings and prayer retreats off campus over weekends to which students were expected to contribute money. Against such a background, new Pentecostal churches can be imagined as what Coser (1974) referred to as “greedy institutions” in that new PCCs demand a lot of time, commitment and undivided allegiance on the part of their congregants, imposing much control over their everyday lives (see De Campo 2013; Coser 1974). This was particularly the case with beneficiaries of PCC scholarships who were obliged to attend all church services and other activities on and off-campus. In informal conversations, some students remarked that it was difficult for such beneficiaries to leave or to miss church services since their financial assistance was often tied to how they related to the church, especially with regards to regular attendance of church activities.

There were similar expectations of those students who had been exorcised of demons and evil spirits in church. These students were instructed to always be in the company of people who could help them to overcome the returning demons. In some cases, this literally meant that students were confined to the church against their will. A certain amount of coercion was certainly prevalent in these cases but was often couched in terms of spiritual help.

While some of my interlocutors acknowledged that church activities tended to put a strain on their studies, others insisted that God was a priority in their lives and that they did not think of the time they spent on church activities as being in conflict with their studies. As Joe asserted, he put “God’s things first before anything else”, including his studies. However, Joe, and indeed many other PCC students, believed by serving God, they would be rewarded with material blessings, silver and gold in the here and now because God owns it all.

According to Obadare (2007: 525), new PCCs construct personal salvation in such a way that it constantly reminds followers of the temporality of life. In PCCs, salvation was marked in personal prosperity. At UZ, some of my participants valued their personal prosperity or salvation more than anything else. It was not uncommon for these students to attend all-night prayer vigils instead of study hall on the eve of their in-class tests or examinations. During exam times, new PCCs organised exam prayers when other students were studying in the library. Such is their faith that some PCC students relied solely on exam prayers and praying to pass examinations. Indeed, during cell group meetings, some of my interlocutors testified that they had passed with flying colours despite not adequately preparing for the examination, but simply prayed for divine intervention. On campus, such believers were often taunted and mocked by their non-PCCs counterparts. They were ridiculed as deluded for believing in, and depending on miracles and miraculous grades when they should have studied harder for educational success. This taunting became pronounced when such students failed and repeated their courses.

Apart from prayers, some students also seeded at the beginning of the semester with the hope of getting good grades at the end of it. It was also not uncommon for especially female students to seed for their future marriage, job and other things like weddings and cars. Like other congregants, students were also expected to pay their tithes, give church offerings, provide seed money to church, pay their group subscriptions on campus and also to have what is referred to as “home altars” where they kept their monetary sacrifices before taking it to church every Sunday.

Sacrificing time and money to church was conceptualised as a prerequisite of attaining God’s material blessings. Indeed, financial sacrifices to church were a recurrent subject and theme in most of the sermons during church services. Student congregants were always told that such sacrifices would unlock God’s blessings in their lives because God “honoured” those that were faithful with their tithes (*chegumi*) (see also van Wyk 2014: 152). With regards to financial sacrifices, Linda, a strong member of a new PCC on campus, told me that,

I do pay my tithes and offerings. I also seed all the time especially when there is something I want God to help me with in my life. I do all this because it is scriptural and the prophet always say that the word of God orders us not to appear in the house of God empty-handed,

so it's like an obligation for every Born Again Christian to tithe and pay offerings. For me, all the time I get my pocket money I make sure that I tithe. For me tithing is a way of life.

Linda's understanding of the centrality of tithing, offering and seeding in church was echoed by another participant, Joseph, from another new PCC. Joseph was a final-year student in the Faculty of Commerce. He told me that since he joined UFIC in his second year, the prophet's teachings made him aware of the importance of tithing. Since he became a faithful tither, he claimed that he was reaping the fruits of it,

Tithes and offerings belong to God and we have a mandate of honouring the payment. The prophet always says if you are not paying tithe you are stealing from God, you are robbing God because it's a biblical commandment. For me, paying tithes is the least I can do for what God has done in my life. I am here at UZ because of God's grace, everyone would love to be here but it's not everyone who makes it here. I am one of the few who made it, not to mention the scholarship I got from Econet Wireless Company for my studies. I think its selection by grace.

Apart from seeding, congregant-students were also encouraged to be "church partners". A partner referred to anyone who committed to contribute a certain amount of money to the church on a monthly basis. At UFIC, PHD and Spirit Embassy, the minimum amount of money one could theoretically pay to be a partner was US\$5 per week. However, this fell short of the minimum amount required to achieve "bronze partner" status. Church partners were stratified into classes based on how much money they sacrificed to the church on a monthly basis. For instance, there were gold partners, silver partners and bronze partners. Congregants who contributed more than US\$1,000 per month occupied the gold category, those who contributed between US\$500 and US\$900 fell into the silver category. Last but not least, those who contribute between US\$100 and US\$400 fell into the bronze partner category (see Biri 2014; Taru and Settler 2016; Gukurume 2017b). Partners in the gold category enjoyed several benefits like having reserved seats close to the prophet and one-on-one interactions with the prophet and senior pastors.

While departments offered students free access to some important people and networks, partnership groups came at a cost. For students and other young people in church, these special meetings with important people were valued because they often offered opportunities for career opportunities and advancement. Critics of these arrangements like Biri (2014) argued that under the churches' stratification systems, poor congregants who

contributed little such as students, inhabited a position of the unknown Others. Indeed, some students who could not afford to pay these monies inhabited a position of “nothingness” in the church. Taru and Settler (2016:130) underscored that these church categories served as categories of sanctification. For instance, two congregants who bought the most recorded DVD sermons in UFIC were elevated into church pastors as a reward for their sacrifices to the church.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the material presence of new PCCs on campus and their complex attractions and appeal for students. The chapter also examined the subjective lived experiences of students who belong to new PCCs on campus. I discussed how and why students converted and signed up for new PCCs. Further, I showed how membership to new PCCs is constituted within the university and the costs and benefits that followed from being a member. I argue that the appeal, popularity and growth of new PCCs at UZ are mediated by very specific material and spiritual benefits that the new PCCs offered to students. However, these benefits often came at a high cost to students since being a member meant they had to tithe, seed, pay offering and regularly attend various church activities on and off campus in a very packed PCC schedule. Therefore, although these churches offered material and spiritual remedies to many of the material and spiritual problems that plagued students, and especially female students, membership to their student societies tended to be all-consuming and claimed heavy tolls on students’ time and financial resources.

Chapter Seven: Adulthood, Time and Spiritual Warfare

Introduction

Miriam was born to a poor family in the rural areas of Mashonaland. She was the first in her extended family to attend university. This was possible only after the generous assistance from a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) called Campaign for Female Education (CAMFED). Miriam passed her secondary level examinations with flying colours and enrolled for a law degree at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ). During my fieldwork, she was in her final year. She was supposed to have completed her studies three years before but a series of misfortunes had prevented her from doing so. Miriam told how she regularly fell suddenly ill just before the start of her examinations. Due to this recurrent illness, always during exam time, she was forced to repeat her studies twice after failing a number of courses. Miriam sought medical help in vain and was convinced that her problems stemmed from spiritual attacks from demons and some jealous family members. She went to a number of churches seeking help but the problem persisted.

Things changed for the better when she joined the Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministries. Here, under the guidance of Prophet Magaya, Miriam had several exorcism sessions where she manifested demons. Miriam told me that during exorcism, demons confessed their role in her protracted illness and failure in her studies. Apart from exorcisms, she also received several holy substances like anointing oil and some church paraphernalia like wristbands, which she always wore around her arm, and stickers, which she stuck in her room. Miriam, like many other members I spoke to, believed that these consecrated items provided spiritual protection against demonic spirits. Miriam engaged in regular prayers and always joined exam prayer sessions at the chapel on campus. For her, this was the only way she could keep these demons at bay. Since she started using these technologies, Miriam told me that she started passing her examinations with very good grades. Miriam also insisted that had it not been for the help she received from Prophet Magaya, she would not have passed any of her examinations, neither would she proceeded with her studies. Miriam told me that,

I had almost given up on my studies and on life generally. I would fall ill every time and even if I manage to write exams I would fail dismally because I would see wrong questions on the paper. It was the work of demons in my life. I am grateful to the man of God who has helped

me and now I know that my life will never be same. I have turned the corner. But I have to keep fighting and fighting so that I have a secure future.

Apart from prayers, fasting and the use of anointing oil, Miriam said that she had seeded not only to complete her studies, but also to get a job afterwards. For Miriam, the rituals of prayer and seeding became important weapons in her spiritual warfare against evil. Many of my interlocutors, like Miriam, believed that their religious orientation to the future could change it.

In the previous chapter, I showed how important the material technologies offered by PCCs were to students' conversion to new Pentecostal churches (PCCs) on campus. In this chapter, I broaden this discussion and turn my attention to the immaterial changes that PCCs wrought on university students. These two chapters therefore highlight how the material and immaterial coalesced in very specific ways to reconfigure young people's subjectivities, aspirations and decisions to become members of new PCCs on campus. Drawing on the experiences and narratives of young PCC university students, this chapter shows how new PCCs help young people to (re) imagine the future in a context characterised by chronic and multi-layered crises. By drawing on university students' narratives of time and future orientations as well as on ethnographic notes of everyday life on campus, I show how university students negotiate and engage with their existential anxieties. The chapter analyses the discourse of prosperity and how it (re) shapes the students' capacity to aspire (Appadurai 2004) as well as their economic and political subjectivities on campus. Furthermore, central to this chapter are the various ways through which students imagine the social and spiritual temporalities of their post-university life and their future more broadly. As such, I focus on the students' framing of professional careers, educational attainment, love, dating and family.

Crisis and adulthood

Many people in contemporary Zimbabwe, especially the youth, struggle to make do and get by. Young people in particular bear the brunt of widespread unemployment and its attendant insecurities and anxieties. For these people, everyday life is a struggle. Poverty has been on the increase among this demographic group since 2008. Describing the protracted Zimbabwean socio-economic and political crisis and how it has reconfigured people's everyday lives, Jones (2010) argued that the post-2000 socio-economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe was epitomised by an emergent logic of *kukiya-kiya*, that is, multiple ways of

making do and getting by, not all of them necessarily legal. In my previous work on illegal electronic foreign currency transactions, I showed how people survived hyperinflation in Zimbabwe through *kubhena mari* (lit to make money), making money through illicit trading in the parallel market (Gukurume 2015; Mawowa and Matongo 2010). With youth unemployment rates exceeding 80 % (see Morreira 2015: 83), many young people, often students, have tried their hand at *kubhena mari* and lived by the logics of *kukiya-kiya*. The majority of students who became currency traders had to be connected to people who had access to foreign currency. While the Mugabe government confronted a crippling foreign currency crisis during hyperinflation, huge sums of foreign currency sent from the diaspora as remittances circulated in the parallel market (Gukurume 2015). This led the government to criminalise the informal trade of foreign currency. This criminalisation meant that only those politically connected to Mugabe and his ZANU-PF party could get their hands on foreign currency, allowing them to make a lot of money. Since job losses and retrenchments made other part-time employment exceedingly hard to secure, currency trading became a mainstay for many students who often worked for politicians and other business people in need of foreign currency. Well-connected students made a lot of money trading from their dorms on campus and sometimes in the city centre. Some of these student foreign currency traders occasionally helped out their less fortunate friends on campus. But for those without connections to people with access to foreign currency, the only ways to make a living was to resort to small-scale vending on campus and in the streets of Harare to raise money for tuition and subsistence (Gukurume 2018b). While the university was aware of the currency trading on campus, it could not launch serious clamp-downs on these activities because many students were working for senior politicians, while it was rumoured that even the UZ senior management was heavily involved in such transactions.

Graduating students had slim job prospects and for the first time since UZ's formation, having a university degree no longer guaranteed access to a job and a secure future in Zimbabwe. During my fieldwork, it was not unusual to meet former university colleagues selling cellphone accessories, clothes, snacks, airtime recharge cards and fruits in the streets of Harare. These graduates joined the ranks of large numbers of people in Harare who were turning to the informal sector to make a living. Although the informal sector supported the livelihoods of many people in Harare, the state frequently cracked down on street vending citing it as a health risk, illegal, or in contravention of city by-laws (Kadirire 2017; Kunambura 2015; Musoni 2010; Jones 2010; Jones 2014; Gukurume 2018a). The multi-

layered economic crisis in post-2000 Zimbabwe (Scarnecchia 2011) resonates closely with the Zambian experiences after the abrupt collapse of the copper industry in the Copperbelt, eloquently captured in Ferguson' (1999) ethnography. Ferguson (1999) argued that expectations of material prosperity, modernity and progress became elusive due to the structural economic realities that constrained many in the Copperbelt.

This precariousness in graduate job prospects was not uniform across the board. Many graduates in the social sciences, commerce and arts struggled to get employment. In fields and professions such as the medical sciences (Chipunza 2013), law, engineering and actuarial sciences, graduates were more likely to find work. However, the government had recently stopped recruiting healthcare graduates (Chipunza 2017). Although graduates from these disciplines were more likely to secure jobs, they were poorly paid (US\$329 per month) and often went on strike to protest the conditions of their service (Mananavire 2017). Despite this and the relatively poor pay in these fields, I observed that access to jobs shaped students' degree choices.

For those who did not go into these fields because they were oversubscribed, or they did not fulfil the entry requirements, it was widely known that the only way for someone to get a job in the formal sector was through connections to powerful individuals. It was often rumoured that money exchanged hands and that powerful men often accepted sex, money and other material things in exchange for jobs. Some scholars have characterised such relationships between powerful individuals and new graduates as neo-patrimonialism (Chabal and Daloz 1999; Dawson and Kelsall 2012; Sumich 2008; Raftopoulos 2006). During my fieldwork, many students blamed the rampant corruption (*huwori*) in government departments and ministries for their plight. Some noted that if you did not bribe (*kutonyora*) someone to get a job, your chance of securing one was next to zero. Some also believed that corruption was frightening away companies and potential investors in the country, further reducing their chances of employment. The former minister of finance during the Unity government, Tendai Biti, explained the state of affairs,

A looting class of parasites and mercenaries have held to ransom the national vision and left generations in tatters with dreams deferred. The country is actually under sanctions from our own kleptocratic government using our national resources to enrich themselves whilst the majority of people wallow in abject poverty.

In Zimbabwe, the access to jobs was intricately related to one's ability to transition into adulthood in the sense that with money and other material resources, a person could assume social roles associated with adulthood such as building or buying a house, getting married, having children and looking after kinsmen. Indeed, many scholars note that getting a job becomes important in, and offers a pathway for the transition and attainment of adulthood and social maturity in places like Zimbabwe (Honwana 2014; Mate 2014). However, due to skyrocketing joblessness in the country, these social markers of adulthood are progressively becoming impossible to attain for the majority of young Zimbabwean students.

Given the context of protracted and multi-layered socio-economic crises, the attainment of adulthood has become elusive for many unemployed graduates and students facing imminent graduation (see Hanson 2005; Vigh 2006; Mate 2014; Christiansen, Utas and Vigh 2006). One of my interlocutors who was in the final year of his Accounting degree lamented that, "*Pasina Mabasa, hapana tariro, hapana ramangwana*" (With no jobs, there is no hope and no future). Career uncertainties were widespread among many students I talked to on campus. For instance, Patrick's friend, Jacob, told me that,

I am graduating in four months' time but I know there are no jobs out there. My worry every day is when I finish, what will I do, join others in the streets? If you talk to all my colleagues in my class, they will tell you the same, graduating is their worst fear.

Many saw their time at university as a welcome reprieve from the demands and expectations of adulthood and like Jacob, feared the time after graduation. The future was uncertain and hopeless, especially among non-PCC students. They felt trapped in waiting for a future of upward mobility that was at best deferred, and at worst a chimera.

In Zimbabwe, this led to great frustration and saw many university students and unemployed graduates participate in national demonstrations. Often mobilised through social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp, these demonstrations challenged the government to deliver the 2.2 million jobs they promised prior to the 2013 elections. As part of the protests, some unemployed graduates wore their academic gowns while selling goods in the streets of Harare while others played football with their gowns in Harare's central business district. These protests were known as the #ThisGown movement (Gukurume 2017b). In an interview with Amos, a 2012 graduate in political science, he explained why he joined the protests,

Selling sweets in the streets and playing football in the streets in town was a symbolic way of showing the uselessness of our degrees. It was a powerful way of communicating to the government that they have turned my gown from a symbol of empowerment, of knowledge and hope, into a symbol of poverty, suffering and wasted time.

Apart from the #ThisGown movement, a number of other anti-government protests were fuelled by disaffected students. For instance, the 2016 #ThisFlag movement led by Pastor Evan Mawarire (see Chapter 4 & 5) was predominantly supported by students. Following this, in 2016, the students demonstrated in front of President Mugabe during graduation ceremonies at UZ (see Muzulu 2016; Mananavire 2016) and other state universities like the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) (Pindula 2016). The timing of these protests was symbolically powerful and disrupted the regular state of affairs at the universities. During these protests, led by the UZ SRC president, Tonderai Dombo, the students demanded jobs. Dombo famously raised a placard in front of Mugabe which read, “Graduates today, *marovha mangwana* [loafers tomorrow], *tipei mabasa!* [give us jobs]”. During the same protest, another student also raised a placard reading, “The gown used to be the key to success, but the door is nowhere, the gown now symbolises poverty, hopelessness and unemployment”. In newspaper interviews after the protests, student leaders accused Mugabe of “pioneer[ing] the plunder of all the fruits of our independence” and for “devour[ing] and wast[ing] our time and future as a generation and country” (Muzulu 2016). Others stated, “We are fed up with the situation whereby we know that when we complete our studies we are not going to be employed but rather will add to the figure of unemployed graduates surviving in the streets” (Mananavire 2016). In light of the foregoing, youth in are often framed as an underclass existing at the bottom of the social heap (Kamete 2006; MacDonald 1997; Roberts 1997).

Making futures

Unlike their peers in Zimbabwe and in other parts of Africa (Hansen 2005; Honwana 2012; Mate 2014; Kamete 2010), many UZ students who attended PCCs had very different expectations of their futures and were differently orientated towards time. They attended business seminars in anticipation of successful future businesses, started their own businesses and networked with fellow professionals (see chapter 6). PCC students often spoke out against the “waiting” their non-PCC colleagues fell prey to and identified it as demonically inspired. They were confident that “God’s children” were meant to have better lives and that

waiting was not for born again Christians like them. In spite of the grim economic realities in the country, many of my PCC interlocutors declared that their future was bright and that God would help them achieve their aspirations. While on campus, most of them engaged in “penny capitalism”⁹² as encouraged by their church (Tax 1953; Schweigert 1994; Maxwell 1998) and registered companies. They identified themselves as directors and Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of these companies. All this made my interlocutors hopeful and optimistic about the future and meant that they had a very different way of understanding time.

McCauley (2012) framed new Pentecostalism as a space where patronage relationships were enacted and articulated in a pattern that saw the church leader becoming a patron while his congregants became clients. In the Zimbabwean context, these church leaders seldom became patrons to individual congregants but created the conditions that made it possible for business leaders and government officials in church to become patrons to their younger fellow congregants (see previous chapter). Young students in these churches actively planned, hoped and worked towards their future and professional careers with the help of their mentors within these networks. Being aware that God could change their lives today or tomorrow through various ways, including the capacity to petition and demand blessings from God (see van Wyk 2015), many of my youthful university interlocutors did not become hopeless about the future. This was in stark contrast to the hopelessness of their non-PCCs student friends. Indeed, most of them urged their fellow PCC members to work harder and to be more active in working towards and making different futures for themselves. This was somewhat different from the non-PCCs students whose hopes were tied to government interventions or international interventions in Zimbabwe; PCC students’ futures were imagined as individually created and achieved.

Time and futures

Much of the literature on youth is centrally concerned with questions about time and futures. A number of authors have investigated how neoliberalism and the postcolony affect perceptions of time (Guyer 2007; Robbins 2007; Vigh 2008; Nielsen 2011). Indeed, the structural socio-economic and political realities in post-2000 Zimbabwe have accelerated what Guyer (2007) refers to as the “evacuation of the immediate future”. This is a scenario whereby neo-liberal capitalist economics foreclose and frustrate peoples’ hopes for the future

⁹² Penny capitalism relates to the vending of cheap commodities like food within one’s religious community initially but later outside of the church

in fundamental ways. While Guyer (2007) talks about a generalised orientation to the future, a number of scholars have applied this specifically to youth. Most famously, Alcinda Honwana (2012) argued that due to global neoliberal capitalism, African youth are finding it difficult to assume adulthood but instead remain in a waithood limbo—a period where young people's lives are marked by uncertainties, insecurities, precarity and socio-economic immobility. For Honwana (2012) the condition of waithood can trigger youth agency and creativity. Honwana's concept of waithood has been of productive use in analysing the lives of youth in Africa (see Mate 2014; Eze 2015; Corrigan 2016; Nyamnjoh 2016). For instance, Mate (2014:19) noted that in spite of being educated and of age, many Zimbabwean youth continue to live and rely on parents for their basic needs when, in an ideal situation, their parents should be relying on them. In the same vein, Eze (2015) noted that waithood signified the inherent contradiction of modern society; while the expectations of young people are raised due to digital technologies which link them to global circuits of consumption, their aspirations and expectations for such modern commodities are constrained and shattered by the prevailing economic and political realities. The majority of them experienced a protracted “waithood” (Honwana 2012) because they could not attain the markers of social adulthood like living independently. In post-colonial Africa, a number of scholars have noted that the youth were forced to inhabit a “waithood” rather than an adulthood (see Singerman 2009; Honwana 2012) due to the constraining material realities wrought by neoliberal capitalism and endemic corruption and bad governance by African leaders. Honwana (2012) argued that this waithood was mutating into a more permanent way of life for many young African youth.

In spite of its productive use in literature on youth transitions and experiences, some scholars have also been critical of Honwana's concept of waithood. Looking at everyday life, a number of scholars have argued that the concept assumed that social transitions progressed in a linear fashion when the reality was that such processes were much more messy and complex (Masquelier 2013; Guyer 2007; Nielsen 2011; Ungruhe & Esson 2017). For instance, Nielsen (2011), in his study of housing and other construction projects in Mozambique, noted that time and temporality could be culturally discontinuous and complex. Other scholars noted that Honwana's concept of waithood as an analytical concept painted a hopelessness picture which obfuscated young people's involvement in the (re) production of macro-economic and political structures which undermined their own transition and social becoming (Ungruhe & Esson 2017: 23; Fokwang 2008). For Appadurai (2004), the capacity to aspire relates to a future orientation and cultural capacity that enable people to alter their

life courses and emerge out of impoverishment. Appadurai's argument is that ideas of the past, present and the future are deeply embedded in local culture. As such, for Appadurai for his interlocutors in Mumbai, present actions were oriented towards a beneficial future, a future epitomised by success.

While some of my PCC interlocutors expected a linear future where they would get a good job after university and get married a few years later, some of them were disappointed when these expectations did not materialise. However, some of them believed that due to the existence of demons, disappointments were a normal part of the struggle against Satan and his demons.

While Honwana's study focused largely on poor and marginalised youth whose transition and aspirations were curtailed, my study examined the lives of a unique category of young people, that of PCC university students or upwardly mobile and would-be elites. These PCC university students did not necessarily imagine themselves as existentially waiting or as people whose adulthood had been deferred. My empirical findings have strong resonances with how Nielsen's interlocutors conceptualised time and futures in Mozambique.

Though career uncertainties abounded in post-2000 Zimbabwe, new PCCs like the United Family International Church (UFIC), Spirit Embassy and PHD taught young people at UZ about the importance of belonging to professional networks that could secure them jobs and other opportunities (see chapter 6), providing them with the economic, social and cultural resources to project themselves into the future. Although these teachings and networks were not always effective in securing employment for all students, or even a majority, they did present a future of opportunity rather than of waitthood.

In order to seize such opportunities, students in new PCC asserted control over their future through spiritual warfare (see chapter 4) expressed through prayer, fasting, seeding, financial sacrifices, marriage and dating seminars and entrepreneurship ventures. In one PHD service when the prophet asked people to seed for their future aspirations, several UZ students I was seated among heeded the call and walked to the front to pay their seeds. I knew Gerald only had US \$90 dollars left as pocket money, but he seeded all of it. Realising my astonishment and concern about how he would survive the remaining half a semester, Gerald assured me, "God will take care of it, what I seeded for is more important". After the service, the other students told me that they seeded for their future jobs, marriages, studies and wealth. Most believed that their seeding better equipped them to confront the

unpredictable and difficult circumstances that lay ahead in their post-university lives. For many students, it was the church's message of hope that cultivated and sustained their capacity to aspire (Appadurai 2004) for a prosperous future.

For new PCCs the restoration of this capacity to aspire was an important part of their spiritual warfare project. During a PHD business seminar, one prophet challenged congregants to think big and to aspire for big things. The prophet noted that if you did not have the capacity to aspire for big things, then God would find it difficult to bless you materially. In his words, "God's blessings require aspiration and faith". Indeed, during church services, some of the pastors also framed the loss of the capacity to aspire as a demonic problem. They encouraged students to wage daily war against the "delays" and "blockages" in their employment, their transition to adulthood as well as their marriages they experienced as unnatural and temporary conditions. Of note is that the PCCs imagined a life of linear progression in which students were expected to go to university, graduate, get a job, get married and have children and acquire properties. Anything that deviated from, or did not look like these expectations, was conceived of as a blockage and a demonic delay which required spiritual fighting. During my fieldwork, UFIC and Spirit Embassy ran a full series of sermons and teachings on "Dealing with Demonic Delays" and "Demonology Understanding the workings of demons". In these sermons, the prophets emphasised that you could not fight an enemy effectively without knowing how he worked or what his strength and weaknesses were.

While waiting was often framed as a problem, in some cases it also signified a kind of spiritual discipline. Often in PCCs the prophets emphasised that God's time was often different from humans' time because it was unknowable. While God could take His time to deliver blessings and a successful future, my PCC interlocutors insisted that prolonged waiting emanated from demonic rather than Godly delays.

Judgement Nights: Prophecy and future declarations

The UFIC's Judgement Night Summit and the PHD Night of Turnaround were particularly important to students' spiritual warfare about their futures. Both events commenced in 2012 and have become annual events. UFIC usually held their Judgement Night conference at the 80,000-seater national sports stadiums in Harare, while PHD always held the Night of Turnaround at its Waterfalls headquarters in Harare. The mega-PCCs events were endorsed

by the government's Tourism department as important pilgrimage and religious tourist attractions (Kadirire 2014; Ncube 2016b; Nyakudya 2017). Indeed, people from all over the world attend these events. In 2014, reports claimed that prophet Magaya drew over 350,000 people to one of his Night of Turn Around (Kamhungira and Chaya 2014). These events were widely advertised in local and international media. I first heard of this event a few months before my fieldwork when I visited Harare for a preliminary fieldwork trip in August 2014. I was in town when I met thousands of people wearing UFIC regalia and flags marching down the streets. They brought the whole Harare Central Business District (CBD) to a standstill, creating vehicular chaos in the city centre. They were advertising two of their major calendar events at church, "Judgement Night" and the "Billionaire Mindset Summit". During that week, these events were the main topic of discussion and gossip in and around Harare.

During these conferences, people from all walks of life gathered to get assistance and hand out "judgement" to Satan and his demons for the suffering he caused to born again Christians. For UFIC students, this was a night where their enemies, both spiritual and material, would be "judged"- and presumably slayed. People were urged to buy a little gavel, like the ones used by judges, at church. The UFIC sales department handled all sales on judgement night. The church often failed to meet the demand as thousands of people scrambled for these anointed "mantles". In fact, about eleven people died in a stampede at one such mega-PHD conference held in Kwekwe at Mbizo stadium (Mushava and Langa 2014; Newsday 2014; The Herald 2014).



Figure 10 Members of UFIC marching in town to advertise Judgement Night events

Picture credit: Christ TV, United Family International Church

During my fieldwork, I attended a few Judgement Nights with students. Upon arrival at the National Sports Stadium, we joined the long and winding queue of people waiting to get inside. All nine entrances to the stadium were opened and had similar, if not longer queues than the one I joined. All the large fast food outlets like Steers, Chicken Inn and Chicken Slice had stands where they sold food to the people. Further away from the stadium, informal vendors sold their wares to people who made their way to the conference. Several huge banners and posters advertising the event greeted us from every angle. All the banners depicted the prophet and his wife as well as the church's trademark logo and brand. On top of the stadium were hundreds of national flags, symbolising the international nature of the event. As we drew closer to one of the entrances, a group of smartly dressed ushers escorted us and many other people into the stadium. It was almost full and the ushers directed us to the few remaining empty seats. Luckily, it was close to the stage. It was not uncommon at UFIC church services and mega-events for people to sit in the aisles or in overflow tents outside. The stage was exquisitely decorated. On stage, a senior UFIC pastor and spokesperson, Pastor Kufa, loudly shouted into the latest cordless microphone,

This is your time-this is your day, your future is going to be decided today! You will not go back the same! God is dealing with your enemies and he will pronounce their sentences today! The man of God's impartation will deal with all the demonic delays in your career, your marriage, your business, and your finances!

The audience responded ecstatically by roaring, punching and clutching the air, shouting, "I receive!" This was a familiar response to the pastors' declarations and prophecies in the regular church services I attended. Like normal UFIC Sunday services, the event started with praise and worship singing, except that this one took several hours. The UFIC choir, led by a prominent gospel musician and church pastor, Minister Mahendere, sang in harmony with the thousands of people that filled the national sports stadium. The singing was intermittently stopped by pastor Kufa with statements like, "tell your neighbour that you made a great decision to be here, tell your neighbour that this is your time!" Songs were sung in Shona, Ndebele and English. The songs and musicians who performed dovetailed with the theme of the event. For instance, Mudiwa, a youthful Hip Hop gospel artist, sang the crowd's favourite song, "*Ndaita Mari*" (I have accumulated money/wealth) and "Ndiri Magnet" (I am Magnetic). Indeed, much of the songs valorised the accumulation of wealth and material commodities symptomatic of UFIC's prosperity teachings (see also van Wyk 2015: 267; Meyer 2002). Victory, dominion, breakthrough and success were some of the major themes in the songs that were sung.

Immediately after Pastor Kufa stopped the singing, Prophet Makandiwa and his entourage, which included his wife, senior church pastors and their wives as well as prominent international guest speakers, made their grand entry into the venue on a red carpet. The prophet quickly made his way to the stage to rapturous applause and ululation. Clad in a sharp designer blue suit, white shirt and glittering black shoes, Prophet Makandiwa embodied the "blessed man of God" which was so often mentioned in church. After welcoming us, Prophet Makandiwa declared that everyone in the building would not go back the same way they had arrived. He assured everyone that he would put an end to their various problems. Prophet Makandiwa insisted,

Tonight is going to be a wonderful night; we are not here to talk about any other thing but deliverance, money-prosperity. Okay, tell your neighbour that money, money, money! This conference has been rightly named Judgement Night. We are giving judgement to your poverty, your illness, your suffering, unemployment, your business problems, your barrenness-all that will end.

Many people, including some of my interlocutors who joined me in the bay close to the stage, jumped up, ramming the concrete bays with their gavels. Others blew their *vuvuzelas*⁹³ to applaud the prophet's declarations. When we took to our seats, many people took their notebooks and started writing down notes as the man of God was preaching about a range of issues and topics that included business and entrepreneurship, demonology and spiritual warfare. In UFIC and many other new PCCs that I visited during my fieldwork, note-taking was an important part of every church service. In fact, during the service, members from the church's sales department moved around selling a range of merchandise including branded notebooks. It was not uncommon to be approached by the sales people during church services urging you to buy a notebook if you were seen without one during the service.

After reading from the book of Deuteronomy, verse 8: 18 which said, "But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth," Prophet Makandiwa asserted that the scriptures were clear that the "children of Israel" would be wealthy. He emphasised that all born-again Christians had the power to make wealth and to claim whatever they wanted, "it is this power that God gave his children to be prosperous, to be healthy and happy-to make wealth that we are going to unlock and reveal unto you tonight". Although Prophet Makandiwa underscored that God could change one's fortunes immediately, he implored people to be patient for "God's time" (*Nguva yaMwari*).

The prophet then asked for ten people who wanted to share their testimonies of how God had blessed them to come forward. Most of the testimonies were about employment, promotions, marriages and business growth and always underlined the efficacy of the church's spiritual technologies. Among the testimonies was one by a relatively young male congregant, Trynos, who testified about how he got a job immediately after anointing himself with the anointing oil he was given by the man of God. Trynos had been unemployed for three years after graduating. He relied on his parents for everything. He said, "my life was in such a mess and it was becoming frustrating and unbearable. By thanks to the God of my father prophet Makandiwa, here I am with a well-paying job and driving my own car!"

Another young woman, Martha, testified about her long struggle against what she called anti-marriage demons and spiritual husbands that prevented her from finding a husband. However, after attending exorcism sessions, prayer vigils and consistently using

⁹³ A vuvuzela is a plastic horn which produces which is usually blown by football fans in South Africa to produce different loud sounds

consecrated objects from church, God had answered her prayers and she was not only happily married but also pregnant. Both Martha and Trynos underscored Prophet Makandiwa's assertion that they were now on the path to even more success and that they expected their futures to be prosperous.

For both these former students and my interlocutors on campus, the church's consecrated objects helped them to reconfigure their immediate and long-term futures. As such, they imagined that time was connected to their spiritual battles and that they could manipulate its passage. In regular church services, congregants sometimes testified that they had to be patient and to continuously fight the demons that blocked the flow of their material blessings from God. Following such testimonies, the prophet would assert,

There are some of you here concerned about time, you are crying that you have suffered enough; you have suffered for such a long time, but let me tell you that God has not forsaken you. He has just told me that your suffering is just about to end. God's time is the best time. He is a faithful God.

The testimonies of people who had risen from rags to riches, led many of my interlocutors to change the way they saw time, their futures and their ability to change such futures through the church's technologies. For instance, many of them felt motivated that even when things were not going well in their lives, they would eventually break through to better things because of what the prophet taught them and the testimonies they heard. Many of them insisted that the testimonies showed that despite the prevailing economic realities, it was possible to prosper and to become successful.

The question around the possibility and impossibility of one's future was an important one at UZ's PCCs. Many insisted that impossible futures could only be achieved through spiritual warfare. After the seminar, I asked Patrick what he thought about the summit and business teachings. Patrick, like many other students I had talked to about the event, told me that the conference boosted his confidence to keep fighting and to confront the devil and demons head-on in order to accomplish his goals and aspirations. In preparation for this expected prosperous future, Patrick made sure that he attended all the church's business seminars. He knew that attending these business seminars was not enough and that he had to regularly pray, fast and make huge financial sacrifices to the church. While aware of the constraining economic realities in the country, Patrick remained resolute and hopeful about "making it" in life. As part of his spiritual fight to one day own a mining company, Patrick

established a small tyre business with the help of the church. The church offered to pay half of the money required to register a company. He asserted that it would kick-start the large financial investment required for a mine. Certain departments in church sometimes also helped their members with loans to venture into business.

Church and time

All the new PCCs I focused on in this study offered business workshops and entrepreneurship training to students and other congregants. For instance, like UFIC, PHD also organised regular business and entrepreneurship seminars for students off campus. These seminars were always well attended. PCCs also helped some of their young students to register companies and to connect them to a huge business network. By helping congregants to establish companies and providing entrepreneurship trainings, UFIC and PHD could be perceived as availing practical and innovative theodicies that helped to achieve people's material and this-worldly interests. However, for many of my interlocutors, the most helpful part of these conferences and workshops were their spiritual intercessions, especially against the work of jealous people who wanted to derail their expected futures. As Patrick said,

We are living in a world where your future and life can be tempered with by jealousy people. So if you don't fight, and I mean serious fighting, then you will die poor.

The belief that jealous people, including one's relatives, could bewitch and block one's progress towards wealth was quite widespread. Indeed, this belief was deeply ingrained in the many students with whom I interacted. PCCs thus try to address these anxieties through its rituals such as elaborate exorcism and prayers sessions. By so doing, new PCCs provide effective help to fight demonic attacks on one's educational careers, business endeavours, family and upward mobility. They do this by unblock demonic blockages which would lead to the free flow of people's material blessings. Of note is that during informal conversations, some of my interlocutors seemed very confident about their futures and attributed this to the work and teachings of the new PCs. Indeed, the PCC students I talked to noted that without spiritual protection in contemporary Zimbabwean realities you will more likely to be a vagabond (*rombe*). They noted that many people become marombe⁹⁴ (vagabonds) because of demonic attacks and the work of evil spirits. However, many of my interlocutors believed that they were shielded from falling victim to the ruinous effects of demons on their studies,

⁹⁴ Plural of *rombe*

aspirations and futures. It is this sense of vulnerability and precarity which motivated many of young university students to sign up and convert to new PCCs. Some of them always told me that when they finish their studies they will either get employed or establish their own businesses. Though businesses during my fieldwork were not immune to the economic woes that continue to plague Zimbabwe, most of them noted that they will prevail through fighting and by the grace of God. In the new PCC student community on campus, this hope and optimism was widely shared by students. However, in spite of this deep-seated hopefulness and optimism, it should be underscored that this was not timeless. Towards the end of my fieldwork, a few of my interlocutors were beginning to feel the pressure.

Optimism and action

PCC students frequently told me that “God helps those who help themselves”. By acquiring a degree, PCC students told me that they would have played their part and that God would do the rest to connect them to people who would employ them. For some of my interlocutors, getting a degree was imagined as a contractual relationship with God in which students tried to influence their futures. While the majority of students had aspirations of being successful in business, many saw their academic degrees and an important starting point.

Owen’s case is illustrative here. Despite being a student from a relatively poor background, he had already established a clothing company. Although his company account showed a measly income, Owen remained optimistic that this would change in future. He told me that the money in his account was the money he saved while doing an internship. Owen imagined himself as a CEO and a would-be employer of many people in and outside the country. Owen told me that when he was done with his degree, he would only work to boost his business coffers and then he would try to grow his company. Owen told me that he had established networks with some Chinese manufacturers who were willing to supply him with some merchandise. He harboured hopes of building his own factory on the outskirts of Harare in future. As the company’s CEO, Owen believed that he had to work hard and fight demons for his business to be successful and accrue wealth.

Owen’s ambitions were cultivated and strengthened at church. Like Patrick, Owen told me that he established his company through the help of the church. In Owen and Patrick’s case the church offered to pay half of their company registration fee (\$150). Apart from the financial assistance, the church also connected them to the company registry

department, which eased the registration process. During my fieldwork, UFIC invited officials from the company registry department to enlighten people about the procedures for registering a company. Indeed, under their “Operation Nehemiah”,⁹⁵ UFIC helped many young people to register their companies and join housing schemes at church. At UZ, some PCC pastors lead weekly workshops on entrepreneurship and business skills. These workshops were often held off campus but usually close to the university and were always well attended by hundreds of students. In these workshops, young students often met the “who’s who” of Harare and Zimbabwe. For my interlocutors, entrepreneurship and business training workshops cultivated a continuous hopefulness for the future epitomised by prosperity and fantastic wealth. Most of my PCC student interlocutors imagine themselves as “overcomers” who had dominion over everything, including their future prospects of employment and marriage. For instance, Patrick boldly declared that,

As young as I am, I have already established a company, I am a CEO. In the near future, I will be a billionaire, with the anointing from the man of God and the faith I have, I know I will make it. It’s not only me; many of my colleagues have also registered companies. It’s an act of faith.

The desire to establish companies and become successful businesspeople radiated in my participants’ narratives. “I don’t want to work for many years, I want to just work to raise enough capital to start my own business, this is what the prophet encourages that we should be employers not employees. You can never be rich if you remain an employee for the rest of your life”, Owen, told me in an interview. I probed Owen about why he would bother to waste time by doing a four-year law degree when he had no intentions of using it in the future. Owen told me that his degree would only enable him to be more effective when doing business. It is important to note that the majority of my PCC interlocutors acknowledged that when they started their degrees, they wanted to pursue careers in line with their degree programmes but that they have changed their minds since they joined PCCs. They were now determined to go into business. Owen for instance joined the church’s legal department and wanted to use the networks he established in church to start his own law firm in the near future. He was determined to be his own boss, saying,

⁹⁵ Operation Nehemiah was a building and business programme rolled out by UFIC to encourage its congregants to be landlords and business people. It was inspired by the biblical example of Nehemiah and how he managed to rebuild the

When I joined UFIC in my second year at UZ, I must say so many things about me changed, my understanding of life and how I looked into the future, all changed totally. I had dreams of becoming this popular lawyer and I was so happy when I enrolled for a law degree. However, all this changed when I met Prophet Makandiwa, he taught us business and how to be successful in life and that's when I started thinking about becoming a business-man.

The PCC business seminars thus had a profound impact on how young students viewed their future plans. New PCCs convinced students that their life courses were determined by spiritual forces and that the church could give them the spiritual tools to take control of these forces. This in turn helped the students to think of their futures as less insecure. The future that most of my interlocutors envisioned was one in which business featured prominently. Such was the desire for business that in some cases students were prepared to forego the professional careers for which they had been training in favour of “entrepreneurship”.



Figure 11 Prophet Makandiwa teaching on Operation Nehemiah

By imagining themselves as CEOs and indeed registering companies even if they could not afford to cover their daily expenses, students were engaging in an act of faith. They had launched a spiritual war for the fulfilment of their aspirations and dreams. Indeed, UFIC like many other new PCCs in Zimbabwe and beyond encouraged their congregants to

magnify their imaginative prospects beyond their means. For instance, one of my interlocutors told me that when they went to a UFIC conference at the church branch in Sandton, the prophet and pastors encouraged them to go and test drive expensive cars. This was common in many PCCs who encouraged their members to do such symbolic acts as meaningful anticipatory actions. Indeed, many people did this as part of challenging/petitioning God over their aspirations for good life. Some went to real estate agents in affluent locations to view expensive mansions way beyond their means and reach.

Contending Time and Future Orientations: New PCCs and the University

These PCC orientations to the future differed from the university's orientation, which was measured, assumed that merit would secure jobs, that degrees signalled special skills for which the job-market had a need, in contrast in PCC circles one would get employed even if they do not quite meet the requirements because for them, 'God qualifies the unqualified'. For my interlocutors in new PCCs, the belief in miraculous accumulation in the here and now was also very different from the philosophy of the university where one worked slowly towards attaining a degree; accumulating knowledge and expertise over time. For the university, hard work was at the centre of a prosperous future. In contrast, for many new PCCs, success could be attained miraculously through 'magical' means.

So how do students reconcile and make sense of these seemingly antagonistic perspectives of their futures? The teachings and ideologies propagated in PCCs enabled many of my interlocutors to personalise their futures and deal with it in very much the same way as they deal with God, "live and direct" (Engelke 2004; Engelke 2010). With direct linkages to the Holy Spirit and indeed to God, believers could ask for anything, including passing exams with flying colours once they have seeded for good grades throughout the semester. PCC students also considered passing with flying colours a top priority Owen's noted,

Without a law degree, I would not be able to establish a law firm company, so for me my degree is actually a stepping-stone to my business interests. Even if I expand to do say mining, I will surely use my legal knowledge to my advantage.

Owen told me that praying alone without working hard and studying was not enough. Owen told me that a degree should help him to be empowered with knowledge which will also allow him to manage the business well. Owen was more concerned with the skills and

knowledge that would come with being a graduate. Therefore, for Owen it was not only about passing and graduating, it was also about learning.

What was worrisome for some lecturers at UZ was the way in which some of the PCC students valorised the advice and ideas propagated by prophets at the expense of their own hard-won expertise. In conversations with some medical students on campus, they were convinced that it was possible for the prophets to heal chronic diseases like AIDS and cancer by the laying of hands. They told me that God could heal any disease and the prophet was merely being used as a vessel to perform Godly work and miracles. Indeed, some PCC pastors dismissed the efficacy of hard work and studying as a means of academic success. For instance, one prophet reportedly insisted that,

The key to passing examinations isn't down to hard work and dedication to studying, but in fact having faith in God, all the while armed with an anointed pen. If you buy this anointed pen I declare passes when you sit for your examinations (see Ali 2015; ZimDaily 2016).⁹⁶

In response to the above claims, some academics I talked to dismissed some prophets as uneducated people who reduced everything to the literal truth of the Bible. These academics lamented the ways in which new PCCs spiritualised everything. They complained that this made their students uncritical; something they believed was anathema to university training. This concern over the growing influence of new PCCs on campus led one professor to remark,

The growing influence of new Pentecostal churches on campus is worrying. I am especially concerned with their strong emphasis on instantaneous miracles which I think is doing more harm than good to the students. Now you have students who valorise praying for passing their examinations, students who miss class to attend church services. It makes many of them lazy to read and simplifies intellectual engagements because of their strong belief in the absolute truth of the Bible.

Professor MG continued, “we now have a bunch of students who believe that they can buy miracle or anointed pens to write and pass their examinations!” (see also Mutore 2015; Ali 2015).⁹⁷ For many of Prof MG’s colleagues, the popularity of such miracle interventions signalled a decline in their students’ work ethic. Indeed, for some of the students, knowledge,

⁹⁶ www.zimdaily.com/?p=43999

⁹⁷ www.independent.co.uk/student/news/zimbabwean-pastor-prophet-shame-hungwe-claims-anointed-pens-will-help-students-pass-exams-a6711601.html

intelligence and academic success were imagined as divinely derived and as such one could pray and seek to get these things. In an informal conversation with Patrick, he asserted,

There is nothing like natural intelligence, it's God's grace. For me to be here at university it is God's grace. It's selection by grace. I have many friends from high school who were smarter than me but they could not make it here. So it's better to serve God first and everything will be added unto my life.

Although Patrick did not totally discount hard work and natural intelligence as a means of attaining academic success, he noted that these were not adequate because without the divine, one was vulnerable to demonic attacks which might lead to academic failure. Some of the students believed that as God's children, he would not make them fail. Patrick for instance noted that, "because we are Christians and children of God who owns everything, we have to live the heavenly life of happiness, abundance and prosperity on earth, I mean here and now because it is our birth right-our entitlement".

What the propagation of this Pentecostal discourse does is not only to delegitimise, but also to rival the academy and universities as authoritative spaces of knowledge production (see Obadare 2017). For Obadare, the pastor in new PCCs was not only becoming a direct replacement for the intellectual, he also took over epistemological authority on socio-economic, cultural and political issues, including time and futures.

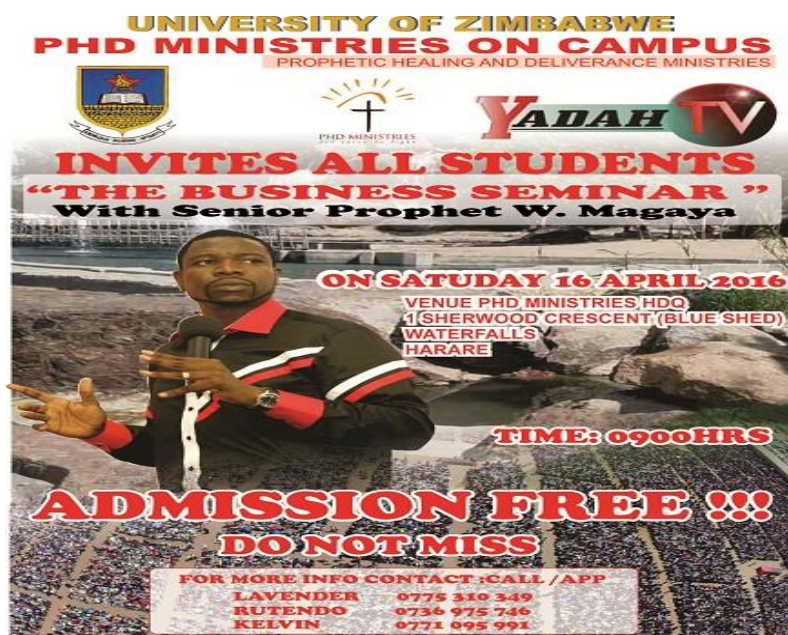


Figure 12 A PHD poster on campus advertising a business seminar

Fighting and Failing

It should be noted that although spiritual warfare is a very important part of my interlocutors' everyday life, some of the students failed to sustain the fight. During my fieldwork, I was told of companies that were formed in church and never really took off in spite of the concerted effort students put into them to succeed. Adam's experiences might be illustrative here,

I have been praying to God to get some funding for my clothing company. I talked to some prospective Chinese partners but nothing has materialised yet. Last year I sacrificed a US\$300 seed to the church, so that I would get start-up capital in the near future but I am still waiting. I was hoping by this time things would have taken shape but alas. I have to keep fighting.

Like Adam, not everyone was successful in the business ventures they engaged in in church. Failing to establish successful business ventures in PCC was viewed as evidence of an individual's unsuccessful spiritual warfare. In such instances, the church always tried to keep on encouraging members like Adam-to be resilient and to never give up the fight, albeit with varying degrees of success. Indeed, Adam himself also felt that the challenges bedevilling his business venture were due to the devil and his demons as well as witchcraft. Patrick's older brother similarly told me that he graduated in 2008 and never managed to secure employment despite his spiritual fights and prayers for jobs before he graduated. Patrick told me that he has sacrificed money to the church, regularly attended prayer sessions and did everything that the church prescribed but in vain.

In individual cases of failure, new PCCs tried to set up collaborative teams that would help some members. It was not uncommon for the church to ask for prayer requests during prayer vigils and to organise small prayer teams with very strong "prayer warriors". This helped to strengthen the confidence and courage of some members to keep fighting. In some cases, the new PCC pastors followed up on members who would have given up of who were back sliding in their fight against the devil. Indeed, most of the PCCs tried to invent and devise multiple ways of trying to continue to (re)shape their students' imaginations of a very particular future.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the efficacy of PCC technologies in shaping the ways in which students imagined their futures. It explored how university students mobilised, crystallised and converted the immaterial technologies for very specific material ends in their future. I tried to show how PCCs changed the mindset of students and imparted spiritual ideas about time and futures. These ideas in turn, reconfigured how students engaged in a spiritual warfare and how they oriented themselves to the future. I argue in this chapter that, unlike their non-PCCs counterparts, PCCs students had very different expectations for the future and the means to that end. Thus, many of my PCC student interlocutors did not stop at the usual ways of making money in the informal economy, but also engaged in anticipatory and symbolic action such as establishing their own companies and joining business and professional networks. The networks young students joined also provided them with opportunities for upward mobility. In fact, through their exposure to PCC technologies, many students came to speak out about the “waiting” of their non-PCC friends and contested their social immobility.

Though most PCC students believed that their lives would progress in a linear fashion, they treated the delays and “waiting” that they were subjected to as demonic in origin and fought them in church. Though many PCC students believed that they could manipulate the time it took to get at their promised futures through religious rituals and technologies (see also Masquelier 2013:491), some cautioned that God had his own time. In some cases, they used this to explain why not all PCC promises and aspirations they forged are immediately realised. Thus, while new PCCs offered ideas, teachings and rituals that cultivated a sense of optimism and hope, there was also frustration and failure. Indeed, for some of my interlocutors, this delay or failure to become successful spurred them into more commitments at church, which often brought them in conflict with the epistemology and work ethic of the university.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion: Youth, Politics and PCCs on the UZ Campus

In this thesis, I have argued that new PCCs, politics and the university (re) shape students' subjective experiences of campus and everyday life at the university. This is particularly the case with the majority of those students who are involved in the three aforementioned forces. In so doing, I looked at the ways through which new forms of Pentecostalism, politics and the university are complexly entangled and how these entanglements mediated the pattern of everyday life on campus. In the (re)configuration of the students' subjective experiences is particularly mediated by and through new forms of Pentecostalism. In this concluding chapter, I mobilise my ethnographic arguments to highlight the key threads that informs my thesis arguments. Of note is that the thesis revealed the complex entanglements between politics and Pentecostal religiosity and the university and showed how this interface mirrors broader national and religious dynamics. This thesis is situated within three broader and interrelated issues around youth, youth religiosities and politics in Africa. It engages literature on youth in post-colonial Africa and how their contemporary circumstances mediate, not only their political and economic imaginaries but also political activism (Seekings 1993; Honwana 1999).

University Students and new PCCs

This thesis revealed that new PCCs are attracting many young and upwardly mobile university students. Although the existing scholarship acknowledges the youthful nature of the pentecostal movement (van Dijk 1992; Englund 2003; Adogame 2002; Lindhardt 2010; Maxwell 2002; Lauterbach 2010), very little has been done by way of focusing on the young, educated and upwardly mobile as an object of analysis to understand their subjective experiences within new PCCs (see van de Kamp 2011 for Mozambique; Obadare 2007). It is apparent in literature on Pentecostalism that there exists a huge research gap on the phenomenon within university spaces, especially examining the lived experiences of students and how this is mediated by national politics, religion and university. Indeed, studies on university students and their interactions with new forms of Pentecostalism on campus are still rare (see Ojo 1995 and Mapuranga 2012 for exceptions). My thesis is one of the few studies in Zimbabwe in particular and Africa more broadly to focus on young Pentecostal university students and how they make sense of their everyday lives through Pentecostal

(ised) lenses. Much research on Pentecostalism has focused on the poor, uneducated and marginalised people existing on the periphery of the neo-liberal millennial economy (Comaroff and Comaroff 2002; Lewison 2011; Martin 1990). Likewise, the Comaroffs for instance noted that PCCs are attractive for those zombified by the impenetrable logics of neoliberalism. The Comaroffs (2001) argued that these churches embodied the conditions of millennial capitalism and offered adherents the promises of spectacular consumption through the mechanics of an ‘occult economy’. In their argument, the desire for ‘things’ outside of their reach was central to the reasons why poor people joined PCCs (see van Wyk 2014). However, some scholars in African Pentecostalism like Maxwell (2008) Marshall (1998) and Gifford (2004) have also all conducted broad studies and have tried to analyse PC movements that embrace the full strata of classes and social categories. My present study therefore builds on this earlier body of work and situates PCC within the university space.

Other authors have looked at consumption in PCCs as results of the modernising power of these churches (Meyer 2006; Meyer 2010; Van Dijk 2002). In her work, van Wyk (2014) argues that the spectacular consumer items that people pray for and testify about in PCCs such as the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God have less to do with the modernising powers of these churches than with the content of their theology; wanting and having things then mark an ideal ontological balance. Indeed, much of the literature on PCCs strongly implies that these churches attract uneducated people (i.e. the assumption here being that educated should know better). My thesis here focuses on a different task altogether. Instead it focuses how to explain why people arguably at the top of the pile and educated believe this stuff about prosperity, miraculous healing and a bright future among other things. In fact, my thesis departs from a tendency in Pentecostal scholarship to imagine Pentecostalism as a religion for the subaltern, underclass and the poor who are marginalised by the neoliberal capitalist order, by focusing on educated and would-be upwardly mobile students. Indeed, while many of the student members of UZ’s PCCs could probably not be classified as well-to-do, they represent a markedly different category of congregant from the poor people in Meyer (1998), van Dijk (2002), the Comaroffs (2001) and van Wyk’s (2014) work.

Why young people sign up for and convert to new PCCs

This thesis showed that many young university students are joining and converting to new PCCs operating on campus. But how and why are young and educated university students

signing-up for new PCCs on campus *en masse*? This thesis attempted to explore some of the reasons behind the recent appeal of new PCCs among the university community in Zimbabwe. I argue in this thesis that a focus on university student members of new PCCs is not only novel, but also enables us to rethink the idea of youth, not just as victims of circumstances, but also as fighters. Further, this fighting is mediated by Pentecostal technologies and discourses, which equip these youth with spiritual and material technologies (van Wyk 2015) in their spiritual warfare against the devil (van Wyk 2014; Robbins 2003) and in negotiating the existential challenges they encountered in their everyday life.

I make the case of the materiality of belief here and argue that consecrated items provided by PCCs to their congregants enable them to strengthen their faith and belief and confidence to confront demons that block the flow of their material blessings from God and cause their poverty and suffering. Indeed, in Mozambique van der Kamp (2011) revealed how young women find Brazilian PCCs' teachings and practices attractive because they learn how to liberate themselves from constraining kinship bonds and to confront the threat of evil spiritual and spiritual husbands. Similarly, scholars like Van Dijk (1992) and Maxwell (2002) argues that new PCCs' teachings, rituals and practices empower young people with multiple ways of redefining traditional authoritarian gerontocratic authority. I contend that PPCs provide their youthful congregants with an alternate spiritual space upon which they are able to (re)define their positionality in society in very specific and unique ways (van der Kamp 2012; Englund 2003; Uria 2013).

The thesis reveals that these new PCCs are not only spaces of sociality and conviviality, they also provide livelihood opportunities and life skills and well as entrepreneurship skills and theological messages that directly resonate with their experiences, dreams, aspirations and imagined futures. Further, the churches I focused on also offered various forms of socio-economic support to students, which enabled them to adjust and adapt to campus life. For instance, all the PCCs I focused on, offered a few scholarships to poor students on campus. Indeed, by offering financial support and other forms of social welfare, in the context where the broke state withdrew any form of support to students-new PCCs can also be said to be altering students' futures. Further, in a country where unemployment rates have reached a crescendo eighty percent (see Morreira 2009; Kamete 2010), new PCCs have become spaces where young people can access employment and other livelihood opportunities from the church and fellow church mates.

Apart from employment and other material benefits, new PCCs were imagined as spaces where people could get their dream boyfriends and girlfriends. Indeed, these new PCCs not only organised dating workshops and youth camps which enabled young people to meet potential partners, they also actively encouraged dating and marrying from within the church. Almost half of the students I interviewed met their partners from church. I argued elsewhere that one of the key features of new PCCs in Zimbabwe is their creative appropriation of ‘secular’ performativity as an everyday part of their church rituals (Gukurume 2018). Similarly, scholars like Czeglédy (2008) noted that in affirming some form of contemporaneity, new PCCs consciously and unconsciously dissolve the perceived divide between the sacred and the secular. Following this, my thesis reveal that PCCs’ creative appropriation of modern “secular” forms of entertainment appeal to the sensibilities of young and upwardly mobile congregants. New PCCs deliberately tailor made their rituals, teaching, sermons and activities to attract youthful congregants. This finding resonates with observations made some earlier scholarship on Pentecostalism which underscore that PCC pastors explicitly target young people by making use of modern (ised) styles of worship, teachings about dating, relationships and sexuality as well as modern dress and language (Czeglédy 2008; Frahm-Arp 2010; Van de Kamp 2012).

The thesis also revealed that university campuses have become spaces for recruiting new members for not only new PCCs, but also political parties. Consequently, the university space has become a battlefield for churches, as they compete for membership, space and influence. This competition between religious groups on the UZ campus closely mirrors and resonates with developments in the national religious dynamics. Given the fact that the senior university officials are themselves members of old mainline churches, the politics of religiosity on campus tend to tilt in favour of mainline churches. What is at stake here to me goes beyond concerns over membership loss; it includes generational dynamics and national politics. For instance, new PCCs are criticised for inculcating subversive subjectivities among young people which often lead to violent activism and lack of respect for the elders (Chapter 4; Maxwell 2002). New PCCs that are viewed as subversive to authority and critical of the state are viewed as a threat and hence are not only marginalised but also subjected to constant university and state surveillance. In contrast, churches aligned to Mugabe and his ZANU-PF received preferential treatment on campus.

At UZ mainline church groups have a very long history, which dates back to the early formative years of the university in 1955 (see Chapter 1). Indeed many mainline churches

donated in cash and kind towards the construction of the main campus in Mount Pleasant. The monopoly of space and resources by old and established mainline churches occurs at the expense of new Pentecostal churches which are marginalised and excluded from using space on campus. However, though most mainline church groups enjoyed monopoly over the physical space- competition in the virtual space was conspicuously stiff. For new PCCs, the virtual space and the notice boards became alternative spaces where they reached out to students without the control of the university authorities. I contend that cyberspace and public notice boards, offered many new Pentecostal Churches alternative space to reach out to the young people.

Notwithstanding the country's protracted economic crises, which undoubtedly affect(ed) many young people, the church offered them a different way of negotiating the existential perturbations wrought by the lingering economic meltdown. Indeed, by deploying church technologies in their spiritual warfare, students circumvented many challenges wrought by spiritual and demonic attacks such as failure, unemployment, and relationship breakdowns.

What should be underscored is that by joining new PCCs and appropriating their gospel of prosperity, young people are able to revive their dreams and plans for the future. These students in turn become optimistic and hopeful for the future in spite of the prevailing socio-economic and political realities on the ground. In fact, students are taught and urged to be vigilant fighters, to be adventurous and ambitious in life. By so doing, students reimagine their lives in very specific ways. Consequently, it is argued in this thesis that joining new PCCs, for young university students is a rational strategy deployed to negotiate structural exclusion from the country's socio-economic and political processes. Pentecostal discourses and rituals mediate their response to this perceived structural exclusion.

Youth, Time and the Futures

In this thesis, I argue that Christianity allowed my youthful students a different way of imagining time and the future. Following earlier scholars on youth in Africa, this thesis contests the dominant essentialist constructions and notions of youth in Zimbabwe in particular and Africa more broadly (Honwana 2014; Comaroff and Comaroff 2005; Honwana & de Boeck 2005; Cole 2004; Waller 2006). In looking at the youth and their transition to adulthood, this literature argues that due to the crisis of the postcolony (Mbembe 2001),

youth in Africa inhabit the condition of waithood—a scenario where young people are stuck and transfixed in a continuous present—a present that is epitomised by what scholars like Vigh (2008) called social death (see also Hage 2003; Honwana 2000). This discourse is new to your thesis – but a conclusion should really be a summary, rather than a new take on the preceding chapters. This literature paints a picture where the attainment of social adulthood is perpetually deferred and elusive. Contrary to this literature and their construction of youth as existing in a perpetual condition of waithood (Honwana 2014; Singerman 2007; Hansen 2005), this study shows that my PCC students are not in a waithood limbo, but are actively working against circumstances that expose them to the condition of waithood.

My interlocutors do not understand their challenges as a coincidence. Instead, they believed that what is blocking them from upward mobility and limiting their livelihood opportunities was Satan and his demons. For them, the challenges they encountered on campus were also the workings of evil spirits manifesting through political and university leadership. Similarly, some of my participants also felt that witchcraft and generational curses are standing in their way. For them, these problems were not only material, but also spiritual and hence required spiritual remedies. Indeed, most of my participants understood their current situation in spiritual terms—where spiritual forces were at work in their lives fighting them. Drawing on Pentecostal discourse, most of my interlocutors were convinced that the country’s protracted crisis and its attendant trepidations were not just economic or political, but demonic as well.

As such, they saw it as their responsibility to fight the devil and his demons of poverty and unemployment. In dealing with these existential perturbations, new PCCs teach them to confront these forces through a protracted spiritual warfare against the devil. In their spiritual warfare against the devil and his demonic forces, my interlocutors deployed various church technologies. In addition to teaching congregants to confront demons, the new PCCs also provided the spiritual and material weapons and technologies for their congregants to succeed in the spiritual warfare with Satan. Indeed, most of my interlocutors imagined themselves as warriors in the spiritual warfare against the devil and his demonic forces—whom to them blocked their flow of God’s blessings into their lives (van Wyk 2014).

In my conversations with other youth at UZ, post university life in particular, and the future in general, was too frightening to contemplate. However, while for non-Pentecostal youth, the future was imagined and constructed as uncertain/unknown, bleak and for some

arrested (see Guyer 2007; Robbins 2007; Crapanzano 2004; Appadurai 2004; Maurer & Schwab 2006; Côté 2000), my PCC students in contrast-imagined and constructed the future with hope and positivity. Most of my PCC youth felt that through these technologies, they are able to stay in control of their future. I argue that the young Pentecostal youth with whom I interacted had different ways of seeing and imagining the temporalities of time and the future.

Further, following earlier scholarship on youth and the anthropology of time, this thesis challenged the Universalist notions of time which frame youth transitions as based on a universal and linear chronological pattern (see also Nielsen 2011; Munn 1992). I contend that young people's conceptualisation of time and future is not always linear. Indeed many scholars argue that young people's life transitions do not always progress in a linear and straight forward manner, but are rather more complex (Masquelier 2013; Nielsen 2011; Das 2007; Gell 1992; Munn 1992). Similarly, in the Zimbabwean context-given the protractedness of the economic instability, insecurity, skyrocketing unemployment and inflation of employment and livelihood prospects, a linear understanding of time and temporality for many young people becomes problematic.

Under such circumstances it was not uncommon for many university graduates to eke out a living in the streets as degreed vendors. The majority of students who matriculate from the country's universities and colleges cannot be absorbed in the dwindling formal sector. This is where new Pentecostal churches and their efficacious technologies became appealing and compelling to many young people. This is because new PCCs equip them with requisite weapons to engage in a very specific spiritual warfare. Through spiritual warfare-uncertainties are converted to certainties and hopelessness is transformed into hope and optimistic. The argument I am making here is that though the prevailing socio-economic realities in contemporary Zimbabwe make linear futures chaotic and uncertain-new PCCs try to make linear futures possible at least theoretically. Indeed, these new PCC allows those students who get involved in it to enter a future that feels much more 'linear' than those students who lack the patronage and support of these churches – whether this translates into material practice or not becomes another issue. In this way, the PCC involvement and investment creates a version of the future that feels more predictable, more orderly – in those ways more 'modern' – than the unpredictable futures for young people in insecure 'postmodern' times.

As the narratives of my students in this thesis show, spiritual warfare/fighting is an intractable part of their everyday life. In the new PCCs there were various forms of fighting to unblock the flow of blessings into their lives. For instance, students consistently engaged in prayer; seeding, fasting, attend marriage seminars and business workshops, all of which packaged and provided by the church. For interlocutors, all of these represent important ammunition in the fight against the devil. Of note is that engaging in prayer vigils, tithing and attending entrepreneurship/billionaire mindset summits and dating/marriage workshops, becomes a strategy through which students invested spiritually and materially in the here and now in an attempt to reconfigure their future. Students invest in forging new networks with ‘significant others’ in and out church. They sacrifice seed money into the church with the expectation and faith that they will reap in abundance in the near and distant future.

For many of the students I focused on attending business workshops, marriage seminars, serving in church and making huge financial sacrifice all work imaginatively as spiritual investment-where returns are deferred to the future. At the same time, prayer vigils were spaces where people actively fight to change the future in the present and also to foreshorten time so that some changes may occur instantaneously. In light of the foregoing, I contend that the PCC university students I investigated offer an interesting example of the different ways in which people see time and orient themselves to a different kind of future. This resonates with scholarship on the anthropology of Christian time and how it enables and mediates a very specific (re) configuration of the future (see Robbins 2007; Comaroff & Comaroff 1991).

In a context where education no longer guarantees a secure job and future, juxtaposing the material (entrepreneurship) and the spiritual (vigils, seeding) have become an important imagined vehicle of upward mobility for many youthful members of new PCCs at UZ particularly and Harare more broadly. However, given the prevailing economic realities in the country, entrepreneurship does not always work for everyone as an anti-dote to unemployment and growing poverty. Indeed, some of my interlocutors who had ventured into small businesses like Patrick always complained that the success of business was constrained by the difficult economic situation-where the majority of the clients are broke. In spite of all this, the pastors continue preaching this message and many people had faith that in ‘God’s time’ they will get their breakthrough.

Hope, Faith and Disappointment

My interlocutors' experiences in new PCCs were not uniform. However, the majority of them not only did they believe in these technologies, they also had faith in the power of prayer; some of them also told me of the effectiveness of the various forms of training they received from the church. As such, what is unique with my students is that they do not think of themselves as vulnerable or hopeless. Instead, my participants actively and creatively negotiated their existential worries by positioning themselves in spaces that enhanced their opportunities for upward mobility. Many of the students I talked to belonged to different church departments based on their educational and professional disciplines. These departments acted as spaces of mentorship-but they were also species of social networking with established professionals. For instance, students studying law joined the church's legal department, while those studying medicine joined the medical department. These departments were often led by renowned lawyers and doctors who acted as role models and mentors to the youthful congregants I studied. It was also not uncommon, for some student to get internships and jobs through the networks forged within these departments. Indeed, during sermons, the prophets often urged people to recruit qualified workers from within the church. However, some of my interlocutors noted that not many people find jobs this way. This could possibly be a result of the fact that many prospective employers from church are also caught up in the awful economic meltdown that the country finds itself in.

While joining a department for my interlocutors was part of serving in church, for some it was strategic action. To enhance their chances and opportunities, students often sacrificed money (seeding) in church in anticipation of an abundant harvest in the future. Consequently, seeding, establishing companies among other things invoke temporalities of faith on the part of my interlocutors. However, for the students, joining a church department, seeding and getting a degree wouldn't be clearly separates as faith/non-faith actions. Indeed, it should be noted that the dreams and aspirations of my PCC youth directly affect their actions in the here and now by way of reimagining the present in relation to the future end (see Miyazaki 2006). In new PCCs, the prophets are imagined to have the spiritual capacity to alter and change the future of their congregants through the power of the Holy Spirit. This imagining affects congregants' actions such as seeding, sacrifice and being part of a group in church.

Students acknowledged that the prevailing economic configuration threatened and undermined the young people's aspirations and dreams in the present. In some cases this feeling and anxiety reduced their commitment to PCCs and their technologies. In worst cases, some would backslide and eventually move to another church in an attempt to have their problems solved. This was the case with one of postgraduate student I talked to who was in the church for almost 3 years during my fieldwork, who left his PCC for another due to frustrations with unfulfilled expectations and promises. However, it should be underscored that some of the student interlocutors remained hopeful and determined to succeed in both the near and distant future. So optimistic was Peter; one of my participants who always told me that; 'it's a matter of time I become a successful millionaire and everyone will be talking about me and my success'.

Peter and indeed some of the students had already written detailed business proposals and were in the process of registering their companies with help from the church. I argue that establishing a company thus becomes 'anticipatory action' (see Nielsen 2011: 398). This anticipatory action takes possible students' future aspirations seriously. Though yet to be realised, anticipatory action tend to (re)shape the students' aspirational subjectivities and everyday actions. Strathern (2005: 51) reminds us that people's everyday actions are informed by imaginative and possible worlds which are yet to be realised. Anticipatory action is anchored by faith and Peter's case is illustrative here. Peter told me that 'God's time' is always the best time (opening his bible he always carried around with him)-he flipped a number of pages until he reached the book of Isaiah and muttered; I want to show you that it is even written in the scriptures. Peter read from Isaiah 60: 22 which say;

A little one shall become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation; I the LORD will hasten it in his time

However, it should also be underscored that even though new PCCs structure the subjectivities and everyday life of many of my student participants on campus, they do not necessarily determine the life course of these students; neither does belonging to these new PCCs guarantee a prosperous future, employment, marriage or a happy life. As such, although the new PCCs under study, actively cultivated aspirational subjectivities-not all the imagined dreams and aspirations reinforced by the church did materialise. This potential non-materialisation of the PCCs' promises-of wealth, marriage, jobs and a good life was a major source of disappointment and temporal anxiety for many people, my interlocutors included.

Consequently, it should be underscored that it is one thing to attend business workshops, dating and marriage workshops, and it is quite another for these to materialise in people's lives.

Some of my interlocutors were quite aware of this reality and indeed there were a number of cases of disgruntlement among some people in the PCCs I looked at, including some of my participants. Consequently, it is important to also state that young people's aspirations dreams and expectations as well as promises of prosperity made by pastors in the new PCCs I focused on did not always translate into reality. For instance, during my fieldwork and recently, a young couple sued prophet Makandiwa demanding millions United States Dollars they paid in tithes, seeds and offerings after leaving the church. This prominent business couple; Mr and Mrs Mashangwa sued prophet Makandiwa for US \$6,5 million they paid to the church over the years as tithe, offerings and seeds (Chitemba 2017).⁹⁸ The couple alleged that in 2012 the prophet told them that they would have their debt cancelled miraculously if they seed huge sums of money to the church-something which did not happen to date (for the finer details of this case see also (Laiton 2017). Similarly, in 2015; a Spirit Embassy (Good News Church) church member dragged prophet Eubert Angel to the court demanding a Bentley worth around US 300 000, which he gave to the church in expectation of future wealth.⁹⁹

Indeed, some of my interlocutors noted that faith and making huge financial sacrifices were crucial in actuating God's blessings in their lives. As such, those who struggled to realise their dreams and aspirations were often framed as spiritually weak, lacking faith or not sacrificing enough money to the church. This imagining is not unique to the PCCs I focused on but has been reported elsewhere (see van Wyk 2014: 236; Meyer 2008; Meyer 2002). In services, pastors often construct the church metaphorically as the 'soil' and congregants' financial sacrifices to church as the 'seed'. For instance, in one Sunday service, the prophet in one of the PCCs underscored that if you don't put your seed on fertile ground and water it adequately then it will not multiply. Consequently, congregants are urged to constantly further water their seeds through vigilant prayers, fasting and more financial sacrifices to the church to trigger the germination and eventual multiplication of the seed

⁹⁸ www.sundaymail.co.zw/makandiwa-sued-for-fake-prophecies/

⁹⁹ <http://www.herald.co.zw/angels-bentley-brought-to-court-as-exhibit/>

On campus some students told me how they sometimes failed their examinations even though they had sacrificed money to church, held exam prayers and fasting among other things prescribed by the church. Indeed, not all the students I talked to had the same confidence with the church technologies and the efficaciousness thereof. Some were ambivalent about these and told me that these technologies had ambiguous outcomes and often result in serious disappointments emanating from unfulfilled promises and expectations. In light of the foregoing, some of the PCCs I worked on had started to preach a modified-adapted form of health and wealth gospel, which was more modest in what it promised congregants (see van Wyk 2015:4; Maxwell 1998; Haynes 2012). This revealed to me that the hope that is cultivated by new PCCs is not limitless, not only because of the economic constraints, but also because of authoritarian political constraints. What the students encounter is an authoritarian state, an authoritarian university as well as authoritarian Christianity, which they have to navigate and negotiate. For instance, on campus the authoritarian organisations and forces (state, university and the church) coalesce to constrain the rights and freedoms of the students within and beyond the university space.

Pentecostalisation and Politicisation of UZ: Contending Epistemologies

The Pentecostal and political configurations on the UZ campus impacted on the ethos and running of higher education in a very specific way. For instance, the Pentecostalisation of the university simplified academic debates based on the literal truth of the bible. Indeed, several academics raised concerns that PCCs have killed-off critical academic engagements and debates on campus. This consequently affects the production of scientific knowledge within university spaces. In the words of one of the senior academics at UZ; ‘we have prophets selling ‘anointed pens’ which students are told to buy to pass examinations with exceptional grades-others believe in ‘miracle passes’ and that they can just pray to pass instead of working hard studying to pass, this is very worrisome at an institution of higher learning’. For many academics, the spiritualisation of study and emphasis on miracles promotes laziness and creates a toxic disposition among students on campus.

Indeed, some medical students believed in the miraculous healing of chronic diseases like HIV and cancer by the laying hands, while some students refused to attend evolution classes due to their religious beliefs. As such, some controversial Pentecostal discourse and teachings tend to not only threaten the university’s epistemological *raison d’être*, but also undermine important values of university education which seek to promote a culture of

studying, hard work and critical engagement. This resonates strongly with observations made by Obadare (2017) who argues that new PCCs in have greatly altered the landscape of authority in many ‘secular’ African spaces including universities. Due to the burgeoning influence of PCCs in universities-Obadare (2017) pointed to the progressive impoverishment of the academy; where universities are being delegitimised as authoritative spaces on knowledge production.¹⁰⁰ Concerns over the increasing influence of religiosity on university campuses are not unique to UZ but have been raised elsewhere. For instance, in Nigerian universities, Obadare (2007) noted with concern the growing involvement of educated students in religious violence and intolerance-a phenomenon he referred to as ‘white-collar’ fundamentalism.

Similarly, the politicisation of the university has also impacted on free enquiry and production of knowledge. This politicisation of the UZ campus took a very specific form; that of deployment of repressive state security agency for surveillance purposes within the university campus. In fact, this politicisation of the university enabled to establishment of patron-client relationships between Mugabe-his political henchman and university administrators. This entrenched system of political patronage (re) produce authoritarian structures at the university campus. I argue in this thesis that the authoritarian structures at the UZ campus intricately intersect with national politics and religion. I also show how this intricate intersection between national politics and religion is directly transferred to campus life through the patronage networks between politicians, religious ministers and the university officials at UZ (Magure 2012; Moore 2012).

Further, the deployment of state security agents on campus has also reshaped knowledge production and the politics of spirituality at the UZ campus. I frame the UZ as a political and spiritual battlefield between various religious and political actors. The perceived omnipresent ‘gaze’ of the state on campus work to cement the panoptic power of the state over students, academics and churches on campus. This scenario therefore created a culture of suspicion on campus-where everyone is afraid of their neighbour and workmates. This relates to the Foucauldian bio-power and bio-politics. This bio-power and bio-politics foster self-censorship on what is taught in lectures and what is said in the everyday on campus. It is also meant to keep students, churches and academics in close check-to discipline and punish the politically incorrect ones (Foucault 1977). All these political and religious configurations

¹⁰⁰ <http://contendingmodernities.nd.edu/field-notes/pastor-sexual-object/>

on campus mediated the (re) production of Mugabe's narrow and biased patriotic history (Ranger 2004; Tendi 2008; Kriger 2006).

For the students from some new PCCs, surveillance on churches and on the university itself is framed as the work of the devil-it is something they had to fight. However, in Pentecostal parlance, this is a different kind of battle; it is a spiritual war that is fought not only in the physical world but also in the spiritual realm through prayer, use of anointing oil and fasting. One of the ways new PCCs constructed an imaginary and different kind of future was to orientate students to be politically engaged and to assume leadership positions on (student politics) and off-campus (mainstream politics). For many of these new PCCs, change is not left entirely to God, but rather to the action of his children. By venturing in and dominating political spaces, my interlocutors believed that they are not only creating, but also expanding the kingdom of God by conquering perceived 'secular' spaces before the second coming of Christ.

However, given the pronounced surveillance on churches on and off-campus and the co-optation of some religious ministers by Mugabe-some of the churches encourage their congregants to leave change up to God (Martin 1990; Gifford 1998) which ultimately result in some students and congregants retracting from student and mainstream politics. As such, given that the most radical critics and politicians fighting for change have come from the UZ and relatively long history of political activism of students at UZ (see Hodgkinson 2013), the recent entry of mass PCCs on campus could signal a radically different political trajectory, not just in Zimbabwe but also in Africa. The critique of PCCs' complicity to the maintenance of political status quos seems well-founded in the Zimbabwean context where Magaya and Makandiwa have discouraged their followers from direct political action. Instead, they preach that followers should pray, to address political problems. These issues are particularly pertinent when it comes to PCCs on university campuses in Zimbabwe particularly and in Africa more broadly.

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