

**A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY ON THE CAUSES OF
LEADERSHIP SUCCESSION DISPUTES IN THE ZION
APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION (ZAFM) IN ZIMBABWE**

BY

CLEMENCE MAKAMURE (214555356)

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of PhD in Human Sciences in the School of Religion,
Philosophy and Classics**

At the University of KwaZulu-Natal

Supervisor: Dr. Sibusiso Masondo

December 2017

DECLARATION FORM

I, CLEMENCE MAKAMURE, declare that the study, **A Phenomenological Study on the Causes of Leadership Succession Disputes in the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM) in Zimbabwe** is my original research. The study has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university. It does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons. There is no other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers.

Student Name:

Makamure Clemence



Signature:

Date:

30/12/17

Dedication

This study is dedicated to my late father, Johannes Tafirei Makamure. It is my understanding that you would have been proud to see me acquire this qualification since it was your desire to educate your children. The study is also dedicated to my mother Ravai Makamure for her everlasting love and support in all my achievements.

Acknowledgements

This study would not have come to fruition without the support and participation of a number of people. I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Sibusiso Masondo who walked me through the research process. His insightful and unwavering guidance is highly cherished.

My special thanks go to Dr Karen Buckenham who sacrificed her time editing this study. I would like also to acknowledge the encouragement I got from my workmates at Zimbabwe Open University, in particular Dr. Mufumani Khosa who, throughout this study, sacrificed his time to advise me.

Many thanks go to my family. In the course of my study, my mother, sisters and brothers were pillars of strength. I could not have accomplished this study without the support of my family. I am highly indebted to their support and encouragements.

I also acknowledge the support of the bishops of the two formations of the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe, that is, Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Chinatsira, Shoko (Andreas III) and Bishop Ezra Pedzisai, Chinatsira, Shoko (Andreas III). This study was possible because they allowed me to do my research in their churches. My indebtedness also goes to all the participants of particular note are chief Chivi and Shindi for their information and the time they offered. This study would not have been possible without their invaluable input.

I am also thankful to my beloved wife, Vongai, my lovely daughter Ruvimbo Mazviita and my adorable sons Munaye Anotida and Mutsawashe Anenyasha Makamure. You sacrificed your time during my study and you encouraged me throughout this research. Your unending love brought me this far.

Lastly, I would like to thank the University of KwaZulu-Natal for meeting all my tuition fees. Without their support, I would not have managed to sail through my studies. I am truly appreciative.

Abstract

Succession is the greatest challenge facing most organizations in Africa in all circles of life. Most religious, social and political organizations and institutions seem to face many problems after the death of the founding figure. It seems Africa today has failed to have a smooth transfer of power from the current leader to the successor. Owing to the failures of leaders to appoint their successors particularly in the religious spheres, most church organizations often engage in bloody fights after the death of the principal leader. This makes succession disputes to be one of the greatest crises facing African Independent churches in Zimbabwe. Drawing from the situation in the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM) church of Andreas Shoko, this study looked at the reasons behind succession disputes. There have been limited attempts by African scholars to look at succession disputes in the ZAFM church from a conflict perspective. This study comes in to fill this gap in existing scholarly fraternity by proposing a new succession model. The study is anchored on a qualitative research design and it employed the existential phenomenological research method. The study made use of in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, narratives and document analysis as data collection tools. Responses from leaders, lay people and traditional leaders in the ZAFM church provided ethnographical data from which analysis emerged. The study established that political, social, religious and economic factors trigger succession disputes in the ZAFM church. Drawing from the various causes of succession disputes, the study proposed the Mentorship Succession Model (MSM). The MSM states that a successor has to be chosen from the church without specifically focusing only on the family of the bishop. This was an influence from African Tradition on the status of Chiefs and how they get succeeded.

The bishop together with his Council of High Priests should be responsible in choosing the mentee and then present him to the whole church for approval. Once approved by the whole church then mentorship process can begin. The study argued that the ZAFM church in particular and AICs in general may minimize the occurrences of leadership contestations by adopting the MSM. This model calls for the mentoring of a successor by the incumbent bishop. The model requires the incumbent leader in conjunction with key office bearers in the church to identify the potential successor and then seek the approval of the whole congregation before the start of the mentoring process. This would minimize leadership contestations because of a number of reasons. The first reason is that the successor gets training from the incumbent before assuming power. The second reason is that the successor candidate is chosen basing on the

values agreed upon by the whole church. The third reason is that the successor candidate is chosen from a wide spectrum of potential office bearers without specifically focusing on the family of the incumbent bishop. The fourth reason is that the mentee gets time to be used to the church and adjust to the expectations of the church before finally assuming power. The study concluded that there are many causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church that can be grouped into political, religious, social and economic factors. Chief among the political factors we have the urge to lead, the succession models used in the church, disagreement between kingmakers and nepotism. Religious factors on the causes of succession disputes included the sins of the bishop and his failure to demonstrate love, introduction of polygamy, failure to understand the backbone of Zionism, different interpretations of the bible failure to take discipline to mention just a few. Social factors are constituted by such issues as lack of a sense of identity and belonging, lack of a succession plan, lack of retirement age and package and lack of adjudication procedure for dispute resolution. The economic factors included greed, scramble for the deceased's wealth and possessions and embezzlement of church funds.

Acronyms

AACJM	African Apostolic Church of Johanne Marange
ACC	African Congregation Church
ACCZ	Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe
ACJM	Apostolic Church of Johanne Masowe
AICs	African Independent Churches
ANC	Acting Native Commissioner
ARC	African Reformed Church
BP	Blood Pressure
BSAP	British South African Police
CAC	Chibairwe African Church
CACZ	Christian Apostolic Church in Zion
DC	District Commissioner
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church
FEC	First Ethiopian Church
MCC	Members in Christ Church
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MSM	Mentorship Succession Model
NC	Native Commissioner
PNC	Provincial Native Commissioner
RCC	Roman Catholic Church

RF	Rhodesian Front
SA	South Africa
SDA	Seventh Day Adventists
UBH	United Bulawayo Hospitals
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
ZAC	Zion Apostolic Church
ZAFM	Zion Apostolic Faith Mission
ZANUPF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZCC	Zion Christian Church

Table of Contents

Declaration	i
Dedication	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
Abstract	iv
Acronyms	vi
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Location of the Study	2
1.2 Background to the Study	2
1.3 Statement of the Problem	4
1.4 Objectives	4
1.5 Justification of the Study	5
1.6 Terminological Clarifications	7
1.6.1 Definition of Leadership	7
1.6.2 Succession	9
1.6.3 Succession disputes	10
1.7 Thesis Outline	12
1.8 Summary	13
CHAPTER 2	15
REVIEW OF LITERATURE	15
2.0 Introduction	15

2.1 The concept of Leadership	15
2.1.1 Leadership in African Independent Churches	23
2.2 Succession Disputes	28
2.3 Zionist Churches	36
2.4 Summary	44
CHAPTER 3	45
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	45
3.0 Introduction	45
3.1 The Conflict Theory	45
3.2 The Major Proponents of the Conflict Theory	48
3.2.1 Karl Heinrich Marx (1818–1883)	48
3.2.2 Max Weber (1864–1920) and Wright Mills (1916-1962)	49
3.2.3 Lewis Coser (1913–2003)	50
3.2.4 Ralf Dahrendorf (1929–2009)	50
3.2.5 Randall Collins (1941–2018)	51
3.3 Different types of Conflict Theories	52
3.3.1 Structural Conflict theory	52
3.3.2 The Realist theory	52
3.3.3 Biological theory	53
3.3.4 The Economic theory	53
3.3.5 The Psycho-Cultural Conflict theory	53

3.3.6 The Human Needs theory	54
3.3.7 The Relational theory	55
3.3.8 Interpersonal Conflict	55
3.3.9 Intragroup Conflict	55
3.3.10 Intergroup Conflict	56
3.4 The Relevance of the Conflict Theory to this Study	56
3.5 Criticisms of the Conflict Theory	59
3.6 Summary	60
CHAPTER 4.....	61
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN	61
4.0 Introduction	61
4.1 Research Design.....	61
4.1.1 The rationale for choosing the Qualitative Research Design	61
4.2 The Research Method	63
4.2.1 The rational for choosing Existential Phenomenology.....	65
4.3 Sampling Method	72
4.4 Data Collection Methods	73
4.4.1 In-depth Interviews	73
4.4.2 Focus group discussions	79
4.4.3 Oral Narratives	84
4.4.4 Document analysis	86

4.5 Data Analysis Procedure	87
4.6 Research Plan	89
4.7 Fieldwork Experiences.....	90
4.8 Ethical Considerations.....	91
4.9 Summary.....	92
CHAPTER 5	93
THE HISTORY OF BISHOP ANDREAS SHOKO AND THE ZION APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION IN ZIMBABWE	93
5.0 Introduction	93
5.1 Birth and Early Life of Joni Chinatsira (Andreas Shoko)	93
5.2 The Contact between Andreas Shoko and the South African Zionists	95
5.3 The return of Andreas Shoko to Zimbabwe and the Formation of the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission	97
5.4 The teachings of Andreas Shoko at the inception of ZAFM.....	106
5.5 Jeremiah Shava: 1948 Schism.....	107
5.6 Rueben Museva: 1949 Schism.....	109
5.7 Ruka Changa: 1950 Schism.....	110
5.8 Priest Simon Tawanda: 1970 Schism	112
5.9 Ishmael Mushingi: 1985 Schism	113
5.10 The death of Andreas Shoko: 1985.....	113
5.11 Summary.....	115
CHAPTER 6	116

SCHISMS AND LEADERSHIP DISPUTES AFTER THE DEATH OF ANDREAS SHOKO	116
6.0 Introduction	116
6.1 Succession Contestation between Dorius and Zachariah Pedzisai Shoko: 1985 Schism.....	116
6.1.1 The three Priests' Contestation: 1986 Schism.....	119
6.2 The ZAFM Church under the Leadership of Bishop Dorius Pedzisai Shoko	119
6.3 The 1992 Contest between Dorius Pedzisai Shoko and Emmanuel Chimhangwa..	121
6.4 The Contestation between Dorius and Jamson Pedzisai Shoko.....	123
6.5 The 2007 Contestation between Dorius Pedzisai Shoko and Stias Chivenge.....	126
6.6 The Death of Dorius Pedzisai Shoko: 2012 Succession Disputes	126
6.7 The ZAFM under the leadership of Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko (Andreas III)	136
6.7.1 The leadership hierarchy in the ZAFM church of Bishop Jamson	137
6.8 The ZAFM under the leadership of Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko	138
<i>Figure 4. Showing ZAFM leadership structure under Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko .</i>	<i>138</i>
6.8.2 The Bishop.....	139
6.8.3 The Vice-bishop	142
6.8.4 Chief or Senior High Priests	143
6.8.5 The District Priest.....	144
6.8.6 The Zonal Priest.....	144
6.8.7 Priest	144
6.8.8 Minister.....	145
6.8.9 Pastor	145

6.8.10 Judge or Discipline Officer	145
6.8.11 Evangelist	145
6.8.12 Deacon.....	146
6.9 Methods used by the ZAFM Church to Select Leaders.....	146
6.10 Summary	147
CHAPTER 7	148
THE CAUSES OF SUCCESSION DISPUTES IN THE ZAFM CHURCH OF ANDREAS SHOKO	148
7.0 Introduction	148
7.1 Political Factors	148
7.1.1 <i>Kuda ukuru</i> (the urge to lead)	148
7.1.2 <i>Nzira dzinoshandiswa kugadza vatungamiriri</i> (The succession models of the church).....	151
7.1.3 <i>Kusawirirana pakati pevanogadza ushe</i> (Disagreement between kingmakers)	155
7.1.4 <i>Chizivano</i> (Nepotism).....	161
7.2 Religious Factors	162
7.2.1 Sins of the bishop and his failure to demonstrate pastoral care and love (<i>Zvivi ZvaBishopi uye kusataridza hanya kwabishopi</i>)	162
7.2.2 Introduction of polygamy in the church (<i>Kuroora vakadzi vakawanda</i>).....	165
7.2.3 Failure to understand the backbone of Zionism.....	167
7.2.4 Differing interpretation of the bible (<i>Madudzirirwo anoitwa bhaibheri</i>)	168
7.2.5 Decentralization of power and difficulties in communication.....	169

7.2.6 <i>Kuiswa pasi peshamhu</i> (Put under church discipline)	170
7.2.7 <i>Kuita huori pakuporofita</i> (Value judgement).....	172
7.2.8 <i>Kushaikwa kwechikoro chezvesvondo</i> (Lack of theological training)	174
7.2.9 <i>Kusava Nemweya uye simba rekuporesa</i> (Lack of spiritual possession and power to heal)	175
7.3 Evaluation of Religious Factors	177
7.4 Social factors.....	179
7.4.1 Lack of a sense of identity and belonging.....	179
7.4.2 <i>Kusave nehurongwa Hwekuti ushe Hwogarwa sei</i> (Lack of succession plan) .	179
7.4.3 Lack of retirement age and package (<i>Kusava nemakore ekumira basa</i>)	184
7.4.4 <i>Kusava neramangwana rakajeka pazvigaro zvinogadzwa nabishopi</i> (Lack of security on some leadership positions).....	185
7.4.5 <i>Kufurirwa</i> (Bad influence).....	186
7.4.6 Lack of adjudication procedure for dispute resolution	186
7.5 Economic Factors	189
7.5.1 <i>Kukara</i> (Greed)	189
7.5.2 Scramble for the deceased's wealth and possessions (<i>Kurwira pfuma yemufi</i>)	190
7.5.3 Embezzlement of church funds	190
7.6 Evaluation of the Causative Factors for Succession Disputes.....	191
7.7 Summary	192
CHAPTER 8	194

TOWARDS THE ADOPTION OF A MENTORSHIP SUCCESSION MODEL IN THE ZAFM CHURCH IN ZIMBABWE.....	194
8.0 Introduction	194
8.1 The Mentorship Succession Model (MSM).....	194
8.2 Steps in the Execution of the MSM.....	197
8.2.1 Identifying the mentee.....	197
8.2.2 Executing the mentorship	199
8.2.3 Developing and existing Strategy	200
8.2.4 The assumption of power by the successor candidate.....	200
8.3 Benefits of Mentorship Succession Model.....	200
8.4 Conclusion of the Study	202
8.4.1 Objective 1- Tracing the History of ZAFM in Zimbabwe....	202
8.4.2 Objective 2- The causes of succession disputes.....	203
8.4.3 Objective 3- Organisational structure and succession model in the ZAFM....	204
8.5 Study Limitations.....	205
8.6 Recommendations for Further Studies	205
8.7 Summary	206
REFERENCES.....	207
Appendixes	227

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study focuses on leadership succession disputes in the Zion Apostolic Church of Andreas Shoko (ZAFM). Succession disputes have raised debates in political, economic, social and religious spheres of life in Zimbabwe. They have become the greatest challenge facing most organisations in all circles of life in Zimbabwe. Most religious, social and political organisations and institutions seem to face many problems after the death of the founding figure. It seems, most organisations are failing to have a smooth transfer of power from the current leader to the successor. In most cases, the death of the principal leader brings about bloody conflicts, disputes and even schisms. This makes leadership succession disputes to be one of the greatest crises facing most church organisations in Zimbabwe. When no succession plan has been put in place church organisations suffer from disrupted church services as people drag each other to courts of law, increased tensions and lowering the morale of the congregants as well as the general peace in the church. Rather, there is a lot of uncertainties about the future of the independent church beyond the founder or current leader.

Drawing from the situation in the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko, this study discusses some of the reasons behind leadership succession disputes in African Independent churches in general and the ZAFM church in particular. The inevitability and universality of succession disputes in African independent churches in Zimbabwe and its tendency to create instability combine to make this phenomenon crucial in this study. The main attention of this study is to navigate the basic issue and concepts that surround the causes of leadership succession disputes in the ZAFM church. Unlike previous works on succession disputes, the focus in this study is to get the participants' perception and experiences on succession disputes. The zeal to understand the inevitability of succession disputes paved the need to make this phenomenological enquiry. Many African Independent churches continue to experience succession disputes each time the principal leader dies.

1.1 Location of the Study

The research was conducted in Masvingo province, Chivi district at Museva area at the church's headquarters. There was need for the researcher to visit the ZAFM shrine at Museva area in Chivi District in Masvingo province, especially during the annual festivals, circuits' get-together and big Sundays when the church members come in their thousands. The research was carried out from March 2016 up to 31 August 2017

1.2 Background to the Study

Throughout the history of AICs, succession disputes have become the commonest causes of schisms, breakaways, factionalism, and conflicts and resulted in the creation of new churches. They have also incited violence, power struggle, squabbles and bloodshed. The inaugurations of new leaders have often turned violent, bloody and dangerous to the followers and the leaders. The history of AICs in Zimbabwe is awash with succession disputes. In the African Congregation church, the death of Sengwayo led to leadership contestations between Makaya and Reverend Muongani. Sengwayo faced dilemma before his death on who would succeed him since his eldest son Pauro never had any inclination or leadership potential to become his successor. This implied that the church he had founded and nurtured could not be attached to his name and blood-line through succession (Daneel, 1988:325). Sengwayo had no option but to anoint Makaya the husband of his niece as his successor. The move did not please Muongani the Reverend in Gutu District and thus he contested the coming of Makaya as the successor of Sengwayo. The conflicts spilled into the courts of law but could not be solved until the two parted and Muongani formed his own Chibarirwe- African Church- Dare reVatema (CACDV) (Daneel, 1988). When Makaya the one who remained with the ACC died in 1983, two contestants eyed his position that is Reverend Marima and Reverend Mugero. The contestations between the two lasted for about a year unresolved (Daneel, 1988:328). In August 1984 Mugero formed his own ACC arguing that he could not be led by someone junior to him.

In the First Ethiopian Church (FEC) after the death of Chari Chidembo there were leadership contestations between his son Chidembo junior and Nheya Gavure. The contestations led to the schism in the church with Gavure leading the main branch and Chidembo junior leading the small faction (Daneel, 1988). When Nheya Gavure died in 1984 contestations also broke out between his son Ishamel and a number of other leaders who had worked with Nheya Gavure. Chapinda and Masasikwa who were senior *vaongamiri* (Wardens) and Gavure's

maternal uncles contested the coming of Ishamel as successor to Nheya Gavure. At the same time Jekera Mutubuki also opposed inherited leadership and contested against Ishamel. Joshua Chabata also caused dissent after the death of Nheya Gavure.

In the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) the death of Samuel Mutendi on 21 July 1976 brought severe succession disputes (Daneel, 1988). Two contesting camps emerged, one rallying behind Rueben and the other supporting Nehemiah Mutendi. The disputes ended in the formation of two ZCC under the names of the two contesting sons of Samuel Mutendi (Daneel, 1988). After the death of Rueben Mutendi two of his sons had succession contestations each claiming to have been appointed by the deceased bishop Rueben Mutendi. The sons were Mutendi and Makuva Mutendi.

In the Zion Apostolic Church, the death of David Masuka in 1950 brought succession disputes between his two sons Philip and Johanne Peresu and other church leaders like Willi Sharara (Daneel, 1988). The contestations led the church to be fragmented into three different churches. After the death of Johanne Peresu also witnessed succession disputes and Tafirenyika managed to secure the largest group. Upon the death of Tafirenyika three of his sons Felix, Ngoni Chicago and Jacob were locked in acrimonious succession disputes. The disputes are still raging and the three cannot see each other face to face. Currently the three are leading churches of their own.

In African Apostolic church of Johanne Marange (AACJM) succession disputes erupted after the death of Johanne Marange the founder in 1963. Daneel (1987:59) stated that disputes broke up between the Prophet Simon Mushati Johanne's maternal cousin and the sons of Marange. Marange family was supported by Arnold Taguta, Johanne Marange's brother who wanted Abero the eldest son of the deceased founder to be the successor. The contests culminated into schisms and Simon formed his own African Apostolic Church. In 1992, Abero passed away and Noah Taguta the son of Arnold Taguta usurped church leadership and declared himself the Chief Priest. This displeased Clement Momberume the biological son of Abero who was also eying the post. This sparked a prolonged leadership wrangle in the church that is still raging even to this day. The case has been brought to the attention of the chiefs' courts and even the high court of Zimbabwe but all these efforts have been to no avail. Currently the church has been divided into two but using the same name.

All these examples of leadership contestations after the deaths of principal leaders in most AICs in Zimbabwe clearly show that succession disputes are rampant and inevitable. The inevitability of leadership contestations calls for a serious academic problem that compels one to question, analyze and investigate the reasons behind contestations. Daneel (1988:267) observed that the death of the founder of an independent church, more than any other occasion, brings conflicting issues to the surface. The issue of schism has been and is the result of all struggles that took place in most African Independent churches. The fact that most if not all AICs in Zimbabwe are facing leadership succession disputes after the death of principal leaders raised a lot scholarly interest in the researcher. The study intends to cultivate a better phenomenological understanding on the causes of leadership contestations that are at the heart of schisms and power struggles in African Independent Churches with special focus on the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko. The study examines the reasons for the rifts, divisions, splits and gulfs in the church. The study would also try to establish whether the sources of conflicts are ecclesial, social, cultural or political. It is hoped that the findings of this study are not limited to the ZAFM church alone but can be applied to other AICs in Zimbabwe.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Succession disputes in AICs have become very acute in Zimbabwe. Power struggles and schisms have become integral features of succession ceremonies in AICs. Given this scenario, this study is a quest to unearth the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko, known as the ZAFM, in Zimbabwe. The inheritance to the throne in the ZAFM church has from its inception been a problem. The church has been facing the problem of determining who should succeed the deceased bishop. Disagreements always arise whenever the successor is to be chosen. As African Independent Churches in Zimbabwe face succession disputes, the basic questions which this study raises are: What is the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko? What were the challenges and opportunities encountered by Shoko in introducing ZAFM from 1931 to 1985? What are the causes of leadership contestations in the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe? How are leaders elected in the ZAFM church and what are the effects of succession disputes on the growth and well-being of the church? These questions become crucial in establishing the causes of succession disputes.

1.4 Objectives

This study intends to achieve the following objectives:

The first objective in this study is to trace the history of the ZAFM church from its inception to the present. The second objective is to identify the root causes of the succession disputes, power struggles, wrangles and schisms in the ZAFM church. In this instance, a number of data collection tools are used to capture the feelings of various groups in the church and their perception on the causes of disputes. The third objective is to provide the organizational structure and leadership succession models used by the ZAFM church. The reason for doing this is to assess the extent to which the succession models used in the ZAFM church sow the seeds of succession disputes.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study of African Christianity has been extremely dominated by western scholars, who have exaggerated in understanding the African way of life, language, culture, ideology and religion. Daneel (1971:4) noted that much of the contributions on the study of AICs were products of fieldworkers who incidentally came across these religious traditions while engaged on other projects or by missionaries who had taken interests in the activities of one or some AIC groupings they came into contact with in the course of their missions in their own churches.

Daneel in 1971, 1987 and 1988 embarked on the study on Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches. Ranger (1986) embarked on the study of religious movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa. Bennetta Jules-Rosette (1997) engaged on the study of prophetic movements in and Independent Churches in Central and Southern Africa. While these studies contain insightful, brilliant and mind probing accounts on AICs, they lacked comprehensive approach, close identification of the observer over a long period of time. Their other limitation is language and culture. Being Westerners, they did not have more understanding of the African language and cultural values which are inseparable with the Africans' Christianity. While Ranger managed to give interesting accounts on Independency in Southern Rhodesia, his studies as Daneel (1971:285) said were based on archival material. This further support the view that he distanced himself from the participants. Daneel only mentioned Andreas Shoko's church in passing since his main focus was on ZCC.

African Scholars also attempted to look into AICs and they are not without their own limitations. Mazarire (2004) looked at the ZAFM in its connection with the Dutch Reformed Church in Chivi area. Chiminingo (2013) looked at the Zion Christian Church of Samuel

Mutendi but only focusing on Myths and Rituals. These studies by African scholars did not tackle the causes of leadership contestations which is the main issue behind this current study.

Mazarire's work lacks a comprehensive study on the history and leadership contestations in the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko. The present study therefore adopted a comprehensive in-depth study on the causes of leadership succession disputes as understood by the member of the ZAFM church. This was done from the believers' point of view. This study is a product of an African scholar who was born and grew up in the area where the ZAFM church was first established. However, the researcher is aware of the problems and complexities of being an insider which include taking things for granted. To curb this problem, the researcher would bracket all preconceived ideas and let the phenomenon speak for itself. This implies that as an African, the researcher is better placed to study African Christianity than Westerners. As McCutcheon (2004:337) said, Western scholars distanced themselves from their objects of study. This makes African scholars to be better placed as insiders to study religious phenomena in Africa.

McCutcheon (2004) further said that in the same way that baseball writers suspicious of statistics end up using wrong ones, Western scholars also ended up using wrong interpretations of African way of worship, spellings of their names and even their religiosity. For McCutcheon, Westerners as outsiders end up using reductive theories and generalised interpretations. They make objects of things and people when they distance themselves from them. In this sense Western scholars lacked the participants' understanding of their own religious traditions and meanings of their own actions of which these are crucial elements in any study. For McCutcheon, the participants' point of view should be given primary consideration and serious weight when undertaking a research. This helps by not jeopardizing the dignity and moral worth of the people under study by the researcher. Following McCutcheon's understanding of the dichotomy between insider and outsider in a study, this study is a detailed phenomenological enquiry into the issue of succession disputes in the ZAFM church from an African Christian perspective. A number of factors triggered this study into existence. In the first instance, the existence of studies and documentation of the history, development and belief systems of the apostolic churches, such as the African Apostolic Church of Johanne Marange (AACJM), the Apostolic Church of Johanne Masowe (ACJM), and the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) called for the need to study the ZAFM church. From the researcher's knowledge, Zimbabwean theologians and scholars of religion and social transformation in particular have

done no phenomenological investigation of succession disputes in the Ndaza Zionist church in Zimbabwe. This implies that, while much has been written on schisms that have been taking place in different African Independent Churches, no in-depth study has been done to examine the causes of succession disputes. This study is an attempt to provide that missing link in the academic study of African Christianity in Zimbabwe, thereby adding literature to the knowledge base. The current study intends to provide new knowledge through insight into the causes of leadership contestations. The ZAFM church has been chosen because there have been escalating leadership contestations that have turned bloody and violent. Therefore, investigation into the leadership contestations in the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission would help us to clearly comprehend how the Zionist succession disputes and leadership styles are related to the traditional Shona society's succession problems. From the researcher's knowledge, no body has done a research of this nature hence the findings of this study would contribute new knowledge in the study of AICs.

This study also adds to the body of knowledge on governance and succession in the AICs by suggesting a model which can be utilized in the selection of successors. It will enhance teaching and learning materials, which are scarce in theological colleges, church organizations and universities in Zimbabwe. It should be noted that the uniqueness of this study as compared to previous studies is its comprehensiveness on the causes of leadership contestations in the ZAFM church, since the study has pulled together, under one cover, the written documents, oral narratives, testimonies, beliefs and practices of the ZAFM church from different groups of people and individuals. All these have been woven together and offer a composite picture of succession disputes in the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe.

1.6 Terminological Clarifications

In this section, I seek to clarify terms frequently used in the current study. These are: leadership, succession disputes, and Zionist churches. These terms are precursors to the research problem that this study seeks to address, hence they require clarification.

1.6.1 Definition of Leadership

The term leadership can be defined in various ways depending on who is defining it and the purpose of defining it. Sarros (2002) notes that leadership is a proactive process involving the establishment of a particular objective through a vision that produces constructive and adaptive change by motivating and inspiring others. In addition, Sarros states that good leaders are

expected to anticipate what the future holds, or at least have the ability to determine what that future may hold for those they lead. House et al (2002:3) define leadership as the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organizations of which they are members. From this definition, we can see that leadership involves inspiration, motivation, and influence. Du Brin (2004) states that leadership involves the development of a vision of what the organization wants to become in the future, as well as the empowerment and motivation of followers to accomplish this vision; it requires cooperation and teamwork. Daft (2005) defines leadership as an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes and outcomes that reflect their shared purposes. We can note that leadership involves three concepts which are: influence; it occurs among people; and these people desire significant changes that reflect purposes shared by leaders and followers. From the above-mentioned definitions, it is clear that leadership in general involves directing and guiding people to achieve set goals. In addition, a leader needs to establish a clear vision for the future and must possess the capabilities required to motivate and inspire followers to achieve it. More so, a leader must be future-focused, and his or her leadership does not end with his or her death but continues even after death or removal from power. This entails that a leader must prepare for the future of the people he or she leads, and ensure that the next leader is ready to continue with the shared vision. This is the reason why, in the ZAFM church, the name of the founder is now taken as a title for bishops. The bishop now assumes the name Andreas as a title, implying that a leader continues to have an impact even after death.

Bass (1990) suggests that some definitions of leadership view leadership as the focus of group processes. The leader is therefore an agent of group change and activities. The leader represents the will of the group.

The personality perspective suggests that leadership is a combination of special traits or characteristics that individuals possess and that enable them to induce others to accomplish tasks (Northouse, 2012). The behavioural approach defines leadership as an act or behaviour leaders do to bring change in a group (Bass, 1990). Leadership is also conceptualized in terms of power relationships that exist between leaders and followers. Leaders have power and use it to effect change in others. The transformational approach argues that leaders move followers to accomplish more than what is usually expected of them. The Skills approach gives priority to the skills and knowledge that make effective leadership possible (Yukul, 2007).

1.6.2 Succession

Banjo (2008:1) said that succession is broadly understood to mean the process of changing leadership. For him, succession involves three stages: the vacating of power by the older ruler; the selection of the new and the legitimization of the new leader. Banjo (2008) further asserted that succession times are often tense times for all types of regimes, even where there are established procedures and easy legitimization. This implies that there is no organization whether religious, social or political that can be spared from the tensions and pressures associated with the succession processes. Every AIC is prone to succession disputes which are usually associated with squabbles and violence if no proper succession planning has been put in place. Therefore, for a smooth succession process in AICs there is need of a succession plans that clearly stipulate the succession practices that a particular organization is willing to follow if it is to minimize succession disputes. Spillane, et-al (2001:23) are of the view that leadership succession means more than grooming principal successors. They stated that leadership succession means distributing leadership throughout the organization so that it can carry the torch once the principal leader has gone, and soften the blow of principal leader succession disputes.

Succession is the process whereby one person succeeds to the office, rank, estate of another. It is the coming of one person after another in order, sequence or in the course of events. It can also be defined as a descent or transmission of a throne, dignity, estate or rank from one person to the other. In this study, the working definition of succession is that it is the ascension to power by one ruler after the death, resignation or removal from office of another. It is the transfer of power from one person to another. Succession is the transmission of power, rights and obligations of the deceased to the heirs. Succession also signifies the estates, rights and charges that a person leaves after his death. Succession also signifies the right by which the heir can take possession of the estate of the deceased. Rather, succession is the coming in of another to take the property or powers of one who dies.

Succession in some AICs normally is accorded the first son of the bishop or founder of the church with his first wife. It is the duty of the first wife of the bishop to give birth to the successor to the bishop's throne and property. However, it has to be mentioned here that the inheritance of the position of a bishop by the first son depends on how serious he is with church business. If he is not serious then the incumbent leader would anoint anyone else among his sons who is serious with church business. Since the succession principle shuts the doors for

other sons from the many wives of the bishop to rise to power, it is always disputed and hence disputes would erupt as other sons claim succession rights. Succession in most AICs is hereditary in the male line passing from father to son. This means that leaders in most AICs are not elected but are born to be leaders. At times, the position of a bishop can be attained through force or other means but the norm in most AICs is that a successor automatically succeeds by right of birth. It is common in AICs that when the first son dies before his father, the succession right goes to the next surviving son of the first wife. When there are no other sons from the first wife then that is when succession rights go to the first son of the second wife. Under normal circumstances, the sons of the bishop with his second to the last wife do not have succession rights to the throne of the bishop and his properties. In the event that by the time of the bishop's death the first son from the first wife is underage, the brother of the bishop would succeed but as a regent until the son becomes of age. Leadership succession calls for a smooth transfer of power. The notion of having the elder son assume authority after the death of the father is an influence from African traditions. Even at family level, the eldest son assumes the duties of the father soon after his death. The bible also is replete with different succession models. The bible clearly spells out how Moses transfers power to the next leader. The other Jewish model of succession found in the bible is that of the Davidic royal ideology where the older son assumes power following the death of the king. This voids disputes if done in front of the entire congregation. Moses provided the vision and training for his successor (Deuteronomy 31:1-8). Succession to leadership was also prevalent in the prophets. In 1 Kings 19:16 Elijah was instructed by God to anoint Elisha. The bible puts emphasis in the need to train successor. Smooth transfer of power to the succession makes succession to be squabble free and it is good the continuance of mission and prolonged existence of the church. The church's prolonged life depends upon smooth succession. Future leaders need to be accorded time to earn trust, respect and goodwill of the church members and the community at large. Once succession is well planned then disputes are avoided.

1.6.3 Succession disputes

Succession disputes are misunderstandings that are prompted by a crisis in which two or more individuals claim the right to succession to a deceased or deposed leader. Disputed succession is a common source of schism and conflicts in AICs. Rivalry between sons of the bishop is widespread especially if the leader dies without formally indicating which son is the heir. This implies that even though there is a succession principle in some AICs that gives the first son of

the bishop the right to succeed, the principle has its own weaknesses. Some of the weaknesses include: lack of seriousness on church issues by the first son, jealous from other sons of the bishop and influence of the other wives of the bishop in a bid to increase their chances of accessing wealth left by their husband. As a means of curbing such problems, most AICs require the incumbent leader to anoint the heir. The anointing would be regarded as the final decision of the bishop in relation to who the heir would be. The anointing is the confirmation of the choice of the bishop. At times the choice might be against the succession principle. The rivals are typically supported by factions within the royal family or by leaders who were close to the deceased. In most cases when a succession dispute occurs, followers sometimes intervene, allying themselves with the factions present. The factions supporting rival claimants in most cases resort to attacks and fights to enforce their choice. This may widen the disputes, as the rivals will be seeing that they have a backing of followers. Succession disputes particularly become intense after the death of a founding leader or king. In such cases, where the streaks of succession are not plainly defined or understood, dispute habitually arose among the founder's children or other relatives. Quite often, a collapse in a trajectory of succession leads to usurpation or a fight to attain leadership. At times, the scuffle for leadership among the deceased leader's descendants became fierce, bloody and violent.

In cases where breakaway attempts did not succeed, dispute can seriously weaken the power and authority of the whole group and at times might lead to loss life, property and other valuable goods. At times succession disputes may lead to the total collapse of the congregation or empire by weakening it and by subduing its capacity to enforce its will on followers.

In AICs, there are instances where the incumbent leader would make a choice that would be contested after his death. After the death of the principal leader in AICs, there is always a tissue rejection of the succession principle. Masondo (2004:69) said that in traditional African societies the rules and procedures of succession went through the father to the eldest son of the chief wife. However, such rules were not always followed. This would then create a rift between the heir supported by the succession principle and those who want to by-pass the principle. This would lead to bloody conflicts. Masondo (2004:69) said that succession principles seem to be theoretically easy to follow but practically the principles can be manipulated. This was the case after the death of Samuel Mutendi where Nehemiah was chosen to be the successor at the expense of the elder son Rueben. Samuel Mutendi's choice was contested by his elder son Rueben who believed he should be heir as spelt in the 1949 Zionist

covenant. The disputes resulted in the formation of two ZCCs in Zimbabwe. This then brings in the reason why the bishop has to anoint a successor to show his final choice and prevent subversion of his wishes. They would also show whether the bishop is pleased by the way his first son can run the church or not. Therefore, the incumbent bishop's failure to announce or appoint the successor creates unrest and discontent owing to the uncertainty of the future of the church. People would not be aware of the bishop's final choice hence confusion ensued. The failure to plan properly during the bishop's lifetime can cause succession disputes to erupt. The bishop has to make sure that the will is updated and properly drafted to avoid misinterpretation of a poorly drafted will. This means that succession plan should be well in place and the members of AICs should not wait to deal with the issue after the death or incapacitation of the bishop or office bearer. It seems polygamy is the major threat to succession planning in AICs. The bishop would be hesitant either to treat all children equally or transfer control to the ablest son. However, ignoring the inevitability of succession disputes cripple the church through schisms, squabbles and fights.

Successor mentoring may reduce conflict since everyone would be aware of what the bishop planned. It has to be open as to who the bishop wants to lead after him. Appointing the successor would make the church and family members to understand his choice. If there could be any disagreement on the bishop's choice, there will be time to air the grievances, concerns and opinions. Rather, if the bishop appoints a successor people will tend to respect his choice but if he fails to do so then people will be caught by surprise after his death and this then leads to confusion, arguments, squabbles, fights and succession disputes.

1.7 Thesis Outline

This study is divided into Eight chapters. The first chapter introduces the subject of succession disputes in ZAFM. This chapter gives an overview of the whole study. It comprises the background, the objectives and the problem statement.

As a way of having a better understanding of the issues of leadership succession disputes, a discussion engaging with literature on the subject is provided in chapter two. There are three major issues given attention in chapter two, and these are leadership, succession disputes and Zionist churches.

Chapter three is a discussion on the theoretical framework of social conflict theory. The chapter traces the history of the theory and then links it to the issue under study.

Chapter four is a discussion on the research methodology. The research design, data collection tools, analysis and evaluation procedures are elucidated in this chapter.

In chapter five, I present the history and leadership structure of the ZAFM church. This chapter states how and when the church started and the leadership styles that it exhibited on its inception. The chapter helps in trying to see if there is continuity in the selection of leadership then and now. Reasons for change or continuity are highlighted in this chapter. The roles of each leadership positions are investigated as well. Special attention is given to the causes of succession disputes within the ZAFM church.

The sixth chapter presents schisms and leadership succession disputes after the death of Andreas Shoko. The chapter ends by discussing the succession disputes between Jamson and Ezra Pedzisai Shoko who are grandchildren of Andreas.

The seventh chapter is a presentation on the causes of leadership succession disputes in the ZAFM church. Chapter eight gives the study's statement of eidetic intuition. It gives the basic contribution of the study to scholarship by suggesting the Mentorship Succession Model as a panacea to leadership contestations in the ZAFM in particular and AICs in general.

1.8 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the study. The chapter states that the study is anchored within the discipline of human sciences with a particular focus on religion and social transformation. The aim of the study is to scrutinize the root causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko. A brief background to the study is provided to spell out the circumstances around this research. The chapter also stipulates the problem, indicating that succession disputes have become rampant in AICs in general and the ZAFM church in particular – hence the need to look at the root causes of such disputes. The chapter spells out the aims, objectives, research questions, limitations, delimitations and justification of this study. As a way of clarifying terms that are used often in this study, the chapter provides a

section on terminological clarification. The chapter also gives an outline of all the chapters in this study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

There is vast literature on the issue of succession disputes but not all that has been written was reviewed. Only pieces of literature that I presumed to be important to this study were reviewed. Firstly, I looked at literature on leadership in general and in AICs. Secondly, the chapter looked at literature on succession disputes. Thirdly, the chapter reviewed literature on Zionist churches.

2.1 The concept of Leadership

The best possible way of understanding the issue of succession disputes in the ZAFM church is to understand the concept of leadership in general and also how it is understood by the members of the church themselves. It is important in this study to look at the concept of leadership in order to have a general perception of what it is. The understanding of leadership in general will also be helpful in the discussion in chapter six that talks about different leadership roles in the ZAFM church. Therefore, this section sets the foundation for the discussions in chapters five and six on the ZAFM history and leadership positions. The understanding of leadership in general will help in establishing the way leadership is understood in the ZAFM church. A business economist, Northouse (2007:3), considered leadership as a process by which a person influences others to accomplish an objective and directs the organization in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent. In the same vein, the concept of leadership in the ZAFM church is anchored on the influence of one person on others so that they accept and support his or her mission or goal. What makes other people rally behind a certain leader is the way the leader influences his or her followers to accept his or her mission. The understanding of leadership from Northouse (2007) therefore is central in this study as far as it talks of influence in the accomplishment of objectives and goals. This study would go a step further and establish the reasons which made people to contest leadership in the ZAFM.

Northouse (2007), in his book *Leadership Theory and Practice*, said that leadership is a process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal. Leadership is learned but the skills and knowledge possessed by the leader are influenced by his or her attributes, like beliefs, values, ethics, and character. Therefore, a leader is composed of skills, knowledge and attributes. This is very important in the assessment of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. The basic understanding that this study intends to establish is the extent to which beliefs, values and character play a role in succession disputes. The study will try to establish whether the beliefs and character of one leader influence or propel succession disputes. Northouse (2010) talked about how leaders influence others to achieve a common goal. This study would proceed from there and unearth the possible reasons behind contestations which make leaders' intend to garner support of others through influence.

Northouse (2010) further said that an ideal leader is modest, compassionate, and sensitive to the people. For him, a leader should be relatively charismatic or value-based and team-orientated, participative, and self-protective. He further asserted that leaders who act independently or act alone are viewed as less effective. Such a description neatly fits the description of Andreas Shoko. Shoko was charismatic, participative and was willing to work closely with his subordinates. This information would help in establishing the basic characteristics of leaders in the ZAFM church and assessing the extent to which they either hinder or promote succession disputes. Special attention is given to such leadership characteristics like being compassionate and sensitive to people or subordinates' needs and plight, and seeing how they relate to succession disputes. The study intends to unravel the effects of lack of charisma, values and team-orientation to the unity and peace of the church especially after the death of the incumbent leader.

Van Zyl, Dalglish and Liezel Lues (2009), in their book *Leadership in the African Context*, said that an effective leader must possess the following features – humane-oriented, charismatic or value-based, team-oriented, participative, self-protective and autonomous. They also refer to features like spiritual collectivism, inclination towards consensus, humility and helpfulness, an inclusive system, perpetual optimism, and a belief in superior forces as part of the African cultural value system, that an effective leader should possess. Shoko as the leader of ZAFM church was humble, helpful and preached Christian values that were in tandem with the African cultural value systems. These features of an effective leader are very important in this study on

the causes of leadership succession disputes. This study would assess the effects of lack of team orientation, lack of spiritual collectivism and lack of humility on the solidity of the church.

Practical Theologian Maake Masango (2002), in his article *Leadership in the African Context*, said that leadership has to do with someone who has commanding authority or influence within a group. For him, a leader is someone who is a servant to the clan, tribe, community or group. He further said that a leader has to be as a king, priest or ruler chosen by virtue of the office in order to serve the nation. For Masango, leadership is earned, by consistently demonstrating competency, compassion, justice, and wholeness. These qualities or values prove the genuine sense of care for people, and an awareness of ultimate accountability of which Shoko was like this. Furthermore, an effective leader is a person who is always caring and supportive, and not controlling. A good leader, for Masango, should minimize threats and must be accepted as a member of the community or organization. For him, a leader is a resource for the group and a co-worker in building up the community or village. This implies that leadership is a function to be shared by all villagers or community members. A leader is a life-giving person to the whole group. This information is very crucial in the analysis of the perception of a leader in the ZAFM church. It is helpful in coming up with leadership qualities which either unify or separate people in the ZAFM.

Navahandi (2000), cited in Masango (2002:708), explored the topic of leadership and suggested that leadership is a group phenomenon. This means that leaders usually have followers. Navahandi further pointed out that leadership always involves interpersonal influence or persuasion. For Navahandi, leaders use influence to guide groups of people through a certain course of action or towards the achievement of certain goals. This means that leadership is goal focused, and plays a significant part in the life of a group, tribe or community. Navahandi also said that the presence of leaders assumes some form of hierarchy within a group. In the ZAFM church, the hierarchical structures are formal and well defined, with a bishop at the top of the structure, ruling and leading the whole church. Therefore, a leader is someone who influences individuals and groups within a community, village or organization. The leader helps individuals, groups and followers to establish goals, and then direct them through the whole process, thereby allowing the organization to be effective. Navahandi (2000:4) also said that a leader is effective when his or her group performs well and followers are satisfied. This study intends to unearth the problems associated with the failure to satisfy followers on the part of the leaders.

Jaworski (1996) in *Synchronicity: The Inner Path of Leadership*, pointed out that leadership is the process of social influence in which one person can enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task. Keith (2007) states that leadership is ultimately about creating a way for people to contribute to making something extraordinary happen.

According to Lumumba (2012: 2), effective leadership is the ability to successfully integrate and maximize available resources within the internal and external environment for the attainment of organizational and societal goals. This information is very important in coming up with methods which are used by the ZAFM leaders to integrate their leadership positions as well as garner followers' support. The study goes a step further and analyzes the effects of the failure by bishop to properly manage distribution of their resources to their heirs. The main resource in this scenario is power. Its mismanagement has detrimental effects to a smooth transfer of power after the bishop's death.

Gardner (2005) in 'Leading minds: An anatomy of leadership' said that leadership as a concept and practice is explained by various authorities in various ways. Hock (2000) in *Birth of the Chaordic Age* explains that an essential part of leadership or management is to influence the people you manage so that they do what you want them to do. When leaders apply their leadership knowledge and skills in their execution of duty, this type of leadership is called Process Leadership (Jago, 1982). When a leader has certain traits that can influence actions in an organization or institution, this type of leadership is called Trait Leadership (Jago, 1982). Northouse (2007:5) further noted that while leadership is learned, the skills and knowledge possessed by the leader can be influenced by his or her attributes or traits, such as beliefs, values, ethics, and character. Knowledge and skills contribute directly to the process of leadership, while the other attributes give the leader certain characteristics that make him or her unique. This entails that a leader is composed of skills, knowledge and attributes.

Taking leadership as a process implies that it is not a trait or characteristic that resides in the leader but a transactional event that occurs between the leader and her or his followers (Gilman, 2003). It implies that a leader affects and is affected by the followers, hence leadership is an interactive event. If leadership is interactive, it means then that it is available to everyone and is not restricted to the formally designated leader. This is very important in establishing the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. It seems other leaders have the maxim of "if others have done it why can I not do it?" This study intends to establish the extent to which such a mentality is leading to leadership disputes in the ZAFM church.

The literature reviewed has identified four types of leaders that are: first a leader who applies his or her knowledge and skills in the execution of duty and they are called process leader. Second is trait leaders whose characteristics influence action in the group or institution. The third type is interactive leaders. This type of a leader always mixed and seeks the advice of the subordinates in decision making. The fourth type of leaders reviewed so far is the servant leader. A servant leader puts the interests of the followers first. Such a leader has empathy, committed to the welfare of others and has a heart of a servant (Northouse, 2007).

When leadership is said to involve influence, it means that it is concerned with how the leader affects followers. Therefore, influence is the *sine qua non* of leadership. Leadership does not exist without influence (Gardner, 1990). So, power and leadership are related because power is part of influence.

Businessman Hock (1999) explains that leadership occurs in a group context with a common purpose. This implies that groups, whether small or large, are therefore the context in which leadership takes place. Leadership includes attainment of goals. Individuals and groups should be directed to accomplish tasks in the pursuit of goals. Leadership, therefore, occurs and has effects in the context where individuals are moving toward a goal. Hock (2000) explains that an essential part of leadership or management is to influence the people you manage so that they do what you want them to do. This implies that the influence of a leader depends on a variety of factors, including their personality and those around them. The influence of a leader over his followers is often referred to as power. There are two basic categories of power – position power and personal power (Hock, 2000). Position power, on the one hand, is the power which a person derives from a certain office or rank in an organization or institution. This type of power encompasses such attributes as legitimate, reward and coercive power. On the other hand, personal power is the influence that a leader derives from being seen by followers as likable and knowledgeable. This study intends to locate the type of power or leadership held in the ZAFM church. Among other things, the study wants to establish whether leadership in the ZAFM church is anchored on positional power or personal power. Such an establishment would then help in locating the causes of leadership succession disputes.

The other type of leadership that informs the discussion on the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church is servant leadership. Servant leadership emphasizes the leader's duty to serve his or her followers. This type of leadership thus arises out of a desire to serve rather than a desire to lead. The servant leader's job is to make sure that the followers have all the

resources, processes, and training they need, together with a persuasive vision (Northouse, 2010). This implies that a servant leader provides resources that the followers can tap into and is not bound by status or personal ego. Rather, the servant leader is there to help the followers achieve the greater good (Northouse, 2010).

Servant-leadership is a practical philosophy that supports people who choose to serve first, and then lead as a way of expanding service to individuals and institutions. Servant leaders encourage collaboration, trust, foresight, listening, and the ethical use of power and empowerment (Northouse, 2010). This type of leadership is very much in line with the leadership required in church and other religious institutions where leaders believe themselves to have been called to serve God and other people. This literature would help in the analysis stage as this study tries to situate the concept of leadership in the ZAFM church.

Bass (1990) states that there are three basic theories to explain how people become leaders. These are, first, the Trait Theory which stresses certain personality traits which may lead people naturally into leadership roles. The second theory that explains how people become leaders is the Great Events Theory. In this regard, Bass (1990) said that a crisis or important event might cause a person to rise to the occasion, which brings out extraordinary leadership qualities in an ordinary person. This is quite similar to the issue of succession where some take advantage of the death of the bishop to rise to power. The third theory is called the Transformational or Process Leadership Theory. On this, Bass said that people could choose to become leaders to make a change from the previous leadership system. This implies that some people, after being dissatisfied by the current leadership, can intend to become leaders to implement change. This is very important in the study of the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM. The main reason why some leaders break away or raise disputes with the incumbent leader is that they are against certain practices of the incumbent leader. As a way of making a change from supposed wrong behaviour, teaching or a belief system, such leaders break away and form their own churches or groups around the corrected wrongs.

Judge and Piccolo (2004) identified four dimensions of transformational leadership. The first one is called charisma or idealized influence. Here the leader behaves in admirable ways that cause followers to identify with the leader. Charismatic leaders display conviction, take stands, and appeal to followers on an emotional level. Leaders who act as role models, who create a sense of identification with a shared vision, and instill pride and faith in followers by overcoming obstacles, show this. The second dimension is inspirational motivation. This is

whereby a leader articulates an appealing and inspiring vision to followers. Leaders under this dimension always present high ethical standards, communicate optimism about future goal attainment, and always provide meaning for the task. The third dimension as noted by Judge and Piccolo (2004) is called the intellectual stimulation. Here, the leader challenges assumptions, takes risks, and solicits followers' ideas. In most cases, leaders who are identified with this trait always try to stimulate and encourage creativity in their followers. The fourth dimension is the individualized consideration. In this dimension, the leader attends to each follower's need and acts as a mentor or coach to the follower. The leader will always listen to the concerns and needs of the followers.

Charisma has often been regarded as the basis for one to become a leader. Klein and House (1995) defined charismatic leadership as a fire that ignites followers' energy and commitment, producing results beyond the call of duty. Charismatic leaders are people with inherent abilities to effectively communicate a vision and be able to solve problems. The key qualities of this type of leadership, as noted by Klein and House (1995), include dominance, desire to influence, confidence, and strong values. For Klein and House (1995), these qualities create trust in the leader's ideology, belief, similarity between leader and follower, unquestioning acceptance, affection toward leader, obedience, identification with leader, emotional involvement, heightened goals, and increased confidence. Charismatic leaders normally rise in situations where followers are in a crisis and look upon their leaders to deliver them from their problems (Judge and Klein, 1995). This description fits Shoko in that he came with African Christianity at a time when Africans were suffering humiliation, lack of promotion and recognition in main line churches. Shoko being charismatic was able to win the hearts of Africans who began to flock to his church and the main lines churches started to register low attendances.

Conger (2011) identified direct effects that are associated with charismatic leadership. These include trust in the leader's ideology, similarity between the followers and the leader's beliefs, unquestioning acceptance of the leader, expression of warmth toward the leader, follower obedience, identification with the leader, emotional involvement with the leader's goals, heightened goals for followers, and follower confidence in goal achievement.

Charismatic leaders charm their followers into giving blind obedience, commitment, loyalty, and allegiance (Conger, 1999). They also have the capacity to lead followers to higher levels of performance and morality, and may emotionally appeal to their followers; but some scholars argue that they are manipulative (Conger, 1999). Charismatic leaders are able to shift their

followers' self-interests to that of the group's collective interest. They can transform followers' self-concepts and link them to the collective values of the organization. Rather, charismatic leadership creates harmony between a follower's values and those of the organization or institution. Therefore, charismatic leaders have superhuman qualities that put them in a different category above other leaders. These special qualities give such leaders influence and control over others. Charismatic leaders emerge because of their unique qualities (Hughes et al, 1993).

Hughes et al (1993) identified vision, rhetorical skills, image, trust building, and personalized leadership as basic traits that charismatic leaders use to solicit social change. For Hughes et al (1993), charismatic leaders use different rhetorical skills such as analogies, stories, and other communication skills, eye contact, posture, gestures and tone to relay their message to the followers. They often create trust and image building by their self-confidence, personal example and sacrifice. Therefore, charismatic leaders are always full of insight and ability and are usually more experienced and knowledgeable than their followers.

Commenting on charisma, Roberts and Bradley (1988) contended that it can be identified in terms of three distinct levels. First, it can be seen as a social category where the leader is believed to have special powers and abilities. Second, charisma is seen as a social relationship where the followers submit to the leader because of his or her special powers and abilities, and third, charisma is seen as an organizational form where energy is liberated from the old order in a bid to create the new order.

In terms of leadership, two different types are commonly identified – autocratic and democratic leadership. According to Cherry (2012), autocratic leadership is used when a leader dictates policies and procedures, decides what goals are to be achieved, and directs and controls all activities without any meaningful participation by the subordinates. Autocratic leaders provide clear expectations for what needs to be done, when and how it should be done. There is also a clear divide between the leader and the followers. Authoritarian leaders construct gaps and build distance between themselves and their followers with the intention of stressing role distinctions (Clark, 2010). Authoritarian leadership is best applied to situations where there is little time for group discussion.

A common belief of autocratic leaders, according to Clark (2010), is that followers require direct supervision at all times or else they would not operate effectively. This belief concurs

with Douglas McGregor's Theory X. This theory suggests that it is a leader's duty to coerce and control followers, because people have an inherent aversion for work and will abstain from it whenever possible. Theory X also assumes that people need to be forced through intimidation or authority, and should be controlled, directed, or threatened with punishment if they are to work in the direction of their leader.

Servant-leaders attain results for their organizations by giving priority attention to the needs of those they serve. Greenleaf (1970) says servant-leaders are humble stewards. It requires a spiritual understanding of the identity, mission, vision and environment of people. A servant leader is someone who is a servant first and is geared to contribute immensely to the well-being of the followers. A servant leader looks to the needs of the people and sets out possible ways of ameliorating the followers' problems.

This literature on the types of power, charisma and leadership abilities is very informative in analyzing the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. The research is meant to establish the types of power and leadership in this church and see the extent to which they perpetrate or hinder disputes in the church. The literature helps in establishing how leaders take advantage of a crisis and break away to form their own churches in ZAFM church. The literature is helpful in establishing the reasons why people follow certain leaders at the expense of others, and establishing the impact on leaders of ignoring or listening to the needs and expectations of the followers. More so, leadership in African Independent Churches has been largely regarded as charismatic, hence the literature on charismatic leadership becomes very important in the analysis and understanding of leadership in the ZAFM church.

2.1.1 Leadership in African Independent Churches

A Swiss Theologian, Bengt Sundkler (2004), in *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, identified two leadership types among the AICs; these are democratic and rank leadership. For him, the leader in most African Independent Churches (AICs) is seen as a king and the church is his tribe. Leadership in Independent Churches follows the pattern of king and nation or the king-chief-nation scenario. Sundkler also grouped leadership in Independent Churches into two categories, which are chief type and prophet type. For him, the chief type leader should be a good executive, well-balanced and willing to listen to sub-leaders. This is a democratic mode of leadership. The prophet type leader is a healer and has intimate contact with the supernatural. The prophet type is the rank form of leadership where special abilities like dreaming, healing

and constant touch with the supernatural world are basic traits that enable one to become a leader.

Sundkler, (2004:100) said that leadership in Zulu Zionist churches needs to be studied in relation to their traditional Zulu leadership patterns which have influenced and modified the conditions within the church to a marked degree. Sundkler (2004) identified two main elements inherent in the leadership issues that he identifies as democratic and ideal leadership. For him, in a democratic system, a leader is chosen because of the character he displays and due to his general spiritual qualities that deem him fit to lead the flock. In a democratic system, the leader is chosen and ordained by the people. Sundkler further said that in an ideal leadership system, one becomes a leader due to his or her own personality or position in a family. It is a system of ranks. The king or leader under this system, as Sundkler (2004:100) puts it, performs most religious ceremonies on behalf of the church. The leader is seen as the great medicine man of the group or tribe. If he fails to heal a case, then the case is incurable. The leader is the richest man and should use his riches to feed and help his followers generously. In the ideal leadership system, the leader is the embodiment, the organic representative of his followers. The clan name of the leader is extended to the whole group or church. More so, the leader is the supreme and sagacious judge. The study by Sundkler would help in this study by identifying the treatment given to leaders in the ZAFM church before or after death. The way leaders are treated and seen in the ZAFM would help in understanding the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church.

Mwaura (1999), studying in Ghana, agreed with Sundkler's characterisation of AICs and articulated that African Instituted Churches can be described as "church tribes" which cling to the traditional patterns of social organization. They are attracted to the idea of kinship groups, but broadly defined – not only to include those of similar cultural backgrounds, but those who have made the new faith of Christianity their own. Mwaura (1999) further reiterated that charismatic authority plays a very important role in the organization of African Instituted Churches. For Mwaura, as Sundkler said, the leader is like a king, a chief or an elder and the church members are his or her subjects (Mwaura, 1999). There are traceable marks of African traditional leadership structures in AICs. Both Mwaura and Sundkler agree that there are striking similarities between perceptions of leadership in AICs and traditional African societies.

Mwaura (1999) further said that in the Musama Disco Christo Church of Ghana, the Church's structure is a replica of the Akan state structure, based on war organization. The head prophet of the church bears the title *Nana* that is used by Akan kings and chiefs. The leader as "king" has his own right wing and left wing chiefs, rear guard, scouts and advance guards (Mwaura, 1999). He further asserted that like an Akan king, the Musama Disco Christo Church of Ghana's leader has his own regalia, including umbrellas, swords, palanquins, linguistic staff, drummers and horn blowers. Furthermore, his wife is a typical Akan queen mother with her own court officials and regalia just like in Akan tradition. The office of the head of the church is hereditary although other positions are through appointments and promotions. The position of the queen mother is also very important and is hereditary. In this church, therefore, the head is held in awe and is accorded the respect of a traditional leader. His authority is absolute, although he is expected to act justly and fairly. From this description of the leader of the Musama Disco Christo Church, we can see that there is continuity of the traditional model of leadership. More to this, we can also identify heredity, appointment by leader, and promotions as leadership succession practices used in AICs. This literature is very important in the current study since it paves a way as to understanding how leaders are treated and perceived in AICs. The current study will try to establish how leaders in the ZAFM church are perceived and treated.

For Mwaura (1999), in the Zionist churches like the Africa Israel Church Nineveh and Legio Maria Africa, leaders claim direct contact with the supernatural by means of dreams, visions and speaking in tongues. He further stated that in the Jerusalem Church of Christ (Kenya), the prophetess or founder Mary Akatsa calls herself Jesus' messenger, an intermediary between the people and God. Her followers see her as possessing extraordinary supernatural powers that enable her to detect evildoers, heal the sick and the suffering, and to foresee the future. Even her birth, like that of many prophetic founders, was said to be surrounded by mystery, indicating her being chosen by God for a special mission: to call others to repentance and to heal the sick (Mwaura, 1999). As Mwaura (1999) puts it, Mary Akatsa, the founder of Jerusalem Church of Christ in Kenya, is very knowledgeable about Luhya traditional morality and culture. Mary is credited with being able to discern culturally related illnesses, particularly those caused by witchcraft, being haunted by ancestral evil spirits, and the like.

Oosthuizen (1981), in the book *Succession Conflict within the Church of the Nazarites: IBandla ZamaNazareth*, clearly stated that the king or chief forms an important link with the

supernatural world. He further noted that among the Zulu people, the king is not merely a political head but also a mystical and religious head and the divine symbol of the Zulu people's well-being. The king is the bridge between the nation and the royal ancestors who exercise control over the nation through him. The king is the bridge between the microcosms and the macrocosms, the expression of the totality, cosmic unity of what is here, and what is beyond. For Oosthuizen (1981), the Zulu king is the highest symbol of what is powerful; he is the center of the rituals. Even more, to all of these, the king is the manifestation of the transcendental and through him his followers have continuous contact with the transcendental world. Oosthuizen (1981) also drew some lines of similarities between the Zulu king and Shembe 1 saying that both had their leadership based on a metaphysical figure, both performed the religious ceremonies, and they were both great medicine men. This literature is informative in the current study in as far as they it sets the background to the analysis chapter where efforts are made to establish any striking links between traditional Shona societies' leadership perception and those of the ZAFM church.

Marcel et al (2014), in an article *Rev Pungula Wellington Dingani - Leadership in the Corinthian church in Phepheni, Eastern Cape, South Africa*, said that from an emic perspective, successful leadership in the Corinthian church is primarily characterized by charisma and the work of the Holy Spirit. From an etic perspective, it is particularly striking how successful leadership joins traditional African values and societal structures. For them, the leadership style of the Corinthian church is human-oriented and charisma or value based, and participative and autonomous leadership styles formulate the basis of the church's leadership.

Daneel (1971) identified such leadership structures as Bishop; the Prophetic Office; the Priestly Office; Deacon; Overseer; Evangelist; Ministers; Keepers; Judiciary and Prophets. Each of these office bearers have distinctive roles which include baptism of new converts, advising the Bishop's protectors, control of the church fund; assisting the Bishop during the holy communion services; preaching, healing and general overseeing of the church activities. The current study, in providing a picture of the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM Church, will compile the history of this church from its inception through to the death of its founding leader, to the present power wrangles that have become bloody. Since Daneel's studies were done some years ago, this study seeks to update the material in the current development of AICs and the causes of succession disputes that emanate after the deaths of the founding leaders.

Like Daneel (1988), Sundkler (2004) and Mwaura (1999) stated that in the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) of Zimbabwe, the Archbishop resembles a traditional chief. The council of each individual congregation corresponds to the village court. Even Zion City (the headquarters of the church) resembles the old Rozvi headquarters at Zimbabwe in that it is primarily a religious centre with its sacred areas surrounded by administrative royal and other buildings. In African Traditional Religion kings or chief were seen as the custodians of morality, instigators of cultural values, guardian of the culture. Kings were also seen as representatives of God on earth. Their position and perception was not supposed to be disputed. They also acted as intermediators between the ancestors and the living.

The texts cited so far do agree that leadership in most African Independent Churches is parallel to the traditional African societies' leadership system. This work sets to investigate the same in the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko. The work will try to see how African Independent Churches perceive their leaders and how the same perceptions lead to succession disputes in the ZAFM.

Bourdillon et al (1977) compared African Traditional Religion (ATR) and African Independent Churches (AICs) in Zimbabwe. In their comparative study, they paid special attention to the Johanne Masowe Church that emphasizes the influence and power of the Holy Spirit in such practices as leadership appointment, prophecy, speaking in tongues and faith healing. They identified that in African Traditional Religion, leadership was based on political systems of a chief or headman and his council of elders. In AICs, the Bishop or Priest holds the final say in the church. He is the sum and substance of the church, the person in whose hands the church's future lies. In African Traditional Religion, the king or chief was a leader for life and this is the same with office bearers in AICs (Bourdillon et al, 1977). Bourdillon, et al (1977) agreed that AICs like the Zion Christian Church of Mutendi use the Council of elders in decision making, as was the case with the king or chief in the traditional set up where elders help in running the kingdom.

AICs have authoritarian leadership. The bishop's decision in any case is final and binding, there is no appeal system. The bishop is the sole governing authority. In AICs, relatives are chosen to occupy positions of authority. The approach of comparing leadership in ATR and AICs provides very good insights for my undertaking similar work on the *ndaza* Zionists, tracing their inception, development, leadership types and succession disputes.

Amanze (1988) argued that the need to form Independent Churches in Botswana was caused by people's frustration with the white missionary's intermittent attack on Tswana customs, traditions and religious culture which the people cherished so much and wished to preserve for future generations for these were authentic markers of their identity as people. On the same note, Chidester (1991), talking about the genesis of AICs in South Africa, referred to frustration of African people with the attitude of missionaries toward African culture. The white missionaries considered African culture as primitive and demonic, and the Africans themselves were taken as untutored to the extent that they could not conceptualize the concept God, which is philosophical.

What makes this study unique from that of Amanze is that, while he looks at Christianity in Botswana without looking at a particular church tradition, this study will look at Christianity in Zimbabwe with special reference to the ZAFM Church. The study adopts Amanze's view and substantiates it with the idea that succession disputes in African Christianity shed more light on how religious instructions and practices are started and developed. The argument made by Amanze is echoed in the work of Chidester (1991) who enumerates the same reasons for the emergence of AICs in South Africa.

This literature on leadership helps this study by providing understanding on the concept of leadership in the ZAFM church. It helps to answer questions like: How are leaders perceived and chosen in the ZAFM church? What causes succession disputes in the ZAFM? Do leadership style, skills and personal characteristics of a leader have a role to play in succession disputes? How many leaders have seceded from the ZAFM?

The literature also helps in identifying the nature of leadership in the ZAFM by noting whether it is charismatic, democratic or prophetic in orientation.

2.2 Succession Disputes

The issue of succession disputes has been and still is a thorn in the flesh for many political, religious and social organizations and institutions the world over. In most African Independent Churches, succession after the death of some leaders has often led to multiple secessions, hostilities and litigation. Banjo (2008:1), in his article entitled '*A Descriptive Analysis of Succession Crisis and Post-Eyadema Political Developments in Togo*', said that organizations often fail to utilize managerial personnel effectively for leadership development and succession

planning systems, and many execute these critical practices through separate human resource functions that shift the responsibility for leadership development away from line managers. Banjo (2008:1) said that succession is broadly understood to mean the process of changing leadership. For him, succession involves three stages: the vacating of power by the older ruler; the selection of the new; and the legitimization of the new leader. Banjo (2008) further asserted that succession times are often tense times for all types of regimes, even where there are established procedures and easy legitimization. This implies that there is no organization, whether religious, social or political, that can be spared from the tensions and pressures associated with the succession processes. Every organization is prone to succession disputes that are usually associated with squabbles and violence if no proper succession planning has been put in place.

Charan et al (2001) said that most organizations fail to execute succession planning, which is a process for identifying and developing internal people with the potential to fill key leadership positions in the organization. He further stated that succession planning is very important as far as it increases the availability of experienced and capable leaders who are prepared to assume leadership roles as they become available. For Charan et al (2001), organizations should have effective succession or talent-pool management to avoid succession disputes, violence and squabbles at the death of the principal leader. Organizations should make succession planning by developing the knowledge, skills, and abilities of the possible successors who will be able to carry on the leadership roles in the same vein the principal leader had intended (Charan et al 2001). Having a succession plan will ensure that potential leaders are constantly developed to fill each needed role. So, proper planning helps avoid many of the disputes associated with leadership succession.

Maphosa (1999) in the article *'Leadership Succession: A Recalcitrant Problem in the Indigenization of African Economies'*, postulated that one of the greatest challenges facing indigenous African organizations today is the crisis of succession. For him, in most organizations, there is vast uncertainty about the future of the organization beyond the founder. He further stated that the success of the Indigenous African organizations largely depends on the organization's management practices and leadership styles. In most cases, he said, African organizations have always died with their founders. Maphosa (1999) further argued that the main reason for the collapse of some organizations after the death of the founder is the failure by the founders to properly plan for succession. It is imperative to note that every organization

must experience a leadership or managerial succession - the process by which key leadership positions are smoothly replaced by others (Fegley, 2006). Maphosa (1999) also articulated that since leaders are mortal, it is imperative for any organization's long-term stability, survival and growth to always look beyond the incumbent leader, develop strategies, and create conditions for a smooth succession. Maphosa (1999) cited lack of succession plan as the root cause of succession disputes in African family organizations. Failure to execute proper succession practices will tend to promote organizational instability by paving the way for succession disputes.

Hart (1993) rightly stated that leadership succession is the last challenge of leadership. For him, leadership succession is the challenge of letting go, moving on, and planning for one's own obsolescence. He further said that leadership succession events are always emotionally charged with feelings of expectation, apprehension, abandonment, and loss or relief. Hart (1993) also stated that sustainable leadership plans should be put in place to prepare for succession, not as an afterthought, but from the first day of a leader's appointment if succession disputes are to be minimized.

Drummond et al (2001) are of the view that leadership succession means more than grooming principal successors. They stated that leadership succession means distributing leadership throughout the organization so that it can carry the torch once the principal leader has gone, and soften the blow of principal leader succession disputes.

Lansberg (1988) said that in the absence of succession planning, the sudden departure of the founder-leader could cause major upheavals of power and authority, conflict among heirs, and thorny estate issues. For Morris et al (1997) a thoughtfully developed succession plan can increase the likelihood of co-operation among stakeholders as well as enhance the chance of a smooth and satisfactory succession process. These two scholars both believe that the development of a succession plan implies that the process will be conducted in an orderly fashion with allowance for preparation before, during, and after the succession event, as well as the development of specific criteria for the selection of a successor. In turn, this will minimize succession disputes.

Sundkler (1961) cited obsession for leadership as the underlying factor behind succession disputes in African churches. For him, the church is the only psychological safety valve and legitimate outlet for Africans' urge for leadership. This obsession for leadership was

necessarily caused by the fact that in the 1950s and early 60s most of Sub-Saharan Africa was still under colonial rule. The church was the only place where they could get leadership positions.

Alokan and Ogunyemi (2011) in their article entitled, *An Examination of the Politics of Schism and Secession amongst Indigenous Pentecostal Groups in Nigeria: Trends and Prognosis in Church Literature*, reiterated that violence, hatred, oppression, tussle for leadership power and divisions have characterized the indigenous Pentecostal churches in Nigeria. For them, the schisms, rifts, divisions and secessions could be traced to doctrinal practices, leadership problems, different interpretations and manipulations of prophetic gifts and sundries. They also cited fake prophecies and revelations as other causes of succession disputes in Indigenous Churches in Nigeria. They clearly stated that schism and secession has resulted in church members backsliding because of lack of trust among church leaders. More so, the succession disputes have led to the emergence of corrupt leaders whose aims and visions are to embezzle money at the expense of the poor and less privileged in the society.

Daneel (1988) in his book *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches: Leadership and Fission Dynamics* cited theological, doctrinal, financial misuse, and hunger for power as leading factors that cause succession disputes in African Independent Churches in Zimbabwe. For him, disputes over church doctrine or law, the ambition to rise to leadership (*ukuru*), the zeal to belong and to be recognized, the tribal political system of leadership that puts emphasis on inherited leadership, and the appointment of office bearers to positions of power using the kinship system are some of the major causes of succession disputes in African Independent Churches in Zimbabwe.

Barrett (1968) in his book *Schism and Renewal in Africa: An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements* cited historical, political, economic, sociological, ethnic, religious and theological factors as contributing factors in succession disputes in different African religious movements. For Barrett (1968) economic deprivations can cause disputes to emerge as people react against the exploitation of power or other riches by those in power. He further said that separatism and disputes could be caused by rigid policies and discrimination in a church. Other causative factors that Barrett cited include tribal tensions, pressure groups, the struggle for power and social injustice. Barrett (1968) further said that disputes in AICs lie in a number of causal factors that are woven together. For him, some of the causative factors are of local application while others are universal. He admitted that different observers arrive

at different explanations as to the causes of succession disputes depending on their particular approach and experience. This study looks at the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church and whether there could be any similarities with what other AICs have experienced or are experiencing.

Molobi (2011) in the article '*Power Struggle, Poverty and Breakaways in the African Independent Churches*', reiterated that breakaways were the result of spiritual and doctrinal differences, internal politics, hunger for leadership, status issues and financial squabbles, power struggles and poverty among the African Independent Churches. Molobi (2011), writing on AICs in South Africa, reiterated that historical tensions have impoverished the state of many African Independent Churches. For him, such tensions have often led to divisions and breakaways within the AIC denominational structures.

Molobi (2011) identified many causes for the tensions resulting in breakaways among the AICs and these include the struggle against apartheid, migrant labour, lack of housing, unemployment, and poverty. For Molobi (2011) the struggle for leadership and inadequate funds among the AICs were key frustrations, with disagreements over financial aid and disputes within the churches resulting in resentment among the Zionists and apostolic groups.

Other causes of secession of AICs that Molobi identified include hunger for leadership. This is when a subordinate feel that he should be the leader of the church and then seeks for some excuses for a confrontation with the church leader. This will then give room for them to stop coming to church and start their own. Secession may result because of the highly decentralized nature of the AICs and their difficulties in communication, distance and lack of education.

Molobi (2011) gave an example of Saint Paul Apostolic Faith Mission Church of Archbishop Masango in the East Rand that seceded from the Saint John Apostolic Faith Mission of Christine Nku in the 1980s. For Molobi (2011) these churches are still splitting into further splinter groups today because of misunderstandings and conflicts that erupt frequently in them. All these secessions show power struggles by some of the leaders who may want to assume positions of leadership in the church. Molobi (2011) also asserted that the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) of Lekganyane was not immune to power struggles. The ZCC of Lekganyane split into two major groups – that is, the ZCC of the star and of the dove. Important to note is the contention that leadership has been cited as the major cause of these splits.

Kagama (2014), in the article '*The Challenge of Church-hopping in Kenya: Factors Leading to the Migration of Church Members from the Methodist Church in Kenya*', gave such factors as conservatism, poor leadership, over-emphasis on monetary giving, exaggerated development projects, the new phenomenon of prosperity gospels, spiritual thirst, poor evangelism, and lack of proper worship styles as major contributing issues of succession disputes in Kenya. The views of Kagama are very useful as we endeavour to bring out the causes of succession disputes in ZAFM church.

Kuhn (2001), in an article '*A Study into African Independent Churches (AICs) in Nyanza/Kenya*', gave the causes of succession disputes as doctrinal disagreements, lack of spirit possession, miraculous healing and speaking in tongues on the part of the to-be leader. He also cited zeal for leadership, questions of polygamy, and wrangles over church funds as other causes of succession disputes. Kuhn also stated that the Holy Spirit might also tell someone to secede and start a new church. The current study would look at the extent to which such issues as polygamy and embezzlement of funds may cause leadership contestations in the ZAFM church.

Seibert (2005:136) in "*But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal*" *Zion churches in Mozambique since the early 20th Century* asserted that frequent schisms and splits have always been a characteristic feature of AICs in general, and Zion churches in particular. Zionist churches have a history of recurrent splits from the original founder of the church. For Seibert, leadership struggles within a church can affect the whole religious community. He cited many reasons for internal strife and consequent separations, ranging from succession struggles after a leader's death, competition for power, struggles for prestige, and accusations of embezzlement of funds and arguments about doctrine, including the question of polygamy, issues of religious practice, and claims of divine visions to found one's own church. Interesting to note is the idea that the phenomenon of beliefs in the spiritual nature of visions can be found both in the bible and in African traditional religion. The current study would try to look at what causes competition for power and how religious practices facilitate leadership contestations in the ZAFM church.

Oosthuizen (1981), in the book *Succession Conflict within the Church of the Nazarites: IBandla ZamaNazareth*, raised leadership type as the source of conflict between Londa Shembe and Amos Shembe after the death of Shembe II. According to Oosthuizen, Amos

contended for a democratic type of church while Londa contended that the church is a chief and tribe type of a church.

Oosthuizen (1981), writing about the church of Isaiah Shembe, reiterated that most leaders err by not designating their successors more clearly. Leaders in AICs either do not choose their successors or they keep the issue a secret until they die. In most instances, this issue is kept a secret because AICs will be following the example of the appointment of a successor to a chief where the secret is kept to prevent the successor being eliminated by enemies.

For Oosthuizen (1981), the Zulu king is not merely a political head but also a mystical and religious head and the divine symbol of the Zulu people's well-being. Oosthuizen (1981) also stated that after the death of Shembe I, tensions arose between his three sons concerning the succession issue. The three sons of Shembe were Isaack Stanela Shembe, the eldest son and the general heir according to Native Law and not Johannes Galilee Shembe or Amos Kula Chitokwakhiwayo Shembe. Contrary to the native law, Shembe I elected Johannes Galilee, the second son, to take over the leadership roles. This did not augur well with the other group that wanted the traditional Zulu procedure for the election of a chief to be followed. The majority however abided by the decision of Shembe I that his second son, the university trained Johannes Galilee Shembe, be his successor. Critical reflection on the story of Shembe brings to the fore two patterns of the appointment of a leader the democratic method, which is based on the choice of the congregation and where the leader is *primus inter pares*, and the Prophet-type leadership appointment system which is based on the metaphysical figure of the chief or principal leader (Oosthuizen, 1981). The current study would like to investigate how leadership succession models used in the ZAFM church foster succession disputes. The study seeks to investigate the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM and see if they are similar to those in the church of Shembe. The study would also bring to the fore the different succession models used by the ZAFM church in the selection of a new leader.

Oosthuizen (1981) also stated that where a leader is the sum and substance of his followers, a crisis develops when he dies and no leader has been clearly indicated. The major reason is that the followers have been so intimately connected with the whole being of the leader that they find the cessation of this relationship nothing less than traumatic.

Oosthuizen (1981) pointed out that the death of Shembe II aroused a succession dispute that caused grave conflict within the *iBandla zamaNazaretha*. Oosthuizen (1981) clearly stated that

two factions arose one supporting Amos Shembe, brother of Shembe II and another supporting Londa, son of Shembe II. The clashes even turned to blood and this led to the death of Elfias Mpimpiza Nduli, a prominent elderly preacher and leader of the Church. Nduli was stoned to death after he was pushed out of the building where Shembe II's body was taken. Nduli, as Oosthuizen postulated, was accused of poisoning Shembe II. As the disputes were escalating, Amos Kula Shembe claimed that an “overwhelming majority” of members present at a meeting officially appointed him as the ostensible head of the Church, and above all, he claimed that the majority of the members of the Church accepted and recognized him as the leader of the Church. The disputes intensified when another faction claimed that Londa Shembe was the Titular head of the Church. The study by Oosthuizen brings to the fore two leadership succession practices: selection through votes, and appointment by the leader stepping down. The study by Oosthuizen is very important in this study as far as it brings out some of the conflicts that are caused by the death of a principal leader of the AIC.

Melton (1991) rightly stated that the period following the death of the founder or leader of a group is critical. A period generally leads to major disruption and often-fatal consequences for the group itself. For him, most leaders of AICs have marked natural ability in their leadership, teaching, speaking and preaching. They also have followers who ascribe to them supernatural or paranormal powers. He also reiterated that some leaders are seen as incarnations of the divine, and some are seen to be in special contact with the supernatural realms. Some AIC leaders are, for Melton (1991), charismatic because they are discoverers of new truth or insights through their hard work. Melton further stated that the life of most AICs pivots on the charismatic leader and thus after his or her death, the church splits or succession disputes occur because the unity of the church was hinged on that person. Further, the religious life of some of AICs is shared around the leader. It is for this reason that the death of the founder is experienced as a sad or traumatic event. It often leads to power struggles, with the loser breaking away and taking some supporters to establish a rival group. Melton (1991) suggested that a smooth leadership transition process is ideal for a more orderly succession. For Melton (1991), if no clear successor is named, the property of the deceased is prone to be won by rivals. This study by Melton is very important in that it points out that the problem of succession is a determinative trauma that causes the split of the church if no proper succession plans are followed.

Masondo (2015), in his article, *Prophets Never Die. The Story of Bishop P.J. Masango of the St John's Apostolic Faith Mission* said that the St John Apostolic Faith Mission has a protracted history of conflicts and schisms. For him, at the heart of the conflicts there is contestation over leadership and control of the church and its resources. In his article, Masondo (2004) clearly pointed out that the issue of conflict over succession is an age-old story. For him, in the traditional African societies, the rules of succession went through the father to the eldest son of the chief wife. However, such rules were not always followed.

Literature on succession disputes is critical in dealing with the research problem of this study since it provides in-depth information on the subject matter. The causes that have triggered succession disputes in other churches will be analyzed and compared to what is happening in the ZAFM church. This literature is the foundation of this study. The study will explore if the causes of succession disputes are uniform in all African Independent Churches or are peculiar to each church. However, this study assumes that each AIC has its own peculiar and unique sets of reasons that contribute to the succession disputes within its own national and local setting. The study also argues that in spite of similarities, causes of succession disputes must not be universalized.

2.3 Zionist Churches

The term Zionist is used to refer to prophet-healing groups in southern Africa which derive their worship from the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion which was founded in Chicago in 1896 and had missionaries in South Africa by 1904 (Sundkler, 1961). The Zionist churches emphasized divine healing, threefold immersion baptism, and the imminent Parousia. Therefore, the name Zionist refers to independent churches that stem from the original Zion Apostolic Church. They are also referred to as Spirit Churches. According to Mazarire (2004), Zionist churches started in Zimbabwe around 1921. Migrant labourers returning from South Africa formed them. For Mazarire (2004), white Pentecostals from the Apostolic Faith Mission that started in 1915, as well as the influence of their South African counterparts, influenced Zionists. The first Zionist church in Zimbabwe was the Christian Apostolic Church in Zion that was planted in Matabeleland by migrants from Mabilesta's church in South Africa (Daneel, 1971). The other person who is associated with the coming of Zionism to Zimbabwe is David Masuka. Masuka joined the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa (ZAC) of Elias Mahlangu in 1921 when he was working in Pietersburg, and he returned home to be minister for the church in Zimbabwe in 1923 (Daneel, 1971). Interesting to note is the fact that charismatic

Africans who were eager to contextualize the gospel to the African way of life started Zionist churches. So, the emergence of Zionism in Zimbabwe is attributed to five (5) principal characters, who are, Moses Makamba, Mtisi, David Masuka, Samuel Mutendi and Andreas Shoko. These leaders were from different tribes in Zimbabwe and hence they had influence depending on the tribes they came from. Makamba, Mtisi and Masuka were from the Duma. Makamba was from Bikita, Masuka was from Bikita-east while Mtisi was from Melsetter. Andreas Shoko was from the Mbire tribe in Chivi district and Mutendi was from the Rozvi tribe in Bikita district. Even though the emergence of Zionism in Zimbabwe revolves around these five principal characters, particular attention is directed to the experiences of Andreas Shoko in this study. Therefore, Mtisi, Makamba and Masuka were the first Shona leaders to join Zionism in South Africa in 1921. They were working in Pietersburg in the Transvaal and they met Bishop Mahlangu the founder of Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa. Mahlangu had broken away from the Zion Apostolic Church of Rev. Le Roux in 1908 (Sundkler, 1961). The Zionist ideology of applying biblical texts concerning Zion attracted the Shona leaders to the church. The three leaders were baptized in the Zion Jordan River (a small river outside Pretoria, South Africa) and later on returned to Zimbabwe. Daneel (1971) asserted that Mtisi was the first to come back to Zimbabwe in 1921; Makamba came back in 1922, and Masuka in 1923. Out of these three, Masuka was the one to be a representative of Mahlangu in Zimbabwe while Mtisi and Makamba were appointed as evangelists. The trio started preaching in Zimbabwe and making converts but they were in constant clash with the Mission churches, the Government Administration, and the indigenous chiefs. They were predominantly detained by the police because of their preaching and soon their faith was deteriorating because of the opposition.

The work by Mazarire (2004), Sundkler (1961), and Daneel (1971) will help in this study by providing the history on the coming of Zionism in Zimbabwe and the types of leadership that they assumed at their inception.

Zionists in Zimbabwe, according to Daneel (1971), are put into three basic groups, which are the Zion *rendaza* (Zion of the sacred cord), *mashayatambo* (the cordless type), and the Zion of the Sabbath. This study focuses on the Zion of the sacred cord with particular attention to the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM) of Andreas Shoko. Daneel's study also provides the working ground for this study because he gives some historical background of the Zionist churches in Zimbabwe. The study adopts Daneel's history and goes a step further to document

the succession disputes in the *ndaza* Zionist church of Andreas Shoko and analyzes the causes of power struggles, schism and leadership wrangles in this church. Further, while Daneel focused more on the doctrine, belief, leadership types and schisms of the first-generation leadership of Zionists churches, this study looks at the second and third generation of the Zionists and the causes of succession disputes. Efforts will be made to assess the problems associated with the succession disputes in this church and how the disputes can be linked to traditional leadership practices among the Shona people.

The Zionists emphasize divine healing, threefold immersion baptism, and the imminent Parousia. For Daneel (1971), Mutendi and his younger friend, Andreas Shoko, became dissatisfied with the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), sensing that conversion alone was insufficient in addressing the African needs. Mutendi and Shoko travelled to South Africa as migrant labourers where they came in contact with the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM), a breakaway church from the Zion Apostolic Church in South Africa (ZAC in SA) (Daneel, 1971).

In 1923, Engenas Lekganyane baptized Samuel Mutendi and Andreas Shoko into the ZAFM. Upon baptism, Mutendi sensed the Holy Spirit resting on him and he spoke as one anointed (Daneel 1971:292). Mutendi was later on appointed as the “Zionist emissary to Rhodesia”. Andreas Shoko supported Mutendi’s leadership because Mutendi was older than he was and Mutendi was from the royal and superior Shona tribe of the Rozvi (Daneel 1971).

Upon coming back to Zimbabwe, Mutendi and Shoko found earlier Zionists, Mtisi and Masuka, from Mahlangu’s church, in a backslidden state. The reasons for their fall, according to Daneel (1971:294), were pressures and criticisms from the Mission churches, the Government Administration and the indigenous chiefs. Masuka and Mtisi were reinvigorated and accompanied Mutendi on his preaching circuits and spread Zionism in Rhodesia.

In 1925 Engenas Lekganyane, a prominent leader in the ZAFM broke away from Edward of Basutoland’s church and persuaded Mutendi to join him in forming the Zion Christian Church (ZCC). The reasons for breaking away were two-fold, that is, Lekganyane’s breach of the church rules by taking a second wife and his own leadership ambitions. Mutendi was encouraged by Lekganyane that he was the one who would take the message of the True God to Zimbabwe and Nyasaland (now Malawi) and he established the Shona version of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) (Daneel, 1971:294).

Andreas Shoko remained loyal to Edward of Basutoland and established the Shona branch of the ZAFM in 1931. Shoko's group was rocked by succession disputes from its infancy to the extent that it did not grow with the speed that Mutendi's church was growing.

The Zionist Christian Church of Mutendi grew most rapidly into a national movement because Mutendi was using his past heritage as a Rozvi of royal lineage and his abilities in rainmaking and healing to attract more converts. He established his headquarters in Bikita area (Daneel 1971:287; 1987:55).

When Mutendi joined the Zion Christian Church of Lekganyane, David Masuka remained with his Zion Apostolic Church and started spreading it to Buhera in the eastern side of Zimbabwe where it has its headquarters even today. The history of Andreas Shoko and how his church was established shall be discussed in chapter 5 where the history of ZAFM is given in full.

On its inception in Zimbabwe, Zionism constituted a spiritual movement that embodied the idea of Africanization as opposed to westernization. It was calling for the emancipation of the Africans by eliminating white dominance in churches (Daneel 1971:287). Zionist prophets predicted and propagated the near elimination of whites and the subsequent emancipation of Africans (Daneel 1971:287). It was this emphasis on the freedom and emancipation of Africans which attracted many converts to Zionism in Zimbabwe. The Zionist churches recruited many members from the mainline churches, and the most affected was the Dutch Reformed church which was rampant in Masvingo where Zionism started.

The other element which attracted many converts to Zionism was its direct application of biblical texts of the Old Testament, particularly the book of Leviticus, to African traditional ceremonies and sacrifices, especially the issue of sprinkling of blood and rituals of exorcism and purification (Daneel 1971:287). The Zionists also associated the Gospel with spirit possession, trance and the spiritual power of healing of physical and mental diseases. Zionist prophets also claimed that they have the capacity to discover and disarm the witches, and this made Zionism to be very attractive to Africans. Vital to note is the contention that Africans were immersed in murky tunnel of suffering, misery and insecurity. Therefore, when Zionism came with promises to disarm the witches, it attracted and became the home of many Africans.

The other important element in Zionist churches which attracted converts on their inception is the importance that they place on the work of the Holy Spirit and faith healing. Africans, since

they were concerned with health and well-being, saw it as intelligent to join Zionism which was promising healing.

In terms of church buildings, most Zionists (save for Mutendi's ZCC) in Zimbabwe have very simple constructions made of clay with names of the church written on the wall. There will be wooden benches for men on one side and the other side is reserved for women who will be sitting on the floor. Indeed, the seating arrangements of the Zionist churches resemble that of the traditional African set up, where men sit on their side and women on the other side facing men. Zionists also put on uniforms or garments with different colours. The members of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) have badges of a Silver Star on a green piece of cloth and the badge is placed on the left breast. The male members of ZCC put on navy blue suits and hats that resemble those of police officers. Women usually put on white blouses with sky blue endings and sky blue skirts. The youth put on green skirts, sunny hats and white blouses. Other Zionists (sacred cords) put on long garments with different colours that run from the shoulders to the toes. They wear sacred cords on their waists, head and across the body through the shoulders. Zionists wear wrist, head, neck, hands, and waist sacred cords outside the church in everyday life. Seibert (2005:137) said that in Zionist churches, women are not allowed to use earrings, jewelry, lipstick, make-up, or modern hair styles during church services.

Zionist, particularly those of the sacred cord (*Zion retambo*), abide by the dictates of Exodus 3:5 that spells out the need to remove shoes before entering the church building. The Zionist church services comprise of singing, dancing, preaching and faith healing or exorcism. Prophets are responsible for the healing and exorcism and this aspect is done towards the end of the church service. In most cases, the prophet will be charismatic and has the capacity to diagnose illness (Daneel, 1971). The prophet's healing powers are attributed to the power of the Holy Spirit. The prophet under the influence of the Holy Spirit is capable of healing the sick and exorcises evil spirits. In the African spiritual worldview in general and the Zionist in particular, ancestors can cause diseases and illness or bring misfortune if they feel angered or disrespected. In such cases, the prophet invokes the ancestor spirit to find out the reason for their anger and the possible way to appease them and then advises the person under concern (Daneel, 1971). In Zionist churches, both men and women can become prophets and these prophets are identified by sneezing, jerking and snorting.

Seibert (2005:126) said that there are striking similarities between the traditional healer and the prophet healer, who constitutes a key concept of Zionism. For him, traditional healers use

divinatory bones, an ox tail and ancestral powers to diagnose the cause of the problem or affliction. The Zionist prophet uses salt, ashes, milk, tea leaves, blessed water and sacred ropes and cords in the healing process. Both traditional healers and Zionist prophets end their healing sessions with ritual cleansing. For Zionists, Holy water is used to cleanse evil spirits, illness, sin and ritual pollution (Seibert, 2005). Salt is used to clean the stomach and provoke vomiting to get rid of stomach illness or evil spirits. Seibert (2005) further stated that both traditional healers and Zionist prophets believe that magic power resides in amulets, medicine, charms and other paraphernalia prepared by the healer. The use of water for purification by Zionist prophets corresponds to the traditional use of water for healing. Both Zionist prophets and traditional healers use ritual animal killing, and the targeted animals include pigeons, goats and chicken. On the same note, Sundkler (1961:109) said that the Zionist healer resembles the traditional healer in Bantu society. For him, the use of ashes in purification rites was a common traditional treatment among the Bantu healers. Therefore, there is a sense in which the Zionist prophet has taken over the role of the traditional healer. It is for this reason that Anderson (2000:32) said that the dividing line between the ancestors who inspire diviners and the Holy Spirit who inspires prophecy is very thin. Daneel (1971:205), in *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches*, claimed that the Zionist prophets' healing symbols show direct parallels with traditional healing methods. Anderson (2000:140) further reiterated that the similarities between traditional healers and Zion prophets constitute an attraction for people seeking a meaningful African approach to the problems of illness and affliction. However, notable differences can be identified between traditional healers and Zionist prophets. These include the fact that Zionist prophets do not receive remuneration for the services rendered. The patient simply shows gratitude through voluntary giving in either cash or kind. Zionists churches forbid their members from consulting traditional healers since their prophets offer the same services on the market. Traditional healers are regarded as manifestations of the devil and that they practice the work of darkness. This is a clear indication that Zionists do not see any similarity between their prophets and traditional healers. At the same time, traditional healers call Zionist prophets charlatans who deceive health seekers.

The striking similarities between traditional healers and Zionist prophets has led Pentecostal churches like Apostolic Faith Mission and Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa to consider Zionist churches as neo-traditional because of their use of holy water, ropes and ashes in the healing rituals. For Pentecostal churches, the use of symbolic objects is unbiblical. However,

there are other prophetic movement in Zimbabwe which have also adopted the system of the use of objects which include amulets, anointed water, oil and photos.

However, disregarding the various viewpoints on the character of Zionist churches, it is important to state that they have managed to quench the spiritual, emotional and Africans' quest for social life. The striking similarities between Zionist and traditional African practices have attracted many Africans to Zionist churches. In fact, Zionist churches are bridging the old and the new as well as the rural and the urban in Zimbabwe.

Seibert (2005:136) admitted that Zionist churches accept the payment of the *lobola* (bride wealth) in cash and kind, and this is an integral part of traditional marriage. Polygamy is widely practiced in Zionist churches. Zionist churches justify this marriage pattern by referring to examples of polygamy in the Old Testament. Often cited polygamous biblical figures include Moses, David and Solomon (Seibert, 2005). Interesting to note is the view that even though Zionists accept polygamy, they emphasize that there should be mutual understanding between the first wife and the husband on the issue. If the first wife does not agree then the husband is not allowed to take a second wife.

In terms of their leadership, the formal hierarchy of a Zion church includes the bishop, who is usually the founder or his close relative if the founder has already died. In their day-to-day life, these people are farmers, artisans, traders, teachers, drivers and household heads (Seibert, 2005:126). The leaders in Zionist churches have no formal theological training. Therefore, in Zionist churches, the authority of the church leader is decisive. He appoints the ministers and other office bearers. In most cases, the church leader is called the bishop and they use staffs (*tsvimbo*) as a symbol of authority. Usually church leadership in Zionist churches passes from father to son and this reflects traditional leadership styles (Seibert, 2005). Seibert (2005) further said that the authority of the Zion leader reproduces the features of the rural extended family. He writes that women are the majority of members in Zionist churches but they rarely occupy formal positions within the church save for prophesying. The Zionist churches finance themselves with donations and tithes from their members. In addition, believers regularly contribute to a social fund for emergency cases like funerals (Seibert, 2005).

According to Muller (2011) in *African Pilgrimage: Ritual Travel in South Africa's Christianity of Zion*, Zionists believe that the religious and administrative leader of the church is a mediator between the congregation and God through Jesus Christ. The leader, just like Christ, can

perform supernatural acts and faith healing in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. For him, Zionists use different mechanisms for faith healing including the laying-on of hands, the use of holy water, and the wearing of blessed cords or cloth. Muller further said that for Zionists, the bishop is a central figure and is understood to have supernatural powers to intercede on behalf of his followers. Charisma is cherished since it enhances friendliness and goodwill. Vital to note is the contention that the concepts of goodwill and friendliness were taken from the African perception of the importance of an extended family. For Muller, the organizational structure of the Zionists' leadership hierarchy is focused on the transfer of spiritual and diaconal values. Indeed, a leader in the Zionist's perception is a healer and alleviator of people's needs.

Motshwaraganyi (2010), in *The Two Largest Churches in Southern Africa*, said that the Zionists put on different blessed cords or clothes with different colours which include green, yellow, gold, white, blue and maroon. Each colour has its own significance in the Zionist churches.

Seibert (2005:141) rightly pointed out that Zion churches operate both in rural and urban environments. However, in urban areas they are largely restricted to the peri-urban neighborhoods that are characterized by precarious housing conditions, food insecurity, extreme poverty, high rate of unemployment, as well as low and unstable incomes, fragmented families and deficient or absent basic social services. The possible reason that led to the proliferation of Zionist churches in urban areas is their nature of addressing the spiritual needs of the people controlled by a traditional worldview, and the uncertainties and anonymity of modern urban life by their commitment to an intimate and cohesive community. Zion churches tend to be comparatively homogeneous in terms of their social-economic terms. This is due to the fact that most of their members are overwhelmingly uneducated and impoverished people (Seibert, 2005:141).

Generally, Zionists can be said to be churches of the poor and uneducated. This explains why it is difficult for more privileged urban sectors to join the churches. The factor to underline here is that even though the upper and middle class people share similar spiritual beliefs, they do not want to be associated with the mass poverty that dominates the semi-urban and rural areas where Zion churches are located. More so, the upper and middle classes do not want to be associated with the notion of traditional backwardness that surrounds Zion religious practice. This study seeks to know if this is the case with the ZAFM of Andreas Shoko.

Sundkler (2004) observed the same phenomenon in South Africa, where the educated upper class was found in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, whereas at the other end of the scale, Zion churches took care of the uneducated.

Van Zyl (1996), in 'Zionists Doing Theology' said that the character of the Zionist churches mirrors the African cultural outlook particularly through their dances, nature and tone of songs, beating the drums and the regalia of the principal leader. For him, Zionists are a brand of African Christianity that has tapped a lot from the traditional Shona cultural life set up. Their perception of a leader owed great debt to traditional Shona concepts of leadership.

In terms of their membership, Zionist churches, like any other AICs, is unpredictable and fluid. Zionists comprise of a nucleus church community as well as a group of people who come to church seeking help especially when an illness or affliction strikes. The help-seeking members in most cases move on to other churches within the Zion category or outside Zionism when their problem could not be solved. If their problem has been satisfactorily solved, they tend to remain in the church forever. This further explains the view that healing is the key principal motive why people join Zionist churches. Zionists provide solutions to illness and afflictions provoked by witchcraft and various evil spirits.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature related to this current study. The literature review was divided into three themes. The chapter started by looking at literature on leadership in general and then went on to look at literature in AICs and the ZAFM church. The literature under this theme revealed that a leader in AICs is construed with respect and is the overall person through whom the decision making of the church is done. Leadership is central to the growth and development of AICs. The bishop or founder of the church is the overall person around whom the church grows and formulates its own doctrine. The respect, benefits and honour associated with leadership in the AICs lead many, particularly relatives, to fight over the post after the principal leader has died or upon realizing that there are no more chances of becoming the overall leader. The chapter looked at literature on succession disputes as well as on Zionist churches as well.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This chapter endeavours to present a theoretical frame that provides guidance to this study. Given the breadth of the study, I used conflict theory as the lens to build and establish the context of the research problem and explain the findings in this research. The chapter looks at the history, importance and criticism of the conflict theory. Attention is given to the major proponents of conflict theory, including the scholars who are credited with its origins and those who expanded and modified it. The reason for giving the history of conflict theory is to see how it has developed through time and how it is used today. The chapter also looks at different variations of the conflict theory that are in line with the focus of the current study.

3.1 The Conflict Theory

The term conflict theory was crystallized in the 1950s by sociologists Lewis Coser and Ralf Dahrendorf as part of their critique of the dominant structural functionalism. These sociologists present conflict theory as an independent paradigm of sociological theory that focuses on phenomena of power, interests, coercion, and conflict (Rossel, 2013).

The conflict theory assumes that societies exhibit structural power divisions and resource inequalities leading to conflicting interests (Rossel, 2013). Rossel (2013) further contended that conflict theory presumes that societies and other forms of social organizations exhibit stable structures of dominance and coercion that are punctuated by manifest conflicts. The label conflict theory is often applied to substantive research on power structures, domination, conflict, and change (Rossel, 2013). Conflict theory sees society as a dynamic entity constantly undergoing change because of competition over scarce resources. Conflict theory sees social life as a competition, and focuses on the distribution of resources, power, and inequality. According to Boundless (2016), conflict theory is a perspective in sociology that focuses on the social, political, or material inequality of a social group. The conflict theories bring attention to power differentials, such as class conflict, and contrast historically dominant

ideologies (Dahrendorf, 1988). It is a sociological approach that assumes that social behavior is best understood in terms of conflict or tension between competing thoughts (Boundless, 2016). For the conflict theorists, societies are always engaged in a continuous power struggle for control of scarce resources. This implies that the conflict theorists perceive societies as made up of individuals who are always competing for limited resources that, among others, include money, sexual partners, leisure and so forth.

Different scholars define the term conflict theory differently. Hans and Wolfgang (2011:174) defined it as a social science perspective which holds that stratification is dysfunctional and harmful in society, with inequality perpetuated because it benefits the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor. Boundless (2016) define conflict theories as perspectives in sociology that emphasize the social, political, religious or material inequality of a social group. The theory suggests that human behavior in social contexts results from conflicts between competing groups. Conflict theories focus on power differentials which include class conflict, and normally contrast factually central ideologies. Conflict theory stresses that organizations function in such a way that individual participants and group fights to maximize their benefits, which inevitably contributes to social change (Demmers, 2012).

The theory argues that economic and political structures of a society create social divisions, inequality and disputes. This implies that social structures are formed through conflict between people with different interests and access to resources. The unequal distribution of power and resources is the main source of conflicts or disputes in human societies.

Crossman (2017:1) argued that tensions and conflicts arise when resources, status and power are unevenly distributed in a society. This implies that individuals in any given social relationship have different levels of resources that include prestige, knowledge, power, attractiveness and other things that people value most in life. Those who have access to the valued resources use them for their own advantage, and this creates room for competition and disputes as people try to maximize their access to valued resources in a society. In any given society, social relations always involve one group seeking to gain valuable resources from others for their own advantage, and then the other group would be seeking to maximize their access to the scanty or deprived resources. So, conflict theory assumes that societies exhibit power dynamics and uneven distribution of resources, and this lead to competition (Rossel, 2013).

According to Abraham (1983), conflicts can be put into two categories. These are endogenous conflicts, which include conflict of values, authority, distribution of desirables and conflict between the individual and society, and exogenous conflict, which includes wars, cultural invasion and conflict of ideology. Abraham further said that conflict may be caused by many situations, which include class and identity differentials; territoriality or land conflicts; economic competition; differences in ideas, values, ideology and religion; scarce resources that are necessities of life, and so forth.

According to Knapp (1994:228), social structures are created through conflict between people with differing interests and resources. For Knapp (1994:230), individuals and resources are influenced by the social structures and unequal distribution of power and resources in the society. Knapp (1994:230) argued that the policies of the power elite would result in increased escalation of conflict, production of weapons of mass destruction, and possibly the annihilation of the human race.

Another contemporary exponent of the conflict theory is Sears (2008:34-36) who said that societies are defined by inequality that produces conflict instead of order and consensus. For him, conflict based on inequality can only be overcome through an ultimate transformation of the existing relations in the society. This, in his view, will result in the creation of new social relations. For Sears (2008:36), social groups have unequal power and each group struggles for the same limited resources. Therefore, conflict theory views the social world as riddled with tension, disputes and strife. The conflict theory seeks to discover the tensions that exist behind the facade of order because some segments of human systems hold more power, money, prestige, and other valuables than do other segments. There is inevitably a conflict of interests between the haves and the have-nots. Those who possess valuable resources naturally wish to retain them while those without resources want to secure them.

Collier (2003:4) pointed out that some people actually benefit from chaos while the majority of the population is affected by the negative impact of conflicts. For him, all people who benefit from the conflict are commonly referred to as “conflict entrepreneurs”. Conflict theorists argue that power is a core societal attribute and cohesive cultural aspects (collective agreement) do not always integrate that society.

3.2 The Major Proponents of the Conflict Theory

Many sociologists have contributed to the development of the conflict theory, including Max Gluckman, John Rex, Lewis A. Coser, Randall Collins, Ralf Dahrendorf, Ludwig Gumplowicz, Vilfredo Pareto, and Georg Simmel. However, Karl Marx is often credited as the father of the conflict theory.

3.2.1 Karl Heinrich Marx (1818–1883)

The basic assumption of Marx is that human societies progress through class struggle. He viewed societal structures in relation to classes, disputes and the struggle (Rummel, 2010). For Marx, the distribution of political power is determined by power over production, that is, capital confers political power, which the bourgeois class uses to legitimize and protect their property and consequent social relations. He further argued that divisions between classes widen and the conditions of the exploited worker deteriorate so badly that social structure or unit collapses (Chara and Aliyu, 2010:170). Marx's view of class conflict is that a class defines groupings of individuals with shared life situations and thus interests, classes are naturally antagonistic by virtue of their interests, and structural change is a consequence of the class struggle (Rummel, 2010).

Marx cited in Rummel, (1977) emphasized class conflict as constituting the dynamics of social change; he argued that change was not random but the outcome of a conflict of interests, and his view of social relations as based on power were contributions of the first magnitude. For Marx, society is a dynamic entity and is ever undergoing change motivated by class conflict. This implies that the conflict theory views social life as competition. For Marx, conflict over scarce resources is the center stage of social relationships. Marx further asserts that conflict characterizes human relationships. Conflict for Marx is at the heart of all social structures and organizations, including religion, denominations and government, which reflect the competition for limited resources (Ritzer, 2000). Interesting to note is the contention that the intrinsic inequality fight entails that there are some individuals, institutions or groups with more power and influence, and they use such resources to sustain their positions of power in society or at the institution. Therefore, from Marx's perspectives, societies, individuals and institutions are defined by inequality, that in turn causes conflict. This conflict based on inequality often results in the creation of new social relations, groups and institutions with almost the same principles but expressed from different beliefs, faith or ideologies. Marx argued that if the

changes made to pacify conflict maintain a capitalist system, then the cycle of conflict would repeat itself in the next social group that would have been formed.

3.2.2 Max Weber (1864–1920) and Wright Mills (1916-1962)

The other exponent of the conflict theory is Max Weber who argued that power, prestige and property also added to social conflict and that such conflict was found in all aspects of society, including politics, gender and religion. To Weber, a class is a group of people who share a similar position in the market economy and by virtue of receiving similar economic rewards. Therefore, a person's class situation automatically becomes his or her market situation. Those with similar class situation share similar life likelihood. Weber argued that all communities are set in a way that goods and materials are dispersed. Weber also said that if authority is not recognized as a legitimate one, conflict occurs. He came up with three different types of authority, which are rational-legal, traditional, and charismatic. These types of authority are very important in situating the nature of leadership in the ZAFM church. There was need to establish whether the ZAFM church leadership is rational- legal, traditional or charismatic. The study established that leadership in the ZAFM church is charismatic and people are compelled to follow charismatic leaders because of their charm to express views, vision and goals of their actions.

Wright Mills (1916–1962) also contributed immensely to modern conflict theory. According to Mills, one of the results of conflict between people with competing interests and resources is the creation of a social structure. Social structure for Mills quoted in Knapp (1994) refers to fixed institutions and norms of society that influence human beings' everyday behaviour. He further asserted that control over the social structure is chiefly in the hands of the elite who oppose the interests of the non-elite. For Mills as stated in Knapp (1994), social structures are created through conflict between people with differing interests and resources. He further argued that societies are characterized and influenced by unequal distribution of power and resources. Mills theorized that the policies of the power elite result in increased intensification of conflict, creation of weapons of mass demolition, and possibly the annihilation of the human race. Mills contented that in societies major decisions are made by the self-directed few whose interests are cohesive. These elites have direct access to strategic power centres and resource base. This implies that power inequalities create competition over scarce resources. In the ZAFM church there are power inequalities particularly between the wives of the bishop. The first wife occupies an authoritative position as compared to the other wives. This in turn shows

that she and her children have more access to the bishop's wealth and property even after his demise.

3.2.3 Lewis Coser (1913–2003)

Lewis Coser defined conflict as a struggle over values, claims to scarce status, power, and resources, in which the aims of the opponents are to neutralize, injure, or eliminate their rivals. Coser (1956) emphasized the functions, rather than the dysfunctions, of conflicts. He viewed conflict as a fundamental part of normal social processes. He was concerned primarily with how conflict prevents the ossification of the social system by exerting pressure for innovation and creativity. According to him, conflict allows expression of hostility and the mending of strained relationships. He further said that conflict leads to the elimination of specific sources of conflict between parties and enables redress of grievances through the establishment of new norms or the affirmation of old ones. For him, conflicts generate new norms and institutions as well as new coalitions and alliances; they bring about technological improvements, revitalize the economy, and lubricate the social system; they facilitate the release of tension and frustration and enable the social system to adjust itself. Coser also maintained that conflict is part of relationships and is not necessarily a sign of instability. Coser (1959:153) suggested that internal conflict that concerns goals, values or interests that do not contradict the basic assumptions upon which the relationship is founded tend to be positively functional for social structure. For Coser (1998), in loosely structured groups and open societies, conflict which aims at resolving tension between ideologies is good in so far as it can stabilize the differences. The current study diverted from the assertions of Coser and advocated that conflicts are destructive. They lead to the restraining of social relations, peace and unity of families and church members in the ZAFM church.

3.2.4 Ralf Dahrendorf (1929–2009)

Dahrendorf focused on the conflict between interest groups. He held that social order is maintained by force from the top. He also argued that there could not be conflict unless some degree of consensus has already been established. According to Dahrendorf (1959), social inequities have their basis in bureaucratic and political power. This means those with power give orders and those without take orders. For him, power relations or differences form the foundation of conflicts between groups. According to him, interest groups are organized into action by virtue of their membership in the group. They share manifests or conscious goals.

Interest groups are real agents of conflict. This information is very helpful in my analysis of the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church as the research intends to see the extent to which group interests play a role in leadership contestations in the ZAFM church. As Dahrendorf put it, conflict groups usually come out of interest groups and conflict groups instigate revolutionary social change through violent means. This view neatly fits the leadership contestations in the ZAFM church. Those who are contesting leadership in most cases use violence to increase their access to power. Dahrendorf said that social conflict is ubiquitous and cannot be avoided. In the same manner, leadership contestations are inevitable and are rampant in the ZAFM church and other AICs. Dahrendorf cited in Kivisto (2004) maintained that conflict theory is anti-systemic in character and concentrates on specific units within societies such as class, parties, factions, interest groups and so forth. Those who occupy positions of authority are expected to control subordinates; that is, they dominate because of the expectations of those who surround them. Dahrendorf further argued that there is always tension between those in positions of authority and those in positions of subordination. For him, once conflict groups erupt, they engage in actions that lead to changes in social structure of the organization. When the conflict is extreme, the changes that occur are violent, sudden and radical. In the ZAFM church the Sons of the Covenant are the ones in positions of authority while the Non- Covenant Sons are the subordinate group. The tensions are thus caused by the zeal of the subordinate group to access power and leaders would be trying to remain in power. The current study therefore takes the view of Dahrendorf and situates how the tensions between the two groups in the ZAFM church militate over power.

3.2.5 Randall Collins (1941–2018)

Collins (2002:1) scrutinizes a wide range of social phenomena that encompass conflicting interests of the parties involved, their social location, available resources and options. Collins argued that human beings are sociable conflict-prone animals. He considers violent coercion as the basis of conflict. He argues that in every society there is differential distribution of human desirables. For Collins, groups and social strata are always competing for a greater share of the desirables. This implies that individuals in societies or institutions seek to maximize their status so that they increase their chances to access available resources. For Collins (2002:2), desirables such as wealth, power, prestige and other goods are not evenly distributed in every society. People always strive to maximize their share of the scarce commodities. For Collins, those with greater share of the goods habitually try to consolidate their position. Concluding

his argument, Collins said that everyone pursues his or her own best line of advantage according to resources available to him or her and to his competitors. Collins believes there are certain goods that every group wants to pursue, which are wealth, power, and prestige. He concluded that coercion and the ability to force others to behave a certain way are the primary basis of conflict (Collins, 2002:96). The current study supports this view by arguing that leadership contestations in the ZAFM church are caused by the need to control life desirables as mentioned by Collins.

3.3 Different types of Conflict Theories

Conflict is often caused by differences of opinion, discrepancies between members, or inadequacy of resources. Depending on the school of thought to which they represent, scholars have tended to place a lot of emphasis on one particular or a set of related theories while diminishing the importance or explanatory relevance of other competing theories, the condition under which conflicts occur, and sometimes the condition for their resolution. These theories are explained below:

3.3.1 Structural Conflict theory

This theory is divided into two main sub-orientations. The first version of this theory is called the radical structural theory and is represented by the Marxist dialectical school. The major exponents of the first version include Mark and Engels, V.I. Lenin and others. The second version is called liberal structuralism and is represented by Ross (1993), Scarborough (1998), and Johan Garltung (1990) who focused on structural violence. This type of structuralism sees incompatible interests based on competition for resources, which in most cases are assumed scarce, as being responsible for social conflicts (Collier, 2002:2). The theory asserts that the competition for resources end in some form of violence which is meant to defeat exploitation. It calls for the elimination of structural, ideological and belief defects. This study adopts the explanation and look at how conflicts in the ZAFM church are caused by competition for resources like power, money and leadership.

3.3.2 The Realist theory

Realist theory shares both theological and biological doctrines about weaknesses inherent in human nature. According to this theory, a flaw in human nature causes conflict, which is

selfish. Human beings always want to pursue personalized self-interest, which is defined as power. Morgenthau (1973:4) argued that conflict has its roots in forces that are inherent in human nature. For him, human nature is selfish, individualistic and naturally conflictive. So, human beings should always be prepared to deal with the outcome and consequences of conflict since it is inevitable. The issue of self-interest as compared to church interest is very central in this study. In the ZAFM church contestations are fostered by self-interests or personal greed for power, identity, dignity and control.

3.3.3 Biological theory

Biological theories state that human beings, like other animal species, naturally fight over things they cherish. Major proponents of this theory include Thomas Hobbes, St Augustine, Malthus and Freud. Davies (1962:6), explaining about the biological theory, said that in situations where expectation does not meet attainment, people tend to confront those they hold responsible for frustrating their ambition and then conflict erupts. In the same manner, frustrations after being hindered access to things that human beings cherish combine to trigger contestations in the ZAFM church. The biological theory thus neatly fits the basic argument of this study which states that contestations are a result of being denied access to things cherished by human beings in life.

3.3.4 The Economic theory

This theory holds that people are always in conflict fighting over material gains. Therefore, in most cases, conflict is a result of greed or of grievance where anger arises over feelings of injustice. The current study looks at how greed for leadership and economic gains, money and other material things are at the center of leadership contestations. Collier (2003:4) pointed out that some people who are commonly referred to as “conflict entrepreneurs” actually benefit from chaos; while the overwhelming majority of the population are affected by the negative impacts of conflicts. The theory informs this study in identifying the benefactors and losers of leadership contestations in the ZAFM church.

3.3.5 The Psycho-Cultural Conflict theory

This theory puts emphasis on the role of culturally induced conflict. The theory contends that violent conflicts have to be understood from the differences human beings hold in terms of

their ethnicity (Collier, 2003:5). The theory holds that identity is the major cause of social conflicts that take long to resolve (Collins, 2002:2). This view positively echoes to the differences that are caused by having, for example, one father but different mothers or vice versa in the leadership contestation discourse of churches like the ZAFM. So, wherever there are ethnic or identity differences, conflicts become unavoidable.

3.3.6 The Human Needs theory

The main supposition of this theory is that all humans have basic human needs that they seek to fulfill, and that the denial and frustration of these needs by other groups or individuals could affect them immediately or later, thereby leading to conflict (Rosati et al, 1990). The major proponent of this theory is Burton (1990: 166). The theory put forward basic human needs that include physical, psychological, social and spiritual needs. According to Burton (1990:170), the basic needs that people want include the need for identity, recognition, security, and personal development. Human beings always want to be recognized, feel belonging and be identified with whatever is close to them. For example, having access to one basic need like food, and being hindered from access to another like freedom of worship can make people resort to violence and conflict as they try to protect or extend their access to these needs (Rubenstein, 1999). Burton (1990) also identified a set of universal human needs that include distributive justice, safety or security, belongingness, self-esteem, personal fulfillment, identity, cultural security, and freedom. So, disputes or conflict can be perpetuated by denial of access to these needs. The theory argues that the frustration of human needs hampers the actualization of the potential of groups and individuals thereby leading to conflicts or disputes. Hertnon (2005) argued that human beings fight for two basic needs which are survival and betterment. Human beings always want to achieve a better life or wellbeing. Whenever human beings see their freedom, identity, wellbeing, belongingness, security, safety and self-esteem being infringed, they tend to be violent to regain their status. As Hertnon (2005) puts it, human beings always fight for happiness that they get from physical and mental well-being, respect from others, and self-esteem. Human beings also require a safe and healthy environment, logical reproductive practices, appreciation of life, and doing good things that give them contentment (Danesh, 2011:1). The fight for leadership in the ZAFM church is indeed a fight to get those needs which bring contentment. Leadership for Zionist gives satisfaction, contentment and dignity. This then explains leadership or power as a basic human need. Power opens the doors to wealth, control, security and self-esteem.

3.3.7 The Relational theory

This theory explains conflicts by exploring sociological, political, economic, religious and historical relationships between disputing groups. The theory assumes that culture, value differences, and group interests all influence relationships between individuals (Collins, 2002:2). Conflicts, according to this theory, grow out of a history of conflict between groups that has led to the development of negative stereotypes, racial intolerance and discrimination. Such a history of negative exchanges between groups may make it difficult for efforts to integrate different ethnic and religious groups within the society to succeed because their past interactions make it difficult for them to trust one another. In the case of ZAFM church, the way leadership contestants were relating before the death of the incumbent leader would determine the intensity of their conflicts. If the contestants are coming from different ideological thinking, beliefs and families they are likely to have violent disputes.

3.3.8 Interpersonal Conflict

This type refers to a conflict between two individuals. This occurs typically due to how people are different from one another. The basic assumption in this type is that human beings have varied personalities which results in incompatible choices and opinions (Collins, 2002:2). This implies that conflict can erupt between two individuals, and many issues, including different ideologies, beliefs, spiritual gifts, skills and abilities may cause this. In most cases, such conflicts are involving jealousy, or zeal to compete for survival. In the ZAFM church, conflicts can be triggered by having different spiritual gifts (*kuve nemweya*). A leader with the gift of prophecy attracts many supporters as compared to the one without. Charisma also plays a role in conflicts in the ZAFM church. Those with charisma tend to take advantage of it to contest against the principal leader.

3.3.9 Intragroup Conflict

This type of conflict happens among individuals within a team. Conflicts in this type are caused by incompatibilities and misunderstandings among these individuals. The more the differences, the more volatile are the conflicts. In most cases, such conflicts result in the disruption of harmony among the members and at times separation ensues (Collins, 2002:2). In the ZAFM church conflicts always erupt between sons of the bishop. Misunderstandings on who should be the heir always cause conflicts in the ZAFM church.

3.3.10 Intergroup Conflict

This type of conflict takes place when a misunderstanding arises among different teams within an organization (Collins, 2002:2). In the ZAFM church for instance, one group of people may rally behind a certain leader while others want a different leader altogether. This might be caused by the groups' varied sets of goals and interests. Important to note is the view that greed and competition can also contribute to intergroup conflicts. Other factors that fuel this type of conflict include different ideologies, beliefs, teachings and doctrine, or interpretations of certain events or incidences as well as biblical verses. Two or more groups always emerge after the death of the principal leader in the ZAFM church. Differences in perceptions and methods of selecting a successor usually cause conflicts in this church.

3.4 The Relevance of the Conflict Theory to this Study

The conflict theory holds that society is an arena of inequalities in which conflicts and social change are inherent. Societies are structured in such a way that only a limited number of people benefit from the available resources, at the expense of the majority. This implies that conflict theory is concerned about dominant versus minority groups. The theory also emphasizes the struggle between human groups over scanty resources. In the study of AICs in general and the ZAFM church in particular, bishops have many wives and hence many children. This in turn creates tension since there will be many children in line to benefit from the same pool of power and limited resources left by the deceased bishop. Disputes then occur as the many children of the deceased bishop are fighting over the control of power and available little wealth accumulated by the deceased bishop. As a way of reducing tension over the available wealth, those who benefit from the inherited leadership system try to shut out those from the lower houses from accessing the same benefits. This shows the uneven distribution of power and available wealth base left by the deceased bishop. So, disputes are caused by unequal access to power and resources. This is the main reason why in the ZAFM church, a son from a lower house always stage leadership contestations against the son from the first wife of the deceased bishop. The son(s) from the lower houses would be fighting for a social structural change which would increase their chances to have access to the limited resources and power base. The wives of the deceased bishop, from the second one going upwards, always support their sons in the fight for access for resources. This implies that the lower houses of the bishop would be feeling alienated, isolated and denied their dues. All these feelings are motivated by the sense of powerlessness and dejection. The sons of the bishop from the lower houses try to avoid life

miseries by fighting the status quo that prevents them from getting power and access to the wealth of their father, hence disputes arise. This implies that succession disputes are people's responses to the unrest and limited access to basic means of survival caused by one group of the church over the other.

The different sons of the bishop in the ZAFM church have unequal access to power. The first wife of the bishop has privileges and access to resources that are different from the other wives. The son of the bishop from the first wife also has different access to family resources than sons from the other wives do not have. This kind of a system creates tensions and disputes as these sons struggle to control the family resources. The issue of a polygamous family clearly indicates that resources are unjustly distributed. So, disputes caused by the sons of the other wives of the bishop against the sons of the first wife, who are accepted by tradition as possible heirs, are seen as some form of class-consciousness. Those sons who are disadvantaged would have realized that they are being deprived; hence, they fight for their freedom. They fight for an equal share of family resources and power they have been deprived of by the sons of the first wife of the bishop. This implies that contestations are a means used by the disadvantaged groups to maximize their share of the limited resources that exist and are desired by the children of the deceased bishop's first wife. The issue of polygamy among the bishops of the ZAFM church makes succession disputes inevitable since the children's access to resources is determined by the position the mother occupies in the marriage line. The first wife is always at an advantageous position because the others came when she was already there. Her position in marriage line gives her power to control everyone else. So, contestations normally come from those in disadvantaged positions as a way of maximizing their access to available resources, property and power.

Human communities, according to conflict theory, are characterized by competition. In the same manner, the ZAFM church is affected by competition. The wives of the bishop always compete to become closer to the husband in a polygamous family. This mentality is even transferred to the children. After the death of the family leader, the competition intensifies as the children are competing to take control of the property left by the deceased. This makes the issue of disputes unavoidable in the AICs in general and the ZAFM church in particular because most bishops in these churches have polygamous families. A critical analysis of the organogram of the ZAFM church clearly shows that there are different classes in the church. People occupy different socio- economic positions and there are differences in access to the

church resources, prestige and identity. Other positions are subject to demotion at any time by the bishop, who is also responsible for appointing people to such positions. This creates class differences which in turn lead to disputes in the form of physical violence, propaganda and threats as those from disadvantaged classes are trying to maximize their access to power. The disadvantaged class would solicit for the support of other church members who are also in the same oppressed condition. Those in disadvantaged classes are the ones who are called the have-nots in the conflict theory. The first wife of the bishop, her sons and other close allies of the bishop are the ones who are the haves. The creation of classes has made people in the church to compete for status, wealth and recognition. This implies that the ZAFM church is riddled with tension and strife. This is caused by the fact that there are certain segments of the ZAFM church that hold more power, money, prestige and other life valuables than other segments do. There is conflict of interest between the haves and the have-nots. Those with access to power and church resources want to retain them for their use. Those without resources want to access them at any cost. This means that those with resources have an interest in keeping them, while those without have an interest in securing more resources.

In the ZAFM church, the bishop, and those close to him, is the ones who control resources and power and they always attempt to deny others access to resources and money. Such opposed interests produce tensions, disputes and overt conflict. All these in turn lead to breakaways. Therefore, disputes are inherent in the ZAFM church structures since at every stage there are limitations in terms of power and access to other church resources. As we move from the office of a bishop to that of a deacon in the ZAFM church, there is a severe reduction of access to church resources and property. It seems those occupying the lower positions in the church are working for the benefit of the principal leader.

The basic assumptions of conflict theory are that due to inequalities in the distribution of resources, human organizations like the ZAFM church are in constant tension and this creates conditions for disputes and schisms. Individuals in any given social relationship have different levels of resources like knowledge, prestige, power, attractiveness or anything that people value. Those with the valued resources use them for their own advantage and this creates the room for competition and disputes. Social relations always involve one group seeking to gain valuable resources from others. The existence of different positions in the ZAFM church structure implies that access to status, prestige, power, recognition and resources is also different. Some positions have better access to resources and the power base while others are

deprived. All shows that the conflict theory is very relevant to this current study. The whole study is informed by the conflict theory.

3.5 Criticisms of the Conflict Theory

Conflict theory has been criticized predominantly for its focus on change and its neglect of social stability. While critics of the social theory acknowledge that societies are in a constant state of change, they argue that the change is minor or incremental. Some critics have said that even though conflict theorists focus on social change, they have, in fact, also developed a theory to explain social stability. According to the conflict perspective, inequalities in power and reward are built into all social structures. Individuals and groups who benefit from any structure strives to see it maintained. For example, those in leadership fight to maintain their privileged access to church property and funds by opposing measures that would impede access to such church properties. Some other critics have said that the conflict theory is stronger when explaining social change, and weaker at explaining social stability. Conflict theory has also been critiqued for its inability to explain social stability and incremental change. The conflict theory argues that not all conflicts lead to violence. This implies that there are instances where disputes yield good results.

The conflict theory has also been criticized for reducing social reality into two pairs of opposites bourgeois and proletariat, the elite and the masses, the rulers and the ruled the haves and the have nots. This is not always true as far as reality is concerned because social conflicts manifest themselves in a variety of ways. Hence reducing them to a dualistic concept is inevitably sterile.

Conflict theorists presume that human society is in a constant and endless process of change. This assumption negates the contention that substantial changes have occurred without significant conflicts especially through silent revolutions.

The views that were marshaled by Marx on the conflict theory focused much on the role of property in the economy while neglecting socialism. This being the case therefore, the conflict theory does not always cut across the entire society. Further, property relations in society do not exhaust manifestations of power relations.

However, despite the criticisms that have been leveled against conflict theory, this study makes use of it bearing in mind the weaknesses.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed the conflict theory that is used in this research to support the aims and objectives of this study, and outlines the design of the research itself. The chapter looked at the history, importance and criticism of conflict theory. In discussing the history of conflict theory, attention was given to the major proponents of the theory, particularly those credited with its origins and those who expanded and modified it. The chapter also looked at different variations or types of conflict theory that are in line with the focus of the current study. The relevance of the conflict theory to this study is also elucidated in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the study's methodological approach and research design. The chapter explains how the research was done. It also spells out the data collection tools used. The study adopts a variety of data collection tools that include in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, oral narratives and document analysis. The explanation of how sampling was done and how the participants were chosen is also explicated in this chapter. The chapter ends by stating the problems that were encountered during the fieldwork.

4.1 Research Design

The elusive nature of the issue of leadership contestations calls for a qualitative research design. Chikungwa (2013:76) defined qualitative research as a method of achieving insights through discovering meanings, not through establishing causality, but through improving one's comprehension of the whole. Polit and Beck (2004) in Chikungwa (2013) said that qualitative research is a means of exploring depth, richness and complexity inherent in the phenomenon. Creswell (2009) said that qualitative research is used to explore and understand the meaning groups or individuals give to a human or social problem. Merriam (2009) in Davis (2012) reiterated that qualitative research is usually used to permit individuals to tell their stories, and researchers use this method as they are interested to know how their subjects interpret their experiences, construct their words and form meaning from the experiences. Qualitative research seeks to explore the experience of others within the context of a specific topic and it is not concerned with gathering statistics (Alaogun and Fatoki, 2009). This implies that qualitative research develops multiple perceptions to understand the complexity of the participants' reality and how meaning is constructed (Easterby et al, 2008).

4.1.1 The rationale for choosing the Qualitative Research Design

The qualitative method was preferred in this study for a number of reasons. The freedom enabled by qualitative research methods allows for a relaxed interaction between the researcher and the participants, thereby allowing the participants to reveal more information. The qualitative research method was chosen because it allowed the researcher to find out how

people in different contexts feel, think, behave and express themselves in response to the issue of succession disputes (Bellenger et al, 2011). On the same note, Bogdan and Taylor (1975), cited in Marable (2011:47), said that qualitative research produces descriptive data, that is, people's own written or spoken words and observable behaviour. Such data cannot be obtained when using other research designs that do not give time for the researcher to mingle with the participants. The method allowed the researcher to mix with the participants, and understand how participants respond to questions and the meaning they give to some words and actions. Words and action are very important in understanding what participants are saying; hence the qualitative research design was a plus in this study.

According to Polkinghorne (2005), qualitative research methods are useful in the generation of categories for understanding human phenomenon, and the investigation of the interpretation and meaning that people give events they experience. In this study, the qualitative research method enabled the researcher to get into the life systems of the ZAFM church and find out the experience of the participants on the issue of succession disputes. The researcher had the opportunity to obtain feedback on the study's findings from participants since the qualitative research design is human centered. The qualitative research design allowed the researcher to source data and seeks participants' opinions on findings about the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. In line with the views of Punch (2004) the researcher was the primary instrument of data collection and analysis and the researcher relied heavily on feelings, impressions, interpretations, judgments and study of the phenomenon. The qualitative research methods allowed me to have time to interact with research participants and this enabled me to have a personal relationship with the participants.

Qualitative research is based on the philosophical assumption that individuals interacting with their social worlds construct reality (Merriam, 2002:6). Using the method, the researcher was interested in understanding the meaning people have constructed – that is, how they make sense of their world and the experiences they have had on leadership contestations. In this case, the current study intended to see how adherents in the ZAFM church have experienced succession disputes and what they consider as the causes of leadership contestations from their experiences. Sherman and Webb (1988:7) argued that qualitative research implies a direct concern with experience as it is lived, felt, or undergone. This entails that in qualitative research; meaning is embedded in people's experiences, and is interpreted through the researcher's perception. Qualitative research enables the researcher to study the phenomena in

their natural settings and then try to make sense and interpret the phenomena in line with the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:2). Further, qualitative research allows for the collection of various empirical data, including personal experience, life stories, interviews, oral histories and narratives. This implies that qualitative research is inductive in nature, moving from specific situations to general principles (Wiersma, 1995). In line with Wiersma, this study assumed a primarily inductive research design since there were no theories to be tested. The current study aimed at constructing concepts from insights obtained from the interaction with participants. Qualitative research helps researchers to understand the social and cultural contexts of the people under study and perceive how they live. This is the reason why Kaplan and Maxwell (1994) argued that qualitative research enables the researcher to understand the phenomena under study as well as the participants' point of view.

4.2 The Research Method

This study adopted the existential phenomenology perspective championed by Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Jean-Paul Sartre. Merleau-Ponty, cited in Marable (2011:43), described phenomenology as giving a direct description of our experience as it is, without taking account of the psychological origin and the causal explanations that the scientist, the historian or the sociologist may be able to provide. Merleau-Ponty was largely influenced by Husserl, and embraced existentialism and phenomenology, placing emphasis on the importance of the interrelationship of the individual and his or her world (Marable, 2011). His basic argument was that there is a pre-given world that each individual is a part of, and through living in this world individuals would learn about themselves (Sadala and Adorno, 2002). Thomas (2005) said that Merleau-Ponty focused on the phenomenology of perception, which he described in terms of what it is and what it is not. Merleau-Ponty, cited in Thomas (2005:69), said that perception is a deliberate taking up of a position; it is the background from which all acts stand out, and is presupposed by them. This implies that individuals experience the world through perception and each individual's perception is different and unique. Merleau-Ponty further said that a person's perception is difficult to disconnect from varying contexts such as culture or historical timeframe (Thomas, 2005).

Marable (2011) argued that an individual's perception of the world constitutes the individual's truth. Marable (2011) noted that we can understand a person's world through the way that person feels, talks, thinks, senses and makes judgments upon the experiences. This explains

that people see and experience the world differently, hence it is difficult to be totally objective as researchers.

Existential phenomenology aims to describe phenomena as they appear. Clegg (2011) said that phenomena comprise anything that appears or presents itself as feelings, thoughts and objects. Reduction is a process that involves suspending or bracketing the phenomena so that the “things themselves” can be returned to. An essence is the core meaning of an individual’s experience that makes it what it is, and lastly, intentionality refers to consciousness and the fact that individuals are always aware of the existence of something (Merleau-Ponty, 1962 in Thomas, 2005). The total meaning of the objects (e.g. idea) is always more than what is given in the perception of a single perspective (Chamberlin, 1974 in Marable, 2011).

Existential phenomenology focuses on human experiences as reflections of people’s values, purposes, ideas, intentions, emotions and relationships. As Prive (2007) said, the existential phenomenological method takes pride in the experience and individual’s actions, rather than conformity or behaviour. This implies that the existential human being is not merely passive or reactive to environmental influences but is a purposeful being with life experiences and is able to interpret meaning of his or her existence and relationship with others in a social world (Prive, 2007). This means that in existential phenomenology, an individual is perceived as a living, acting, feeling, thinking phenomenon (Marable, 2011).

Existential phenomenology was important in this study as the researcher tried to better understand the lived experiences of the ZAFM church members as they expressed their perceptions, feelings and experiences of succession disputes. Existential phenomenology is premised on the understanding that people exist and interact in external environments and this influences their own worldview and behaviours.

The primary focus of the phenomenological method is on religious experience as it is described from a believer’s point of view. According to Chitando (1998:102), the phenomenological method is regarded as the study of appearances. Cox (2010:105) defined phenomenology as a method that is used in the classification and comparison of religious beliefs and practices. Central to the phenomenological method is the performance of *epoche*, which means the bracketing of preconceived ideas about the subject matter under study. It also emphasizes fostering empathetic interpolation that is, the cultivation of some of the practices and beliefs of

the religion under study (Cox, 2010:15). The phenomenological method also talks about the accurate description of the phenomena as observed data (Cox, 2010:57).

For Taringa (2013), the phenomenological method tries to classify specific sets of phenomena in a way that gives justice to the expressed meanings. The phenomenological method as propounded by Chitando (1998) has three basic ingredients, which makes it applicable in most religious studies. For him, the first ingredient is *epoche*; the second one is empathy; and the last one is evaluation. Chitando said that when studying a religious phenomenon, it is important to show adequate justice to the inner meanings of the believer's religion. He said that there is a need to cultivate feelings for the religious person under study. This means that there is a need to put oneself in the shoes of another person and see how the world looks like from there. Chitando further said that in performing *epoche*, the researcher has to cultivate a critical attitude. It is necessary to accurately describe various features. Chitando (1998) pointed out that in Zimbabwe and other developing countries, there is a scarcity of resources and this precludes the luxury of truth for its own sake hence the need for a critical stance when performing *epoche*. Chitando is against fostering an attitude of docility and facile acceptance of issues when one is involved in perennial bracketing of opinions. *Epoche*, for Chitando, has an oppressive role that has to be avoided by calling in the notion of a critical stance when studying a phenomenon. Chitando (1998) further said that we should not limit ourselves only to things that appear because what is left out is equally important. The researcher has to go beyond the obvious. This implies that when dealing with the phenomenological method, caution is taken to go beyond what appears. However, Chitando said that primacy has to be given to the conscious meaning of religion to the believer since believers are always right. Other people's religion has to be studied with sensitivity and presented accurately. Therefore, *epoche* is the best way through which a researcher can appreciate the meaning of religion on the believer's own terms.

4.2.1 The rationale for choosing Existential Phenomenology

This study adopted the existential phenomenological method above other qualitative research methods for a number of reasons. The first reason for choosing this method is that it addresses the depth of the phenomenon with its emphasis on the experiences of the practitioners of a particular phenomenon (Prive, 2007). This is in line with De Castro's (2003) observation that existential phenomenology makes it possible to understand the experience of the individual from the consciousness and standpoint of the person who is having the experience. Existential

phenomenology helps in this study by revealing the essential meaning of the phenomenon of succession disputes without creating abstract theories about the same phenomenon (De Castro, 2003).

The second reason for using existential phenomenology is its emphasis on the aspect of empathizing with the participants as one tries to comprehend their emotions, thoughts and values (Patton, 2002). The understanding here is that when participants are respected and their feelings and perceptions are tolerated, they open up their voices to the researcher. Therefore, existential phenomenology unbolted the room for freedom on the part of the respondents in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions that were used as data collection tools in this study. The method also enabled the participants to smoothly reconstruct the events around succession disputes in the ZAFM.

Thirdly, the existential phenomenological method is used in this study because of its concept of *epoche* (bracketing of previous ideas). The basic principle in the phenomenological method is the act of bracketing or suspending or setting aside biases, everyday understandings, theories, beliefs, habitual modes of thought, and judgments (Kensit, 2000). The phenomenological method intends to identify phenomena through perceptions of the players in a particular situation. In most cases, this is done through inductive and qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing data from the perspective of the research participants. This implies that the phenomenological method is all about studying human experiences from an individual's perspective. The phenomenological method is rooted in a personal knowledge and subjective paradigm and puts more emphasis on personal perceptions and interpretations (Lester, 1999:1). The existential phenomenological method is powerful for understanding subjective experience, gaining insights into people's motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom (Lester, 1999:1). This implies that the phenomenological method is effective in bringing to the fore the experiences and perceptions of individuals from their own perspectives. Using the phenomenological method, the researcher was able to identify what the members of the ZAFM consider as the causes of the succession disputes. The researcher identified that the participants were eager to give their views as they were seeing that the researcher has no prejudice and preconceived ideas about the causes of succession disputes. The researcher was able to get the lived experiences and perceptions of the members of the ZAFM church. For Lester (1999), existential phenomenology is good at surfacing deep issues and making voices

of taken for granted people heard. The participants were happy to realize that their lived experiences on succession disputes can be studied. This motivated them in wanting to say more on what they know about succession disputes. They also felt important that they possess information that the researcher wanted. More so, they were happy to realize that their voices and views which have been for granted can now be heard. Their voice projection, examples, gestures and demonstrations of what was happening during succession disputes indicated how happy and keen they were to let their experiences be heard and documented. The participants could correct, add skipped information as their fellows were narrating the unfolding events during succession disputes. All this cannot be obtained when using other methods where participants are not in active interaction with the researcher.

Giorgi (1985), cited in (Marable, 2011), said that the operative word in phenomenological research is 'describe'. This clearly shows that the aim of the researcher is to describe as accurately as possible the phenomenon, refraining from any pre-given framework, but remaining true to the facts. On the same note, Welman and Kruger (1999:189) point out that phenomenologists are concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of people involved. The method, according to Gubrium and Holstein (2000:488-489) is geared toward the ways in which ordinary members of society attend to their everyday lives. This means that as a researcher, by applying the phenomenological method, I am concerned with the lived experiences of the people involved, or who were involved in succession disputes in the ZAFM church. Merriam (2009:5) argued that qualitative researchers have an interest in understanding the way people interpret their experiences and how they construct their worlds and what meaning they attribute to their experiences. Since the purpose of this study was to understand the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church, it was determined that the existential phenomenological method was the most appropriate. According to Van Manem (2013), phenomenology uses inductive research methods to comprehend universally lived experiences. In the same vein, Omery (1983:53) argued that the phenomenological method assumes that the whole is most likely to be quite different from the sum of its parts. This means that it is necessary to understand the parts to come up with a clear understanding of the whole. So, to understand leadership in the ZAFM church, one has to comprehend the lived experiences of the individuals in the church and see how they experienced the succession disputes. Hammersley (2000) said that phenomenologist believe that the researcher cannot be detached from his or her own presuppositions and that the researcher should not pretend otherwise. In this regard, Mouton and Marais (1990:12) state that

individual researchers “hold explicit beliefs”, hence the need to bracket them. The bracketing of preconceived ideas helps to avoid interference with the information given by participants. The researcher has to remain neutral with respect to belief or disbelief in the existence of the phenomenon (Streubert and Carpenter, 2003 cited in Mamabolo, 2009:50).

A fourth reason for choosing the phenomenological method is its emphasis on the concept of intuition. Streubert and Carpenter (2003), defined intuition as a process of thinking through the data so that a true comprehensive or accurate interpretation of what is meant in a particular description is achieved. They further said that intuition allows the researcher to be deeply immersed in the phenomenon, seeing afresh, without any bias from what has been bracketed out. As stated by Streubert and Carpenter (2003) during in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, the researcher encouraged the participants to generate knowledge by using open-ended clarifying questions and avoiding the use of leading questions. Therefore, the phenomenological method’s emphasis on the intuition of data made it suitable for this study. The lived experiences of the ZAFM church members on succession disputes had to be intuited to get an accurate interpretation of what their descriptions and narrations on the causes of succession disputes meant.

The highly celebrated concept of getting into the experience of the believing community under study, as emphasized by the existential phenomenological method, is the fifth reason that made it suitable for this study. The system of getting into the experiences of the believers is known as empathetic interpolation. Cox (2010:52) defined empathetic interpolation as a principle of ‘entering into the experience’ of a phenomenon under study. For, Cox it means entering into the shoes of the believer and experiencing the phenomenon in the same way the believers do. The process of getting into the shoes of the believer helps to reduce distortion in the description of the phenomenon under study. This implies that a researcher should get inside the phenomenon of succession disputes in the ZAFM church and try to understand it from the believers’ standpoint (Cox, 2010:53).

Cox (2010) further said that there is the need to insert what is outside one’s experience into one’s experience by translating that which is foreign into what is familiar. He called such an action interpolation. Cox (2010), said that empathetic interpolation helps the researcher by cultivating a feeling for experience of the world alien to him or her but at the same time using one’s own understanding from the inside of how it feels to be a believer.

Therefore, it is the phenomenological method's emphasis on entering into the world of the believing community and experiencing the phenomenon that made the researcher choose this method above other qualitative research methods.

The sixth reason for choosing the phenomenological method is its emphasis on the essence of the phenomenon under study, based on the data obtained (Mamabolo, 2009). The phenomenological method states that during the analysis stage, the researcher has time to listen to, compare and contrast descriptions of the phenomenon being investigated (Mamabolo, 2009). The aspect of analysis in the phenomenological method, as pointed by Brink and Wood (1998) cited in Mamabolo (2009), permits for the identification of recurring themes and interrelationships. In the current study, the researcher had time to listen to the descriptions of the experiences of succession disputes by the ZAFM church members and tried to come up with common and recurrent causes of succession disputes, organizing them into themes.

The phenomenological method's emphasis on developing complete, accurate, clear, rich and detailed descriptions and understanding of human experience made it a suitable method for this study. In dealing with the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church, the researcher was able to get a good look at what causes disputes and how to deal with them. The facial and physical expressions from the participants as they narrated their stories on succession disputes had great meaning in expressing the kind of trauma they experienced. This would not be seen if other methods like a quick survey were used in this study. The phenomenological method tries to achieve its goal using specialized methods of participant selection, solicitation of information, systematic data treatment, and assembling of interview responses. This implies that results from the phenomenological method emerge from the data instead of being imposed by the investigator.

The phenomenological method provides careful techniques to keep descriptions as faithful as possible to the experiential raw data; this is accomplished by extreme care in moving step by step and in being ever mindful not to delete from, add to, change, or distort anything from the initial meaning held by the participants on the phenomenon under study (Cox, 2010). The method gave the researcher more time with the informants and this brings forth a full picture of their understanding of the succession disputes. Using the phenomenological method gave me time to interact with the informants, to understand how they experienced succession disputes in their church, and the ability to listen to their understanding of what were the major causes of succession disputes. The method enabled me to look back into the interviews with

the informants and search for patterns. Those patterns that looked identical were grouped together and given a theme. The method allowed me to adjust new ideas and issues as they emerged and this enabled me to gather natural data and understand the ZAFM church members' feelings, experiences and perception on leadership succession disputes.

The phenomenological method also calls in the issue of analysis. Analysis, as Mamabolo (2009) puts it, involves the identification of the core issues of the phenomenon under study. For Mamabolo (2009), analysis gives the researcher time to listen to, compare and contrast descriptions of the phenomenon under investigation in my case, the issue of leadership succession disputes. The phenomenological method was chosen because it allows for a clear analysis of the social aspects of a community under study as well as its ideological and social dimensions. The study tried to establish how succession disputes could serve as an effective vehicle of social conflict and group differences. Using the phenomenological method, I was able to explore the original social and cultural settings of the phenomenon under study (Elliot, 1993:9). This implies that leadership, being a socially constructed phenomenon, has to be understood from the context of the completely social community, which in this case is the Shona social community. So, as a researcher, it was necessary to suspend judgements about the causes of succession disputes and then observe the phenomenon and try to understand it in its own social context. There was the need to analyze the reasons for the social struggle for power in the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe. The phenomenological method also tries to analyze the social and cultural dimensions of the phenomenon and its environmental context (Elliot, 1993:9). This means that the method tries to see how the phenomenon under study has been and is being influenced by its surrounding environment. For instance, how the Shona social environment has influenced the leadership structures in the ZAFM church or how the causes of succession disputes are shaped by the Shona cultural traditions. Therefore, in this study, the method was useful in understanding how succession disputes are responses to specific social and cultural contexts (Elliott, 1993:7). The phenomenological method scrutinizes the phenomenon under study and sees how it relates to its geographical, historical, economic, social, cultural and religious contexts. The method pre-supposes that knowledge is socially conditioned and is perspectival in nature (Elliott, 1993:7). Analysis that is emphasized by the phenomenological method allowed me to identify recurring themes and interrelationships on the causes of succession disputes as I was undertaking the focus group discussions and face-to-face interviews.

The phenomenological method was also chosen because of its descriptive nature. It helped with the description of the place, context and situations under which the ZAFM church was established. The method was helpful in understanding the original trends, doctrine and leadership structures of the ZAFM from its inception. It also helped in establishing a smooth reconstruction of the history of the founder of ZAFM church and its goals. The method was used to obtain data on the emergence, growth and expansion of the ZAFM church and the history of Andreas Shoko its founder. A visit into the history of the ZAFM church was carried out to throw light on obscure narratives on the events surrounding of ZAFM and its founder. This helped in establishing precisely what happened in order to make historical events apparent to the modern reader. It is imperative to mention that when one wants to understand a phenomenon, one has to understand its social background and cultural milieu. This means that historical events need to be interpreted depending on the cultural values under which the phenomenon was established. We need to understand the ideologies of the time when the phenomenon was established. This makes it important to look at the history of the ZAFM church and that of its founder.

Overall, the phenomenological method's emphasis on the primacy of the believer's point of view, summed up in Kristensen's maxim that the believer is always right, made it a suitable method for this study as it seeks to give the ZAFM church members' understanding on the causes of succession disputes in their church.

However, it should be noted that although many scholars have used the method, it has its own problems. For instance, the celebrated concept of *epoche* in this research model is difficult to put into practice (Cox, 1996). This is necessarily because no matter how the observer or researcher tries to suspend all the previous judgments on the community he or she is studying, this cannot be done perfectly since each researcher brings with him or her cultural, social and scholarly presuppositions that are partly hidden in his or her consciousness (Cox, 1996). Chitando (1998:107) said that *epoche* or bracketing of opinions fosters an attitude of docility and facile acceptance of issues. For him, *epoche* has an oppressive role. However, the researcher used this method with these problems and others in mind because it provides invaluable starting points in the study of phenomena.

4.3 Sampling Method

Since it is highly improbable to cover the entire geographical area when collecting data, sampling becomes the best way forward. Kumar (2007:23) said that the accuracy of findings largely depends upon the way you select your sample. For him, the basic objective of any sampling design is to minimize, within the limitations of cost, the gap between the values obtained from the sample and those prevalent in the population. The underlying premise in sampling is that, if a relatively small number of units is selected, it can provide a sufficiently true reflection of what is being studied (Kumar, 2007:23). In this study, a subsection of the targeted population was selected for the research enquiry. The study made use of the purposive sampling which is also known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling. The participants were recruited because of some characteristics that include the experience and knowledge of the causes of succession disputes, the history and doctrine of the ZAFM church. The selected sample was productive in answering the research questions. The study purposefully selected the ZAFM church because very little has been written on why it is experiencing succession disputes each time a principal leader dies.

The researcher sampled fifty-nine participants for the three church gathering attended during the field work. These comprised of one bishop, one vice bishop, one senior high priest, one chief, two headmen and three kraal heads, six members of the council of high priests, ten circuit leaders and thirty-four members of the laity. The researcher sampled leaders with ages ranging from fifty-five years and above. For the information on the history and life of the founder of the ZAFM church, Andreas Shoko, I targeted leaders ranging from fifty years and above. The reason for this target age group was that I intended to get information from people who were ministering during the days of the founder himself. The other age group comprised of circuit leaders with ages ranging from thirty-five to fifty-four years. These people were very relevant in the provision of the history of the founder and second leader of ZAFM church, Dorius Shoko. They provided information on some of the leaders who were seceding from ZAFM and they cited some of the reasons for the schisms. The group was very informed, particularly on the current leadership disputes in the ZAFM church.

For lay people, there was no specific age limit and the discussions were done during the three visits at annual church gatherings of ZAFM. It was important to get information from the lay people whose involvement ranged from the time of the church's inception up to where it is

today. The targeting of the members of the laity proved to be relevant because they produced more information on the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

This section demarcates methods that were employed to address the research objectives buttressing this study. Data for this study was collected in the form of in-depth individual interviews, focus group discussions, narratives and document analysis. This is in line with Merriam (2002:1.2) who stipulated that qualitative research calls for data collection instruments which are sensitive to underlying meanings. Patton (2002:224) argued that multiple sources of information are appropriate in any research because no single source of information can be trusted to provide a comprehensive perspective about a phenomenon under study. This implies that the use of a combination of in-depth interviews, focus groups, oral histories, descriptive surveys, narratives and document analysis results in the collection of various information which can be used to validate and cross check the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe.

4.4.1 In-depth Interviews

Two groups of people were subjected to in-depth interviews; these were the three top leaders of the ZAFM church and the traditional leaders who also happened to be members of the ZAFM church. Traditional leaders are treated with respect in the ZAFM church. They are accorded respect due to the positions they hold in the society. However, even though they do not have positions in the church they are treated at the same footing with the other church leaders. They occupy the front seats close to the bishop. Traditional leaders in this church act as advisors to the bishop on leadership issues. The rest of the church members give these traditional leaders the respect they get from the society outside the church. The researcher selected three ZAFM church leaders, that is, the bishop, vice-bishop and senior high priest. It is important to mention that the bishop was one of the two formations of the ZAFM church lead by Jamson Pedzisai Shoko and the vice bishop and the senior high priest were from the other formation led by Ezra Pedzisai Shoko. The second group of people subjected to in-depth interviews were comprised of one chief, two headmen, and three kraal heads. The study used semi-structured interviews because they can be used to get detailed pictures of respondents' beliefs, perceptions and views about the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church.

Two steps were undertaken in preparation for conducting in-depth interviews. First, I visited the Information Officer of the ZAFM church under Bishop Jamson Pedzisai at the church's headquarters in Museva area on 1st of May 2016. For the ZAFM church formation under Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko, I contacted the information officer through the church email address. I introduced myself to the two information officers and defined the purpose of the study and my aim in making the research. The main idea here was to ensure that respondents are informed about the study details. Assurance about ethical principles, such as anonymity and confidentiality, were also spelt out at this stage. The information officers were informed that participants were supposed to give their informed consent after understanding the scope of the study. It was explained that the interviews were to be taken as confidential.

The fact that part of the research was directed to compiling the history of the church from its inception to the present made the information officers of the two ZAFM church formations to be interested in the purpose of the study. Arrangements were made to meet the top office bearers of the church. It was also arranged that the information officers would give a brief description of the purpose of the interviews to the targeted informants, as they had understood my mission. The information officers gave the names, contact details and addresses of the top office bearers who had the propensity to avail the information to me.

The second step, after making prior arrangements to meet the top office bearers of the two ZAFM church formations, was to design the interview format and questions. There were three basic thematic areas out of which the interview guide questions were developed. These included the causes of succession disputes, power struggles, wrangles and schisms in the ZAFM church; the nature and organizational structure of the ZAFM church; and the methods used in selecting leadership successors. In designing an interview schedule, caution was taken to ask questions that would yield as much information about the causes of succession disputes as possible. The questions included why some leaders left the ZAFM church, what causes succession disputes in the church, and how leaders are chosen in the ZAFM church. The aim was to ensure that the interview information addresses the aims and objectives of the research. Gill et al (2008) said that in a qualitative interview, good questions should be open-ended, neutral, sensitive and understandable. In an effort to build confidence and create a good rapport with the participants, the interview guide started with questions that participants were able to answer easily and then proceeded to more difficult and sensitive topics. This helped to put

respondents at ease, and, as a result, generated rich data that subsequently developed the interview further.

The interviews were directed to three groups of people between the 8th and the 13th of May 2016 in Masvingo province in Chivi district. Due to the positions held by the people who I had targeted for interviews, it was difficult for me to call them at a centralised place. This means that I had to visit them at their homes and have discussions. The idea was to have face-to-face discussions with people who are close to the bishop and get their understanding on the causes of succession disputes in their church. The interview sessions followed the hierarchy of the leaders who had been targeted, from the most senior one going down. The first to be interviewed was the bishop, followed by the vice-bishop, then the high priest, and lastly, the priest. The interviews with the bishop and vice-bishop were held at their homestead in Masvingo and Nyajena area in Chivi District. The familiarity of the environment created a relaxed atmosphere and this resulted in a more productive interview. The sessions started with the researcher introducing himself and stating the purpose of the interview. The interview with Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko lasted for two days. The first day we met at eleven (11:00 am) in the morning and we ended at half past four (4:30pm). On the first day, the focus was on the history of Andreas Shoko from the time of his birth, his educational status, his migration to South Africa, his conversion, baptism, and his subsequent mission to form the ZAFM branch in Zimbabwe after Samuel Mutendi defected to form the ZCC church. The bishop was very enthusiastic in his narration of these details. He also provided more information on how Shoko established the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe, and the problems he encountered in the face of the Dutch Reformed Church and the government of the day. The bishop was even able to sing to me some of the songs that Shoko composed during his turbulent times. The bishop also provided information about the different wives and children of Andreas Shoko, his grandfather. Arrangements had been made that the interview sessions would be video recorded and the bishop complied with the request.

The second day of the interview session with bishop Jamson started at nine (9:00 am) in the morning and we ended at four (4:00 pm). The centre of discussions on the second day was the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. The bishop showed a lot of interest in the study particularly when he realized that the study is going to record the history of the church. He openly stated that he is happy that Africans are now interested in researching on other African churches which he said is crucial because Africans understand better the events taking

place in the African Independent Churches. This mentality made him situate every event in the establishment of the ZAFM church. He admitted that the history of the church was passed on in oral form from one bishop to the other and said he is now happy that the history would be formally recorded for future reference. After the in-depth interview sessions with Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko, he invited me to attend their Easter conference where I met the surviving wives of Andreas Shoko, the founder, and other church leaders for further information. At the Easter conference I had the opportunity to engage in discussions with the surviving wives of Andreas Shoko. They narrated much on the teachings of Shoko that they said were more centred on love, forgiveness, reconciliation, leaving the worldly life like beer drinking, adultery, murder and disobedience.

The interviews with the vice-bishop, who is the member of the ZAFM formation under Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko, took us two days. He was very interested in knowing that academics have an interest in the events that are taking place in their church. The reason for choosing the vice-bishop and not the bishop of this formation was twofold. First, the vice-bishop had worked with Andreas Shoko and Dorius Pedzisai Shoko, the successor of Andreas, as a vice-bishop. This means that he had more experiences of succession disputes than any other member of the church. The second reason is that the bishop has been busy due to his tight programme since he doubles as a lecturer at Bindura University of Science and a bishop at the same time. He is the one who directed me to his vice-bishop for information. The vice-bishop was very keen to narrate the major causes of succession disputes but he seemed to blame the splinter groups more than he blamed the main group leadership. There was a sense in which he was not keen to blame his senior, that is, bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko, whom he saw as a perfect and blameless leader.

The attentive listening and the use of neutral body language that included nodding, smiling, looking interested and making encouraging noises like ‘*mmm*’ as he was talking made him to recount their experiences on succession disputes as fully as possible, without unnecessary interruptions. As was said by Gill et al (2008), where I wanted the vice-bishop to talk more, elaborate or clarify, I would remain silent and then he would contemplate his responses. Among other questions that we discussed with the vice-bishop, we had: How do you normally select a successor in the event that the other one has died? What do you think are the main reasons which cause leaders to have disputes when there is a new leader to be chosen? What does your church constitution say about the issue of leadership succession? Do you normally train

potential successors before the current leader dies? And, does your church have any succession plan in place? During the course of the discussion, we had to cover other issues on how the church started and the characteristics of a good leader in the ZAFM church. On the issue of the succession plan and on whether successors are appointed and trained before the death of the current leader, the vice-bishop was hesitant to say much. I had to tease and probe more to get information. It seemed like it was not his jurisdiction to talk about such matters at the start but due to the flexibility of the interview session he opened up as we proceeded with the discussions. As was suggested by McGivern (2006:195), the vice-bishop opened up when I started to use prompting techniques which involve, among other things, repeating, rephrasing or using non- verbal prompts like nodding so as to encourage the speaker to talk more. The vice-bishop was very instrumental in the information about succession disputes in the ZAFM church since he witnessed all the breakaways and disputes from the time of Andreas Shoko to the current bishops of the two formations of the ZAFM church.

The interview with the senior high priest was conducted on 10 May 2016 at his homestead. He was very keen to narrate what he considered to be the causes of succession disputes in their church. He was able to give the causes by giving typical examples of the leaders who were seceding from the ZAFM to form their own churches. Indeed, for each of the causes, he could give the leader who moved out of the church as an example. The interview proved to be very fruitful and it contributed a lot to the construction of the church's history from its inception to where it is today. All the leaders who had succession disputes and the years where they moved out of the church came out as the interview progressed. The interview session took two hours.

The interviews with the three top leaders of the ZAFM church triggered my interest to interview the traditional leaders who are members of the ZAFM church as well. This was not my original plan but main issue that triggered this was that the ZAFM top leaders were referring to the bishop as their king and they were continuously linking the causes of succession disputes in the church to what was happening in the traditional society. This made me think that there could be striking similarities between the two institutions, hence the interest to interview the traditional leaders. The information obtained from the traditional leaders proved to be very important in the analysis chapter where links were made between the traditional ways of selecting a successor and those in the ZAFM church.

After the interviews with the top leaders of the ZAFM church, I also had to interview the traditional leaders in Chivi District, Museva area where the church has its headquarters. The

traditional leaders interviewed included one (1) chief, two (2) headmen, and three (3) kraal heads. I was very fortunate because chief Chivi is a member of the ZAFM church formation under Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko. The two headmen and the three kraal heads were also members of the ZAFM church, and one of the headmen and one kraal head were from the formation of bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko. The reason for choosing the traditional leaders was to ascertain the causes of leadership disputes in the traditional society and how such disputes were dealt with. The move to interview the traditional leaders was to see if there is any continuity between the way successors are selected in the traditional society and in the ZAFM. Indeed, the choice to interview traditional leaders was to enhance objectivity. The interview sessions with each traditional leader lasted between 30 minutes to one hour. Each interview session was audio recorded after prior communications were made and notes were taken.

In line with the views of Bogdan and Biklen (2003:95), the use of interviews also allowed me to collect detailed data in the exact words of the participant. It gave me time to generate an appreciation of the respondents' interpretation of their views on the causes of leadership succession disputes.

As suggested by Basit (2010:101), interviews allowed me to build a close relationship with the respondents, based on the trust that we established as we interacted. The establishment of trust inspired the participants to answer the questions with greater sincerity and honesty in both face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions. Further, the establishment of trust created a strong bond between the participants and myself, and in turn, this helped in maintaining the participants' enthusiasm and interest in the research and interview (Basit, 2010:101). Bell (2005:157) expressed a similar view to Basit (2010) when he stated that one of the prime benefits of using interviews is their versatility and flexibility.

The in-depth interviews allowed me to have time to dig into the thoughts of interviewees, scrutinize their answers to my questions, and examine their opinions and emotions. During the focus group discussions, I observed that interviews can bring about rich data and can put flesh on the bones as compared to written responses (Bell, 2005:157). All the interviews started with some form of introduction where I would tell who I am, followed by a brief explanation of the reasons why the interview was being conducted and its importance to my study. All the interviews were audiotaped and I used a transcriber to transcribe the interviews verbatim. Following the advice of Newwell and Bernard (2006:63), during each interview session, I used a probing technique of repeating the last few words of the informants' responses without

breaking a chain of thought. This way of probing (Newwell and Bernard, 2006:63) is advantageous in that it enables the researcher to check the extent to which he or she has grasped what the informant has communicated. Some of the suggestions that they gave include prompts like 'mmm' and 'ok' and the maintenance of reasonable eye contact during the interview sessions (Newwell and Bernard, 2006:63).

Interviews were very helpful in this study because the main aim was to explore the reasons why the ZAFM church almost always suffers succession disputes each time the principal leaders dies. As Cohen et al (2000:267) said, interviews enable participants to discuss their interpretations of the world in which they live and how they express situations from their points of view. Participants in the current study were able to air their various views about the causes of succession disputes in their church. Writing about interviews, Patton (1990:278) said that they are the only way to observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what is happening in the world. The use of interviews in this study led to deeper understanding of social phenomena that in this case is leadership succession disputes. This could not have been possible if purely quantitative methods, such as questionnaires, were used. Interviews are, therefore, most appropriate where little is already known about the study phenomenon or where detailed insights are required from individual participants (Gill et al, 2008:294). The researcher also realized that interviews are also particularly appropriate for exploring sensitive topics, where participants may not want to talk about such issues in a group environment.

4.4.2 Focus group discussions

In this study, focus group discussions were held with fifty participants (out of the fifty-nine study participants) but at different intervals and sessions. Their age range was from thirty–fours and above. Out of the fifty participants, seventeen were women. The reason for the small number of women was that they are not given room to talk about church issues. The ones whom I talked to were to some extent related to the leaders in the ZAFM church. They were from different social contexts and had different educational status. Most of them are peasant farmers.

Focus groups are used for generating information on collective views, and the meanings that lie behind those views. They are also useful in generating a rich understanding of participants' experiences and beliefs (Morgan, 1998).

The first part of the focus group discussions was carried out in Chivi District in Masvingo at the Headquarters of ZAFM Church in May 2016. The Information Officer of the ZAFM church facilitated the focus group discussions. This was done so that the researcher would find more time to listen, record and write notes on the deliberations of the discussions. It was also done to enable the issue of suspending preconceived ideas. Interesting to note is the contention that prior arrangements had been made with the facilitator on my first visit and all necessary modalities on how to facilitate the focus group discussions were made. The major issues that we discussed with the facilitator included how to keep the discussions focused and how to prevent the discussion from being dominated by one member (Acocella, 2011).

The facilitator made it clear before the discussions that we want to hear a range of views. The participants were also informed that their views would be audio taped and an assurance of confidentiality was clearly spelt out. In addition, the church leadership was also informed that the views of their adherents would be audio taped and an agreement was struck. The participants were given the opportunity to withdraw if they were uncomfortable with being taped but no one withdrew. The facilitator ensured that all participants had many opportunities to contribute; he allowed differences of opinions to be discussed fairly, and was even able to encourage reticent participants to air their views.

During these discussions, the researcher had ample time to participate in the worship services of the ZAFM church at its headquarters. The researcher assumed that in the church's worship services and special programmes like annual conferences, it would be easy to observe the leadership system and practices of the ZAFM.

During the focus group discussions, the perceptions, experiences and understandings of the members of the ZAFM church who had some experience in common with regard to the issue of succession disputes were explored. This study explored with relevant groups issues to do with the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko. Informal discussions were held with different groups from the ZAFM church. To make the discussions more manageable, I followed Litosseliti (2003:1) who said that focus groups need to be comprised of a relatively small structured group of people with similar characteristics such as language, geographical location and or same economic and social status who participate in a group interaction under the facilitation of a moderator. The first focus group was carried out at the headquarters of the ZAFM church on May 21, 2016, as mentioned earlier. The group consisted of the members of the council of high priests from the ZAFM formation under Bishop

Jamson Pedzisai Shoko. They were from different centres that include Chivi, Bikita and Mberengwa areas. The group comprised of six members.

The participants were purposively selected because of their seniority and they shared the same characteristics of being overseers in their areas of jurisdiction, and further, they all report to the vice bishop. The leaders from these centres are the most senior ones in the church. Their ages were ranged from fifty-five and above and they were all males. The other reason why these participants were chosen was that they are at the same level of leadership in the church, hence they were familiar to each other and they were airing their views without any fear of victimization. As they are high priests in their areas of jurisdiction, I wanted to get their understanding and opinions on the causes of succession disputes. As people in high positions of authority, it was vital to hear their views first. The high priests in the ZAFM play the role of an overseer. They have many congregations that they oversee and the *Vafundisi* (Pastors) leads the congregations. The high priest reports to the vice-bishop who is a second person from the office of the bishop. The group was small because I wanted it to be easy to control and sustain. The discussion went on smoothly and the participants were very enthusiastic to narrate how they experienced succession disputes and how they would rally with the bishop of their choice in the event of any succession disputes. Every member was ready to let his story be heard and this was prompted by the fact that the group was comprised of people of the same position in the church. On the question on how high priests combat succession disputes in the areas under their jurisdiction, everyone was happy to narrate the ordeal.

The discussion proved to be very fruitful and we discussed many issues concerning the causes of succession disputes, the roles of a bishop, how to choose a successor, methods of preventing disputes and the different characteristics of a good leader in the ZAFM.

The second focus group was undertaken on June 18, 2016 with ten circuit leaders (Pastors/*Vafundisi*) of ZAFM from Chasiyatende, Shindi, Neshuro, Zaka, Musvovi, Bikita, Berejena, Negari, Chomuruvati and Madzivire areas. These were also from the ZAFM church formation under Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko. The choice to target circuit leaders (*Vafundisi*) was purposely done since the information that I wanted lies in their jurisdiction as local church leaders. They were chosen by virtue of them being the pastors of the local churches. They had the same characteristics in that they all report to the high priests in the ZAFM church, they lead multitudes of followers and they are the ones who manage the day to day running of their local churches or congregations. Further, they are potential threats to the bishop since they are the

ones who would be with the people every day and have some autonomy over their congregations. Their age groups were ranged from thirty-five to fifty-five years and they were all males. I had wanted more time with the local congregation leaders because in most cases they are the ones who influence their followers to secede and form splinter groups if they are dissatisfied by any move taken by the bishop or his deputy or the high priest. The *Vafundisi* are the ones who will be with the followers, day in and day out. They are very influential as far as they are close to the followers and they know the character of each congregant since they spend time with them. The basic questions that we discussed included how a successor is chosen in the ZAFM, methods used to select a successor, the people responsible for choosing the successor, the qualities which are considered, the steps followed in choosing a successor upon the death of the bishop, and what the church constitution says about leadership succession.

The group had mixed feelings, particularly on who should choose the successor and the methods that should be used on selecting the successor in the event a leader dies. The discussions were so free and the circuit leaders were feeling at home. The main reason why they were free to discuss was that I had told them that the findings are specifically for academic purposes and that no real names will be used in the final document. In addition, some of the leaders were from my home area hence they knew me personally.

So, the first two sessions of focus group discussions were made up of members from pre-existing ZAFM church structures. This was in line with Bloor et al (2001:22-3), who said the use of established structures make recruitment of participants to be less expensive because the people will be easy to locate and call for a discussion. Further, people in the existing church structure regard attending a meeting at the church premises to be their obligation hence method was not labour intensive. The discussions with existing structures also proved to be fruitful because the people were sharing their lived experiences on succession disputes. The people were at some point involved or affected by the succession disputes and they considered the discussions as platforms to share their experiences.

The participants were also able to remind each other about long forgotten, and recent past events and circumstances. As one leader was narrating the ordeals of succession disputes, others were interrupting where they thought the narrator had left out something important. This proved to be very fruitful and the participants enjoyed it.

The third focus group was held at Museva area at the ZAFM church headquarters on 14 April 2017 with lay people of the church. The members were from different circuits but familiar to one another since they always meet at annual conferences at the ZAFM church shrine in Museva area. The group comprised of two sessions; the first session was held with eighteen people, nine males and nine females from the ZAFM church formation under bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko. The other session was held on 15 April 2017 and it comprised of sixteen lay people – eight females and eight males from the ZAFM formation under Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko. These two sessions had people of different age groups. The main reason for not having a systematic age variation was to capture the feelings of different people concerning the causes of succession disputes. During the two sessions with the members of the laity, I realized that the males were dominating the discussions. This was mainly caused by the fact that the ZAFM church does not allow women to take the lead in discussions to do with the church. I had to encourage the women to talk and air their views by asking those questions that directly require women's viewpoints. We asked questions related to how members should react if there is a succession dispute, who should the members of the laity follow in the event of the leadership succession dispute, the methods which they think should be followed in choosing a leader, the main causes of succession disputes, and the roles of the members of the laity in choosing a leader.

For each of the focus group sessions we did not take longer than two hours. This was congruent with Bloor et al (2001:53) guideline that the time frame for each focus group discussion should only be more than two hours if participants are provided with motivations in cash and kind. On the same note, May (2011:138) highlighted that one and a half to two and a half hours is enough for each session of a focus group. This implies that the time we spent for each discussion session was within the expected limit.

The responses of these focus groups were captured and every participant was encouraged to ask questions where necessary and contribute to the proceedings of the discussions. Nevertheless, the time allocation for each group was largely determined by the quick responses by the participants. To curb the problem of participants who were reserved, especially women, I had to ask questions that were directed to their skills and knowledge to make them feel obliged to open up for discussions. So, the potential for reluctance was restrained by the nature of the questions that seemed to compel each individual member to share his or her views on the issue of succession disputes. This is in line with McIntyre (2008) who argued that in focus group

discussions, chances are high that some participants might be reluctant to share their views with others on a particular topic, especially if it touches something to do with their lives.

Due to the manner in which the focus group discussions were conducted, all members of the focus group were expressing their opinions freely while we were discussing issues about the causes of leadership succession disputes. In the process of the discussions, the researcher ensured that everything the groups were discussing was recorded accurately. Notes were taken during discussions and care was ensured so as not to lose important issues in the discussions. Where necessary, verification and confirmation were done to ensure that accurate information had been recorded.

As Drake (2013) said, focus group discussions create an accepting environment that allows participants to be free thereby allowing them to answer questions in their own words. In line with the view of Drake (2013), the focus groups were large enough to allow a rich discussion but small enough to enable all participants to participate. Further, following Drake's advice, the questions that I asked in the focus group discussions were short and straight to the point and each question focused on a particular dimension of leadership succession disputes.

The focus group discussions proved to be very useful in the collection of information on the history and causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. The people had different views and this helped in providing a wide range of insights and ideas. The groups were manageably small and the participants knew one another but were not from the same home areas. This created a free environment, the interaction was good, and the responses were frank. The efficacy of the focus group discussions was amalgamated with in-depth interviews.

4.4.3 Oral Narratives

The oral narratives in this study were in the form of informal discussions with the members of the ZAFM church. This form is different from in-depth interviews in that there would be no specific questions to be asked. People just narrate what they understand about the subject matter under study. The aim was to capture some the information that the church members circulate among themselves about the founder of their church, the mythical stories about the work of their founder, and other issues surrounding the issue of succession disputes. The main reason for choosing this method of data collection was to create a free environment where respondents could just talk about what they know about the issue under study without asking any specific

formal question. My understanding was that oral narratives, as some form of gossip, are a powerful method of collecting data. Narratives are a very powerful method of data collection for situations that are sensitive in nature like succession disputes. For Kumar (2007), narratives have therapeutic impact that is, by telling the story; a person feels more at ease with the event. In line with Kumar (2007:125), the researcher used oral narratives to learn more about stories passed from generation to generation. This implies that oral narratives are about historical, social or cultural events.

During the field visits, the researcher had an opportunity to talk to the relatives and friends of the founder of the ZAFM church. This method helped very much in the collection of historical data on Andreas Shoko and Dorius Shoko who are the late leaders of ZAFM church. Oral narratives took centre stage in this research in finding data on the history of the leaders of ZAFM church because there is little scholarly literature. The collection of oral narratives makes this research more distinctive than other literature on the ZAFM church. The method helped in the collection of data about the life of Andreas Shoko before and after the founding of the ZAFM church. The researcher established that the faith, belief and religious practices of the ZAFM church members are informed by the information that they pass from generation to generation. Everything done in the church relates to the history of the church in one way or the other. This made the oral history as a method of data collection to be more central in this research.

Narratives as techniques of gathering information have no structure (Kumar, 2007:124). They do not have predetermined content, except that the researcher seeks to hear the personal experiences of a person with an incident or happening in life. A narrative as a data collection tool is premised on the contention that individuals have the ability to construct their realities through narrating stories (Marshall, 2006:117). Narratives as a data collection tool relies on the individual's account on the personal experiences of a particular event, organization and phenomenon (Marshall, 2006:117). Using this tool, the study solicited the experiences of individuals involved in succession disputes as well as those who seceded from the ZAFM church, to get their personal views on the causes of succession disputes that led to their schism and/or how they resolved the disputes. Through this method I was able to talk to the son Jeremiah Shava and the son of Rueben Museva. Further, this technique gave me time to know how the individuals involved in disputes perceive leadership systems in the ZAFM church and how they can relate their succession disputes to the traditional Shona societies.

The researcher was engaged in informal conversations with some leaders who have been involved in succession disputes, to tap from their words what they perceive to be the possible causes of the disputes. Informal discussions gave narrators freedom to air their views, as they understand the issues under discussion and their significance. It was realized in this study that informal conversations potentially yield new insights or open windows for new information to come out. I had ample time to listen and record their narrations of what transpired. I encouraged the individuals by using techniques of active listening. For Kumar (2007:125), active listening techniques include the use of words such as ‘uh huh’, ‘mmm’, ‘yeah’, ‘right’, and even nodding. These techniques encouraged the participants to talk freely and without interruption. This implies that as the researcher, I was involved in the talking, listening, watching and reproducing of facts and ideas for the development of this study. To be selected as a narrator, the informant should have first-hand information on succession disputes and this helped in increasing the scope, adequacy and appropriateness of data (Morse et al, 2002:15-16). In this regard, I asked some of the individuals involved in succession disputes to narrate their experiences. After the narrative sessions, detailed notes were produced and given to the respondents to check for accuracy.

4.4.4 Document analysis

Document analysis and review was the other strategy used in the collection of data in this study. Some of the documents used were availed to me by the bishop and participants themselves and these included pastoral letters, memoranda, meeting minutes, reports, church magazines, and communiqués by the bishop, church constitution, newspaper clippings, pamphlets and other articles from the media. The documents I got from the ZAFM church under bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko included their constitution, court proceedings minutes and newspaper cuttings. From the ZAFM church under bishop Jamson I got their constitution, reports and samples of certificates. Other documents used included academic books and journals on the ZAFM church. It is important to state that the documents availed to me were proving that each of the two formations is the legitimate group. Their constitutions are almost similar but have some variations on how a bishop should be chosen. More so the constitution for the formation under bishop Jamson has other positions which are not on the one from bishop Ezra’s formation (see figure I and II in chapter 6). Documents were very important in this study because they provided insights into the setting of a group of people under study (Yin, 2014). Kirk and Miller (1992) clearly articulated that document analysis is one of the valuable methods of gathering

information. Yin (1994) established that documents are vital as sources of information as far as they validate and augment evidence from other sources. In line with what Yin (2014) said, it was established in this study that documents are significant in a study for three major reasons:

1. They verify the correct spelling and titles or names of people that might have been mentioned in interviews.
2. They provide specific details to corroborate information obtained from participants
3. They give room to inquire further into the topic under study.

In this research, document analysis was used as a secondary or supplementary source of data in addition to the interviews made. Since leadership succession is a wide field of academic study, the research only selected issues on the causes of succession disputes that are important for the qualitative research and the analysis of data of the ZAFM. Other historical sources that proved to be valuable to the research were magazines, pamphlets and other periodic publications on the ZAFM church. These were used because the material on the ZAFM church and its succession disputes is sketchy and scant. The rationale for employing document analysis as a method of data collection was to achieve a better and more substantive picture of reality on the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. Therefore, this research was an attempt to compile the information together and blend it with the findings from the fieldwork.

4.5 Data Analysis Procedure

The analysis of data in this study was an on-going process. This was in line with Merriam (2009:171) who said that without ongoing analysis, the data could be unfocused, repetitious, and overwhelming in the sheer volume of material that needs to be processed. Data analysis involved the conversion of notes into write-ups to replace the missing links, and editing, classifying and tabulating data collected to make it more compliant to theme identification and coding. This was in line with Creswell (2013:184), who suggested that coding involves aggregating the text or visual data into small categories of information. The spoken data was transcribed before analyzing and interpreting it thematically. Interpretation is a process that begins with the development of the code, the formation of themes from the codes, and then the organization of themes into larger units of concepts to make sense of the data (Creswell, 2013:187). As Gibson and Brown (2009:128) said, the data obtained was first examined to find out general themes or topics. Second, the variations in the themes were identified. The elements

that were uniform were grouped together and those that proved to be exclusive were put on their own. The idea here was to find whether there were some disparities and unique features.

In this study, the coding of data was done through classification of patterns of relationship in terms of people's perceptions on the causes of succession disputes. The study adopted the pattern coding system that was suggested by Bless and Higson-Smith (1995), where data was coded in terms of themes, patterns and categories that appear from the data. Basically, a two-step process was followed in this study, and this consisted of making notes in a notebook, keeping record of important points that needed to be remembered, and dividing or breaking up the data and assigning codes to the pieces of data. The researcher had to read every line of the transcribed data and then sorted the data into important segments. The main issue here was to organize data from various sources into categories to produce a readable narrative. Where there were important patterns or themes emerging from the findings, the researcher had to assign codes to the data. The themes that were recurring more frequently on the causes of succession disputes were considered as the major ones and the rest were taken as minor. For purposes of clarity, the causes of succession disputes were divided into four groups, each with its own code. The study used letters for the coding of data and in this vein, religious causes were named RC, social causes were named SC, political causes were named PC, and economic causes were named EC. Miles and Huberman (1994:56), as cited by Bell (2005:214), stated that a code implies that a "tag or label" is used to give "meaning" to the collected data. In line with this, codes were assigned to chunks of data that vary in size.

After the coding of data, the researcher then went into the second step in the data analysis process; that is, describing the data. Here, relevant features of the research study, which include the opinions and beliefs of the participants, were described (Best and Kahn, 2003:259). The last step taken in this study was the interpretation of the data. According to Best and Kahn (2003:259), data interpretation entails making the results clear, providing responses to the "why" questions, assigning meaning to specific outcomes, and designing an orderly structure. The main purpose here was to give logical answers to the research questions (Best and Kahn, 2003:259). Where the research findings were consistent with available literature on the causes of leadership succession disputes, cross references were done. For the areas where the findings were confirming what is already known about the causes of succession disputes, links were also made. Where the findings were breaking new ground, it was also clearly stated in the interpretation stage. Three basic issues were to be achieved here, which were to see the extent

to which the research findings correspond, contradict, or deepen similar research. In addition, it was to provide explanations for the similarities and differences between the research findings and previous literature. The main task in the interpretation stage of data analysis was to attach significance, make sense out of findings, consider different meanings, and offer potential explanations and conclusions (Patton, 2002:503). The identified patterns in this study were connected to produce a story on the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. The story was all about what is happening in the ZAFM church as far as succession disputes are concerned, the significance of understanding succession disputes, and then lessons that can be learnt from the causes of leadership succession disputes.

All the three steps outlined above were used to weave the data obtained from the different data collection methods used in this study. Caution was taken by not stating facts but giving ideas and suggesting explanations by using qualifiers like ‘it seems’, ‘it looks like’, ‘unlikely’ and ‘probably’. Therefore, in qualitative research, interpretation involves conceptualizing data beyond the codes and themes to get a deeper meaning (Creswell, 2013:186).

Creswell (2013) suggested that there is a need to create some type of visual image of the data, which should prove very useful in being able to fine tune, clarify, and make sense of the data during the analysis stage. In this study, the researcher was mindful not to record what he wanted to see and he maintained objectivity throughout the analysis of data. However, Bogdan and Biklen (1998:34) said that objectivity is difficult to execute. For them, no matter how much you try, you cannot divorce your research and writing from your experiences that is who you are, what you believe, and what you value. These cannot be divorced from any study because they form the real person the researcher is. However, the researcher tried to be objective and applied *epoche* to let the phenomena speak for themselves.

4.6 Research Plan

This study could not start without the permission of the Apostolic Churches Council of Zimbabwe (ACCZ). This being the case, I obtained the necessary permission from ACCZ and it was granted to me (see Appendix 1). I committed myself to providing details about the purpose of the research that it was about the causes of the succession disputes in the ZAFM church. As such, they granted me permission to conduct the research. The University of KwaZulu-Natal gave me an Ethical Clearance before the fieldwork began. The Ethical Clearance was granted to me on 1 February 2016 (see Appendix 2). Equipped with the two

letters, I had to get into the field for data collection. My first step in the field was to go to the headquarters of the ZAFM church in Museva area in Chivi district on 10 June 2016. At the headquarters, I saw the Information Officer and had three days of discussions with him pertaining to the purpose of my visit. The Information Officer agreed to my proposal to work together in identifying key people for both in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. After gaining his interest in the study, we had to set dates for the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. He also agreed that he would facilitate the focus group discussions, and modalities to this effect were set. The other important role that he played was to help me notify the people that we had identified as key to the research on the dates that I was coming to have interviews and discussions with them. He was also helpful in designing the interview guide and the focus groups discussions topics. The information officer was very much instrumental in introducing me to the two current bishops in the rival groups of ZAFM church; that is, Archbishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko and Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko, who are each referred to as Andreas III by their followers.

4.7 Fieldwork Experiences

As Maphosa (2013:93) pointed out, quality fieldwork is hinged on careful planning and implementation. My first port of call was to identify the spokespersons (Information Officers) of the two formations of the ZAFM church. Several meetings, emails, and phone conversations with Information Officers were done. In these meetings and communication, I was able to express my mission and goals. The meetings and discussions also cultivated a trusting relationship with different leaders of the two ZAFM church formations. The leaders came to understand the nature and objectives of my research that I aimed to establish the causes of succession disputes in their church. The selection of Information Officers as the entry point proved to be strategic since they were able to direct me on the setting up of focus group discussions, identifying the leaders to do in-depth interviews, directing me to their homes and introducing my mission to them. Three focus groups were set and they all went on well. Participants provided very important information on the causes of succession disputes and the history of the ZAFM church. I had the chance to talk to one of the two current bishops face-to-face and the other one through mobile phones. I had two consecutive days of interview sessions with Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko and various telephone interviews with his children. I had time to talk to bishop Ezra over the phone and talked to his research team on different

occasions. The research team for bishop Ezra Pedzisai's church provided me with different documents that contain the history and doctrine of the ZAFM church.

I had ample time for discussions with schismatic leaders from the ZAFM during my field work, and this enabled me to have a taste of what dissatisfied these leaders in the ZAFM church and the reasons why disputes broke up between them and the main church. I also had time to talk to the traditional leaders in the areas around the headquarters of the ZAFM church to get insights on how succession was done in traditional society. Fortunately, the traditional leaders were members of the ZAFM church. I had time as well to discuss with friends and relatives of the founder of the ZAFM church Andreas Shoko and even friends of the leaders who came after him. I attended various celebrations of the ZAFM church at its circuit centres and the church's headquarters at Museva. I attended the 2017 April Easter celebrations where congregants from the current two formations of the ZAFM church come in their numbers. Lastly, I had ample time to talk to the last two wives of Andreas Shoko, the founder of the ZAFM. They are Josephine and Ester Chinatsira who are commonly referred to as *Mbuya Zion* (Grandmothers of Zion). These two were very much knowledgeable on the history of the ZAFM church from its inception to where it is today and the causes of each of the succession disputes that took place in the church from the time of their husband (Andreas Shoko) to their grandchildren the current bishops (Bishop Jamson and Ezra Pedzisai Shoko).

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethics relates to devising rules and moral principles of behaviour. It is also described as looking for codes of behaviour that allow us to carry out our work under certain conditions in a logical and rational manner when conducting our research (Basit, 2010:56). In line with Basit (2010:56) the researcher had to apply empathy and understanding in a bid to protect the self-worth of the respondents and look after them throughout the research. Arrangements were made to ensure that participants sign informed consent forms. The researcher also informed the participants they were free to deregister their participation whenever they felt like their freedom is threatened. Following the views of Lodico et al (2010:18), the respondents for this study were given direction about the investigation methods that I used. It was spelt out to them that their involvement was discretionary, and that they were eligible to pull out of the research at any time without any consequences. As Somekh and Lewin (2005:57) said, the participants were informed that they all have the right to express their opinions confidently and that they have the right to decline the publishing of information that they think may be harmful to them.

The participants were informed that anonymity would be employed to conceal their identity. They were assured that pseudonyms would be used to protect their identity whenever it was necessary to do so, as Somekh and Lewin (2005:57) said. An assurance was given to participants that no pain or harm would be caused by their participation in the study. Babbie and Mouton (2001:522) said that when conducting research, the researcher should be aware of the fact that there is always the possibility of harming certain individuals in one way or the other. They further said that under no circumstances can the researcher guard against all the potential harm to the participants. The participants were informed that their participation in the research was to be purely voluntary.

4.9 Summary

This chapter outlined the research method of existential phenomenology and designs that I used in this study, as well as the data collection tools that were employed and how they were used. The chapter traced the existential phenomenology from the time of Husserl to the modern proponents and explained how it was used in this study. The study made use of different qualitative data collection tools that included in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and oral histories and narratives. Document analysis was employed to complement data collected using other data collection tools. A systematic review of how the fieldwork was done is provided in this chapter. Given the nature of this study, some of the information was collected through informal discussions and meetings with leaders and members of the ZAFM church.

CHAPTER 5

THE HISTORY OF BISHOP ANDREAS SHOKO AND THE ZION APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION IN ZIMBABWE

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the history of the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission church. This history is very important as far as it has a bearing on Andreas Shoko's belief system, doctrine, ideologies and leadership systems. The main reason for constructing this history is to come up with a smooth historical account of this church and find out the leaders who had disputes with the founder. The chapter starts by giving the history of Andreas Shoko its founder. It traces his history from birth and what he achieved before he founded his own church. Thereafter, the chapter gives a detailed account of how Shoko was exposed to the missionary churches, up to the time that he founded his own church. The chapter then looks at what happened after the inception of the ZAFM church. The kind of schisms, disputes and breakaways that took place during Andreas Shoko's time are discussed in this chapter.

5.1 Birth and Early Life of Joni Chinatsira (Andreas Shoko)

According to bishop Jamson, Andreas Shoko was born in Shindi village in 1890 and was named Joni Chinatsira by his parents Pedzisai and Esitere. In 1900 when Andreas Shoko was 10 years old, his parents left Gororo area and moved to the north east of Gororo to stay at Museva area that is under headman Makovere but still under chief Nemaudzhe. They situated their home at the foot of Makungubwe Mountain. They stayed there for 4 years before they relocated to the foot of Barura Mountain, still in Museva area, and became the kraal head of Joni village. Andreas Shoko belonged to the Mbire tribe (Daneel, 1987). The Mbire tribe was known for its priestly position in the Shona High God Cult, a position that they held for many generations (Daneel, 1987). They were helpers to the headman. This explains why Shoko's parents gave him a name that is synonymous with biblical ones. The probability is high that being close to the royal family they had been in early contact with the missionaries who were coming to Zimbabwe and were in most cases housed by the headman or chiefs of the area. At the same time, chances are high that Andreas Shoko was born within the contexts of Christianity or at least his parents had some Christian contact at some time.

Andreas Shoko attended school at Morgenster College, a Dutch Reformed Church school for a period of two years (1910-1912) (Mazarire, 2004). He was twenty years old when he enrolled at Morgenster College. Important to note is the contention that, at this early stage of missionary educational development, the learning process was directed toward Bible study and the rudiments of reading and writing (Daneel, 1988). Shoko therefore attained some reading abilities and Bible knowledge from the Dutch Reformed Church School. After his education, Shoko worked as a kraal schoolteacher of the Dutch Reformed Church at Zunga School near his home (Daneel cited in Mazarire, 2004). The qualifications from Morgenster enabled Shoko to teach Bible reading. As a well-known local builder, Shoko was also teaching building at the same school. He was later on demoted from teaching and became a herdsman to the Native Commissioner at Chivi district offices. This did not go well with Shoko; hence, he decided to join labour migrants who were going to South Africa. Shoko had joined teaching because he wanted to raise his bride price since he was now in love. However, his efforts to raise lobola were also frustrated when he was working at Forrestal's farm because the wages could not allow him to buy cows and beads (*chuma*) which were used as bride price. As conditions worsened, Shoko joined the exodus to South Africa as a frustrated man.

In 1922, Andreas Shoko joined the group of travellers to South Africa. Among the travellers, there was Shoko's childhood schoolmate and workmate Samuel Mutendi. They were travelling by foot and they had to travel with their own food. It is important to note that Mutendi was 10 years older than Shoko and Mutendi was from the Rozvi tribe that was the tribe of the Kings. Daneel (1988) stated that among the migrants to South Africa, Shoko was the youngest; hence, he acted as a cook during their journey. Upon arrival in South Africa, Shoko worked for a year on a farm at Bronkhorstspuit before he moved to Pretoria where he worked as a bricklayer (Daneel, 1988). According to Daneel (1988), Shoko, after having tried at first to conduct his own church services in the Dutch Reformed Church fashion, he was attracted by the preaching of Engenas Lekganyane, the leader of the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission in South Africa. Further, in the African township where he lived he met members of the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission Church under the leadership of Eduard of Basutholand. Edward of Basutholand, popularly known as Edward Lion, was a secessionist leader for the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM). Edward Lion had broken away from Bishop Mahlangu's Zion Apostolic Church in 1920 (Daneel, 1987).

5.2 The Contact between Andreas Shoko and the South African Zionists

In 1923, Andreas Shoko received divine guidance through a series of dreams that he should join the Zion Church. He explained his dreams to his friends and the leaders of the ZAFM church in South Africa. The interpretation of his dreams was that he should join the ZAFM church since God had a mission with him. He was led to the Zion Jordan, a small river outside Pretoria and was baptized by Engenas Lekganyane as a Zionist member of the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission Church (ZAFM). According to Bishop Jamson Pedzisai, on the day of baptism both Shoko and Mutendi feared to get into the water since they were not used to baptism by immersion because it was not practised at the Dutch Reformed Church. They had to argue, with Mutendi saying, “*iwe tanga nokuti ndiwe mudiki*” (you must be baptized first since you are the youngest and Shoko responded by saying that the eldest one must be baptized first).

According to Daneel (1971:292), Shoko affirmed, “we went into the river together with Samuel Mutendi after we had confessed our sins”. It is at baptism that Joni Chinatsira was given the new name Andreas and he took his totem (Shoko) to be his new surname. It is a common practice in the ZAFM church the converts change their names to new ones at baptism. However, the name Andreas Shoko never appeared on Shoko’s national identity card. After baptism, Shoko took a year before he received the Holy Spirit (Daneel, 1971:292). According to Muringo (not real name) during the focus group discussions, Shoko could dream having filled with the Holy Spirit but could not make sense of his dreams. In one of the dreams as Daneel (1971:297) pointed out, Shoko dreamt of himself climbing a high mountain that Bishop Jamson Pedzisai confirmed to be Nyuni Mountain that is close to his home area at Museva. When he reached the top, he came across a troop of baboons that were very terrified when they saw his white face and they all fell over the cliff. When he came down the mountain on his way back, Shoko found the baboons lying dead at the mountain foot. This dream had some religious interpretation. When Shoko narrated his dream to the prophet, he was told that he was going to be filled with the Holy Spirit, symbolised by the white face in the dream. He was also told that he would cast evil spirits out of many people as was symbolised by the dead baboons at the foot of the mountain.

Apart from the tremendous personal influence of Lekganyane and the pleasant surprise at the efficient way in which Africans could run a church of their own, there were a number of other aspects that appealed to Andreas Shoko’s conversion to the ZAFM church.

Firstly, this Sotho church had found a mythical chapter in the Bible, Revelations 14v1, which narrates about Zion (Daneel, 1971). The identification and association of the lamb with Mount Zion was so appealing to Shoko. Apparently, the historical background of the mission church, such as that of the Dutch Reformed Church with which he was familiar, could hardly have had any direct existential value in these circumstances; neither were missionaries making any effort to directly or indirectly link African way of life to the primitive Christian community of the New Testament (Daneel, 1971 cited in Mazarire, 2004). Therefore, the literal interpretations by Africans of such texts as Revelation 14v1, Romans 11v26 and John 12v12 were most appealing to Shoko.

Jesus' presence was extended more directly through the name Zion and thus with a movement of Africanised worship than it would have been if his presence became tangible only through a haze of foreign and European impregnated history (Mazarire, 2004). Through this new name, and because of the verses they derived from it, the identification of Mount Zion with the lamb was both simplified and much more direct for God's black children of Africa (Mazarire, 2004). More importantly, as Mateo during the focus group discussions said, the Zionist church in South Africa had *Mweya* (spirit) which could guide and strengthen the believers. Furthermore, the Zionist prophetic activities with their revelatory spells of spirit possession were familiar against the background of Shona divination (Mazarire, 2004). Daneel (1971) said that Shoko was attracted to Zionism by prophecy that is seen through spirit possession. This was almost similar if not identical to the Shona aspect of divination.

Spirit possession confers people with different abilities that include healing by laying of hands, predicting the future and preaching. This reminded Shoko of the *n'angas* (traditional healers) among the Shona who were there to guide the people and predict their future as well as heal the sick. The aspect of healing is common in the Zionist church after every service. Therefore, the Zionist church was equal to the Shona way of life and this attracted Shoko the most. Andreas Shoko said that the Sotho Zionists used to ask him whether he could find the name Dutch Reformed Church in the Bible (Daneel 1971). All these were so appealing to Shoko and thus he decided to join the ZAFM in South Africa. Furthermore, baptism as a symbol of conversion and rebirth sounded to have striking similarities to Shoko's understanding of Shona purification rites. Among the Shona anyone believed to be haunted by evil spirits or thought to have mistune or any other spirit was supposed to be cleansed. This was done through purification ritual which included *kugeza munyama* (cleansing of misfortune). *Kugeza*

munyama was done through washing in flowing water. The realisations of the similarities made Shoko to consider his conversion in the Dutch Reformed Church to be incomplete. It was explained to Shoko by the Sotho preachers that conversation and rebirth could only have their fullest meaning when Jesus Christ was followed into Jordan. According to the stories circulating orally in the ZAFM church, Andreas Shoko received divine guidance through dreams that he should join the ZAFM church in South Africa. The other factor that facilitated the conversion of Shoko to Zionism was the nature of their songs, the beating of drums, and the circle dances of the Zionists. Shoko, according to stories circulating in his church, was a good singer from his infancy and he could beat the drums very well before he converted to the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). Therefore, when he saw the Zionists using drums, he was so attracted since it reminded him of his childhood interests. Shoko, as Muringo narrated, was a good singer of *magure* music (humming sounds) and this attracted him further to join Zionism that sings in almost the same manner. The character of Zionists mirrored the African cultural outlook particularly in their dances, nature of songs, beating the drums and the regalia of the principal leader. It was this aspect of tapping much from the African way of life that attracted Andreas Shoko to join the Zionists in South Africa.

5.3 The return of Andreas Shoko to Zimbabwe and the Formation of the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission

After the conversion and baptism of Shoko together with his friend Samuel Mutendi in 1923, the ZAFM in South Africa decided to choose an emissary to Zimbabwe. Shoko influenced other followers to nominate Mutendi to be the emissary to Zimbabwe for two basic reasons. First, Shoko was from the Rozvi tribe meaning that some form of royalty and protocol could not allow him be a leader when a royal person was there (Daneel, 1971:298). Second, it was the age factor Mutendi was ten years older than Shoko. Bishop Jamson Pedzisai said that during their baptism, Mutendi was the one who was possessed by the Holy Spirit. Thus, he felt that he could not take a leadership role.

Mutendi was then nominated to be the emissary and took the journey to Zimbabwe in 1923. Mutendi arrived back to Zimbabwe in 1924 as an ordained minister of religion. However, according to Bishop Jamson Pedzisai (Andreas III), before Mutendi crossed the Limpopo river, he had a dream that he once dreamt before he went to South Africa. He dreamt while he was at a high place in the company of children of different races. The children were carrying bundles of grass (sheaves) on their heads. The children put their bundles of grass (*Zvimwanda*) down

around Mutendi and the children knelt down on their faces. The dream was interpreted the same way it was done when he had it in Zimbabwe. Bishop Jamson said that Lekganyane interpreted the dream saying that Mutendi will become a leader of a large church comprising different nationalities and races. The reappearance of the dream made Mutendi to be convinced that he will lead a very big congregation. This conviction gave Mutendi the zeal to start his own church and it is no wonder that when he came to Zimbabwe he did not establish the ZAFM church as he was sent to do.

Andreas Shoko stayed in the Transvaal for nine years. In 1925, Samuel Mutendi, along with Lekganyane, broke away from the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM) and established the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) (Daneel, 1971). The breaking away of Mutendi and Lekganyane left Shoko with no option but to return to Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1931, and become the leader of the Shona branch of Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM). Shoko's return to Zimbabwe and his subsequent establishment of the ZAFM church in Chivi district can be attributed to his being sent by Edward Lion of Basutholand upon realizing that Mutendi had defected from ZAFM. Since Shoko remained loyal to ZAFM, Edward ordained him as the new ZAFM leader in Zimbabwe. However, from Daneel's (1971) historical account of how Zionism came to Zimbabwe, it is not immediately clear whether Shoko came to lead the people who were converted by Mutendi, who was the first person to be commissioned by ZAFM South Africa to come and preach in Zimbabwe.

A critical analysis of these events seems to point to the fact that when Mutendi came to Rhodesia, he joined the Zion Apostolic Church that was started by his forerunners Mtisi and David Masuka. According to Daneel (1971) Mutendi found Mtisi and Masuka in a backsliding state, he revived them, and they preached together. Chances are high that since these three leaders, Mutendi, Masuka and Mtisi, did not show any difference between ZAC and ZAFM as they were preaching together, Mutendi never established the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe. Bishop Jamson Pedzisai clearly stated that Mutendi did not start the ZAFM church because he wanted to have a church of his own. Morton (2016) reproduced several ZAFM documents to show that Mutendi was never a member of ZAFM. The fact that Mutendi was working with Masuka of ZAC clearly shows that Mutendi was actually a member of Zion Apostolic Church (ZAC). Further, two years were not sufficient for Mutendi to establish a strong church given the political and religious challenges that were prevalent in the areas where they were preaching. This further explains why Mutendi was quick to accept the offer by Lekganyane to

make him the leader of Zion Christian Church (ZCC). Gumba, during informal discussions, pointed out that when Andreas Shoko returned from South Africa there was no ZAFM church and he started preaching in Chivi district in Museva area without any single convert for some time.

When Andreas Shoko arrived in Zimbabwe, he started preaching and baptising converts who believed in his teachings. Since he was from the priestly house, many people believed in his teachings, most particularly those from his village and close relatives. Andreas Shoko's father was a kraal head and this further gave him an impetus to quickly get converts from his home community. The other factor that made Shoko to have converts was his persuasive and persistent character. Shoko, as highlighted before, was very persuasive and this made people to accept his teachings. As a humble and patient character, people were ready to accept him. The first convert of Andreas Shoko was Jeremiah Mugari Shava who later became his vice-bishop. The other converts of Shoko included Kandros Mawisire and Rueben Muzvidziwa.

After preaching around his home area, Shoko also headed to the east and preached at Nyajena area, and his first converts there included Jonisaya Muzangwa, Ruka Changa and Matuva. In Nyajena, Shoko nominated Jonisaya Muzangwa as the High Priest and leader of the circuit. As a man who could endure hardship and sacrifice for what he wants, Shoko also moved by foot to different other areas that included Mberengwa and established another centre there. The first converts in Mberengwa area included Ruka Matongo and Elphas Madhidhi Chidzima. Therefore, in his time Andreas Shoko established three different centres of ZAFM; that is, Museva area, Nyajena and Mberengwa. In his preaching, he was circulating in these areas, moving on foot. The journey from Chivi to Mberengwa is so big (approximately 80km) that he would spend days before he got there.

Andreas Shoko got married in 1931 and his wife was a sister to Jonisaya Muzangwa, the high priest of the Nyajena circuit or ZAFM centre. The name of Shoko's wife was Punha Muzangwa, later named Margret Muzangwa at baptism. In 1932, Punha (Margret) Muzangwa gave birth to a son and they called him Dorius. Shoko, in his missionary journeys, used to walk together with his wife Punha, baptising, healing and preaching to the local areas. Andreas Shoko's wife Punha (Margret) Muzangwa died around 1933, a year after her first son was born. Dorius was left in the custody of Shoko's mother Estere Chinatsira. The cause of Punha's death is not known.

Since most of the converts were from his home community, Shoko decided to establish the headquarters of Zimbabwean ZAFM at Museva where it is even today. After the establishment of the ZAFM, Shoko remained loyal to Edward and could return to South Africa repeatedly to report on the growth and progress of the ZAFM in Zimbabwe. Ideologically, the bond with the South African Zionist Church had prestigious value to the Shona ZAFM church. Bishop Jamson Pedzisai said that Shoko only went to South Africa once after the establishment of the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe. In 1939, Shoko went back to South Africa to report on the progress of his missionary work in Zimbabwe. The return to South Africa, as Bishop Jamson said, had no financial gain but Shoko wanted to go there for spiritual blessings and edification of his spiritual powers (*kuwedzerwa simba*). As Bishop Jamson narrated, when Shoko arrived in South Africa to give a report on his progress in Zimbabwe, he found Edward Lion dead and was succeeded by his son Solomon who had made many changes in the South African ZAFM church. Shoko also learnt that before death Edward had introduced sexual confession where women in his church were expected to sleep with him at certain times. Furthermore, Shoko got reports that Edward Lion had been convicted for seducing and impregnating women in his church. This did not please Shoko who had an intense argument with Solomon Lion. The reports on what was transpiring in the ZAFM of South African branch made Shoko decide not to come back to South Africa and he became independent.

When Shoko started preaching and baptising people in Chivi district, the colonial administration was not pleased, and they decided to seek the support of the traditional leadership to stop Shoko's activities. In 1933, the Native Commissioner (NC) convened a meeting of chiefs and headmen and it was resolved that Andreas Shoko should be banned (Mazarire, 2004). Shoko was warned and detained at Chivi district offices several times. Therefore, to gain religious independence, Shoko faced many challenges from both the political and religious wings in Chivi district. In 1935, Shoko stirred another religious quandary in the reserves of Fort Victoria (now Masvingo) district and this led to the convening of another Native Board meeting by the Native Commissioner (NC) (Mazarire, 2004). According to Daneel, cited in Mazarire (2004), the second Native Board was held in 1936 and came up with strikingly similar consequences as the one at Chivi. Following the resolutions of the second Native Board meeting, Shoko was deported from Masvingo to his home in Museva area.

Mazarire (2004) further noted that after the two incidences where the Native Commissioner reprimanded Shoko, his activities were watched closely and the state turned him into a jailbird.

He was frequently in and out of the Chivi British South Africa Police (BSAP) cells. Upon realizing the persistent nature of Shoko in preaching the gospel, the Native Commissioner at Chivi district offices put Shoko and his followers under some form of house arrest by driving them into one village in the southern part of the district and asking their village head to report to the NC's office about their activities every month.

Shoko suffered a lot and faced many challenges. He was arrested and severely beaten many times. Bishop Jamson said that even by the time of his death, Shoko had scars from the beating and torture he suffered during these times of tribulation in the missionary journey to establish a Zion city in Zimbabwe. Bishop Jamson said that Shoko gave the NC a nickname called Manyuchi, (a bee), because of the way he was angry with Shoko because of his preaching the Zionist gospel. Shoko had to play a hide and seek game with the police. The nickname implies that the pain inflicted on Shoko by the NC was similar to the sting of a bee. Shoko, as one of the high priests who worked with him said, went to the extent of composing a song to contemplate the pain he experienced under the NC. The song goes:

<i>Jehovah Murena</i>	Jehovah my God
<i>Ndoiteiko nhai mambo</i>	What can I do my lord?
<i>Vanondisunga sendakaba</i>	They arrest me as if I have stolen
<i>Sendakaba mubhanga rashe</i>	Like I have stolen from the king's bank
<i>VaManyuchi ndiPirato</i>	VaManyuchi (the NC's nick name) is like Pilate
<i>Chiro chiya chaunyazve</i>	The trouble has come again

The other song that Shoko composed to show his pain was sung to me by his two wives who are alive today, called Josephine and Estere. The song goes:

<i>Jehovah Murena</i>	Jehovah my God
-----------------------	----------------

Waitsvaga waiona

The hunters have found their prey

Tovata takasungwa

We sleep with chains

Tichisungirwa shoko rashe Jesu

They arrest us for the word of Jesus Christ

Interesting to note is the fact that Shoko was criticized by the government of the day. Their basic argument was that African Independent Churches are a form of political expression not mere religious groupings. This implies that the government treated Shoko's Church as a political movement and they sought to thwart it in its infancy. The DRC also criticized Shoko, saying that his gospel was inadequate. The wife of Bishop Jamson, Elvia Mabvadya, said that the other reason why Shoko was troubled by the DRC is that he had a bible that he brought from South Africa that was written in Sotho language. Shoko's Sotho bible had both Old and New Testament yet the DRC and Roman Catholic missionaries in Chivi were emphasising on the reading of the New Testament only. The DRC and Roman Catholic missionaries were the ones who were complaining to the NC about Shoko's activities, saying he was disturbing the peace of the societies. The DRC was saying it is not the proper bible because it was written in vernacular language. Shoko was also accused of getting his healing powers from the bones of the dead. He was accused of excavating the graves of the chiefs and traditional healers in the mountains where he was conducting his healing sessions and eating their remains to get power. However, Shoko was never intimidated by the arrests and criticisms that he faced. He was the first African Christian to challenge the Dutch Reformed Church monopoly in Chivi district.

When his followers were driven to the southern part of Chivi district, Shoko concentrated his activities in his home area in Museva, Nyajena and Mberengwa. He would make constant visits to Nyuni range of mountains near Ngundu Halt business center to conduct his sermons and healing practices (Mazarire, 2004). Nyuni Mountain is very steep and Shoko and his followers had to climb to its top through a tree whose branch was in contact with the top of the mountain. Shoko was able to gather a large following and many people came with their sick for healing. Most of the people were attracted to the ZAFM church by Shoko's healing abilities as well as his gift of predicting the future. The Shona people were and are more concerned about health and wellbeing particularly knowing what will befall them in the immediate and long-term future (Shoko, 2011). They always want to be equipped with information about their future.

This quest of the Shona for health and wellbeing found fulfillment in the prophecies of Andreas Shoko. As many people were coming to receive healing, some could not be served the same day. This prompted Shoko and the ZAFM church to build *misasa* (waiting rooms) where the patients could be kept until their turn to be prayed for arrived. People could spend days waiting for their turn for prayers hence the ZAFM church members were contributing food to the patients. This concern for the needs of the sick was also another factor that made many people join the ZAFM church.

During the focus group discussions, one called Mhaka from Jaka area in Chivi said his family converted to ZAFM because one day Shoko and his wife preached to them explaining that the God he serves is a healer. After Shoko left Jaka area, Mhaka's heifer fell sick and he decided to follow Shoko to his Museva home area to come and pray for the heifer. When Shoko heard the news, they both walked back to Jaka area and he prayed for the heifer that he healed upon pointing his staff at the heifer. Mhaka said that healing of the heifer had some miraculous effects because from that time all the calves from their family were heifers. No bull was born to their heifers from that time. The miracle made the whole Mhaka village to convert to Zionism to which they belong even today. As the two wives of Shoko who are alive today said, Shoko used his staff called *Matvimbo Matvimbo* (The Great Staff) in healing sessions.

Andreas Shoko's preaching method of relating the gospel symbolically, attracted many that had failed to find meaning in the bureaucracy and teachings of the DRC (Mazarire, 2004). He held open meetings and baptized many converts, both elderly and children. This had detrimental effects on the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) that began to register very poor church attendance.

Interesting to note is the fact that even though Shoko was receiving many African converts, some other leaders in the traditional circles were growing uncomfortable with his activities, particularly his idea of taking women and girls to nightly prayer meetings. The Native Commissioner used this as a pretext to suppress Shoko's activities. However, other blacks, especially the rural people in Chivi, preferred Shoko's church to the Dutch Reformed Church. Therefore, even though Shoko's activities were officially condemned, most traditionalists tolerated them as a positive challenge to the colonialist onslaught on African customs (Mazarire, 2004).

Andreas Shoko's religious revolution of the 1930s managed to shake the power of the DRC, and at the same time demonstrated to the Africans that European superiority could be challenged. It set the pace for the destruction of the DRC monopoly, which ironically was engineered by Africans using rival Christian churches (Mazarire, 2004). In 1948, we witness the coming of other mainstream denominations in Chivi district and these included Methodists, the Apostolic Faith Missions (AFM), the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA), and Members in Christ Church (MCC), Roman Catholic Church (RCC) and other African Independent Churches such as Jonas Zvobgo's African Reformed Church (ARC). This further weakened the DRC's monopoly over Chivi district.

In 1949, the Acting Native Commissioner (ANC) from Gwelo (now Gweru) granted permission to the Roman Catholic Church to build a school at Mhomho area in Chivi district (Mazarire, 2004). The Provincial Native Commissioner (PNC), who was not in support of the view that one denomination should be given a monopoly in Chivi, ratified this decision. Important to note is the contention that the Acting Native Commissioner and the Provincial Native Commissioner were not members of the DRC and this is the reason why they allowed the coming of other churches in Chivi District. By the 1970s, 'Dutch monopoly' had died a natural death. This gave Shoko more freedom to preach and many people were flocking to his ZAFM church. Rather, with the decline of the Dutch Reformed Church's monopoly, ZAFM managed to extend its territory stretching as far as beyond Mberengwa in the western side of Chivi district. The church also established its congregations in such areas as Mwenezi, Bikita, Mashava, Buhera, Masvingo urban and rural and many other surrounding areas in Zimbabwe.

Since his first wife died in 1933, Shoko later on remarried Esnathi Moyo who was from Mberengwa where he had set up another center for the ZAFM church. Esnathi gave birth to five children. His third wife was called Tendai Chinatsira and she is mother to Zachariah who later on contested with Dorius. The fourth wife was called Magumbo and she gave birth to only one child who was named Estere after Shoko's mother. The fifth wife was called Machuma and she gave birth to five children. She later on lost three of her children on three consecutive days and this made her to move out of her matrimonial home suspecting that other wives of Shoko had bewitched her children. The sixth wife is Josephine Marisa Chinatsira. She gave birth to seven children. The seventh wife is called Sosana, Estere Jongwe from Negari area in Mwenezi and is still alive. She gave birth to three children. Josephine Marisa and Sosana Estere Jongwe are still alive today and are referred to as grandmothers of Zion (see Picture 1 in

Appendix 6). The concept of polygamy was adopted from both the traditional Shona societal values and the Old Testament which is awash with leaders who had many wives.

The realization of the growth of his church and the support he had garnered from both local and distant followers made Shoko consolidate his power over the ZAFM church. His followers were now spread in almost every district in Masvingo and beyond to as far as Mberengwa, Buchwa and Mozambique. It was now becoming difficult for him to control all the established congregations alone. Shoko started to have well-established leadership structures so that the local people would be led by the appointed leaders who would then report to him as the overall person in the leadership hierarchy.

Figure 1 below shows his leadership structure.

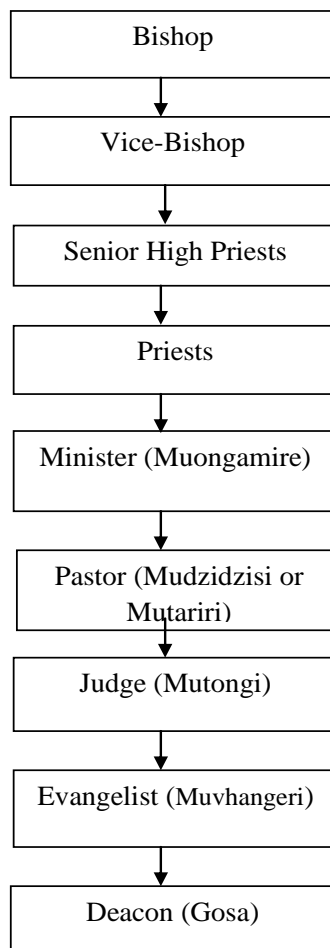


Figure 1. Leadership structure during Andreas Shoko's time

5. 4 The Teachings of Andreas Shoko at the Inception of ZAFM

Andreas Shoko in his missionary work among the Shona people was based on his teachings that he adapted from the teachings of Zionist Movement in South Africa as well as from the traditional Shona cultural values. This means that his teachings were an amalgamation of Christian and traditional cultural values. He accepted some elements while others were condemned from the traditional society. Among other issues, Shoko taught against ancestral worship and veneration. He was calling his fellow country people to leave their traditional way of life and embrace Christianity. Shoko was against consulting traditional healers when illness strike. As the vice- bishop said during the in-depth interviews, Shoko encouraged his followers to consult the prophets rather than the traditional healers. His message was, “repent and leave your old and traditional ways,” the vice- bishop said. Shoko also taught against beer drinking, smoking, sexual immorality, murder, theft and disrespect of elders and leaders.

Shoko also taught about unity and communalism. He encouraged his followers to love one another, help each other and visiting the sick. In terms of polygamy, the vice bishop during the interviews said that he accommodated it. For him, the ZAFM constitution even today does not deny polygamy. It is common for members of the ZAFM church to have many wives and children. This is in line with Ndiokwere (1981:24) who said that in most AICs polygamy is not a problem. They encourage their members to have many wives. AICs justify polygamy basing on traditional Shona culture which accepts polygamy and Old Testament narratives of Jacob, Moses, David, Solomon and others who had many wives but they excelled in their leadership. Polygamy is thought to be advantageous especially when it comes to work and church growth. Having many wives meant that one has more work force in the fields and in turn the number of people in the church multiples. Polygamy is used as a sign of real manhood and religious uniqueness. In the ZAFM church, women in a polygamous family are encouraged to live in harmony.

Shoko was also teaching about faith-healing and revelation through dreams. Healing is in form of exorcism and confession of sins. During the focus group discussions with the members of the Council of High Priests, it was pointed out that in every church service, there is time allocated for people to narrate their dreams and visions and then prophets would interpret. Dreams play a vital role in the ZAFM church since they believe that God speaks to them through dreams, visions and revelations. Well know dreamers are treated with respect in the church. Shoko was also teaching about the seven-fold baptism in water. The seven-fold baptism

as bishop Jamson said is meant to cast away evil spirits. He also taught about wearing ritual garments, having a prophetic staff and sacred codes. All these were meant to protect the believers from evil spirits. The scared cords are not put on at liberty; they have to be from the prophet's advice. Shoko was also teaching about food taboos, such as not eating pork, ducks, catfish, animal blood, fermented food and meat of strangled animals.

5.5 Jeremiah Shava: 1948 Schism

As if the days of suffering from the DRC monopoly were not nerve-racking enough, Andreas Shoko in 1948 faced a struggle within a struggle. The year 1948 was a turning point in the history of the ZAFM since it was the year that the church experienced its first schism, led by Jeremiah Shava. There is more than one competing explanation on what caused the split between Shoko and Shava. The first explanation states that the proliferation of churches and the subsequent melt down of the DRC monopoly in Chivi district opened avenues for more African leaders to start their own churches (Mazarire, 2004). The coming of Jonas Zvobgo's African Reformed Church (ARC) seemed to have attracted Shava very much. It seems he saw that he can start his own church in the same manner Shoko and Zvobgo started their own. Jeremiah Shava saw this opportunity and broke away from Shoko to form his own ZAFM church in the southern end of Chivi district in chief Shindi area that is approximately 25 kilometres away from Museva. Shava broke away from Andreas Shoko with about 200 members. According to Daneel (1971:309), the main reason why Jeremiah Shava broke away was that Andreas Shoko had introduced polygamy into the Church. According to Mushayi, a leader in the Jeremiah Shava ZAFM church, Shoko married a girl who had come to him to be healed of evil spirits. He further said that Shoko was supposed to pray for this girl but instead he married his client. This was immoral; a leader cannot do that, he emphasized.

The second explanation on why Shava left Shoko is that he was authorised by Andreas Shoko himself to start another congregation as a way of reducing the congestion at the church. According to the vice- bishop in an interview, it was Shoko's system to create room for other leaders whom he trusted to become bishops and lead another independent branch of the ZAFM in their own areas of jurisdiction. Shoko was always doing this to reduce the distances that people were walking to the ZAFM church headquarters in Museva area. He went on to say that *VaShoko vakanga vagutsikana nehutungamiriri hwaVaShava vakaona kuti vakakodzera kupiwa mumvuri wavo voga kuti vatungamire*. (Andreas Shoko was satisfied by the leadership

qualities of Shava and saw it quite reasonable to authorise him to start an independent branch of ZAFM as a bishop).

Bishop Jamson gave the third view, where he stated that Jeremiah Shava left Shoko of conspiracy. For him, a certain Tendai who was suffering from *zvipusha* (convulsions or fits) was brought to Shoko for healing sessions. Shoko prayed for her and she was healed but her parents went to Jeremiah Shava and convinced him that he should talk to Shoko to agree to marry Tendai. Tendai's parents were afraid that she might fall sick again upon arrival home. Shoko at first refused but Jeremiah Shava persuaded him and he later accepted Tendai and she became his third wife. As Bishop Jamson said, Jeremiah wanted this marriage to take place for his own benefits. At a Passover feast that Shoko was supposed to preside as the Bishop, Jeremiah Shava connived with the prophet that the prophet should give a word of prophecy, stating that Shoko was unclean because of his marriage to his patient. As was planned, Bishop Jamson exclaimed, the prophet gave the word of prophecy and Shoko then assigned Shava to preside over the Passover feast. It was well known that Shoko was teaching his followers that any word from the prophet should not be questioned and Shava took advantage of that. After the Passover, Bishop Jamson said, the prophet who connived with Shava fell sick and God spoke to him through a dream that what he had done was wrong hence, he was going to die. However, before his death he was told to go and confess to Shoko that the prophecy about uncleanliness was a false one. Further, the prophet was told in the dream that if he delays to confess to Shoko he will continue to be sick until he confesses. The prophet then went and confessed to Shoko. Bishop Jamson said that upon arrival at his home the prophet fell down and died.

After getting the confession, Shoko called for Shava to give an explanation why he had connived with the prophet and it is at this time that Shava became embarrassed and decided not to see Shoko face to face; hence he convinced the followers from Shindi his home area to start a new ZAFM under his name.

However, it is interesting to note that Jeremiah Shava married a second wife soon after he started his own ZAFM church in chief Shindi's area. This further shows that the issue of conspiracy and not polygamy was the main cause of leadership contestation between Shoko and Shava. Chimeme during focus group discussions with the members of the laity clearly stated that the issue of polygamy that was raised by Jeremiah Shava was secondary to the driving power of leadership ambitions that were motivated by the proliferation of other African

Independent Churches in Chivi district as well as the end of the DRC monopoly. This implies that the doctrinal conflict on polygamy only served as a camouflage to the leadership ambitions that were the most potent source of separation. Daneel (1971:309) said that in African Independent Churches, the prospective secessionist leader deliberately raises a doctrinal issue or searches for a weakness in the leader to justify his intended course of action. This shows that Shava only raised the issue of polygamy to justify his move to leave Shoko's ZAFM church. If one would go by the view of the priest that Shoko himself authorised Shava to form a new branch, then it becomes reasonable to accept why Shava had to take a second wife soon after breaking away from Shoko. It can also be argued that being a vice-bishop, Shava was close to Shoko and had seen to it that Shoko had no idea of making him his successor; hence, he decided to raise doctrinal issues to form his own church and become a bishop.

5.6 Rueben Museva: 1949 Schism

The ZAFM church experienced its second schism in 1949. Rueben Muzvidziwa or Museva who lived near the ZAFM headquarters in Museva area left to join the Members in Christ Assemblies (MCA) that had its headquarters in Pretoria but under European control (Daneel, 1971:309). Like in the story of Shava, the reasons for the disputes have many explanations. Samuel Muzvidziwa, Rueben's first son who succeeded his father as a deacon in the Members in Christ Assemblies, in an informal discussion on 21 March 2017, said Rueben broke away because of Andreas Shoko's failure to administer the church properly and because of failure to demonstrate constantly the fullness of the biblical concept of love. However, Muringo, a member of Shoko's ZAFM, said that Rueben Muzvidziwa broke away in 1949 when the church council disciplined him for a full-year after he was found guilty of adultery. Rueben Muzvidziwa joined the Members in Christ Assemblies because they were tolerant of beer drinking and they believed that if one commits adultery and confesses before the assembly, his or her sins would be forgiven. The other reason that could have propelled the 1948 disputes is the 1949 Zionists covenant (other literature use 1947 or 1948). The leaders were breaking away upon seeing that their leadership ambitions had been shut. The principal leaders of the Zionist churches, Samuel Mutendi of ZCC, Andreas Shoko of ZAFM, and David Masuka of ZAC convened a meeting in 1949. They made a resolution that upon the death of either of them, the remaining leaders should anoint the first son of the deceased leader from his first wife as the successor. They agreed that the successor has to be anointed at the memorial service of the deceased bishop. The 1949 Zionist covenant, as Bishop Jamson said, was put in place after

Josiya Nebarwe who seceded from Samuel Mutendi and formed his own Zionist church died. Upon his death, Nebarwe's son was ordained as the next bishop but the priests who worked with his father refused to recognize his leadership since he was younger than them. This made Mutendi to see the advantage of having a binding agreement on succession.

The resolutions of the 1949 Zionist covenant could have stirred succession disputes particularly from those who have been working closely with the principal leaders in particular Rueben Museva and Jeremiah Shava. The move reduced their leadership opportunities, that is why they decided to leave, and Reuben joined the members in Christ church where he was given a high post upon arrival and Shava formed his own ZAFM church.

5.7 Ruka Changa: 1950 Schism

After Shava's departure, Kandros Mawisire was appointed by Shoko as the vice-bishop. Kandros Mawisire served as the vice-bishop for a long time, until his death. After his death, Tapson Mawisire, his son, replaced him. This further shows that inheritance is the major leadership succession model used in the ZAFM church. However, Tapson Mawisire felt that he could not be a vice-bishop while there were other elders who were close to his father. Tapson later on decided to surrender the vice-bishop's position to Jonisaya Muzangwa who was a brother of Andreas Shoko's first wife Punha (Margret) Muzangwa. Shoko did not dispute this decision hence Jonisaya Muzangwa became the vice-bishop in place of Tapson Mawisire.

The move to appoint Jonisaya Muzangwa as the vice-bishop did not please other priests like Ruka Changa and Matuva Changa. Jonisaya Muzangwa was married to Ruka and Matuva Changa's sister, so they argued that they could not be led by their *mukwasha* (son-in-law). This made the two of them to break away from Shoko and each formed ZAFM under their names. Priest Ruka Matongo from Mberengwa supported Ruka Changa. A priest called Erivhanos Rundebvu Makhadho from Zunga supported Matuva. It seems from this narration that Ruka and Matuva had seen some kind of nepotism in the demotion of Tapson and the elevation of Shoko's brother-in-law Muzangwa. This implies that Matuva and Ruka Changa had suspected that the surrender of vice-bishop's position to Muzangwa was not out of Tapson's own volition. Bishop Jamson cited the urge to become a leader as the sole reason why Changa and Matuva left Shoko to form their own church. They just raised the issue of nepotism as a way to justify their move.

According to Daneel (1971:309), Ruka Tschanga (the correct spelling is Changa) caused a major schism in 1950 when he broke away and thousands of church members living in Belingwe area (now Mberengwa) followed him. Changa, though he was from Nyajena, managed to influence the congregation from Mberengwa to follow him. The Mberengwa congregation was led by Ruka Matongo who was a prophet.

Unfortunately, Ruka Changa was unable to maintain his position because his followers flocked back to Andreas Shoko, particularly the supporters from Mberengwa (Daneel, 1971). Gwenhamo (not real name), during focus group discussions, said that Changa was not eloquent and persuasive in nature as compared to Shoko, hence his followers started to have discontent with him. Upon realizing that most of his followers had flocked back to Shoko, Changa admitted defeat and re-joined the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission Church of Shoko in 1955. Important to note is the fact that the largest number of Changa's followers were from Mberengwa and most probably the issue of distance made the Mberengwa followers to go back to Shoko after realizing that Changa hardly visited them because of distance. Daneel, (1971) stated that Shoko was patient, persuasive and humble and these characteristics managed to attract many people to his church.

Bishop Jamson said that the ZAFM of Matuva survived only up to the time of his death. Rundebvu Makhadho, the high priest who had supported Matuva, decided to re-join the ZAFM of Andreas Shoko that is under Bishop Jamson. The reason cited by Rundebvu is that the son of Matuva who succeeded him is immoral. He steals other people's goats, sheep and cattle; hence, many of his followers are running away from him.

It appears that many of these secessionists had personal agendas against Shoko, but nonetheless Shoko kept the flag of his revolution flying undeterred. It can be said that Bishop Andreas, due to his strong and flexible character, was able to deter schism on an outsized scale. Further, due to his patient and persuasive determination, he succeeded in winning back many of the subordinate officials who had broken away under the main secessionists.

The 1948–1950 disputes gripped Shoko with fear of what would happen after his death. He sensed a more serious leadership dispute that could arise after his death, thus he anointed his son Dorius in 1955 as his successor (see Appendix 3). This was done in the presence of the high priests and the council of priests that included Tapson Mawisire, Paul Mandude, Erivhanos Makhadho and Mabhigiri. The anointment of Dorius in 1955 as the next successor

of Shoko had many reasons as well as effects. It seems Shoko did this after seeing that most of the leaders who were involved in leadership disputes had ambitions of becoming bishops themselves. He also wanted to show to the church that succession in his church has to follow his blood. The other reason was to ensure that before his death he has prevented all schismatic motives in his church. Shoko might have done this to have more time to train his successor well before he dies, to make sure that his motives are put forward in the manner that he wanted. Other reasons apart from these can also be raised on why Shoko anointed his son as his successor 30 years before his death.

5.8 Priest Simon Tawanda: 1970 Schism

The Zion Apostolic Faith Mission in 1970 (Daneel used 1965) experienced disputes between Andreas Shoko and his priest Simon Tawanda. Simon Tawanda was a priest from Jaka area in Chivi central. According to Bishop Jamson, Simon Tawanda introduced what they called fourteen (14) days of not eating bread while praying. The introduction of a new doctrine without consultation made Shoko displeased and a dispute erupted between the two. As the disputes became heated, Simon Tawanda broke away with a few people from Jaka area. Apart from doctrinal differences between Shoko and Tawanda, the 1970 contestations were also caused by discontent arising from frustrated leadership ambitions on the part of Simon Tawanda. Simon Tawanda complained about the delay of his promotion from the position of evangelist to that of a minister.

Due to frustrations, Tawanda dissociated himself from Andreas Shoko and formed his own church. Simon Tawanda, as Mirosi in an interview said, broke away from Shoko after realizing that his chances of being promoted were slim given the time he had waited for promotion. He raised a doctrinal issue as a way to get out of Shoko's church. However, Tawanda's ambitions did not come true as most of his followers started to flock back to Shoko. Isaac Tawanda, during the focus group discussions with the Council of High Priests said that the followers soon realized that Simon Tawanda had no gift of prophecy and they had always wanted to know about their future hence they flocked back to Shoko. In 1972, Simon Tawanda was forced by circumstances to seek reconciliation with Shoko who then held a 'home-coming' ceremony for him. On this occasion Shoko announced that Simon, having been lost, had 'returned to his father' for a common act of joint worship (Daneel, 1971:309). This announcement was followed by loud cheering as the members present watched Andreas leaping jubilantly in the air with loud 'Hosannas' and 'Hallelujahs' (Daneel, 1971:309). The humility of Shoko that accompanied

this vivid expression of joy must have been one of the important personal contributions towards the cohesion of leadership in the ZAFM church. Simon Tawanda failed to meet the expectations of the people who he had seceded with and that is why they returned to their humble, polite, prophet and father Andreas Shoko.

5.9 Ishmael Mushingi: 1985 Schism

In 1985, the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission Church suffered schism related to attitude to traditional customs. Ishamel Mushingi in Bulawayo and his followers incorporated traditional customs in their church liturgy during the reign of Andreas Shoko. Mushingi's basic argument was that at the last supper, Jesus drank wine with his disciples and for him wine is synonymous to beer. He insisted and taught that the church should use beer (the traditional seven days beer) in the last supper liturgy. This infuriated Andreas Shoko who then put Mushingi under church discipline. Mushingi did not accept well the disciplinary measures taken for giving what Shoko considered as false teaching. The move made Mushingi to accuse Shoko of failing to interpret the bible well. The two were involved in the exchange of words until the time of Shoko's death.

Mushingi, after the bishop installation ceremony of Shoko's successor in 1985 at Museva, went back to Bulawayo and nothing was heard of him up to the present day. Bishop Dorius Shoko wrote him three letters but all was in vain. The Council of High Priests concurred with the Vice-bishop who said that apart from the disciplinary issue, Mushingi was not pleased by the coming of Dorius Shoko to power and saw this as an opportunity to start his own church in Bulawayo. The other reason as suggested by the Vice-bishop could be that Mushingi was not happy to be led by the Shona bishops since he was Ndebele. This boiled down to the traditional Ndebele-Shona rivalry. Traditionally the Ndebele were more powerful than the Shona, so, chances could be that Mushingi saw it unbearable to remain under the tutelage of the Shona leaders whom he might have thought to be from lesser kingship positions.

5.10 The death of Andreas Shoko: 1985

The story of the death of Andreas Shoko is shrouded in mystery. The two wives of Shoko who are alive to this day said that one evening Shoko went to inspect his fields (*kunomema munda*) at his home in Museva area and discovered that there was a pit dug at the middle of his field and a stone was put on top of the pit to conceal what was inside. Shoko became hesitant to open and peep into the pit and he hurried home. He became suspicious of the way the pit was

dug. Rather, he suspected witchcraft in this issue. Upon arrival at home, Shoko called all his wives and told them what he saw in the fields. No sooner did he narrate the issue that Shoko fell sick complaining of headache. A prophet was called and Dorius (Shoko's first son with his first wife) went to the fields together with the prophet. The two performed prayer rituals in the fields as they were holding Shoko's Great staff called *Matsvimbo Matsvimbo*. They were praying, moving around the pit. After some time of prayer sessions, the prophet then knelt down at the pit to remove the stone that covered the pit. Upon removing the stone, the prophet felt some powers coming from the pit and attacking him. He fell to the ground, Dorius laid Shoko's Great staff on him, and he regained his power. The prophet got hold of the Great staff and started to pray pointing it into the pit. As the prophet continued pray pointing the staff into the pit to deal with the powerful spirits inside, the staff was broken. This made the two to be gripped with fear and they left the area in haste to narrate the ordeal to Shoko. When Shoko got the news of what had transpired in the fields, including the breaking of his staff, he was sure that the illness would not spare his life. He gathered all his wives and told them that the powers of darkness (*masimba erima*) have fought him and prevailed. He told them that anytime, God was going to take him. The breaking of the staff was a symbol that Shoko would soon die. The pit in the field was interpreted to symbolise the grave of Shoko. The fact that the prophet was struck by the evil powers in the pit was a symbol that Shoko would soon die.

All the stories on how Shava left to start his church are myths that the adherents of the ZAFM hold in relation to Shoko's death. Shoko suffered from the severe headache for a period of three (3) months and then he died at his rural home in Museva area in 1985. Since it was during the colonial era, hospitals and medical treatments were scarce. Moreso, Africans by this time were not used to going to hospitals, so the prophets in the church treated Shoko. He was 95 years old by the time of his death. Shoko's death gripped and shook the whole of ZAFM church. By the time of his death, Shoko had managed to establish three big centres of his church apart from the headquarters at Museva area. The first one was the headquarters in Chivi district that was led by Kandros Mawisire. The other one was Nyajena and was led by Jonisaya Muzangwa as the high priest. The third one was in Mberengwa that was under Chidzima as the high priest. The high priest at these centres were in charge of many congregations under them with thousands of followers.

5.11 Summary

This chapter has managed to trace the history of Andreas Shoko from his birth. It looked at his education, profession in Zimbabwe, and how he migrated to South Africa in search of greener pastures. The chapter also discussed Shoko's conduct with the ZAFM church in South Africa, his conversion and subsequent mission to Zimbabwe. It looked at how Shoko started preaching in Zimbabwe, the criticism and suffering he experienced from the local people, the Dutch Reformed Church and the government. The chapter also considered some of the disputes and schisms that occurred during Shoko's time. The events and circumstances that led to his death are spelt out in this chapter. The next chapter is on the schisms and disputes in the ZAFM church after the death of Andreas Shoko.

Chapter 6

SCHISMS AND LEADERSHIP DISPUTES AFTER THE DEATH OF ANDREAS SHOKO

6.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present schisms and leadership disputes in the ZAFM church after the death of Andreas Shoko. The chapter starts by looking at the succession contestations that broke out between Dorius and Zachariah Pedzisai Shoko and then other schisms that occurred thereafter. The history of the church from the time Dorius the successor of Shoko assumed power to his death is provided in this chapter as well. The chapter also looks at the leadership hierarchy in the ZAFM church and the general duties of each office in this church. The methods used in the ZAFM church to select leaders are discussed as well. The chapter ends by looking at the succession disputes that occurred between the sons of Dorius, that is, Bishop Jamson and Ezra, who are the leaders of the current two formations of the ZAFM church. The reason for providing this history is to see the magnitude of succession disputes in the church, and this provides a good foundation for examining the causes of succession disputes.

6.1 Succession Contestation between Dorius and Zachariah Pedzisai Shoko: 1985 Schism

The ZAFM church experienced its major contestation for succession in 1985. As in most AICs, a major crisis usually arises at the death of the founder leader around whose person the movement had started (Daneel, 1971). An outstanding event in 1985 that increasingly became a focus of discussion in Andreas Shoko's church is the succession disputes between Dorius and Zachariah Pedzisai Shoko. According to the information obtained during the focus group discussions with the Council of High Priests, after the death of Andreas Shoko two factions emerged. One faction supported Dorius and it stood by the 1949 covenant. Those who rallied behind Dorius were led by an elder and Prophet Samson Mabikire who was arguing that Dorius Shoko was consecrated Bishop by his father Andreas Shoko on his birthday ceremony in 1955.

The other faction comprised of Prophet Aaron Mbanjani, and priests who included Rundonda, Pinias Matanga, and Masoso from Tugwi area and Chindingindingi who rallied behind Zachariah. Zachariah was a son from Andreas Shoko's third wife Tendai (the one who Shoko had healed from convulsions). Their reason was that Dorius was not in a good relationship with

his father Andreas, hence could not be the next successor. They further alleged that Dorius had backslidden and become a drunkard and an adulterous man. This made these priests to say that he was disinherited by Shoko. For them, Zachariah was the legitimate heir because he was very loyal to Shoko and church business. They said that he could not only be disadvantaged by not being the first son of the bishop's first wife.

Peter Tongo (not real name), a member of the Zachariah ZAFM church, in an interview held on the 18th of January 2017, said that on his death bed Andreas Shoko appointed Zachariah Pedzisai Shoko his oldest son from his third wife, to succeed him. Shoko is believed to have blessed Zachariah by laying hands on him and this was interpreted as a form of blessing and anointing of Zachariah as the next bishop. This act stirred a lot of confusion on who to follow since in 1955 Andreas Shoko had also appointed Dorius as his next successor. The supporters of Zachariah argued that he should be the bishop because Bishop Andreas Shoko might have changed his mind on his deathbed. The laying of his hands on Zachariah was likened to the way Isaac at his old age blessed his son Jacob whom he had not intended to bless in the first place (Genesis 27). Tongo further said that the main reason for contestations between Zachariah and Dorius were perpetrated by greed. For him, Dorius came back to church targeting material wealth and benefits associated with the bishopric office.

The supporters of Dorius Shoko who relied on the dictates of the 1949 Zionist covenant and the 1955 appointment objected to the idea that Andreas Shoko might have changed his mind about succession on his death- bed. Bishop Jamson during the in-depth interviews said that what made these priests to think that Dorius was not in a good relation with his father Andreas was a misinterpretation of events. For him, in 1972, Margret, a daughter of Jonisaya Muzangwa, (a brother of Dorius' mother), came to Shoko's homestead to be his wife (*chimutsamapfihwa*) in place of her deceased aunt. When Margret arrived at Shoko's homestead, Dorius went with her to his father and told him that he had brought his second mother (*ndauya naamai vangu vepiri*). As mentioned by Bishop Jamson, the coming of Margret pleased Shoko, he slaughtered a goat, and everyone who ate the meat commented that it was very tasty except for Margret who said it was sour. Soon after supper, Margret died complaining of stomach pains. Dorius tried to find out the cause of death through the prophets and was told that the other wives of Shoko were the ones who bewitched Margret. This made Dorius to be angry and it disturbed his spiritual growth. Dorius backslide this time due to frustrations caused by the death of his second mother.

However, despite the allegations levelled against Dorius, the members of the Zionist covenant, Peresu Masuka of ZAC and Rueben Mutendi of ZCC ordained him. During the inauguration, Dorius was given Andreas Shoko's church regalia, a bible that Shoko was using and a crown. He was not given the staff because it was broken the time Shoko fell sick. Even though its replacement was there, Dorius was not given a staff. According to Shoko's surviving wives, Shoko himself at his deathbed gave his second staff to his nephew Jamson. By then, Jamson was seventeen years old. The giving of the regalia of the deceased bishop to the successor is seen as a sign of the transfer of power and authority. Among the Zionist, a staff is a sign of being a shepherd. Therefore, by giving his staff to Jamson, Shoko was indicating that he would become a bishop in his life. According to the discussions with the Council of High Priests, Dorius never used Andreas Shoko's second staff. He had to make his own bishopric staff. The second staff that was given to Jamson was kept under the custody of the surviving wives of Shoko.

Angered by the support of Dorius by the Zionist covenant members, Zachariah invited Jeremiah Shava a rivalry of Shoko to come and ordain him on the same day that Dorius was ordained. The focus group with the Council of High Priests indicated that Zachariah, with the help of the priests and prophet Aaron Mbanjani started his own church just close to Andreas Shoko's homestead in Museva area and it is known as the ZAFM church of Zachariah Pedzisai Shoko. A number of followers, particularly those who were seeing no chances of getting any leadership position in the ZAFM under the leadership of Dorius, decided to follow Zachariah expecting to get high leadership positions in the new church. However, the consecration of Zachariah by a rival made some of his follower to doubt the authenticity of his bishopric. This made a large number of his supporters to change their minds and join Dorius. Such a deflocking of the supporters intensified the hostility between Dorius and Zachariah. Their contestations were so tense to the extent that they could engage in fist fighting every time they meet. The fights led to the intervention of the police who gave them peace order.

Currently the ZAFM church of Zachariah Pedzisai is registering low turnout and there is a leadership crisis. After the death of the priests who supported Zachariah, the priesthood is now in the hands of women and this is against the constitution of *Ndaza* Zionists. Bishop Jamson during the in-depth interviews said that all the priests and the prophet who supported Zachariah to form his own church became blind and all of them have died by now. This implies that they were punished by God for going against Dorius a son of the Covenant.

6.1.1 The three Priests' Contestation: 1986 Schism

The confusion that followed upon the death of Andreas Shoko and the contestation for succession between his two sons Dorius and Zachariah made other distant priests to lose contact with the developments that were taking place. This implies that contestation at the top leadership had great impact to the distant congregations at local levels. Priest Micah from Shanyaugwe area of Gwanda in Matabeleland South, priest Chiforimbo from Mushawasha, and priest Machidha from Zhou area all contested the coming of Dorius Pedzisai as the successor of Shoko. As stated during the focus group discussion with the Council of High Priests, these priests were expecting to be consulted on how to solve the contestations since they were working closely with Shoko. When their expectations were not met, they disputed the outcomes and decided to form their own churches. From the researcher's analysis, it seems these three priests were against the inheritance succession model that was used to appoint Dorius as the successor. This is evidenced by the fact that after the death of Dorius these priests re-joined the ZAFM church under one of his sons Ezra. Bishop Ezra is against the inheritance succession model as well. It might also be possible that these priests took advantage of the confusion brought up by the succession disputes and installed themselves as bishops in their own right. This was a move to sustain their urge to rise to higher leadership positions.

Priest Micah had to re-join the ZAFM church under the leadership of Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko (who is a non-covenant son) on 15 November 2015, that is, after 30 years of separation. Priest Machidha and Chiforimbo re-joined bishop Ezra on 23 September 2016 at Gunikuni conference after 31 years of separation. These priests came back with hundreds of followers and were received with singing of *hallelujahs*. The reason behind their coming back cannot be ascertained, but chances are high that they wanted to come back to the roots of *Ndaza* (sacred cord) Zionism. The other supposed reason could be that they wanted to give full support to the rising of non-covenant sons to leadership. This explains why they did not join Bishop Jamson who is a son of the covenant.

6.2 The ZAFM Church under the Leadership of Bishop Dorius Pedzisai Shoko

According to Bishop Jamson, the coming of Dorius Pedzisai Shoko to power was in line with the dictates of the 1949 Zionist covenant. The covenant considers someone as an authentic bishop if he has been appointed to the position by representatives from the other two Zionists that is, ZCC of Samuel Mutendi and ZAC of David Masuka. Dorius was appointed the

successor of his father Andreas Shoko in August 1985 when he was fifty-three (53) years old. Rueben Mutendi ordained him, since Samuel Mutendi had died in 1976. Bishop David Masuka of ZAC was also present at the inauguration of Dorius Pedzisai Shoko.

From the researcher's point of view, the ordination of Dorius by Rueben Mutendi seem to raise questions. When Samuel Mutendi died, he had appointed his second son Nehemiah Mutendi as his successor. This was not in line with the 1949 Zionist covenant. The question that could be asked is why Samuel Mutendi anointed Nehemiah and not Enginasi or Rueben who were eldest sons as successor. More so, we can also ask why Rueben and not Nehemiah was responsible for the ordination of Dorius Pedzisai Shoko. It would seem like the ordination of Dorius by Rueben was meant to revive the 1949 Zionist covenant that Samuel Mutendi had skipped for reason known to him. What is also interesting to note in the coming of Dorius to power is that the current two formations of the ZAFM church do agree that he was the rightful successor of Andreas Shoko. However, the reason to uphold such a view in the two formations is different. Bishop Ezra believes that Dorius was the rightful heir because Shoko had anointed him in 1955. At the same time, Bishop Jamson believes that Bishop Dorius was the rightful successor because he was the first son of Andreas Shoko and was consecrated by the members of the Zionist Covenant.

The information I got from the field data indicated that apart from the support of the 1949 covenant, Dorius garnered the support of some church elders and traditional leaders in the church. Dorius is said to have possessed other qualities that also qualified him as the successor of Shoko despite allegations of adultery and drunkenness. Among other qualities, as Bishop Jamson mentioned, Dorius had the gift to heal, prophesy, preach and interpret dreams. He could exorcize all kinds of evil spirits. His respect for leaders who had worked tirelessly during his father's reign also made him to be the most suitable successor of Shoko. Bishop Jamson further said that a prophet had confirmed that Bishop Dorius should succeed his father well before the death of Andreas Shoko. This brings forth the role of prophets in the ZAFM church. Prophets act as kingmakers.

Bishop Jamson stated that, Bishop Dorius had six wives and fourteen sons, and Jamson was the eldest surviving son by the time of his death. He moved forward with the gospel after the death of Andreas Shoko. He led the church for 27 years. The numerical growth of the church was experienced under his leadership since he had few challenges in his ministry particularly from the political wing since he came to power after independence. Rather, the ZAFM church

spread its tentacles across Zimbabwe under his leadership. He made branches in all districts and urban areas like Kadoma, Bulawayo, Gweru, Harare, Karoi, Kariba, Marondera, Chinhoyi, Chitungwiza and other urban centres. There were new branches that were started as far as Binga, Gokwe, Makande, Rushinga and Victoria Falls. The church also established branches in Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa and other nearby countries under Dorius' leadership. Dorius managed to finish the construction of the church that was started by his father at the church's headquarters at Museva area.

According to focus group discussions with the Council of High Priests, during the reign of Dorius, the priests were allowed to officiate over the Passover feast. Dorius himself authorized this because it was becoming almost impossible for him to make rounds to all the centres that were in his jurisdiction. During Andreas Shoko's time, priests were not allowed to officiate over such a feast. It was his own duty. It is interesting to note that some of the centres were not formed by Dorius himself but his followers who were either migrating to these areas through work or in search of more habitable lands. The followers would then call Dorius to officiate the new centres.

6.3 The 1992 Contest between Dorius Pedzisai Shoko and Emmanuel Chimhangwa

Bishop Jamson during the in- depth interviews said that Emmanuel Chimhangwa, a senior priest who had converted many members in co-operation with Andreas Shoko near Chivi growth point, thought that his work and efforts needed to be rewarded by becoming at least a vice-bishop. Bishop Jamson said, Chimhangwa claimed a better leadership position in the ZAFM church because he was a senior priest during Shoko's time. Upon seeing that his ambitions had not been fulfilled, Chimhangwa decided to form his own ZAFM church and he became a bishop. Chimhangwa argued that it was unbiblical to take church matters to be family business. For Chimhangwa, a church and a family are two different institutions that must be run differently. "Taking a church to be a family business is unbiblical", Chimhangwa, protested. Therefore, Chimhangwa played down his deeper motives of becoming a bishop by citing a doctrinal dispute and the shortcomings of the principal leader as the main cause of his dissent (Daneel,1987).

Bishop Jamson during face to face interviews further said that Chimhangwa officiated over a marriage ceremony in Chivi when one congregant got married. As a ZAFM custom, at any ceremony the bishop has to be given some portions of the beast that would have been

slaughtered. If the priest has been asked to officiate the ceremony, then he should get the portions and surrender them to the bishop after the ceremony. The portions include the thigh, heart, liver, kidneys and the chest. It was common in the traditional Shona societies to give meat portions to the chiefs or kings as sign of showing respect and recognition. As bishop Jamson said, Chimhangwa was given the portions but did not surrender them to Dorius. When he was asked why he had not done so, he became angry and then decided to start his own church independent from Dorius.

More so, Chimhangwa was given the custody of the carpentry and sewing machines that were donated to the ZAFM church by Fambidzano, an organization that was formed by Daneel. The machines were placed at Chivi growth point and were meant to be source of revenue for the church through training of tailors and carpenters. Chimhangwa decided to keep the machines for his own personal benefit. The acceptance of the meat portions by Chimhangwa and his failure to surrender them to be bishop was a typical sign that he regarded himself as a Bishop in his own right. The Council of High Priests during the focus group discussions said that the move was in itself a contestation against the leadership of Dorius. Dorius called Chimhangwa for a discussion after the incident but he refused. This prompted Dorius to send an emissary who was told by Chimhangwa that Dorius does not have authority to question what happens in the local congregation at Chivi. Chimhangwa further informed Dorius' emissary that he now owns his own church. This implies that the greed for leadership, presents, financial gain and the need for recognition made Chimhangwa to form his own church.

Bishop Jamson during the in-depth interviews said that Chimhangwa is now old, bed ridden and his mental faculty is deteriorating. The researcher's efforts to talk to him during the field research were fruitless because of his health. Currently most of his followers are flocking back to Andreas Shoko's ZAFM under the leadership of Bishop Jamson.

In November 2016, Chimhangwa, under the influence of his sons, sent Jani Chipipi to Bishop Jamson trying to amend his relations with Dorius' sons and the reconciliation is still in process. There were conditions that were given to him if the relationship is to be amended. The conditions to be fulfilled include the return of the carpentry and sewing machines and the return of the book that has the history of ZAFM church that Chimhangwa borrowed from Dorius. The disputes have not yet been resolved but negotiations are underway.

6.4 The Contestations between Jamson and Dorius Pedzisai Shoko

In the year 2000, the ZAFM church was shaken by internal factionalism. It seems Dorius by this time was failing to run his church well. The discussion with the Council of High Priests pointed out that Dorius failed to organise and control his many wives. This led to instability within his own family as his wives were accusing each other of witchcraft practices. This seemed to have affected Dorius' administration of the church since he is said to have started to be too dictatorial and egocentric. This led the priests under him to accuse him of maladministration of the church. He was no longer consulting his priests on decision-making as he used to do. This made Jamson to advise him against his dictatorship and maladministration but this only managed to brew animosity between them said one of the priests during the focus group discussions. As the priests said, Dorius could go to the extent of rebuking follower using vulgar language. They further allege that there was rampant mismanagement of church funds. They said that the national secretary general of the church Ben Mandiregerera who was also a High Priest in Masvingo urban was misusing church funds. Jamson was one of the church members who complained over the abuse of church funds. This was misinterpreted by Dorius who thought that his eldest son Jamson was against the benefits he was getting as a bishop through the secretary general of the church. The Council of High Priests further highlighted that Mandiregerera was accused of using church funds to partake in money changing deals. He is said to have squandered the church's \$ZW 10 million which was raised for sinking a borehole at Museva area (the headquarters of the church). At the helm of these accusations, Dorius sided with Mandiregerera. The accusations further made Dorius to excommunicate some of his office bearers and appoint Mandiregerera to double as both secretary general and treasurer of the church. The move according to the discussions with the Council of High Priests made Mandiregerera to further abuse funds and bought himself two houses in Masvingo urban.

The abuse of church funds made Jamson to intervene again encouraging his father to be transparent in the use of church funds. He also advised that auditors should be called to audit church funds. The advice of Jamson further intensified the enmity between him and his father and Mandiregerera as well. The move, however, made Jamson to be popular and he got support of many church members who were also against the embezzlement of church funds. This made the church to have two contesting factions. On one hand, there was a group supporting Jamson

and his call for the auditing of church funds. On the other hand, there was Dorius and Mandiregerera and other priests who were benefiting from the embezzlement of church funds.

By the year 2007, the Council of High priest said that factionalism was visible and Dorius hated his son Jamson. He was publicly accusing him of attempting a coup to take over leadership while he was alive. In his preaching, Dorius would always liken Jamson to the prodigal son in the bible. Most of the allies of Jamson were expelled in the church. Among those who were accused of influencing the behaviour of Jamson was prophet Masocha from the Masvingo urban branch of ZAFM church. Due to factionalism, the church was almost like it has been split into two churches. As the Council of Priest said, the situation was as if ZAFM had two churches housed in the same building. The factionalism continued until the time of Dorius' death.

Bishop Jamson said that Bishop Dorius (Andreas II) fell sick in 2005 at Museva area. In October 2005, Dorius relocated his home to Gunikuni. He moved to Gunikuni with his last two wives, Gertrude Sibanda and Saliwe Ndlovu. He was suffering from high blood pressure (BP) and diabetes. He relocated to Gunikuni because he wanted to move away from the environment where he fell sick. This move was in line with Traditional Shona belief systems. Traditionally, chiefs and kings also did this when they fell sick. They would relocate to a certain area under their jurisdiction until they felt better. This was done to conceal the illness of the king or chief. It was done to conceal the death in the event that he finally dies, until a successor was chosen.

The followers of Dorius at Gunikuni received him with open arms and by 2006; he was given a piece of land to do agriculture. The relocation to Gunikuni led to the creation of another small headquarters of ZAFM church there. Most of the celebrations were now done at Gunikuni save for the Easter and heroes celebrations where followers had to go to the Museva headquarters. Generally, ZAFM under Dorius had their international celebrations, which on top of the Easter and Heroes' celebrations was the blessing of the seeds (*kuuchika mbeu/ musangano wembeu*). During the *kuuchika mbeu* celebrations, congregants gather in the morning and then go up the mountain for rain making prayers. They would come down the mountain in the late afternoon and gather for the blessing of the seeds. The blessing of the seeds celebration is done every year at the end of September and followers come with samples of their seeds (*mbeu*) to be blessed by the bishop before they are planted. According to the information from the focus group discussion with the Council of High Priests, the ritual is marked by the singing of the song *tenzi taungana baba mutikomborere. Pakurima kwedu mutikomborere, muminda yedu*

mutikomborere. Tumirai mweya wekuropafadza mabasa edu emaoko (we have gathered here lord, bless us. Bless our ploughing, bless our fields. Send your spirit to bless the works of our hands). After the song the bishop blesses the water in a small bottle. The bishop or any assigned priest would then ask congregants to place their seeds at the center then he would move around them sprinkling the blessed water. Everyone has to ensure that his or her seeds have been sprinkled with holy water. The blessed seed samples would be mixed with the rest of the seeds when the congregants return home. It is believed by the church that once the prayers are done, rains would be falling in no time. As Bishop Jamson said, the rains would be expected the same day. For him, at times people would go down the mountain in haste, as the rains would be starting.

The *kuuchika mbeu* (blessing of the seeds) practice was borrowed from the traditional Shona societies especially the Mwari cult veneration. The transfer of the blessing of seeds ceremony from Museva to Gunikuni mirrors how the Mwari cult was transferred from Great Zimbabwe to Matopos. In the traditional society, the blessing of seeds was done in the beginning of October. The ritual justifies the role of the Bishop as a king of Zionism. The role of blessing the seeds was done by chiefs or their representatives in the traditional Shona societies. The ceremony further shows that the ZAFM church adapted much from the traditional societies.

Bishop Jamson said that at the beginning of 2012, Dorius joined the Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe (ACCZ) and the ZAFM church became a member. In May 2012, Dorius was given a medal of founding father on behalf of his father Andreas Shoko. After becoming a member of ACCZ, all the jurisdiction of choosing the successor was thrust into the hands of ACCZ.

According to the church minutes availed to me, Dorius had an accident at Lupane and broke his leg by the knee on 13 September 2012, on his way to Hwange to officiate a ceremony. The driver died on the spot together with priest Makadho from Hwange. Dorius' last two wives who were also there sustained some injuries. Dorius together with his two wives were admitted to St Luke hospital in Lupane where his wives soon recovered. Dorius was transferred to Mpilo hospital in Bulawayo where he died on 9 October 2012 and was eighty (80) years old. Bishop Jamson said that Dorius was laid to rest on 13 October 2012, at Museva area near the ZAFM church headquarters after reigning as the ZAFM bishop for twenty-seven (27) years. By the time of his death, factionalism was still on. This implies that Dorius left behind a time bomb

that was some few seconds to burst. The contestations between his sons- Jamson and Ezra were a culmination of the eggs of disputes that Dorius left at the point of hatching.

At his funeral, members and bishops from the ZCC and ZAC were present. The president of ACCZ, Johannes Ndanga, was also present. According to Bishop Jamson, Bishop Tafirenyika Masuka and Makuwa Mutendi came as officials in charge of the burial. Interesting to note is that, Tafirenyika Masuka (David III) assumed power from his father Johanne Peresu (David II) by virtue of being the eldest son. Makuwa Mutendi is from the ZCC of Rueben Mutendi and is the eldest son. Therefore, the presence of these leaders from the other Zionists in Zimbabwe was in line with the 1949 Zionist Covenant.

6.5 The 2007 Contestations between Dorius Pedzisai and Stias Chivenge Machingura

Prior to the internal factionalism and the subsequent relocation of Dorius to Gunikuni led to yet another contestation in the ZAFM. Stias Chivenge from Berejena area upon seeing the possibility of church fragmentation due to factionalism decided to form his own church. as stated by Mukusha one of his followers, Chivenge was not satisfied by the way the issue of money was tackled in the church. he was also not in agreement with the excommunication of other priests who were against the embezzlement of funds in the church. Chake another member of the Chivenge church said that the other reason which prompted the contestations in 2007 is the fact that most of the church ceremonies were now done at the Gunikuni area which is far from Berejena. Priest Chivenge and his followers at Berejena saw it reasonable to start their own congregation independent from Dorius so as to lessen the burden of traveling to Gunikuni for church ceremonies. Chivenge had to come back to the ZAFM of Andreas Shoko in 2016 joining the Jamson Faction.

6.6 The Death of Dorius Pedzisai Shoko: 2012 Succession Disputes

The time bomb that Dorius left busted after his death. The contestations that followed his death were a result of the factions that had started from the year 2000 - 2012 when Dorius died. Bishop Jamson during the in-depth interviews said that after the burial of Dorius, on 30 October 2012, a delegation of a selected group of priests under the leadership of Joseph Matongo from Mberengwa gathered at Dorius' homestead and called all the family members for a discussion over *nyaradzo* (memorial service) for Bishop Dorius. The ZAFM church's principle is that, the members of the other Zionists of the Covenant in conjunction with the deceased bishop's

family have to arrange for a date to conduct a memorial service a month after the burial ceremony. At the memorial service, the successor of the deceased bishop would then be installed.

Bishop Jamson said that at the discussions on the memorial service there was no representative from the other two Zionist churches, that is, ZCC and ZAC, as was required by the 1949 covenant hence it was a misnomer. The representatives of the ACCZ were also not there as required by the new constitution that was adopted after Dorius joined ACCZ. However, despite the misnomer the group of priests asked the family who they want to be the successor. The family spokesperson responded to the question by the leader of the group of priests, by stating that the successor is not chosen by the family members but by the delegation from the other two Zionist churches and then the ACCZ would inaugurate the selected bishop. This triggered some disagreements and a ten-member committee was selected, including five members from Dorius' family and five from the group of priests. As Bishop Jamson said, the committee was supposed to go to Bikita to consult Tafirenyika Masuka and Mutendi on how to proceed with the selection of the new bishop. Dorius' family was represented by Jamson Pedzisai, Nyasha and Munyaradzi Mandiona (both were cousins), Goliath Chinatsira (Young brother of Andreas Shoko), and Manasa Jave (young brother of Dorius from Andreas's young brother). Ainus Muzangwa, Joseph Matongo, Juniel Mazvihwa (nicknamed Big Fish), Pinias Penegwa and Tawanda Manyadza who was the secretary, represented the priests. The delegation set for the journey on 31 October 2012 and could not find Makuwa Mutendi upon arrival at Mandadzaka since he had gone to South Africa. They were accompanied by Makuwa Mutendi's young brother to Bishop Tafirenyika Masuka. They found Tafirenyika Masuka and narrated the cause of their journey. Tafirenyika Masuka told the delegation that they do not have the mandate to give him the memorial date since he will decide together with the ZCC wing without the priests. This did not please the priests. From the researcher's perspective, Tafirenyika had already sensed that there were some squabbles.

Bishop Jamson said that the meeting with Tafirenyika Masuka started at 7 pm and ended at 10 pm. It was at this meeting that Masuka learnt that all the priests present were in support of Ezra while some of the family members were supporting Jamson using the 1949 covenant. Masuka concluded the meeting by stating that he would think of a date for the memorial service and notify the two sides. The priests as bishop Jamson said, were not pleased by this and they decided that the memorial service and the inauguration of Dorius' successor be held on 29

December 2012. It is interesting to note that, the decision by the priests to continue with the inauguration of Dorius' successor led to the formation of three contesting groups. The first group comprised of the priests who supported Ezra as the rightful heir.

The second group was made up of the members of the Shoko family and was in support of Jamson. According to this group, Jamson was the authentic successor using the 1949 covenant. Bishop Makuva Mutendi of ZCC of Rueben Mutendi, Tafirenyika Masuka of ZAC and Johannes Ndanga the president of ACCZ supported this group.

The third group comprised of the members who were rallying behind Setty, the first son of Gertrude Sibanda, Dorius' fifth wife. However, as the argument continued to be violent, Setty later on dropped the claim to the throne and backed Ezra. This means that Ezra and Jamson were then left in the race of succession.

The two camps that were left in the succession contestation had different views on the procedures to appoint a successor. According to the focus group discussions, the Ezra camp argued that the incumbent bishop appoints the successor during his lifetime. This camp claimed that the late Bishop Dorius Pedzisai Shoko appointed Ezra Pedzisai Shoko to succeed him as bishop by anointing him with oil on the head. The camp claimed that the appointment was done in the presence of the members of the Council of High Priests and this included Annas Muzangwa, Joseph Matongo, Kandros Mawisire and Tiro Hove. Annas Muzangwa claimed that the incumbent Bishop has the ultimate authority to appoint the successor. The Ezra camp claimed that the 2006 ZAFM church constitution states in clause 5.3 that the sitting bishop appoints the successor during his lifetime. They further argued that in conformity to the provisions of the 2006 constitution, the late Bishop Dorius anointed Ezra as the next bishop at Gunikuni. They said that Jamson was not well spoken of by the Council of High Priests because of his attempted coup during his father's reign hence cannot be the successor. They further said that Jamson was not in good terms with his father Dorius. Thelani Dzekavo, during the focus group discussions, said that there was a rift between Dorius and Jamson hence he could not take over from his father. The camp further said that Dorius had publicly declared that due to Jamson's attempt to topple him from leadership he would not inherit anything after his death. According to the information obtained from the discussions with the Council of High Priests, the Ezra camp had a disc with Dorius preaching as an exhibit to support their claim that Dorius had appointed Ezra as his successor. The camp had also a photocopy of what they claimed to be Dorius' last will. The will was written in Shona language stating that "*Jamson haafaniri*

kuwana chero chikiti zvacho panhaka yangu” (Jamson should not get even a cat from my inheritance). As the Council of High Priests said, the camp could not produce the original copy of the will after it was alleged that the document was not in Dorius’ own handwriting.

For the Jamson camp, since Jamson was the eldest surviving son of the deceased Bishop from the first wife he was the rightful heir to the bishopric office. The camp believed that a successor to the office of a bishop should be issued a certificate of Oath of Service by the Apostolic Council of Zimbabwe (see Appendix 5). For him, any bishop without such a certificate is not authentic. The camp chronicled how the former to present bishops of the three main Zionist in Zimbabwe churches were ordained. They denied the existence of the 2006 constitution that Ezra claimed to possess. Jamson dismissed its authenticity because it does not have the signature of the late bishop hence Bishop Ezra fabricated it to support his power hungry motives.

Jamson had the support of the other sons of the covenant that is bishop Mutendi of the ZCC and son of Rueben Mutendi and Tafirenyika Masuka (son of Johannes Peresu Masuka) of ZAC. These two leaders said that the Ezra faction was just greed for power. The two bishops’ argument was that Dorius could have communicated to them had he wanted to go against the 1949 covenant. They further argued that, if it was Dorius who wrote the will, the statement that Jamson should not get even a cat was not in reference to the office of a bishop but to personal inheritance. For them, the statement was referring to wealth like animals and other items left by the deceased since they were not fully governed by the Zionist covenant. They also said that if Dorius had disinherited Jamson as a successor he could have notified them as members of the Zionist covenant. They argued that a bishop in the Zionist covenant has no mandate and power to disinherit a son of the covenant without their knowledge. The covenant as the two bishops argued called for an amalgamated decision-making process pertaining to succession issues in the Zionist churches. For them, Dorius could not have violated the covenant since he also rose to the throne through it. Moreso, Dorius also had misunderstandings with his father but Zionist bishops installed him as bishop despite the misunderstandings. For all these arguments, the two bishops said that there was no reason for Dorius to disinherit his eldest son.

Due to the disagreements on the successor candidate, the two bishops refused to ordain Ezra as the heir to the bishopric. For them, the ordination of Ezra would be a violation of the 1949 covenant. The Ezra camp then started to accuse the members of the Zionist covenant of taking sides and biased. Jamson’s deeds before the death of Dorius were to the Ezra camp

unforgivable. Sensing defeat, the Ezra camp decided to proceed with their plans to ordinate their candidate without the members of the Zionist covenant. Interesting to note is the view that the refusal of the Zionist covenant bishops to coronate Ezra marked his rejection of the existence of the 1949 covenant. The most probable reason was that it was shutting out his hopes of becoming a bishop. It was from that point on that Ezra cancelled any link with the other Zionist and the ACCZ. Up to today, Ezra does not want to hear anything concerning the 1949 covenant and ACCZ. The two institutions have become his enemies. Bishop Ezra argued that the 1949 covenant was only for the two Zionist fathers, that is, Mutendi and Masuka. For him, Shoko was not present at the meeting and was never part of it; hence, it should not be used as evidence to claim the position of a bishop.

These events led the two brothers to be locked in an acrimonious legal battle to take over leadership of the church. The contestations and disagreements led to sporadic fights between the two camps. The battle spilled into the legal court of Zimbabwe as the leaders were trying to determine which one of them was the rightful heir to the throne. The issues were exacerbated by the fact that the two brothers, Jamson and Ezra Pedzisai Shoko, have different mothers, with Ezra coming from the lower house. It could have been different if the brothers were from the same mother. This is supported by the Shona dictum that states that *dzedanga rimwe hadzirwisani* (those from the same house do not fight).

The vice-bishop during the in-depth interviews said that as the disputes continued to be bloody, the president of ACCZ, Ndanga, decided to have a nomination court that would name the successor when all the two groups were there and then they would set a date for the ordination of Dorius' successor. Ndanga called the two rival groups for a meeting in Harare on 24 December 2012 to decide on the way forward. The vice-bishop further said that the meeting was only attended by the members from Jamson's group since Ezra's group refused to attend. The members of Jamson's group who attended the meeting include Jamson, Munyaradzi Mandiona, Nyasha Mandiona, Josephine Chinatsira (sixth wife of Andreas Shoko), Goliath Chinatsira, Samuel Pedzisai and Edward Pedzisai. Bishop Jamson said that the meeting went from 8 am to 5 pm and was meant to convince the family members that 29 December was not a feasible date for holding the memorial service of Dorius. The meeting resolved that the ZAFM may continue to hold the memorial service but will not proceed to appoint the next bishop until a date had been set by the other two Zionist representatives, ZCC and ZAC.

The cancellation of 29 December as the date for appointing the successor of Dorius did not please Ezra's group, hence they decided to continue with their arrangements. On 29 December, Ezra's group called Ndanga to come together with his Masvingo provincial representatives and they all came. Nehemiah Mutendi's young brother Charles Mutendi was also present representing his brother. Mutendi, a son of Rueben Mutendi and rival to Makuwa Mutendi, was also present. Zachariah Pedzisai (the one who had succession disputes with Dorius) was also present.

According to the vice-bishop, Ndanga called for a meeting before the ceremony and all the officials present, including those supporting Jamson, attended the meeting. Ndanga announced that the family may continue with the memorial service but could not appoint the successor. This led to another intense argument. Then Ndanga asked the family to have their own separate meeting and resolve their differences and come back with a report. The family meeting was to be attended by the six members from the church and six from the family. As the selected members were leaving the house where the Ndanga meeting was held, Zachariah took hold of Ezra's hand and put it in the air as they came out the house and announced in a loud voice to the congregants who were gathered waiting for the resolutions "*tahwinaaaaa!*" (We have won!!!). The announcement and Zachariah's shouting were interpreted by the Ezra group to mean their candidate has been nominated as the next successor of Dorius; hence they started dancing in jubilation. The joy that followed made the congregation to be uncontrolled as many were ululating others clapping hands and whistling. The meeting that was supposed to be attended by the twelve-member delegation could not be held as people were already shouting for joy. After some time of joy and jubilation, Zachariah silenced congregants and told them that he has seen his wrongs and has now reconciled with his deceased brother Dorius and as the bishop, he wants to anoint Ezra as Dorius' successor. Zachariah kissed the photo of Dorius he was holding in his hands as a sign of reconciliation. Zachariah then took Dorius' garments, staff (*tsvimbo*), crown and sacred cords (*ndaza*) and dressed Ezra and ordained him as the successor of Dorius. In the ZAFM church, it is believed that possession of such heirlooms warrants some considerable measures of success in church leadership. The religious relics of the deceased leader are very sacred and possessing them shows smooth transfer of power from the deceased to the successor.

As all these events were unfolding, the president of ACCZ was surprised together with other officials from the two Zionists. Mutendi Mutendi, a rival of Makuwa Mutendi, sons of Rueben

Mutendi, upon sensing danger instructed Ndanga and other delegates to leave Museva area. The events did not please the Jamson group and a number of other ZAFM priests. They were arguing that the bishop in the ZAFM church is not elected in the manner Ezra was appointed. It seems that Zachariah had sensed some foul play in the whole story of finding a successor for Dorius. There were members of the ZANU- PF that is the then Vice President Joyce Mujuru and they seemed to be backing Jamson. Upon realizing this Zachariah decided to forcefully elect Ezra into leadership.

On 16 January 2013, Ndanga announced that the successor of Dorius following the 1949 covenant was to be elected on 2 February 2013. He also announced that anyone who has a query to that effect should come and raise it before 2 February. He then called all the sons of Dorius, including Ezra, Setty and Jamson, to come for a nomination court. This implied that Ndanga did not consider the 29 December inauguration to be authentic. The nomination court was held in Harare at Ambassador House. However, Ezra and Setty did not turn up at the meeting. Only Jamson was present and was not opposed during the nomination court. This led Ndanga to announce that Jamson is the candidate to succeed Dorius. Jamson was sworn in as the successor of Shoko and was given an Archbishop licence and a Certificate of Oath of Service (see Appendix 4 and 5 respectively). He then forwarded the name to bishop Masuka and Mutendi who then set a date for the anointing of the successor of Dorius following the covenant on 2 February 2013. Mutendi and Masuka were pleased and confirmed that Jamson was the name they had been given by Dorius that they should appoint as bishop. According to Bishop Jamson, Dorius had a closed-door meeting with Bishop Makuwa Mutendi and Tafirenyika Masuka where they agreed that Jamson would be the next bishop after Dorius. The meeting was held on 7 August 1999. However, it is not clear if Dorius had not changed his mind on this issue because this was before Jamson had contested with his father after Dorius' maladministration of the church. It is also not clear if the two bishops actually had a closed-door meeting concerning succession issue as the bishop claimed.

On 2 February, Jamson was ordained as the successor of Dorius and this led the ZAFM to be divided into two groups. At Jamson's inauguration, there were 25 000 congregants. Members of the ACCZ including Ndanga and the then Vice President Joyce Mujuru were present. It is interesting to note that politicians normally attend gatherings of this nature so that they would support the leaders with many supporters. These would in turn support the politicians in times of elections. The officiators were Tafirenyika Masuka and Makuwa Mutendi. The

representatives from the government were also there including Clara Taridzo who represented the Ministry of Education where Jamson was working. The presence of these officials authenticated Jamson's bishopric according to those who believed in the Zionist covenant. At his coronation, Jamson was given Andreas Shoko's staff which he was given when he was seventeen years and was kept by Shoko's surviving wives. He was not given any crown since Dorius' had been given to Ezra. Jamson had to latter on get his own regalia, crown and sacred codes. All these items were blessed by the bishops of the Zionist covenant that is Masuka and Mutendi before Jamson used them.

Magunha (not real name), a supporter of Ezra, said that due to frustrations over the appointment of Ezra as Andrias III, Jamson teamed up with his supporters with the intention of usurping Ezra's leadership, arguing that the appointment was not recognized by the ACCZ. Furthermore, Jamson started to interfere with the church's activities by sending his sympathisers to attack Ezra followers while they had church services.

As the fight for leadership escalated, the two brothers dragged one another into the courts of law. According to the message of Bishop Ezra on the 2015 Easter conference, the two brothers dragged each other twice to the chief's court, four times to the magistrate's court and twice to the high court. According to court minutes availed to me during the field work, Bishop Jamson was defeated in all the court sessions that were held. For him, Jamson was defeated at chief Shumba's court, at the civil court (Masvingo), and at the high court in Masvingo and Harare. Bishop Ezra, in his own words, said, "In all these cases we have been pronounced the rightful heirs to the church property but defiantly, there is vehement opposition to these jurisdictions". He quoted (Matthew 10v19) which reads, "Whenever they hand you over for trial, do not worry about how to speak or what to say, for what you should say will be given to you at that time." He further said that, "in the first high court case, the honorable judge observed that our detractors did not present themselves as truthful and credible, but were witnesses who were very economic with the truth."

Bishop Ezra said that he is the rightful heir of Dorius' leadership. He even went to the extent of interpreting his name. According to him, the name Ezra means helper or aide and is etymologically derived from the Hebrew term meaning 'God helps'. For him, the name shows that the Israelites depend on the help from God. If one is crying for help, he or she expects an answer and that is why Ezra was there. The Biblical Ezra would carry the burdens of the Israelites to God who in turn replied to them. Names are also prophetic and significant. He

further said that Jamson is just another name that means one who uproots or a supplanter. The court minutes and rulings provided to the researcher by the Ezra camp proved that he was declared the rightful heir.

For Bishop Jamson, the office of the bishop does not come through court ruling. The ZAFM church is bound by the 1949 covenant and the dictates of the ACCZ. Any authentic bishop in the ZAFM church should be ordained by the members of the Zionist covenant and must have a certificate from the ACCZ that control all African Independent Churches in Zimbabwe. If someone who was not ordained by the bishops who uphold the 1949 covenant thinks he is a true bishop, then that person is fooling himself.

From the events after the death of Dorius, the researcher can make the following observations basing on the fieldwork data; the ZAFM church today is divided two assemblies with two different bishops. Bishop Jamson who was ordained into bishopric office by the members of the Zionist covenant leads one assembly. Bishop Ezra who was ordained by a rivalry of his father Dorius that is Zachariah Pedzisai Shoko leads the other one. The representatives of the Zionist covenant did not sanction the inauguration process of Ezra and did neither the President or representative of the ACCZ of which ZAFM was a member officiated it. All these raised questions on the authenticity of his bishopric. The shortfalls made some of the church members to de-flock and join the Jamson faction.

The leader's name can only differentiate the two groups but in all other issues, they are the same. The two assemblies hold their annual and main celebrations at Museva. As they hold their celebrations, the two groups will be 400m apart. The leaders of the two ZAFM formations have adopted the name Andreas and it has now become more of a title than a name. This shows that Andreas continues to have influence in the church even after his death. The adoption of the name Andreas also shows the church's belief in the continued interaction between a deceased leader and his church. It shows the belief in the relationship between the living and the living dead. This implies that the deceased church leader continues to be actively involved in his church even after death. The adoption of the title Andreas also shows that the church honors the work that he did in establishing the church. It is also a sign of the recognition of the founders' endless presidency in the church. The leader in the ZAFM church continues to lead even after death in the form of his successor son (s). The bishops of the two formations are each addressed as Andreas III.

Figure 2 below shows a summary of the leadership disputes and schisms in the ZAFM church from 1948- 2017.

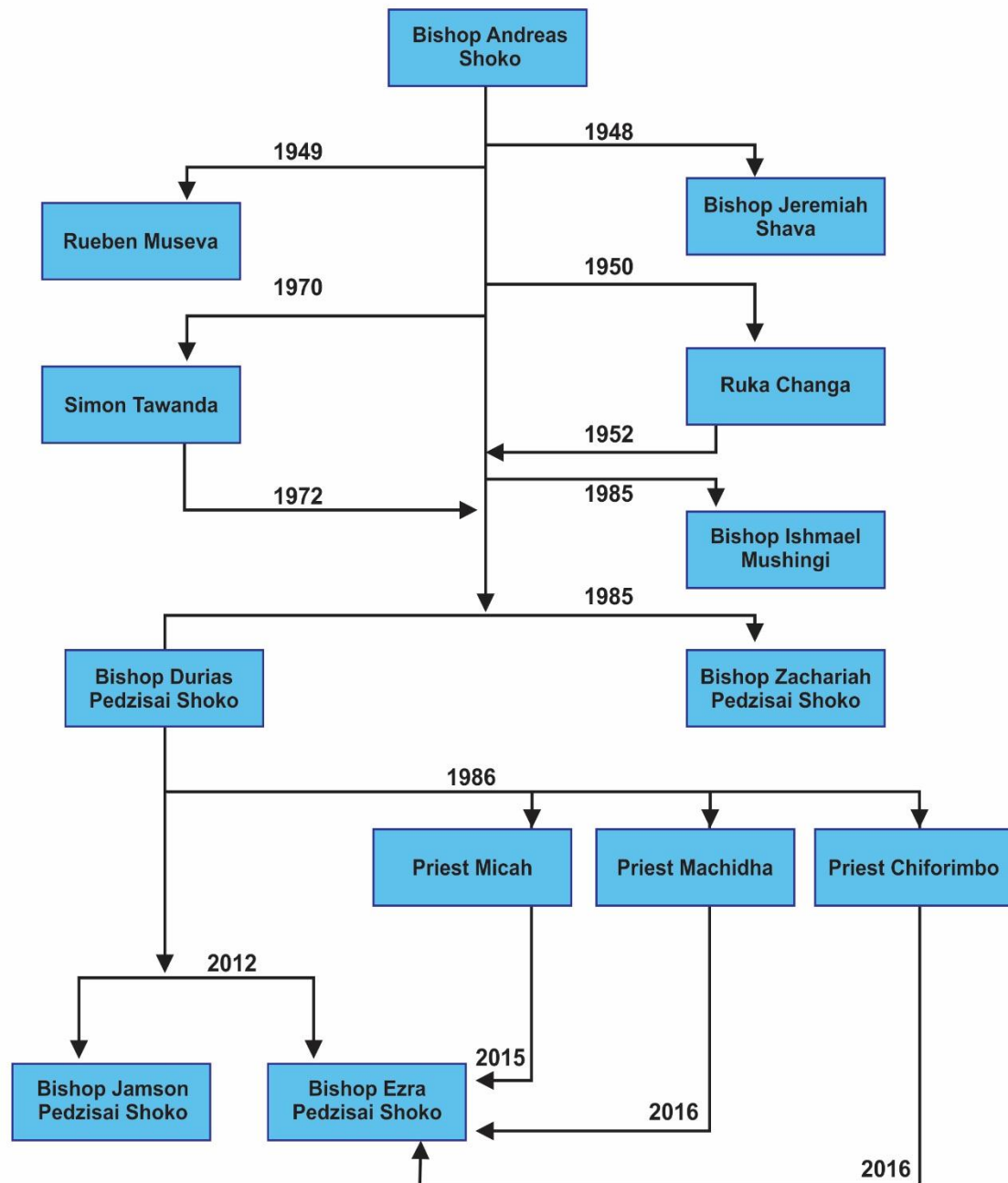


Figure 2. Summary of leadership disputes and schemes in the ZAFM church

6.7 The ZAFM under the leadership of Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko (Andreas III)

Bishop Jamson is popularly known as Archbishop Andreas III (see Picture 2 in Appendix 6). He is married to Elvia Mabvadya and has five children who are all sons. Elvia is a teacher by profession but Bishop Jamson has since resigned from the Masvingo provincial education offices where he was working and is now full time in church ministry. The eldest son is called Pardon Pedzisai, the second is Prince Tanyaradzwa Pedzisai, the third is Pride Ezra Pedzisai, the fourth is Perfect Pedzisai and the last son is Jamson Junior. Pardon is working as a Human Resources officer at Chikombedzi hospital and is married to Mavis Bhara. They have one child. Prince is working as a medical doctor at United Bulawayo Hospitals (UBH) and is not yet married. Pride Ezra is doing his second year at Midlands State University specializing in information systems and is not yet married. The last two are still at primary school.

The church is currently pursuing the construction of Zion city (Jerusalem) and this is in line with objective 7.8 of the church constitution. According to Bishop Jamson, his two forerunners did not get time to construct a Zion city, which has been their mandate, due to different reasons; hence, it is his time to fulfill the mandate. The church has a big piece of land where they are planning to build an amphitheater. By April 2017, the construction was on slab level. The amphitheater would carry up to 600 000 people the bishop said. They are moving with the theme “*Ngarivakwe Jerusarema, Ngarivakwe.*” (Let us build Jerusalem, surely let us build) (See Picture 3 in Appendix 6). The ZAFM church of Bishop Jamson has also acquired a piece of land in Masvingo where they want to construct another church and an Orphanage. The bishop’s family has already adopted some of the orphans that they are looking after. This is line with objective 7.14 of the church’s constitution. The orphanage is under the tutelage of the women’s wing in the ZAFM of Bishop Jamson. The church is also planning to build schools and study centres under objective 7.7 of the constitution. Under his leadership, Jamson has the following priests: In Chivi district there is Jephias Chimhaka, Silas Chivasa, Mbira Chiwororo, Stias Chivenge and Muthobeni. In Nyikavanhu, area there is Ainos Mukondo and Rusosa. In Beitbridge, there is Isaac Charema and Nyasha Mandiona. In Gokwe, there is Rueben Tirivaviri. In Harare, there is Eliot Rinoza. In South Africa, there is Kainos Musavengana and S. Rugwevera. In Nyajena, there is Jorobiam Tipedze. Daneel Charamba is the priest in Musvovi area. In Manyore area, there is Hunyenyewa Mutekede and in Zengeya area, there is Steven Matsvaire. In Bulawayo, there is Asa Matangwa. Gweru is under the leadership of priest Dube. In Chiundura, there is priest Marufu and Lower Gweru has Ndiweni as the priest. Priest

Mandaza leads Kwekwe. Mazvihwa is under priest Erikiosi. Chirumanzu is under priest Dzaguma Marasha. Priest Sam Shoko is leading the Mvuma congregation. In Zaka there is priest Mungate. Currently Bishop Jamson (Archbishop Andreas III) has over 500 000 followers. During the April 2017 Easter conference at Museva, Archbishop Andreas III welcomed 507 followers who came from another schismatic group of David Masuka's ZAC under the leadership of priest Goredema.

6.7.1 The leadership hierarchy in the ZAFM church of Bishop Jamson

In terms of leadership hierarchy, Archbishop Jamson Andreas III has changed from what the first two ZAFM leaders used to have. The leadership hierarchy under Archbishop Jameson Pedzisai Shoko (Andreas III) is as presented in figure 3 below.

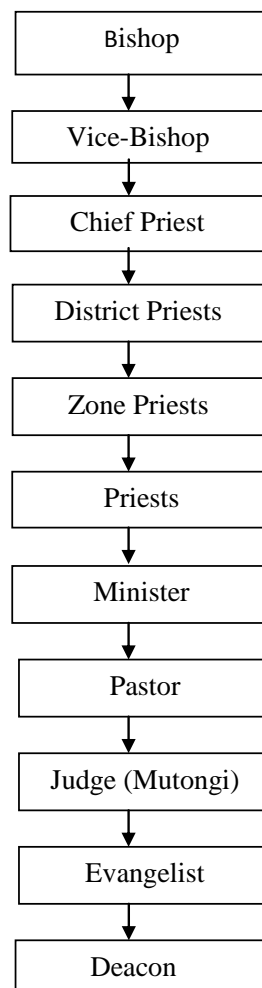


Figure 3. Zionist leadership structure of the faction under Bishop Jamson

6.8 The ZAFM under the leadership of Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko

Bishop Ezra is commonly addressed as *Mambo* (king) Andreas III. Bishop Ezra is married to Sunungurai Charamba and they have five daughters. (See Picture 4 in Appendix 6). The first one is Rutendo, followed by Tawananyasha, then Rudaviro and the twins Rukudzo and Takudzwa. Bishop Ezra is a lecturer at Bindura University of Science in the department of Geography. In terms of leadership hierarchy, Bishop Ezra has not changed anything from Andreas and Dorius Shoko's hierarchy. Under his leadership there are priests like Ainus Muzangwa, Joseph Matongo for Mberengwa, Pinias Penengwa, Silvanos Makadho, Moses Dube, John Chidanga, Silas Mudavanhu, Ben Mandiregerera alias Zen'ge, and Rusosa alias Big Fish. The church services and annual conferences are held at Museva (see picture 10a and 10b of members of Ezra group attending church service at Museva). His congregation is registering approximately over 300 000 congregates. Leadership Structure in the ZAFM Church under Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko is shown in figure 4 below.

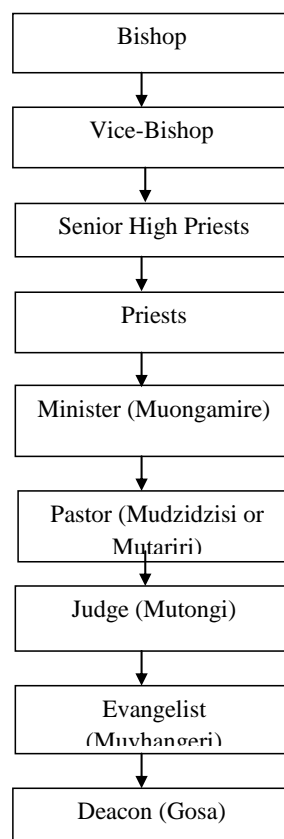


Figure 4. Showing ZAFM leadership structure under Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko

6.8.2 The Bishop

At the apex of the leadership structure of Zion Apostolic Faith Mission church, there is the Bishop who usually is the founder or his close relative if the founder has already died. The bishop is responsible for appointing the office bearers and is the overall man behind any decision made in the church. Leaders are appointed depending on their moral status. As Muller (2011) said, the bishop is the mediator between the congregation and God through Jesus Christ. The bishop, just like Christ, can perform supernatural acts and faith healing in the name of Lord Jesus Christ. The bishop uses different mechanisms for faith healing including the laying-on of hands, the use of holy water, holy oil and the wearing or placing of blessed cords or cloth on the sick during prayer (see Picture 5 in Appendix 6). This implies that the bishop in ZAFM church is a central figure and is understood to have supernatural powers to intercede on behalf of his followers. The bishop is charismatic and has prophetic and healing powers as well.

For Muller, the organizational structure of the Zionists' leadership hierarchy is focused on the transfer of spiritual and diaconal values. A bishop in the Zionist's perception is a healer and alleviator of people's needs.

The bishop wears a maroon garment, maroon and gold crown, white and green scarf and the staff (*tsvimbo*). The crown is the symbol of authority while the staff signifies the concept of a shepherd (*mufudzi*). The bishop puts on different blessed cords (*ndaza*) with different colours, which include green, white, red, grey, blue and maroon (see Picture 6 in Appendix 6). Each colour has its own significance in the ZAFM church. Green colour stands for life while red stands for the blood of Jesus. Grey stands for neutrality or impartiality. The colour blue symbolizes trust, loyalty, wisdom, confidence, intelligence, faith, truth, and heaven. The bishop has a white sacred or blessed cord (*ndaza*) which hangs across the shoulder and the chest to the waist. The white colour of the sacred cords (*ndaza*) represents peace, sanctification, love, pure and goodness. In essence, by putting on the white sacred cord, the bishop is showing that he is pure, he has love, and he is peaceful and is the source of blessings. This implies that the bishop represents God on earth. He manages and shepherd God's flock.

Leadership in the ZAFM church follows the pattern of king and nation or king-chief-nation scenario. The bishop is perceived to have intimate contact with the supernatural world. The bishop holds the office for his lifetime. He is the chief overseer of the church. In the case of the bishop becoming too old to take up his duties or affected by illness which may prevent him

from performing his duties, the vice-bishop would come in, in an acting capacity, until the bishop recovers. The bishop is accorded special abilities like dreaming, healing and is in constant touch with the supernatural world by means of visions and speaking in unknown languages. The information obtained through focus group discussions indicated that a bishop is accorded revelatory powers through prophetic utterances and ritualistic and Africanized worship (the worship which resembles the African way of praying). These extraordinary supernatural powers of the bishop enable him to detect evildoers, heal the sick and the suffering, and foresee the future. Healing, in the ZAFM church, is done through confession, repeated baptisms, purification rites and exorcisms, and the bishop presides over these activities. The whole life of the bishop from the time of his assumption to power is surrounded by mystery and this clearly shows that the bishop is chosen by God for a special mission. The bishop in the ZAFM church is very knowledgeable about Shona traditional morality and culture. He is credited with the ability to discern culturally related illnesses particularly those caused by witchcraft, being haunted by evil spirits and the like.

The bishop in the ZAFM church is also considered to be an intermediary (*murevereri*). Most of the people during the face-to-face interviews clearly indicated that the bishop prays on behalf of the whole congregation. The bishop, as they said, is nearer to God more than anyone else is, hence he forwards people's requests and needs to God. The members of the ZAFM church take the bishop as the one who leads people to heaven (*bishopi vanotitungamirira kudenga*). Some said the bishop brings us to God through preaching of the word (*vanotisvitsa kuna Mwari*). The bishop takes all his followers' problems and burdens and presents them to God. For the Zionists, the bishop solves some of their needs and problems but the bigger problems are brought to God by the bishop on people's behalf.

The bishop is referred to as the king of Zion (*Mambo weZion*) and is the sole person behind most religious ceremonies that are done in the church. The bishop is seen as the great medicine man or healer of the group or church. Any disease or sickness that the bishop has failed to heal is considered to be incurable. The bishop, like the king in the Shona traditional society, is the richest man and in most cases, he uses his riches to feed and help his followers generously. In the ZAFM church, the bishop is the personification and the organic representative of his followers. The clan or family name of the bishop is extended to the whole church, for example the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission of Andreas Shoko or the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission of Jeremiah Shava. The bishop is also considered as the supreme and sagacious judge. He resolves

all social matters and problems faced by the church. However, it is imperative to note that other leaders like the judge (Mutongi) with the help of the priest (Muongamire), and pastors or teacher (Mufundisi) settle small matters. The issues these leaders fail to settle are forwarded to the bishop who is the sole judge of the church. Any decision made by the bishop concerning any matter cannot be objected to.

The bishop also presides over the Passover, Easter and other innovative festivals that are characterized by singing, circle dancing, clapping, and drumming. The Passover, which the Zionist commonly dubs Jerusalem, is held annually in December. During the feast, congregants from all the corners of the country gather at the ZAFM headquarters in Museva area. The feast is concluded by Holy Communion which every congregant would aspire to have before starting the New Year. The bishop is also a preacher. He opens every ceremony of the church and is the one who gives the final preaching at the end of church gatherings.

The bishop is also responsible for burying the deceased, and presides over marriage ceremonies and memorial services. He appoints and ordains other leaders in the church from the office of the vice-bishop to that of the deacon. Normally the ordination is done during the Easter celebrations. The bishop has the power to promote, demote or discharge a member from the church. He is the overall signatory of all the church documents.

The assertions of Mwaura (1999) neatly describe the way the bishop is treated and seen in the ZAFM church. For him, African Independent Churches can be described as "church tribes" which cling to the traditional patterns of social organization. The ZAFM church is attracted to the idea of kingship where the bishop is the king and his followers are the subject. This implies that notable parallels exist between traditional and ZAFM church leadership. The followers (subjects) see the bishop as a king, a chief or an elder. To show this kind of parallel, the traditional chief is even called at all the ZAFM ceremonies and gatherings and sits close to the bishop (see Picture 7 in Appendix 6).

The first wife of the bishop is a typical queen mother with her own regalia, just like in the Shona traditional set up (see Picture 8 in Appendix 6). In the ZAFM church, therefore, the bishop is held with awe and is accorded the respect similar to that of the Shona traditional leader. His authority is absolute, although he is expected to act justly and fairly. From this description of the bishop of the ZAFM church, we can see that there is continuity with the Shona traditional model of leadership.

The bishop is the bridge between the church and the supernatural world. This is similar to what Oosthuizen (1981) said when he argued that the Zulu king is the bridge between the microcosms and the macrocosms, the expression of the totality and cosmic unity of what is here and what is beyond. The bishop in the ZAFM church is the highest religious symbol as far as he is the centre of the church's rituals and other religious ceremonies. The followers encounter the supernatural world through the bishop, hence, the bishop has to be respected.

The office of the bishop is not subject to voting. Usually the office in the ZAFM church is passed from father to son and this reflects traditional leadership styles (Seibert, 2005). According to the church's constitution, succession to the position of the bishop shall be by a biological son who is the eldest and a member of the church. The ordination of the successor has to be officiated according to the dictates of the 1949 Zionist covenant. The concept of hereditary leadership in the ZAFM church was derived from the traditional Shona concept of leadership, where they say leadership runs through the blood (*utungamiriri hunoteverera ropa*). This implies that the office of the bishop is hereditary. As Seibert (2005) said, the authority of the ZAFM bishop reproduces the features of the rural extended family.

As was observed by Van Zyl (1996), the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko, like other Zionist churches, mirrors the African cultural outlook particularly through the regalia of the principal leader (bishop). As the bishop comes to the podium, congregants stand up to show respect. The priests and other leaders will be performing the circle dances around the bishop until he takes his seat. The Zionists' perception of a bishop owes great debt to traditional Shona concept of a king. The bishop does not receive remuneration for services rendered but gets honorariums and allowances in the form of tithes. The bishop is the sole person behind who every activity in the church takes place. He delegates authority to other office bearers and controls the appointment of such office bearers. He is accorded mystical powers and this makes him to have more control over everyone in the church.

6.8.3 The Vice-bishop

This is the second office from the bishop. The vice-bishop does not put on the crown but has special regalia and a staff. He puts on a maroon garment with white stripes on the shoulders and sleeves. He also puts on white and green sacred cords and scarves (see Picture 9 in Appendix 6). The bishop appoints the bearer of this office. An elderly and married man of high respect with sound background knowledge of the church normally fills the position. The

incumbent also has to be the most senior person in the church. The vice-bishop holds the office for his lifetime provided he remains loyal and keeps on observing the rules and regulations of the church. He is the representative of the bishop particularly where the bishop's programme is tight or is committed to something else. He is sent by the bishop on different errands as decided by the bishop. The vice-bishop receives the same respect which is accorded the bishop. As stated in the ZAFM constitution, the vice-bishop is also responsible for giving Passover meal (*paseka*) and Holy Communion, and always makes rounds to oversee the circuits of the ZAFM church nationally and internationally upon the bishop's delegation. He is also responsible for preaching and healing the sick. In most cases, the vice-bishop is the relative or close friend of the bishop. He is the most trusted person or the right hand man of the bishop hence he functions as an advisor to the bishop. He can also bury the dead on behalf of the bishop. The vice-bishop has the mandate to ordain the evangelists and other lower office bearers. The vice-bishop also can do all the duties of the bishop but upon the word of the bishop himself. The office of the vice-bishop is not hereditary. The vice-bishop may lose his post through demotion by the bishop due to the member's failure to perform any assigned duties, disobedience, incompetency or any act of sin. The vice-bishop does not receive remuneration for the services rendered.

6.8.4 Chief or Senior High Priests

As stated in the ZAFM constitution, the bishop appoints the incumbent to the post during the Easter feast or Passover. The chief or senior priest reports to the vice-bishop. In the ZAFM formation under Bishop Jamson they use the title Chief Priest while in the formation under Bishop Ezra they use the title Senior High Priest (see figure 1 and 2 respectively). The constitution further states that the incumbent to this office has to be a mature and grown up person with sound knowledge of the church. The person has to be well spoken of by the church members particularly at district level. This office is third from the bishop. The chief priest is responsible for preaching and healing the sick. He can conduct the Holy Communion upon delegation by the bishop. He also has the mandate to advise the bishop and bury the dead. Upon delegation by the bishop, the chief priest can also ordain evangelists and other lower office bearers. The constitution allows him to perform any other duties as may be delegated by the bishop from time to time. He supervises the district priests and is not paid for his services.

6.8.5 The District Priest

The incumbent to this post as stated in the constitution is appointed by the bishop and reports to the chief priest. The constitution says that the candidate has to be a mature and grown up person with sound knowledge of the church doctrine. Someone who would have served as a Zonal Priest for at least five years occupies this position. The district priest has to be in charge of more than five circuits in his district. The constitution further states that the bearer of the office does not receive remuneration for the execution of duties. The other duties of the District priest are similar to those of the chief priest. However, it is important to mention that this office is only found in the ZAFM formation under Bishop Jamson.

6.8.6 The Zonal Priest

The Zonal Priest is appointed by the bishop and reports to the district priest. He would have served as a priest for at least ten years and should exhibit sound knowledge of the church to occupy the Zonal Priest position. The duties of the zone priest are similar to those of the district priest but done at zone level. The position is only found in the ZAFM formation under Bishop Jamson.

It is important to note that all the leadership posts, from the vice-bishop to the Zonal Priest, are not subject to inheritance leadership. In the event that the posts fall vacant, the bishop will appoint the successor and the person does not need to be a biological son of the leaving or deceased leader.

6.8.7 Priest

The bearer of this post is appointed by the bishop and reports to the Zonal Priest. The person should be of high moral status and be well known by the members of the gathering of which he will be in charge. The person for this post would have served as a minister for at least ten years. The priest has to be in charge of more than fifty members at a gathering and does not get paid for the services. The priest does not conduct the Holy Communion but ensures that all preparations are made, and those sent by the bishop will come and conduct the Holy Communion. All the other duties of the priest resemble those of the Zonal Priest but administered at congregational level.

6.8.8 Minister

Someone who would have served as a pastor for at least ten years is appointed by the bishop to occupy this position. The duties of a minister include preaching, healing the sick, burying the dead, ordaining evangelists and other lower leaders, and performing any other duty as assigned by the bishop. The bearer does not get remuneration for services rendered.

6.8.9 Pastor

The bearer is appointed by the bishop and reports to the Minister. The incumbent should have served as an evangelist for at least ten years and has to be in charge of more than fifty members at a gathering. There is no payment for this post. His duties include preaching, healing, burying the dead and baptising new converts in the absence of the evangelist.

6.8.10 Judge or Discipline Officer

The incumbent for this post has to be mature, well respected in the church, knowledgeable in church doctrine, and have self-control and good decision-making skills. The discipline officers have different levels, from the national to the zonal level. At national level, the discipline officer reports to the secretary general, at district level he reports to the district priest, and at zonal level, he reports to the Zonal Priest.

The duties of discipline officer include investigating and analyzing grievances and bad conduct in line with church doctrine. He ensures fair treatment of grievances and passes uniform judgement without favouritism. He also maintains records of cases received, heard and finalised. At national level, the discipline officer conducts hearing for priests but cannot pass a judgement; that is the duty of the bishop.

6.8.11 Evangelist

The holder of this post is appointed by members at a gathering level and reports to the pastor. Ordination of an evangelist is done at a circuit level by the pastor. The holder of this post should have served as a deacon for at least ten years. There is no payment for the rendered services. The evangelist is responsible for preaching, healing and baptising people in the river, lake, dam, sea or ocean. He may perform any other post as is delegated by the minister.

6.8.12 Deacon

The holder is appointed by the church members at a circuit and is ordained by the most senior person at the circuit. The incumbent for this post can be either married or unmarried and should have been a member of the church for at least five years. A deacon can be elevated to the post of an evangelist if the majority of the church members at a gathering vote in support of him. The duties of a deacon include enforcing discipline at the church, maintaining order, giving light punishment to church members who are ill-disciplined during church services, supervising food preparation and distribution to members, and cleaning of places of worship. He can also do any other duty as assigned by the minister.

It is important to highlight that succession to the posts above those of a priest to the deacon is by the biological first-born sons of the office bearers, provided they were church members during the lifetime of their fathers. The successor is ordained at the memorial service (*nyaradzo*) of the deceased father. According to the ZAFM constitution, if the deceased man had no son, the post is left vacant and the bishop appoints any other person for the post. In all these posts, a “will” is not honoured. Overall, the priest runs the local church or circuit. This implies that the posts which can be seen at a local gathering run from that of a priest to the office of a deacon.

6.9 Methods used by the ZAFM Church to Select Leaders

The ZAFM church makes use of different methods of selecting leaders. The two formations of the ZAFM church have different beliefs on how the principal leader is selected. The sons of the covenant believe that the principal leader is appointed following the 1949 Zionist covenant that states that the first son of the bishop from his first wife should be the successor. The non-covenant sons hold that it is the prerogative of the incumbent bishop to appoint his successor while still alive.

The general view of the members of the laity from both formations is that the successor should be appointed through voting. The other perception of the members of the laity is that the whole business should be left to God, hence the church prophets must take a leading role in the appointment of the successor. According to the information obtained during face-to-face interviews, Dorius, the second bishop of ZAFM church, was appointed by the prophet. The focus group discussions also brought out the same notion. According to the focus group

discussions, in 1954 a prophet called Samson Mabhigiri prophesied that Dorius was going to succeed his father Andreas Shoko. At first, it is said Shoko did not agree with the words of prophecy but later on he accepted it and anointed Dorius as the successor in 1955. Others argued that any son of the bishop who is full of the spirit (*mweya*) should lead the church. This group is liberal and their emphasis is on spiritual gifts not physical characteristics.

The other method used in the selection of a successor is through the word of mouth. The incumbent bishop may decide to appoint his successor by word of mouth, as was the case with Bishop Ezra, the rival of Bishop Jamson. Bishop Ezra also claims that his father Dorius left a will stating that he should be the next bishop. This implies that a will is another method used in the ZAFM church for selecting a successor to the deceased leader. However, the issue of a will does not apply to other leadership posts, from that of a vice-bishop to the deacon.

6.10 Summary

This chapter has traced the schisms and leadership disputes in the ZAFM church after the death of Andreas Shoko. The chapter presented the succession disputes between Dorius Pedzisai Shoko and his young brother Zachariah Pedzisai Shoko. The succession disputes between Dorius and Emmanuel Chimhangwa are also presented in this chapter. The chapter has presented the events that led to the death of Dorius Pedzisai Shoko and the succession disputes between his two sons Jamson and Ezra up to the time of the formation of the current ZAFM formations. The chapter also discussed the leadership roles of different leaders of the ZAFM church and mentioned that the office bearers are not paid for their services. The chapter stated that other leaders, from the post of the vice-bishop to the deacon, are not given full control of the church, the bishop is the final word. As highlighted in this chapter, the same way a kin group breaks away and attains independence after the death of the head of an extended family unit, a junior leader in the ZAFM church breaks away with a number of followers after the death of his principal leader and forms his own church.

CHAPTER 7

THE CAUSES OF SUCCESSION DISPUTES IN THE ZAFM CHURCH OF ANDREAS SHOKO

7.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present and analyze data that emerged from in-depth individual interviews, focus group discussions, oral narratives, and document analysis on the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. While chapter six dealt with the history of the ZAFM church after the death of Shoko and the succession disputes incurred after the death of Dorius Shoko, this chapter focuses on presenting ethnographic data on the causes of succession disputes. Data is presented and analyzed concurrently in this chapter. This chapter presents a synthesis of the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church by looking at the kind of explicit criticisms raised by individual leaders who broke away from the ZAFM church as well as what those who remained in the main group thought was the cause of disputes. The chapter presents field data and its analysis under four basic themes: political, religious, social and economic factors.

7.1 Political Factors

At the apex of succession disputes in the ZAFM church there are political factors. It is imperative to mention that in most cases the political parties are involved in church disputes like in the ZAFM. Politicians normally take advantage of church disputes to garner support during elections. As mentioned earlier, they support the contestant member who has the largest support of members. A number of political factors could be identified from the data collected during fieldwork. Chief among the political factors is the urge to lead (*kuda ukuru*).

7.1.1 *Kuda ukuru* (the urge to lead)

The urge to lead was identified as one of the causes of succession disputes during fieldwork. The interviews with Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko of the covenant-based ZAFM church took us two days to complete and he was able to give a rich history of the church from its inception to the present. According to the bishop, the urge to become leaders is the main cause of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. For him, if some leaders have been asked to lead in certain church events on behalf of the bishop, they think they can be bishops in their own right.

The main reason is *kuda ukuru* (urge to lead) he said. He further said that there is no one who does not want to be a leader; even children want to be respected. As a result of personal ambitions to become a leader, most people in the church create a dispute or they raise a certain issue so that they will find a reason to move out and start their own churches as bishops. The bishop said that there were many cases in the church of people who raised very trivial issues and contest leadership. The bishop further said that people always think leaders have many advantages, opportunities and access to church funds and properties. The vice-bishop also raised the issue of the urge to lead as the main cause of succession disputes. The point was raised as well during the focus group discussions with the council of high priests. Bishopric is associated with respect, luxurious life style where the church buys the bishop a nice car, a house in urban areas and having power to heal, prophesy and cast evil spirits. All these, as Bishop Jamson said, attract many to become leaders in their own right.

Daneel's insights on the urge to lead apply to what the bishop said in the previous paragraph. For Daneel (1988:162), schisms and individual defection in AICs is caused by the urge to lead, to gain power, to acquire prestige, and to widen one's influence in the church. Daneel further cited power hunger as a leading factor in succession contestations. It seems that defecting leaders try to conceal their urge to become leaders by hiding behind doctrinal issues while actually political reasons are the main ones. Furthermore, Daneel (1988) said that subordinate leaders tend to play down their deeper motives by citing doctrinal disputes or the principal leader's shortcomings as the major cause of their defection. This implies that the subordinate leaders appeal to religious issues or social factors like the weaknesses of the principal leader to justify their defection. Generally, people need to gain power, influence, prestige and recognition in society. If they have not been accorded such expectations, they form their own churches as a way of getting their expectations met. This implies that the struggle for power, recognition and influence is the main factor that triggers succession disputes in the ZAFM.

Junior office bearers usually aspire to rise in the leadership hierarchy. When they are not accorded an opportunity to extend their influence and authority in the church, they raise a dispute with the principal leader and then they join other churches or they form their own and become leaders. Those who are born with charisma do this. Charismatic leaders usually see follies in their leaders and then take advantage of the weaknesses of the leader to rise to power. Some of the subordinate leaders are charismatic and are able to use their personal success, sacrifice, and risk-taking to influence followers to trust their abilities and vision. The followers

would become convinced that the vision is both realistic and attainable and they support the charismatic office bearer in contesting leadership.

The interviews with the leaders of the ZAFM church clearly showed that subordinate office bearers fail to accept the authority of their superiors because of their ambitions to rise to leadership. Such subordinates usually raise the mistakes and failures of the principal leader as the ones that aggravated succession disputes that lead to tensions, strife, and later on, schism. Daneel (1988:163) said that by the time the doctrinal issue is raised, the struggle for power and dissociation by the secessionist leader would be underway. This implies that after seeing that there are no sufficient opportunities to rise to a higher position of authority in the church, the subordinate leader would try to get independence by forming his own church. Daneel (1988) concurred with Sundkler (1961) when he cited obsession for leadership as the underlying factor behind succession disputes in AICs. For Sundkler, the church is the only psychological safety valve and legitimate outlet for Africans' ambitions to become famous, known and respected. Since most of the office bearers in the ZAFM church are peasant farmers in their day-to-day life, occupying a position in the church makes them feel belonging and is a great achievement in their quest for identity. Molobi (2011) agrees with Sundkler (2004) and Daneel (1988) when they said that lack of education makes the office bearers to see church leadership as the only place for their ambitions to be met, and to become prestigious and famous. Daneel (1988) is of the same view as he said that the ambition to rise to leadership, the zeal to belong and to be recognized, as well as the tribal political system of leadership which puts emphasis on inherited leadership, and the appointment of office bearers to positions of authority using the kinship system, are the causes of succession disputes in AICs.

In most cases some leaders feel that they work hard but are not recognized by the bishop hence they would then move out and form his own church. This implies that the failure by the principal leader to provide sufficient opportunities for subordinate leaders to fulfil their zeal to rise to *ukuru* (leadership) causes succession disputes. Molobi (2011:54), in his study of AICs in South Africa, also observed the same. For him, the issue of having a recognized status in society and leaving a legacy for the future generations triggers succession disputes. He further said that the struggle or hunger for leadership and internal politics cause succession disputes in most AICs.

On the same note, Van Zyl Dalglish and Liezel Lues (2009:32) established that an effective leader must be human-oriented, charismatic, value-based, team-oriented and participative, self-

protective and autonomous. This claim is true because typical founders of AICs are charismatics and they have the gifts of healing. This implies that a leader must love his subordinates and must always try to raise their positional status in due course. The 1992 succession disputes led by Emmanuel Chimhangwa in Chivi district is a typical example of a subordinate leader who, having converted many members in cooperation with the principal leader, claims the leadership of those whom he feels to be his own followers and did not feel obliged to follow Andreas Shoko's son as his subordinate. Therefore, the church traditions, constitutions and beliefs that are rigid and not flexible makes subordinate office bearers to causes succession disputes in most AICs in general. Seibert (2005:136), talking about Zionism in Mozambique, also identified the urge to lead as the causal factor in succession disputes. According to Seibert, competition for power and the struggle for prestige is one of the contributing factors to leadership disputes and succession contests.

7.1.2 *Nzira dzinoshandiswa kugadza vatungamiriri* (The succession models of the church)

A critical analysis of events in the ZAFM church shows that there are two main succession models used, that is appointment and inheritance models. The appointment succession model is related to the inheritance model but it stipulates that the incumbent bishop has to anoint the successor before his death in the midst of the council of high priests. The inheritance succession model states that the successor should be the first son from the first wife of the bishop. The ZAFM church is divided on which of the two models should be used. After the death of the bishop, two groups often arise. One group would be supporting a bishop chosen through the inheritance model and the second group would be vying for the bishop appointed by the deceased bishop. This means that the ZAFM church has no agreed procedure pertaining to how a bishop should be chosen. This then would trigger succession contestations as the two chosen leaders would be fighting to control the church. Each of the leaders would be thinking that the model used to put him in the position is the proper one hence the rightful heir.

Interesting to note is the contention that both of the succession models used in the ZAFM church allow bishops to be life time leaders. One of the participants, during the focus group discussions with the members of the laity, said that *Bishopi haadi kusiya chigaro kwehupenyu hwake hwose. Anoda kuramba aripachigaro kusvika murufu. Izvi zvinokonzera kuti vaye vanenge vachitarisira kuvewo vakuru vatange kutsvaka tsika dzaBishopi dzakashata votanga kusagutsikana nehutungamiriri hwake vomutsa makakatamwa.* (Bishops are not willing to leave office until the time of their death. They want to lead as long as they are alive. This causes

other ambitious leaders to find a weakness in the leader that make them to be dissatisfied with his leadership and then label him as a bad leader. Thereafter disputes arise and they break away).

Bourdillon (1977) said that the bishop in the AICs has a final say and is a lifetime leader. The issue of overstaying in a position of authority has even triggered disputes in the political landscape of Zimbabwe. Makamure (2017:1) said that in 1965 Ian Smith declared the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) and became the life president of the then Rhodesia up to 1980. He left the throne of his party Rhodesian Front (RF) without nominating a successor. Robert Gabriel Mugabe of Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) took over power in 1980 to November 2017 when he was ousted by his deputy Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa and he had no succession plan. Morgan Tsvangirai of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) became the party president in 1999 and cling on power until his death. Likewise, he had no any dream on succession in his party. Currently there is factionalism because of his failure to relinquish power though he is battling with his health. This implies that the religious arena has not been spared by this issue of overstaying in power. When the bishop overstays in power, a lot of unrest and uncertainty among potential successors and onlookers is created as they try to visualize what the future will hold for them.

The issue of overstaying in power was adopted from the traditional Shona societies where the position and leadership of a chief was not supposed to be contested and questioned. The chief would be only removed from power by death. The appointment of lifelong leaders inhibits promotion on grounds of spiritual maturity, experience and service in the church. Lifelong leadership appointments imply that the junior leaders have to wait for their seniors in the hierarchy to die before they can be promoted. The only solution to this problem of lifelong leadership positions is schism. In pursuit of secure and more influential leadership positions, junior leaders contest the leadership of the principal leader. This was the case with Rueben Museva, Jeremiah Shava and Simon Tawanda during the leadership of Andreas Shoko.

The majority of participants during the focus group discussions were critical of the succession models used in the church. They pointed out that the church is not a family property and therefore it cannot be inherited. The participants highlighted that the inheritance succession model brackets out other prospective leaders who would have worked tirelessly with the deceased leader to be elevated to positions of authority. Further, the system promotes chaos as people fight for the property left by the deceased father or grandfather. This implies that there

are people in the ZAFM church who are critical of how leaders of the church are selected after the death of the bishop. They also question the idea of leadership for life. This creates problems because the deceased leader would not be able to intervene during the disputes. This is the reason why the participants were saying that the incumbent bishop must appoint the successor before his death and he would get time to groom his successor and prevent any contestations.

The discussion with the members of the Council of High Priests showed that some people might toil to help the bishop to establish the church only to be led by his son who might be even younger than the vice-bishop or any other office bearer who was helping the deceased bishop. This does not go well with our human pride that indicates that those who work hard should be rewarded. High priest 1 said, *Nzira inoshandiswa muchechi medu yekuti hubishopi hunotevera ropa inokonzera kuti pave nemakakatamwa mushure mekunge bishopi afa. Vakuru vanenge vakabatsira kuti bishopi abate basa rake zvakanaka vanodawo kutendwa nekupihwa zvigaro zvinoremekedzwa.* (The inheritance leadership succession style used in our church shuts the doors for those who would have worked with the bishop before his death. Such leaders who would have helped the deceased leader to do his work need to be respected by being offered respectable leadership positions).

Pastor 4 said that *nzira inoshandiswa kugadza vatungamiriri pazvigaro zvinosanganisira chemutevedzeri wabhishopi, mukuru wemapirisita, mupirisita mukuru, mupirisita wedunhu rose, uye mupirisita wenharaunda ndiyo inofanira kushanda kunyangwe pakugadza bhishopi. Vanhu varipazvigaro izvi vanosarudzwa nabishopi pachake zvichienderana nekuti vanoshanda zvakadii uye kuti vanoziwa gwara rechechi here. Bhishopi haafaniri kungosarudzwa kubva kuimba yabhishopi chete. Ngapatariswe vakuru vanezvipo zvemweya chero vasiri vemhuri yabhishopi.* (The method used to appoint leaders in positions like those of a vice-bishop, chief or senior priest, district priest and Zonal Priest should be used to select bishops as well. Office bearers to these offices are appointed by the incumbent leader basing on their commitment to work and their knowledge of the ZAFM church doctrine. There is need to appoint leaders with spiritual gifts even if they are not from the bishop's family).

The appointment succession model was said to be problematic by the participants in that it is not made known to the whole church. During the focus group discussion with the members of the laity it was said that the contestants who claim to have been anointed by the incumbent leader to be successors always point that it was done secretly. The members of the laity said that there is need for incumbent leaders to make any move concerning succession clear and

public. For them, leaders are meant to save the people hence there is no need to make secret anointing. If the incumbent bishop makes the anointing of the successor public, the followers and other office bearers would respect his choice and there would be a smooth transition of power. It seems the participants were more comfortable with giving everyone a chance to rise to the position of the bishop as long as the person has spiritual gifts and knowledge of the church doctrine. They were against giving the chance only to the family of the bishop. The participants said that allowing everyone to rise to the position of the bishop would promote hard working in the church instead of disputes.

Pastor 4 said that *hutungamiriri haufaniri kuita zvekugarwa nhaka uye hapafanirwi kuva neimba inonzi yeushe muchechi. Izvi zvinoita kuti vatungamiriri vashaye ramangwana rakajeka zvoita kuti pave nemakakatamwa.* (Leadership should not be hereditary and there should not be a royal family in the church. Lack of a bright future for those not from the royal family and those in families not subject to inheritance succession line makes contestations for leadership inevitable).

The inheritance succession model in the line of the male children of the bishop was adopted from the traditional Shona societies. In the ZAFM church, daughters are not allowed to inherit the power and leadership of their deceased fathers. This shows that the ZAFM church is patriarchal in nature. Sundkler (2004), talking about Independent Bantu churches, maintained that inheritance leadership is one of the ways through which Independent churches adapt to African heritage. It is important to underline that in the same way that the eldest son of the deceased in traditional Shona societies inherits the property and religious authority by means of *kugadzira* rite (settling the spirit), the eldest son of the deceased bishop also inherits his property and leadership position in the church at the memorial ceremony (Daneel, 1971:101). In the traditional Shona society, a younger son is not allowed to inherit the position, wealth and power of the chieftainship while the eldest son is still alive. In the traditional Shona life, as chief Chivi said in an interview, the eldest son from the first wife is the rightful heir. Chief Chivi further said that if the first son is already dead then the next surviving son becomes the heir. If the next surviving son is already dead and there is no other son younger than he is, then his first son should be the next heir. Chief Chivi further contends that if the dying chief had nominated his second son as heir while the eldest son was still alive, then succession disputes were likely to erupt. This kind of scenario led to succession disputes between Bishop Jamson and Bishop Ezra in the ZAFM church. The eldest son (son of the covenant) in both the

traditional Shona society and the ZAFM church inherits the great bulk of the deceased leader's wealth and is the rightful heir to the throne. This is the reason why chief Chivi and the two surviving wives of the founder of ZAFM church, Andreas Shoko, are attending church services at the faction led by Bishop Jamson. The two wives of Andreas Shoko said in an interview that *mwana mukuru kwete mudiki ndiye anatora utungamiriri kana baba vake vachinge vafa* (the eldest son inherits leadership roles after the death of the father not the younger son).

Chief Shindi highlighted that it was also common among the traditional Shona societies that if the first wife of the chief had no sons, the second wife's eldest son would become the next heir to the chieftainship. Chief Makovere said that, the chief's sons with the concubine had no right to succeed him. The traditional tribal political system that was adopted by the ZAFM church, with its accent on hereditary leadership and limited jurisdiction, provides insufficient scope for leadership. This generates tensions that lead to succession disputes (Daneel, 1987). Schismatic leaders from the ZAFM church often criticise hereditary leadership and call for a more democratic way of choosing a bishop. This was the case even in the ZAC of David Masuka after his death when Peresu succeeded him. Two priests, Willi Sharara and Makamba, took advantage of Masuka's death and broke away (Daneel, 1987:172). However, it has to be noted that soon after forming their own churches, the schismatic leaders who would be critical about hereditary leadership soon start to insist on hereditary leadership so that their own sons would become their successors.

7.1.3 *Kusawirirana pakati pevanogadza ushe* (Disagreement between kingmakers)

The ZAFM church has no agreed procedure pertaining to who should choose and inaugurate the successor bishop. The confusion starts from who is the kingmaker. One group believes that the Council of High Priests are the king makers and should inaugurate the successor to the deceased bishop. This group holds that the incumbent leader must appoint the successor before death and then the king makers would inaugurate the appointed successor during the memorial service of the deceased. The second group believes that the Zionist Covenant Leaders are the king makers and they have to inaugurate the successor using the 1949 Zionist covenant. Like the first group, this group also believes that the successor should be inaugurated at the memorial service of the deceased bishop. What is interesting to note is that, both groups believe that they are authenticated by the bishop himself. The first group argues that the bishop plans everything with the Council of High priests and he tells them his secrets. The second group believes that

the incumbent leader automatically becomes a member of the 1949 Zionist Covenant upon assumption of power. This means that he would be obliged to follow its dictates.

The disagreement on who the king makers are, brings about a twofold problem. On the one hand, we have the problem of authenticity of the selected leader. On the other hand, we have the problem of competition by king makers on appointing the successor. When each of the kingmakers mentioned in the previous paragraph have appointed its leader, the inaugurated leaders would each claim to have been selected by the appropriate authority. This would mean that the two groups would accuse each other of not being the rightful heir hence disputes erupt. When two or more kingmakers compete for the appointment of the successor, disputes also erupt as each group would want to make sure that their candidate has won. The emergence of two claimants to succession and the existence of different kingmakers threaten the existence of peace in the ZAFM church and the entire community as they are gripped with fears of unrest as clashes between supporters of the two rival claimants turn violent and bloody. When Andreas Shoko died in 1985, two groups of kingmakers emerged. On the one hand, there was a group that believed the successor is appointed using the 1949 Zionist covenant while on the other hand there was a group of the Council of High Priests who insisted that the late bishop had appointed the successor by anointing with oil and by word of mouth. The same happened when Dorius died in 2012. In the ZCC of Samuel Mutendi, upon his death in 1976, tensions arose between two groups as well. One group was supporting Nehemiah on the basis that Samuel Mutendi had anointed him with oil before death. The other group supported Rueben using the dictates of the 1949 Zionist covenant. This scenario is quite similar to the contestations in the church of the Nazarites in South Africa. When Isaiah Shembe died, tensions arose in regard to who should succeed him. Prior to the native law, the eldest son was supposed to be the heir but Shembe 1 elected his second son. This move raised disputes as one group wanted traditional Zulu procedure regarding the election of a successor to be followed while others wanted a change. The disagreement on which method to use created a tense atmosphere in the church of the Nazarites and this led to bloody leadership contestations.

Discussions with the members of the laity brought forth that the ZAFM church leaders need to be clear on the following: who are real kingmakers; the processes involved in the selection of the successor, who has the legitimate authority to nominate, select and anoint the successor, what rituals accompany the selection and nomination process, and who performs these rituals? In addition, they need to decide on who puts the regalia on the succession candidate? If these

steps are not clearly stipulated, succession disputes are inevitable in our church, one participant observed. The major concern of the participants was that the church needs to come up with an open system that governs the selection process.

The disagreements between kingmakers is intensified by the fact that the deceased leader might not have nominated the successor before death. Even if the bishop nominates the successor still people would contest his views after death because they might not be sure of what transpired. Some would contest just for the sake of maximising their chances to lead. The issue of not disclosing the successor was adopted from the traditional Shona societies where the identity of the successor was kept a close secret. After the death of the chief where the successor was to be nominated, family disputes would erupt against the nomination. Chief Makovere said that chiefly succession was hotly contested. Each contestant would have followers, and hence he emerges as the leader of a faction. In most cases the disputes in Shona societies were unresolved and each faction would then have its own area of jurisdiction. It would establish a separate chiefdom either close or a distance from the other. This is what happened between Dorius and his brother Zachariah, and Jamson and Ezra in the ZAFM church where each is separated by a distance of about 400 meters and services are conducted at the same time and same day. Therefore, like in the traditional Shona society, disputes in the ZAFM church arise between the sons of the first wife of the bishop and those from the household that ranks immediately after that of the first wife. This was the case with Bishop Dorius and Bishop Zachariah Shoko and then Bishop Jamson and Ezra Pedzisai Shoko. This indicates that conflicts over who should succeed is the common source of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. This is prompted by the fact that there is no clear policy as to who and how the successor is to be appointed. Bishop Ezra said that the incumbent bishop should appoint the successor during his lifetime through anointing with oil. For him, the Council of High Priests are responsible for installing the anointed son of the bishop. The Council of High Priests would then give the successor the regalia of the deceased bishop. Bishop Jamson believes that the successor is appointed in accordance with the 1949 Zionist covenant and should be installed by the members of this covenant in the presence of the president of ACCZ.

In most cases, disagreements between king makers cause the factions supporting rival claimants to force their choice to the throne by resorting to violence and bloodshed. Supporting either the eldest (son of the covenant) or younger (non-covenant son) always stirs bloody disputes. From the researcher's observations, the non-covenant group, in most cases, tries to

draw striking similarities between their leader and the biblical Moses. Moses, even though he was the youngest, was chosen by God to be the leader of the Israelites. Aaron was the eldest but could not lead the Israelites and he was supposed to follow instructions from his young brother Moses. They even go to the extent of teaching that when Aaron and Miriam, who were older than Moses, opposed him, they were struck with leprosy. For the non-covenant sons, the younger son is always the favoured one in terms of leadership. The non-covenant kingmakers also use the story of Jacob and Esau, as they argue that Jacob the youngest was favoured and anointed in the place of Esau the eldest son. This implies that for the non-covenant group, the younger son always prevails over the elder one in terms of leadership. Those who do not support the 1949 covenant (non-covenant sons) believe that in all the Zionist churches in Zimbabwe, only the young ones would have a large following as compared to their rivals who go by the Zionist covenant. They cite the example of Nehemiah and Rueben Mutendi where Nehemiah prevailed over his brother in terms of church growth. The same applies to the issue of Philip and Peresu Masuka of ZAC. In the ZAFM church, the non-covenant sons believe that they have the greatest number of supporters as compared to the sons of the covenant. However, it seems the group led by Bishop Jamson (son of the covenant) has a larger following than the group led by Bishop Ezra. More important to note is the contention that in the ZAFM church, the most violent and bloodiest succession disputes are experienced between relatives for example, the disputes that occurred between Dorius Shoko and Zachariah his younger brother, and the disputes between Jamson Pedzisai and his young brother Ezra Pedzisai. This boils down to the notion that when blood ties are broken, they are very hard to mend.

There are striking similarities between the pattern of leadership succession in the texts referred to above and what the non-covenant sons in the ZAFM church believe in. The basic similarity is that leadership is by divine appointment and humanity's role rests only in discerning God's appointment and doing everything they can to ensure that it materializes. The other similarity rests on the notion that when those in leadership are about to leave office, mostly through death, they should ensure that their successors are accepted by the followers, particularly the council of elders or priests in the case of the ZAFM church. The non-covenant sons believe that when a dying leader lays his hands on one of his sons then that is a sign of the transfer of power to the next leader. The non-covenant sons, since they base their leadership on the bible, believe that Andreas III (Ezra Pedzisai Shoko) was chosen by Dorius Pedzisai Shoko (Andreas II) through the word of prophecy. The word of prophecy was delivered during the 2010 Easter conference that the rightful successor of Andreas II will rightfully worship at the very shrine

that he and his father worshiped. They often refer to such a scenario as a smooth and managed transition of power to the successor. Such a scenario is often likened to the retirement of Moses and the succession by Joshua as stated in the book of Deuteronomy 34:9. The non-covenant sons emphasize the importance of anointing from predecessors and this is the reason why bishop Ezra won the court issue on leadership wrangles. Anointing by the predecessor ensures that the staff (*tsvimbo*) of leadership is in the rightful hands.

The other striking similarity between the non-covenant sons in the ZAFM church and the successful underdogs in the bible rests on the fact that the mothers of the leaders-to-be played a crucial role in elevating their sons to positions of power. Bishop Jamson said *Ezra anofurirwa naamai vake vanomukurudzira kundimukira sezvakaitwa naJakobo wemubhaibheri. Esau akatorerwa ukuru nekuda kwekuti Jakobo akafurirwa naamai kuita chinhu chakange chiri kunze kwemurairo wekuti mwana mukuru ndiye anofanira kugara nhaka* (Bishop Ezra is influenced by his mother to rise against me like what Rebecca in the bible did. Esau was robbed of his birthright because Jacob was influenced by his mother to do so, yet it was against the tradition). An analysis of the story of Jacob shows that Rebecca played a role in the elevation of Jacob and the downfall of Esau. In this case, Esau, the rightful heir, is the son of the covenant and Jacob, the younger son, becomes the non-covenant son who is the underdog who later on becomes more prominent than the elder brother. The involvement of the mothers in the elevation of the younger son can also be seen in the story of Moses and Solomon whose mothers played pivotal roles in their rise to power. Moses' mother offered to look after him when Pharaoh's daughter picked him up along the riverbanks. Moses' mother later on surrendered him to Pharaoh's homestead – that was some form of training for leadership – before he assumed leadership over the Israelites. In the ZAFM church, the involvement of the mothers in the elevation of the non-covenant sons is further intensified by family politics caused by polygamy. Each wife in a polygamous family fights for recognition and this fight even stretches to the children.

In the traditional Shona societies mothers could also propel their sons to positions of leadership. The favorite wife of the king (*Vanyachide*) could solicit the king to nominate their son as the successor. However, such cases were not common since women were not allowed to intervene on men's business.

It is interesting to note that the non-covenant sons in the ZAFM church link the biblical theme of the success of the underdog with what is happening in their church leadership. In the bible,

those who were inferior and once not allowed to be leaders or be free, are the ones who later on become successful. This mentality can be linked to the success of Jacob who was the youngest son of Isaac, the success of Joseph who was the youngest among the son of Jacob, the success of Abraham who originally had one son, and the success of Jesus who was born of a poor family in a manger. Following this theme of the success of the underdog, the non-covenant sons in the ZAFM in particular and the Zionists in Zimbabwe in general always have more prominence in their church organizations as compared to the sons of the covenant. The issue of the success of the underdog in the ZAFM church is exacerbated by the nature of the leadership hierarchy the church is following. According to the ZAFM constitution, the offices from that of the vice-bishop to that of the priests – are not inheritable. This causes them to be the underdog in the church. This means the death of the incumbent leader would be seen as an opportunity to rise to power. Those in positions or offices which are not subject to inheritance leadership would almost always support the non-covenant son so as to raise their status and create a legacy or empire for their future generations. Even if they do not support the non-covenant son, they can even revolt against the successor of the deceased leader and start their own church, as was the case in the issue of Matuva, Chimhangwa and Ruka Changa in the history of ZAFM. It is interesting to note that the struggle between the sons of the covenant and the non-covenant sons boils down to the fight between traditional and biblical values on succession.

The sons of the covenant, due to their support of traditional Shona leadership styles, garner the support of state political leaders who see potential voters in the congregants. Political leaders at times donate to the church group that they see as having the potential to support their national duties. A clear example as one said during focus group discussions is where Honorable Killer Zivhu in 2015 appreciated the people of ZAFM under bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko because they were behind him in the constituency he represents in the parliament. He also pledged to assist in church developments at the church's headquarters at Museva area. He pledged cement for the commencement of construction and refurbishment of the outer pavement that is currently used for services by the church members. He pledged to fully stand behind the church, for development to be successful said one of the members of the focus groups. During the 2017 Easter conference at Museva, several political leaders were present at Bishop Jamson Pedzisai's congregation. Some, like Honourable Utete, the current Member of Parliament, and the Provincial ruling party members, were present. The other notable political leader who was present was comrade Billah from Chiredzi district who even hired eight lorries to carry Zionist

members from Chiredzi to Museva area for the Easter conference. Most of the political leaders who were present at the 2017 Easter conference pledged cement and other building material for the construction of the amphitheater at Bishop Jamson's church headquarters at Museva. Such a core relationship of the state and church stirs disputes, as the political leaders are supporting the potential leader who they think has a large following of potential voters. As was raised by Congregant 2 during the focus group discussions, interference by political leaders causes succession disputes in the ZAFM church. Political leaders tend to side-line other potential leaders and support the one whom they think would have more followers, who would, in turn, vote for them during election times. Politicians come to the church as uninvited well-wishers but their main aim is to find time to campaign for their political parties. This implies that politicians stir succession disputes by supporting one leader at the expense of the one who might have few followers. The participant went on to suggest that there must be clear demarcation between church and state. The politicians are only out to garner support, not necessarily to consider religious issues hence they can even support a person who does not qualify to be a leader but has many followers. Political affiliations and religious affiliations need to be separated, the participant uttered.

7.1.4 Chizivano (Nepotism)

During the focus group discussions, one of the respondents, Pastor 5, said that, *kana hutungamiriri hukasarudzwa kuchishandiswa chizivano makakatamwa anomuka muchechi. Kana takatarisa kupesana kwakaita VaShoko navaRuka uye Matuva Changa, tinoona kuti kwakakonzerwa nenyaya yekugadzana pazvigaro nekuda kwechizivano. Mushure mekufa kwava Kandros Mawisire vanove vakatsiva vaShava semutevedzeri wabishopi, vaJonisaya Muzangwa vakasarudzwa kuve mutevedzeri wabishopi pachinzvimbo chavaTapson Mawisire mwana wavaKandrose. Izvi zvakamutsa kurwiraukuru pakati pavaShoko navaRuka navaMatuva Changa.* (If leaders are selected using nepotism, disputes arise in the church. If we look at the succession disputes that were raised by Ruka Changa and his brother Matuva Changa, we see that they were caused by nepotism. After the death of Kandros Mawisire, Jonisaya Muzangwa took leadership from the supposed successor Tapson Mawisire, Kandros' son. This then caused succession disputes that led to the breaking away of Ruka and Matuva Changa to form their own churches). In this case, Muzangwa was a brother to Shoko's first wife, so by allowing him to become a vice-bishop, nepotism was at play.

Nepotism is patronage given or favoritism shown because of family relationship in various fields, including business, politics, entertainment, sports, religion and other human activities. From the traditional African set up of leadership, people who occupy strategic positions within the leadership hierarchy were in one way or the other related to the chief or king. Traditional chiefs or kings had a tendency of surrounding themselves with people who they can trust and who were obedient to them. This was done to reduce chances of treason, usurpation of power and fear to be ousted from power. The same scenario is found in the ZAFM church. The relatives of the bishop who include nephews, uncles, brothers and grandfathers are given strategic positions in the church. Such a scenario triggers disputes especially when those not closer to the bishop want independence from the bishop and his extended family.

7.2 Religious Factors

In addition to political factors, religious factors were raised as other causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church.

7.2.1 Sins of the bishop and his failure to demonstrate pastoral care and love (*Zvivi ZvaBishopi uye kusataridza hanya kwabishopi*)

At the heart of religious factors, the sins or failures of the principal leader or his successor to demonstrate care and love raise disputes. There were two issues which were raised during the focus group discussions that are referred to as the sins of the bishop. The first one is lack of pastoral visits to some people. The second one is favouring other people over others. The national leadership is often out of touch with people at a local level. This makes the local people feel abandoned and not cared for; as a result, the local people are easily persuaded by the breakaway suggestions of local leaders whom they know.

Narrator “C” a son of one of the leaders who seceded from Andreas Shoko, said that *chikonzero chikuru chemakakatamwa muchechi kutadza kutaridza rudo chairwo rwunotaurwa mushoko ramwari*. (The main cause of succession disputes in the ZAFM church is the failure by the bishop to show the biblical concept of love). For him, a leader must not show favouritism in the church and must treat every member with love. To be a leader means to have love, without love the church will never stand. The narrator further said that *mutungamiriri anofanira kuzvipira kushanyira varombo, vanoshaya, vafirwa pamwe nemasangano arikunzvimbo dzirikure uye dzakasarira*. (A leader has to sacrifice and visit the poor, those in need, those in

distress of death and even the congregations which are far away and primitive). The narrator further said, *munhu angati mutungamiriri pachii kana asingagoni kushanyira vatendi vake varikunzvimbo dziri kure. Sevanhu vanogara mumaruwa nguva zhinji hatikwanisi kuti tiende kumisangano mikuru yechechi, saka kana bishopi akasatishanyira isu hatimbozomuzivi kuti iye ndeupi.* (How can a leader say he is a leader if he does not visit his followers in distant areas? As poor rural people, at times, we fail to go to the national celebrations and if the bishop does not visit us at local churches, we will never come to know him). *Watinenge tichiziva ndiye mupirisita watinenge tichishanda naye mazuva ose, uye zvaanenge ataura kana kuita ndozvatinotevedzera.* (All we will know are our local leaders and if the local leader decides to cut ties with the bishop then followers would have no choice but to follow their local leader).

The ZAFM is widely spread across Zimbabwe and other neighbouring countries to the extent that it is difficult for the national leader to make constant visits to every congregation. Such a move is interpreted by the local people as neglect of pastoral care. They see the failure of the bishop to visit them as some form of neglect of pastoral care and failure to show love. In most cases the local office bearers take advantage of such a scenario to influence people under them to revolt against the national leadership.

At times long distance congregations end up losing touch of what is happening at the national level. This is often interpreted as some sort of neglect because they would be feeling that as representatives of the bishop at local level they need to be updated on anything taking at the national level. The mentality of feeling neglected and not cared for caused leaders like priest Micah Maromo from Shanyaugwe area of Gwanda in Matabeleland South to contest the leadership of Dorius. According to the Council of High Priests during the focus ground discussions, Priest Michah from Gwanda felt neglected by Bishop Dorius Shoko and started to question his credibility as the national leader. Priest Micah was expecting the national leader to update him on national programmes. When his ambitions were not fulfilled Priest Micah was disgruntled and left to form his own branch of ZAFM church.

However, after more than twenty years, Priest Micah came back and was reinstated in the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission church at a conference held in Gwanda town from the 13th to the 15th of November 2015. Micah had to come back to ZAFM after realizing that the current bishop had shown him care by following him to his home district in Gwanda. Interesting to note is the contention that the current priest Micah inherited leadership from his father priest Micah Maromo I. Priest Micah II rejoined the ZAFM church under Bishop Ezra as a High Priest and

he brought with him a number of followers. Priest Micah II leads a zone of six branches with approximately 500 followers.

The other bishops who also contested leadership in the ZAFM church because of lack of pastoral care are bishop Chiforimbo from Mushawasha in Chivi North area and bishop Machida. The two bishops were priests during the time of Andreas Shoko. After the death of Shoko, his successor (Bishop Dorius) never visited them and they interpreted this as lack of care. The two felt that they were not among the favorite congregations of the Bishop. They were dissatisfied by the failure of the national leader to visit them, consult them on church matters as Andreas Shoko used to do. This made the two Bishop to be discontented with Bishop Dorius and they regarded him as having favoritism on rich congregations.

However, after twenty-five years the two had to rejoin ZAFM under the leadership of Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko. The two bishops were reinstated into the ZAFM church as High Priests on the 23rd of September 2016 and they came back together with all the people who were under them. The vice-bishop during the in-depth interview said that the two bishops came back because Bishop Ezra showed them love and care. Bishop Ezra visited the two bishops on several occasions and this persuaded them to come back to the ZAFM church as High Priests.

The issue of lack of pastoral care was supported by Masango (2002:78), who said that a leader should be a servant to the clan, tribe, community or group. As a representative of the people, a bishop has to make sure that all the congregations under his jurisdiction have been visited at least once in a year. Kagemu (2014) cited such issues as conservatism and poor leadership as causes of succession disputes. Conservative leaders never visit their distant congregations and Kagemu takes such a move as poor pastoral care. A leader has to know what is happening in his or her distant and close congregations. A good leader for Kagemu works closely with his subordinate office bearers particularly in decision making and church management. The failure to include the office bearers of the local congregations in decision making can easily be interpreted as lack of love and care. More so, the national leader must not be selective in the way he deals with the subordinate office bearers.

Narrator “D” said that favouritism and lack of care is the major problem with our leaders. *Masangano anevanhu varombo haashanyirwi nevakuru vechечи nokuti vanenge vachiti hapana chatowana kumasangano evarombo. Vatungamiriri vanofanira kutaridza rudo kuvanhu vose zvisinei nekuti vane mari here kana kuti havana. Chero varombo vanodawo*

kutaridzwa rudo. (Congregations which are thought to be poor never see the face of the bishop or any of his top leaders because they know they would not benefit out of it. Leaders should love the followers without regard to their status. Even the poor people also need to be shown love).

Jeremiah Shava, the first leader to have leadership contestations with Andreas Shoko, regarded the common root cause to be the failure of the founder to demonstrate at all times the biblical concept of love in the Shona setting. Jaison Shava, the successor of Jeremiah Shava, said his father Jeremiah Shava parted with Andreas Shoko because Shoko failed to demonstrate the biblical concept of love. For him, a leader must love even those who slide back and fall down in the journey to eternal life. Jaison further said that *rudo ndirwo runovaka kereke. Kana pasina rudo kereke inofa. Vanhu chavanotarisa mukuungana kwevatendi kuona rudo*. (Love builds the church. Without love, the church dies a natural death. People look forward to seeing love flourish within leaders and it cascades to the church members.

7.2.2 Introduction of polygamy in the church (*Kuroora vakadzi vakawanda*)

During the in-depth interviews, polygamy was raised as the cause of succession disputes. In a polygamous family the first wife and her children are regarded as the heirs to the power and wealth of the deceased father. In both traditional Shona and ZAFM life set up, the first son of the bishop inherits his property upon death. Such a tradition brackets the bishop's other wives and their children to benefiting from the wealth of their father. This implies that the more the wives a bishop has the more the likelihood of contestation between his sons after his death. There is always a competition for supremacy, benefits and access to power and wealth between wives and sons of a polygamous man. The sons of the bishop from the lower houses are not always at liberty to let the wealth of their father be monopolized by the sons of the first wife. This brings in some fights and competition for the scarce resources left.

Bishop Jamson said that throughout the history of Zionism in Zimbabwe, succession disputes were erupting between sons of the bishop from different mothers. According to Bishop Jamson, when Samuel Mutendi died there were succession disputes between his sons from different mothers, that is, Rueben and Nehemiah Mutendi. When David Masuka died, disputes erupted between Philip and Johanne Peresu Masuka, who were from different mothers. When Peresu died, Tafirenyika assumed power and after his death three of his children, Felix, Ngoni Chicago and Jacob Masuka, had succession disputes. They are from different mothers. Felix is the eldest

son from the first wife and is supported by the 1949 covenant. Ngoni Chicago and Jacob are supported by their mothers to become bishops. When Andreas Shoko died, his first son Dorius had succession disputes with Zachariah, his young brother from the third wife of Shoko. After the death of Dorius Pedzisai Shoko, his two sons Jamson and Ezra Pedzisai Shoko had succession disputes, and they are from different mothers. Jamson is from the first wife and is the first surviving son while Ezra is the son of the second wife of Dorius. Polygamy sows the seeds of jealousy within the bishop's family as well.

Narrator "C" said *Chimwe chezvinokonzera kupesana pakati pevakuru ishanje. Vakadzi vaBishopi vanenge vave neshanje dzekuti imba huru yabishopi yasimukira saka vanotsvaka nzira dzekuti vanhu vemhuri iyoyo vaparadzane vobva vatanga kuhunza kunyonganisana pakati pevana vemhuri iyi kuti iparadzane.* (Linked to the issue of supporting the sons of the bishop in conflict is the issue of jealousy. Other wives of the bishop might be jealous that the family of the bishop's first wife is flourishing well, hence they try to stir confusion to crumble down the family of the first wife). Once the family members are not united, the church would not grow well. This made Narrator C to further say that *mamwe makakatamwa pakati pevakuru anokonzera nevakuru vedzimwe chechi dzinenge dziri munzvimbo imomo vachiitira kuti panguva yekusagadzikana kwezvinhu vamwe vatendi vanotiza kune mhirizhonga vachiuya kwavo. Kuti izvi zvibudirire vanoenda nerweseri vofurira umwe wevatungmiriri vanenge vachikakavadzana kuti tanga chechi pako wega.* (Some disputes are stirred by leaders of other churches in the vicinity because they know during the time of disputes that some other members would defect from where there are conflicts and join their churches. They influence one of the conflicting parties to remain adamant, knowing fully that the longer the disputes, the more they gain converts. Later on, the influenced leader would be instructed to start his own church).

It is important to raise at this point that the ZAFM church tolerate polygamy. As stated in its constitution in section 25.7.1, polygamy is not encouraged but is tolerated. This implies that the church policy does not deny polygamy totally. Further, in its penalties as stipulated in the constitution, if a married man is involved in sexual relations with a girl, the man shall marry her. This sort of a penalty calls for polygamy and men take advantage of it to have polygamous families.

The issue of polygamy made some people like Bishop Jeremiah Shava and Bishop Ruka Changa to break away because of their objection to polygamy. This attitude is related to a somewhat legalistic approach to religion that tends to seek salvation in the strict observance of

biblically defined cords, even if they are arbitrarily chosen and based on an incomplete understanding of the bible. The issue of polygamy also causes rivalry between the wives of the bishop. The rivalry would in turn cause them to encourage their sons to contest leadership in order to retain some power and authority and possibly triumph over their rivals.

Seibert raised the issue of polygamy in his study of Zionism in Mozambique. According to Seibert (2005:136), doctrinal issues like polygamy, religious practices, and claims of divine visions to found one's own church are some of the causes of succession disputes in Mozambique Zionist churches.

7.2.3 Failure to understand the backbone of Zionism

Sungano (Covenant) is the backbone of Zionism. The failure to understand the backbone of Zionism cause succession disputes. Zionism in Zimbabwe survived because of the covenant between its founding fathers that is Mutendi, Shoko and Masuka. Anyone who joins Zionist churches has to come to terms with the dictates of the covenant between these founding figures. The covenant between these leaders made Zionism to be strong in Zimbabwe. Zionism in Zimbabwe is also hinged on the issue of *Fambidzano* between the Zionist churches. The concept of *Fambidzano* was meant to cement a mutual core-existence between the Zionist churches where they were working together to achieve a common goal.

According to Bishop Jamson, the ZAFM is a church of the covenant. In his own words, the bishop said, *Zion nderesungano pakati paVaMutendi, Masuka and Andreas Shoko. Vose vanoda kuve mabishopi vanofanira kutevedzera zviga zvesungano iyi. Pasina kutevedzera sungano, hausi bishopi.* (Zion is a church of the covenant between Mutendi, Masuka and Shoko. Anyone who wants to be a bishop has to follow the dictates of the 1949 covenant. Without following the covenant, one cannot be a true bishop). For him, those who think following the 1949 covenant pushes them outside the parameters of becoming leaders always stir succession disputes as they try to create room for them to be bishops. Therefore, for him, one has to understand that Zion is a church of the covenant and failure to understand it causes confusion in the church. This implies that succession to the position of a bishop is not by voting, promotion or by articulation from a lower position. The interviews with the two surviving wives of the founder of the ZAFM church (Andreas Shoko) further emphasized the issue of the failure to understand the 1949 covenant which they said is the backbone of Zionism. They pointed out during the interviews held on 15 April 2017 that they followed Bishop Jamson

because the covenant that their husband and the other two Zionist leaders Mutendi and Masuka entered into, duly spells out that Jamson is the successor of Dorius. In their own words, they said, *Zion nderesungano, asi nekuda kwekusaziva vanhu vanokonzera bongozozo rekuti ndiani anotevera kuve mambo wezioni*. (ZAFM is a church of the covenant but because of lack of this understanding people stir succession disputes as they fight to be the king of Zion). They further said, *vana vedu nekuda kwekusaziva sungano yezioni vakatiza vakaenda kunotevera mambo asina rutsigiro rwezioni, isu takati tinotevera sungano yaiva vavariro yemurume wedu* (All our sons because of the failure to understand the 1949 covenant (the backbone of Zionism), left us and followed the Zionist leaders who are not supported by the 1949 covenant, but we said to ourselves we must follow the covenant which was the aim of our late husband).

According to Narrator “A”, *mushure mekufa kwabishopi akatanga nezioni retambo kana vatevedzeri vake vakasiya gwara raifamba nababa vavo zvinokonzero kuti vamwe vakuru vaishanda nabishopi akatanga chichi vaone kuti hazvichina gwara rekutanga vobva vabuda vonotanga pavo vega nechinagwa chekuda kutevedzera gwara raiva nabishopi akatanga chechi. Vakomana vemazuva ano ava vave kurasika zvakanyanya zvino tingangotarira vanhu vachisiya gwara rezion*. (After the death of the first leader, the successors normally change the trend which the first leaders had wanted the church to follow, and this distorts the flow of the church events. This makes those who had been working with the founder to realise that the church is no longer moving according to plan, hence they decide to move out and start their church as a way of trying to go back to the roots. The young generation leaders are carried away so easily these days and we cannot just look on as the church is losing its Zionist flavour).

Narrator “B” said, *kazhinji vanhu vanozosara vatora zvigaro mushure mekunge baba vavo vafa vanenge vasina hwaro hwechuchi yedu yezioni. Saka kuti vakuru vakanga vachibata nababa vavo vachiramba vachiona kereke ichiwondomoka vakatarisa hazviite. Vanozobva vatanga pavo voga votevedza gwara rakanga rine mukuru akatanga kereke*. This literally means that in most cases, the sons of the bishop who succeed him lack the history of the church and this makes the leaders who were working with their fathers to dispute succession and form their own church, trying to follow the original thrust of the founder.

7.2.4 Differing interpretation of the bible (*Madudzirirwo anoitwa bhaibheri*)

The bible has become a contested terrain. Each group or denomination claims to have the correct interpretation. It is the difference of opinion about the meaning of biblical passages that

creates conditions for disputes in the ZAFM church. The 1970 succession disputes between Andreas Shoko and Simon Tawanda were triggered by differing interpretation of the bible. The introduction of fourteen days of prayer without eating leavened bread was based on the interpretation of Exodus 23:15-16 which states that, *“Thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven days, as I commanded thee..., and the feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labours which thou hast sown in the field....”* Tawanda insisted that the church needs to follow the biblical dictates of not eating bread but Shoko insisted that Tawanda is misinterpreting the Exodus chapter. Due to the differences on the interpretation of this chapter, disputes arose.

On the same note, the disputes between Shoko and Mushingi were caused by differences in the interpretation of the bible. Mushingi argued that at the last supper, Jesus gave his disciples wine, which for him is synonymous to beer. Mushingi insisted on the use of beer at the Eucharist. Mushingi claimed that Shoko was misinterpreting the bible hence he decided to leave and form his own ZAFM church in Bulawayo. His basic argument was that Shoko is not a good leader because he cannot interpret the bible well. Mushingi doubted Shoko’s authenticity as a bishop on the grounds of failing to properly interpret the bible. Shoko was also blaming Mushingi for misinterpreting the bible.

Alokan and Ogunyemi (2011:1) supported the issue of misinterpretation of scriptures when they said succession disputes in Nigerian Pentecostal churches is caused by doctrinal practices, different interpretations, and manipulations of prophetic gifts and sundries. They further said that fake prophecies and revelations are other causes of succession disputes in indigenous churches in Nigeria. For them, succession disputes have made members to backslide and some to start their own churches which would fulfil their intended interpretations of biblical materials. On the same note, Daneel (1988), argued that disputes over theology, church doctrine or law contribute much to succession disputes in AICs in Zimbabwe.

7.2.5 Decentralization of power and difficulties in communication

The interviews with Bishop Jamson and the vice-bishop indicated that if the local leaders like high priests and priests have been given some power to administer over Passover or other church rituals, they think they can be bishops on their own. They said that all the efforts by the church to decentralize power have turned sour, as the local leaders end up breaking away and forming their own churches after realizing the kind of support they have from their members. Molobi supports this issue. Molobi (2011), in his study of AICs in South Africa, also identified

the issue of decentralization of power and difficulties in communication with the distant congregations as causes of succession disputes. Distant office bearers would look for some excuse to raise disputes or have confrontations with the bishop. This would make them cut ties with the bishop and later on start their own churches with the same name.

7.2.6 *Kuiswa pasi peshamhu* (Put under church discipline)

Literature on schisms in the AICs has often pointed out that most breakaways are caused by people who are not willing to accept discipline. In the ZAFM church, if an office bearer has been caught committing a sin like adultery, drinking beer, or conniving with someone for the purposes of blackmailing the bishop, he should be brought under the disciplinary committee. The committee may decide that the office bearer be put under discipline. In most cases, the office bearer, because of shame, would not accept to be under discipline; hence he decides to raise a dispute against the ruling of the bishop and the disciplinary committee. The Senior High Priest during interviews said that when someone has committed a sin and the bishop puts him under discipline, as stipulated in the constitution, the person may not be satisfied with the nature of the penalty given; hence he may decide to dispute with the bishop and then leave to start his own church. In his own words, the senior priest said, *vamwe vanhu havadi kutsiurwa. Kana vakaiswa pasi peshamu mushure mekunge vaita chivi muchechi vanotanga kurwisana nabishopi vobuda vonotanga chechi yavo*. (Some people do not accept any rebuke after committing a sin. If they have been put under discipline they dispute with the bishop and move out to start their own church where no one would ask them). The priest further said that, *chimwe chinokonzero makakatamwa inyadzi. Kana mutungamiriri akabatwa achiita chivi anoona zvirinani kutiza muchechi onotanga pake ega nekuda kwekunyara vanhu*. (One of the causes of succession disputes is humiliation. When a leader has been caught committing a sin, he prefers to dispute with the bishop and start his church because of humiliation). He further said that *chaanenge otya kutarisana nevanhu mushure mekunge aiswa pasi peshamu*. (The leader will be nervous to face the people after put under discipline for misbehaving). The priest continued that, *Mutemo wedu wechechi unoti kana mutungamiriri akaita choupombwe, akabatwa achimwa doro, akafukura hapwa achitaura zvinhu zvemuchechi asina tenderwa kana kuita zvimwe zvinhu zvakashata anofanira kuiswa pasi peshamu kwenguva inokwana mwedzi umwe chete* (our church constitution clearly states that if a leader has been caught doing adultery, drinking beer, divulging church secrets or doing any other sin, he shall be put under discipline for a period of one month). This scenario, the priest said, does not go well with most

of such people hence they raise a dispute with the bishop and later on secede from the church. This was the case with Jeremiah Shava who had connived with a prophet to speak ill about Andreas Shoko, and upon being asked why he did so, he raised the issue of polygamy and said that Shoko has failed to stand by the biblical principles of monogamy. Shava later on left Shoko's church and formed his own.

Bishop Jamson, during the face-to-face interviews, said that the succession disputes between himself and his young brother Ezra have been intensified by Benny Mandiregerera. Mandiregerera was the treasurer of ZAFM during Dorius Pedzisai's reign. Bishop Jamson was the first one to discover that he was misusing church funds and alerted many church members. After the death of Dorius Pedzisai, Mandiregerera rallied behind Jamson's young brother Ezra because he was afraid of being put under discipline by Jamson if he became the successor of bishop Dorius. Mandiregerera was also sure that Bishop Jamson would not continue holding him as the church treasurer since they had squabbles on the use of church funds before bishop Dorius' death. In his own words, Bishop Jamson said, Mandiregerera *ndiye akafururira Ezra kuti tipesane nekuti aiti ndinoda kumubvisa pahusahomwe nekuti ndakanga ndamubata achishandisa mari yechechi zvisizvo. Senzira yekuda kugara pachigaro Mandiregerera aifamba achiudza vanhu kuti Jamson aimukira baba vake uye aidzisa paseka zvisina bvumo yababa vake saka haangavi mutevedzeri wavaDorius. Izvi zvakakonzera kuti vanhu vapesane muchurch nokuti Mandiregerera aitya kuiswa pasi peshamu.* (Mandiregerera is the one who influenced my young brother to dispute my succession rights because he feared I would remove him from his treasurer position since I had caught him misusing church funds. As a way of protecting his position, Mandiregerera spread the news that Jamson wanted to stage a coup and was conducting Holy Communion without Bishop Dorius' permission, hence he cannot be a successor of Dorius. All this has caused disputes in the church because Mandiregerera was afraid of being put under discipline). Therefore, as a way of maintaining their position in church, those under discipline may support one of the claimants to the position of the bishop and at the end, they are given higher offices when the contestant has won. In addition, contesting against the ruling of the bishop is interpreted to mean contesting his leadership and authenticity as the overall leader of the church. Formation of the church, after leaving due to objection to discipline, is also synonymous with contesting the position of the incumbent bishop.

Ishmael Mushingi contravened the law against beer drinking. He introduced the use of beer at the Holy Communion services. This stirred disputes and led to Mushingi starting his own church. The issue was more to do with failure to abide by the doctrine of ZAFM church where beer is not synonymous to wine. In most cases, the leaders caught contravening church doctrine fail to comprehend the intensity of the penalty, and then they raise an issue against the incumbent bishop's authenticity as a leader. This means that some leaders would contravene the church doctrine intentionally as a way of finding a reason to start their own churches where they are overall leaders.

7.2.7 *Kuita huori pakuporofita* (Value judgement)

Manipulation of prophecy in order to justify one's claims to leadership or support for a preferred leader is the other cause of succession disputes. Prophets are the eyes of the church and advisors to the incumbent bishop. In the event that the bishop has died, a prophet might connive with one of the sons of the bishop and argue that the Holy Spirit has revealed to him who the successor should be. Since the words of a prophet cannot be disputed in the ZAFM church, chances of the prophets manipulating such a system are very high. The prophet can also raise a spiritual argument that God does not want such and such to be a leader because he is not serious with his religious life. Indeed, after the death of the bishop, each group comes up with its own justification to support their candidate for the office of the bishop. Such claims are made within the church worldview using devices that resonate with the people. Prophecy, revelations, dreams and visions are some of the devices used by claimants to support their choice. In the case of Jeremiah Shava, a prophet connived with him and blamed Shoko as a way of paving the room for Shava to become a bishop and officiate over Holy Communion, a duty that was reserved to the bishop himself. Such a move was a way of disputing the authenticity of Andreas Shoko's leadership. Bishop Jamson said that corruption in prophecy was also at play after the death of Samuel Mutendi, where a well-respected prophet of Samuel Mutendi went to Rueben and asked him to give his sister in marriage and then the prophet would support him as the next leader. When Rueben refused, he went to Nehemiah who agreed, and the prophet then raised the argument that Samuel disclosed to him that Nehemiah, who was not the eldest son, should succeed Samuel. Pastor 2, during focus group discussions, cited the influence of well-respected priests as the other cause of succession disputes, as was the case between Ezra and Jamson Pedzisai Shoko. This implies that respected and influential people

who had been close to the deceased leader may take advantage of their positions to stir succession disputes in an effort to follow their own ambitions or hidden agendas.

Zonal Priest 2 said that, *muporofita anokwanisa zvakare kufurira vana vesangano kuti vakonzereze makakatamwa. Anongovaudza kuti munofanira kubvuma kutungamirirwa nanhingi chete. Vana vesangano vanobva varamba kutevera mumwe mutungamiririri nokuti vanenge vaudzwa kuti haasi kunamata zvakanaka nekudaro haangavi mutungamiriri.* (A prophet might influence the members of the laity to stir succession disputes by telling them to rally behind a certain leader because of personal opinions. Members of the laity may dispute that a certain potential successor was not a member of the church during the lifetime of the deceased leader, hence they cannot be led by such a person). The members of the laity can then choose a person of their choice. This was the case with Dorius. Some members of the laity and other leaders thought he was not in a good relationship with his father and had backslidden and became a drunkard and prostitute hence he could not be the successor of Andreas Shoko. These people had little knowledge that Shoko had already anointed Dorius as the next successor in 1955. The support of Zachariah by the members of the laity caused succession disputes after the death of Andreas Shoko.

Masondo (2004), looking at the church of Isaiah Shembe, said that in order to support their claim to the position of a bishop, claimants often appeal to dreams, words of a prophet, or divine anointing. For him, after the death of Isaiah Shembe, his son Johannes Galilee claimed to have had a dream while he was in the same room with his parents having a meal, and Isaiah Shembe was said to have entered Johannes Galilee Shembe's chest and disappeared. This was done to make people believe that from that time on, Johannes Galilee Shembe was acting according to the dictates of Isaiah since they were now one. It was a move meant to silence his critics because he knew no one would want to oppose Isaiah Shembe. In the case of ZAFM church, both Jamson and Ezra were making claims that were meant to validate their succession rights. Ezra claimed to have been anointed by the late Bishop Dorius and a will was written supporting him. Moreso, the prophets and the council of high priests supported him. Jamson claimed to have been secretly anointed by the late bishop as well, and a prophet proclaimed at Gunikuni that he should be the successor. Further, the 1949 covenant supported his claim to the throne.

The importance given to prophets and the words or actions of the incumbent leader is strikingly similar to the importance the Shona people in the traditional life gave to *n'angas* (traditional

healers) and the kings and chiefs. Traditionally, in African societies, the words and decisions of the king or chief were unquestioned. In the same way, *n'angas* were also playing vital roles in succession issues and they acted mostly as advisors to the installed chief or king. Due to the importance *n'angas* were given, they were liable to connive with one of the players in the succession disputes and then help him to rise to power. The *n'angas* or prophets' ability to see beyond the supernatural make people to believe their words without raising any doubt. This was the case with Jeremiah Shava and Bishop Ezra. Shava got the support of the prophet and Ezra garnered the support of ten (10) top priests who were close to Dorius Pedzisai Shoko to rise to power. This means that for the sake of integrity in the church, some leaders may take advantage of their positions to stir succession disputes between potential successors as a way of trying to achieve their own desires.

Commenting on the striking similarities between traditional societies and the church, Mugambi (1989) says that Christian understanding and traditional African thought have been harmonized in such matters as views of God, spirits and angels, ancestors and saints, rites of passage and eternal life. Such a mixture of Christianity and traditional African values has often triggered pertinent questions like, 'Where is the boundary between the gospel and the culture? How much can the church adapt itself to the prevailing worldview and remain recognizably Christian?' This implies that church and culture have to move alongside each other. The church has to adopt much from the traditional society if it is to make an impact, as the ZAFM did. The adaptation of the traditional values by the church makes it to move alongside with reality of human lives.

7.2.8 Kushaikwa kwechikoro chezvesvondo (Lack of theological training)

Lack of theological training is another cause of succession dispute that can be classified under religious factors. Theological training would help the leaders to understand the church doctrine well. It would enable them to make comprehensive decisions that would foster the development of the church, as well as enable them to comprehend a multitude of spiritual, ethical, organizational and economic challenges. The presence of well-trained church ministers would necessitate the ecumenical cooperation of the church leaders without any dispute. Congregant 2, during focus group discussions, said that *vatungamiriri vezion rendaza vanofanirwawo kuenda kuzvikoro zvekudzidzira kutungamirira chechi*. (There is a need to ensure that leaders in the ZAFM church receive proper theological training). *Kuenda kuzvikoro zvekudzidza shoko ramwari kunoita kuti vatungamiriri vazive kusiyana kwehupfumi hwechechi nehwemhuri*

(theological training would make leaders to be able to clearly differentiate between church and family issues and property. It would also help them to treat church matters independent of family matters. According to Congregant 2, *kana nyaya dzechechi dzikaitwa nyaya dzemhuri makakatamwa anobva atadza kudziviririka nekudaro kuendawo kuzvidzidzo zveshoko ramwari kunoita kuti vatungamiriri vave nekunzwisisa kurinani*. (If a church becomes a family matter, then succession disputes become more inevitable as the potential successors are fighting for the control of the church resources and property. Theological training would help leaders to have a better understanding of how church issues need to run outside the family issues).

Theological training would make leaders in ZAFM fit into the current turbulent religious tides in Zimbabwe in particular and the world in general. Theologically trained leaders would necessitate cooperation instead of dispute. Amanze (2008) said that theological education is important in so far as it not only trains church ministers who can preach and evangelize, but also produces quality church leaders who can easily and quickly respond to modern day issues affecting church and society. There are many different challenges which require different theological answers today. Theological training would equip ZAFM leaders to deal with the political, cultural, social, religious and economic issues affecting their church.

7.2.9 *Kusava Nemweya uye simba rekuporesa* (Lack of spiritual possession and power to heal)

Lack of spiritual possession, miraculous healing and speaking in tongues on the part of the bishop or leader is another cause of succession disputes.

Zonal Priest 5, during the focus group discussions, said that, *munhu wemutungamiriri anofanirwa kuve nemweya uye simba rekuporesa. Ungati uri mukuru pakudii kana usina mweya. Vatendi vose vanotarisa kuti mutungamiriri akwanise kuporofita, kuporesa uye kutaura nendimi. Izvi ndozvinotaridza kuti unoshandiswa namwari. Kana bishopi anemweya anokwanisa kuratidzwa vanhu vose vanomumukira pakutonga kwake. Zvino kana asina mweya akangofananawo nevatendi vose vose*. (A leader must be possessed by the Holy Spirit and should be a healer. How can one be a leader if the Holy Spirit does not possess him? The followers expect their leader to prophesy, heal them and even to speak in other languages. All these show that the leader is used by God. If a bishop is possessed by the Holy Spirit, he can even be able to know who is planning against him in his leadership. If a leader does not have the spirit, he is just like any ordinary congregant).

Narrator C said that, *chinhu chikuru chinotitaridza kuti mutungamiriri akagadzwa namwari kuve nemweya. Pose panogadzwa bishopi mutsva vanhu vanomhanyira kune munhu wavanoziva kuti ane mweya mutsvene uye anogona kuporesa. Haungamhanyiri kumutungamiriri asingakwanisi kuporofita kana kuporesa. Munhu wese anodawo kunzwa ramangwana rake kuti rakamira sei. Saka chinhu chikuru chatinotarisisira kumutungamiriri wechechi chipo chekuporofita uye kuporesa vanorwara.* (The main indication that God has installed a leader is spirit possession. Every time a bishop is installed, people support the one who is possessed by the Holy Spirit. We cannot rally behind someone who is unable to prophesy or heal. Everyone wants to know what the future holds. So, the main gift we expect from the bishop is the gift to prophesy and heal the sick).

The general perception of the members of the AICs is that the principal leader is in constant contact with the supernatural through dreams, visions and revelations. They expect their leaders to be imbued with supernatural powers more than anyone else in the church. Kuhn (2001:57) said that if a leader does not have the power to heal, prophesy and to speak in tongues, the followers could be easily misled by anyone in the church with such abilities. On the same note, Daneel (1993) said that the spirit is the lifeblood of AICs because it is the source of revelation, prophecy, illness detection, nature and impact of evil, and knowledge on healing. For Masondo (2015:243), the spirit is the transport between various realms of existence. He further said that it connects people to these realms of existence. In his discussion of the church of St John Apostolic Faith Mission, Masondo said that the church service starts with songs calling the spirit to come upon and guide the service. This concurs with the general belief that the ultimate concern of Africans is health and well-being. Generally, Africans are believed to be earth-bound.

Africans are anthropocentric in nature since they strive for good health and well-being (*utano neugaro hwakanaka*) (Shoko, 2011:285). For the Africans, anything that threatens *utano neugaro hwakanaka* (health and well-being) is considered a form of suffering. To curb such sufferings, the Africans turn to their religious leaders to protect them. Therefore, if a leader has no spirit (*mweya*), then he cannot help protect his follower; hence the need to follow those who can help protect them from evil spirits and other forms of misfortunes that threaten their health and well-being. In the African belief system, it is mandatory for a leader to have *mweya* (the spirit). This is in line with what Masondo (2004:72) observed among the Zulus in South Africa. For him, the king as the leader provided a link between the supernatural and human beings.

Those under the king depended on such a link for survival. When a crisis befell human societies, the king was responsible for offering a religious appeal to the ancestors for relief. In the ZAFM church, the spirit is invited at the beginning of every gathering through a song called *huya mweya mutsvene* (come down Holy Spirit) and the bishop leads the church in this event. This makes the spirit to be present in every event at the church. This implies that without the spirit, the church services do not work well (Masondo, 2015:243). A leader without the spirit is incapable of having a meaningful and successful leadership. Spirit possession in the ZAFM church manifests through performing signs and wonders during healing sessions. A bishop should always show that he is the chosen one by performing miracles. Masondo (2004) said that leaders in the AICs are not perceived as ordinary human beings; they are endowed with divine presence, and the divine acts through them. This implies that if the bishop does not have *mweya* (spirit), he risks losing members to those with the gift of the spirit.

7.3 Evaluation of Religious Factors

In any given schismatic situation, it is difficult to determine the extent to which religious factors influence the splintering process. It can be assumed that behind the façade of doctrinal issues, the subtler influences of individualisation, differing bible interpretation, and limited understanding of church doctrine, create fertile ground for succession disputes in Andreas Shoko's Church (Daneel, 1987:159). According to Daneel (1987:37), doctrinal issues, which include the question of worship on the Sabbath or on a Sunday, introduction of polygamy, introduction of beer drinking, and failure to show the biblical love, are all causative factors in succession disputes in AICs. Kagemu (2014) cited spiritual thirst, poor evangelism, and lack of proper worship style as contributing religious factors in succession disputes in AICs in Kenya.

Interesting to note is the fact that secessionist leaders tend to hide their deeper motives by citing a doctrinal issue or the shortcomings of the principal leader as the main cause of their disputes, yet there will be a pool of other real factors behind these. This implies that the prospective secessionist leader deliberately raises a doctrinal issue or searches for a weakness in the leader to justify his intended course of action. The evidence of Zion Apostolic Faith Mission Church schisms shows that a struggle for power and a certain degree of dissociation by the secessionist faction from the main body would be already underway by the time the doctrinal disputes or objection to the main leader's conduct is raised (Daneel, 1987).

However, some of the causes of succession disputes raised under theological factors were very important. Theological training on the part of the incumbent leader would equip them more to deal with disputes and lead the church in a more fashionable manner. Theological training would also help with the issue of biblical interpretation. The issue of neglect of pastoral care is also very crucial.

On the issue of the failure to understand the backbone of Zionism, the church needs to agree. As it stands, the group led by Bishop Ezra (non-covenant sons) totally disputes that Shoko was a member of the 1949 Zionist covenant. As highlighted in chapter 6, Bishop Ezra argues that the 1949 Zionist covenant was only between Samuel Mutendi and David Masuka. For him, Andreas Shoko was not present at the gathering that came up with the covenant and he was never part of it. The document that is alleged to be the 1949 covenant, presented in the court proceedings during the fight between Bishop Jamson and Ezra Pedzisai Shoko, only spoke of two Zion churches led by Mutendi and Masuka. The testimonies by Bishop Tafirenyika Masuka and Makuwa Mutendi during the court proceedings also indicated that when the covenant was made, only David Masuka and Samuel Mutendi were present. Andreas Shoko was not present. More to this effect, when Bishop Tafirenyika Masuka was ordained as bishop there was no representative from the ZAFM church. He was ordained in the presence of Makuwa Mutendi. This further indicates that Andreas Shoko's ZAFM church was not part of the 1949 covenant. More to this, it seems even the two Zionists, Mutendi and Masuka, never put the 1949 covenant in practice. Most probably, they realized its follies soon after launching it and this is the reason why they did not take it seriously. When Mutendi died, he anointed Nehemiah Mutendi as his successor, leaving Enginasi and Rueben who were the eldest. The same applies to Masuka who appointed the younger brother Philip as his successor at the expense of the eldest son Peresu. The fact that succession disputes always erupt after the death of the bishop might indicate that the architects of the 1949 covenant never took it seriously. One of the possible reasons why it was not followed religiously could be the realisation that the eldest son might not be automatically participating in church business during the incumbent leader's lifetime. Therefore, if the ZAFM church ever followed the 1949 covenant it was out of interest, not because they were part of its making. The involvement of Shoko in the making of the covenant is highly debatable.

7.4 Social factors

Related to religious factors in the causes of succession disputes are the social factors. There were a number of factors that were raised during the fieldwork.

7.4.1 Lack of a sense of identity and belonging

One of the social factors on the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church is lack of a sense of identity. Human beings always want others to notice their presence and be recognized by the larger community. In every move that human beings make, they want to belong and be identified with something else, be it a totem, church congregation, tribe or race. If they are not recognized, human beings try to find possible ways to get a sense of identity. In the quest for belonging, disputes often erupt between those who want identity and those preventing others from being recognized. Office bearers, who work hard, always expect to be accelerated to positions of authority through promotion and this is what they regard as recognition. If an office bearer is barred from promotion to a higher rank, he will stir succession disputes as a way of getting to the highest position after creating his own church. This was the case with Rueben Museva during Andreas Shoko's time. Museva was expecting to be promoted to the position of a minister but the delay made him to join the Members in Christ church. This implies that the quest for identity, belonging and recognition is very central in succession disputes. The incumbent bishops need to recognise the efforts put in by other members and then elevate them to positions of authority. The contestations between the sons of the bishops are also fostered by the need to be respected, identified and recognized in the whole society. The fight for bishopric office is rather a fight for recognition.

7.4.2 *Kusave nehurongwa Hwekuti ushe Hwogarwa sei* (Lack of succession plan)

Several AICs have in their constitution a statement on succession plan stating who takes over as leader of the church when the incumbent passes away or leaves the position. However, these constitutions hardly specify how this succession takes place. Leadership succession requires a clear succession model since it is inevitable that disputes would erupt after the death of the incumbent leader. The model would spell out how the leadership mantle should be passed on to the successor. Bishops cling to power until the time of their deaths. When this happens, the church members would be left with no choice but to appoint one of the deceased bishop's sons as successor without looking at proper leadership qualities. The inheritance and appointment

succession models used in the ZAFM church are meant to preserve legacy at the expense of smooth transition of power for church continuity. In most cases, the preservation of the legacy would not be in the best interest of the whole church. Therefore, a clear planning ahead in regard to succession matters is very crucial so as to avoid chaos and disruption of church growth, peace and services.

In some AICs, bishops die before they decide pertaining to who should succeed them. This means that there is no time to appoint and groom the successor before death of the incumbent leaders. The premature death of the bishop always takes the church by surprise. As in the traditional Shona society, leaders want to lead until they are dead. This means they die before they make any prior arrangements as to who should be the next successor. More so, even if the deceased arranges a successor, the issue is kept a secret to himself to the extent that no one will be clear as to what the plan was. The issue of secrecy, fear of assassination, and the mentality that one is a lifetime leader, creates fertile ground for succession disputes. As the members of the focus group consisting of lay people said, after the death of the bishop, so many stories come up as each potential successor tries to support his successorship. Some would claim that they were anointed behind closed doors by the deceased, others say there is a will left by the deceased, some say they were told by word of mouth that they will be the next leader, and others will even say that they were anointed by the late bishop at his deathbed. All these are because there is seemingly no succession plan in most AICs.

Pastor 1 said *Mabishopi haafaniri kutora nyaya yekusarudza mutevedzeri wake kana afa kuita nyaya doko nokuti zvinokonzeresa bongozozo guru muchechi uye kuparara kwezvinhu muchechi*. (The bishops must not take the issue of succession lightly because it causes so much damage after their death). One participant said that there is need for a smooth transition of power from the dying leader to his successor. For Pastor 1, this can only be effected if bishops choose their successors, train them while still alive, and make it known who their successor is. In his own words, Pastor 1 said *chinonetsa ndechekuti vakuru havasi kusarudza mutevedzeri wavo vasati vafa, uye havazviburitsi pachena kuti ndiani wavanoda kuti ave mutevedzeri. Sekuona kwangu, bishopi anofanira kusarudza mutevedzeri wake omudzidzisa kutungamirira kereke zvakanaka. Munhu anofanira kuzove bishopi anofanira kumiswa pakati pekereke vanhu vose voziva kuti ndiye achazatora chigaro mushure mekunge bishopi afa*. This (the major problem we have is that incumbent bishops do not chose their successors before their deaths.

In my view the incumbent bishop must chose the successor and make a public announcement in the church that this is the one who will succeed him).

Pastor 2 said *mutevedzeri wabhishopi anofanirwa kusarudzwa nabishopi pachake asati afa kuti makakatamwa aite mashoma nekuti munhu wose anenge oziva zvido zvabishopia. Uyewo kana pange paneumwe ange achifunga kuti asiwa kunze anobva abuda bishopi achiri muupenyu.* (Choosing the successor before the death of the incumbent leader would reduce tension because everyone would know the expectations of the incumbent leader. More so, if there will be anyone who feels he has been shut out of the leadership, then he would either leave during the time of the incumbent leader or he would accept the plan. It also reduces tension on the part of all prospective leaders because everyone would know whom the incumbent leader chose as his successor).

Pastor 3 said that, *ukuru hunonakidza zvokuti unosvika pakufa usingafungiri apa uchingoda kutonga zvinozokonzera makakatamwa kana mukuru afa.* (Leadership is so thrilling to the extent that one rules until death and the untimely death of the leader will create succession disputes). *Nekuda kwekuti bishopi anogona kufa asina kufungira anosiya pasina hwaro hwakanaka hwekuti hushe huchaenda panani. Nekuda kweizvi chechi inofanirwa kuve nemutemo wakasimba unotaura kuti mutevedzeri wabishopi achange akamira sei. Izvi zvinobva zvaita kuti pasave nemakakatamwa.* This means that the untimely death of the incumbent leader gives him no time for proper transition of leadership to his successor. For this reason, there is need for a well constituted succession plan which has to be followed and should have legal bindings attached to it. This would then reduce the chances of succession dispute.

The issue of premature death of the incumbent leader is underlined by Oosthuizen (1981:4) and Melton (1991:1) who said the period following the death of a principal leader leads to major disruptions and fatal consequences for the church. They also agree that the sudden death of the principal leader is so traumatic to the followers. It is experienced as a sad event. Banjo (2008) concurred with Oosthuizen and Melton when he said that succession times are often tense times. The sudden death of a bishop does not give him time to groom the successors with the help of priests and members of the laity. It is important to note that this system was also adopted by the church from the traditional Shona society. In the traditional Shona societies, it was a taboo for chiefs and kings to plan beyond their lives because it was seen as wishing oneself to die. It was also a taboo to wish someone dead. Therefore, by not choosing a successor

during his lifetime, the bishop will be following the traditional Shona ethics; but at the end a crisis ensues on who should lead after him. Discussions on succession and grooming seem to be avoided in the ZAFM church particularly by members of the laity and other office bearers below that of the bishop, as this can jeopardise their relationship with the incumbent bishop. The fear of victimisation makes junior office bearers not to feel free to discuss the issue of succession plan. Rather, the church does not have an open platform for the members of the laity to discuss the issue of succession.

It is important to mention that the current two formations of the ZAFM church do not agree on how successors should be selected. Those who cling to the Zionist covenant believe that the incumbent leader does not need to appoint the successor because it is obvious from the covenant that the eldest son from the first wife of the bishop is the successor. The non-covenant group believes that the incumbent leader appoints a successor before he dies. For them, it is the privilege of the incumbent leader to appoint a successor through the powers imbued upon him by God. Where there is no clear succession plan, each faction would have equally valid reasons to support their claimant to leadership. Oosthuizen (1981:52) observed that the members of the church of the Nazarites also hold different views on who should succeed and how to choose a successor. Some members believe that the eldest son should take the lead and should be groomed by the incumbent leader. Others argue that the incumbent leader should appoint the successor. The other group in the church of the Nazarites, as Oosthuizen pointed out, want the office of a bishop to be subjected to voting.

As mentioned earlier, the current formations of the ZAFM church have two succession methods that are inheritance and appointment by the incumbent leader. The inheritance method can be manipulated freely because there is no document to support it. My efforts to get a copy of the 1949 Zionist covenant were in vain since the document was said to have been under the custodian of Tafirenyika Masuka, but from the time of his death, no Zionist knows what happened to it. Currently there is no Zionist branch with the document. The appointment by the incumbent leader is shrouded in mystery in the ZAFM church. There is no clear proof of such appointment since the prospective claimants always say it was done secretly. This is the main reason why disputes always ensue after the death of the incumbent leader. There is nothing to inform the church on how succession has to be done. There is a need for a proper leadership transition model that is well constituted. Congregant 3, in the focus group discussion with the members of the laity, said that it is prudent to groom successors, provide for it in the

constitution and church doctrine, and have a succession plan to ensure a smooth transition. According to this participant, there should be a set of qualities to look for when grooming a successor, which include the age, maturity and good religious grounding. These qualities would help in removing the fear of assassination of the incumbent leader since the groomed successor would be of good personal and religious behaviour. The participant further said that the succession issue needs to be discussed freely in the presence of the whole church and should not be a secret at all. The members of the laity must know who their next leader would be so that they can help in grooming the leader and learn to be used to the leader. And they would not be caught by surprise after the death of the incumbent leader.

The issue of succession planning is supported by Banjo (2008) who said that every organization should have a succession plan. For him, if there are no succession plans, succession disputes became unavoidable. Noel (2001) said that each organization should have an effective succession or talent pool management plan to avoid succession disputes, violence and squabbles after the death of the principal leader. On the same issue of lack of succession plan, Maphosa (1999:169) said that most organizations face uncertainty about the future beyond the founder. For Maphosa, since leaders are mortal, it is important for the organization's long-term stability, survival and growth to always look beyond the incumbent leader and develop strategy and create conditions for a smooth succession. Maphosa cited lack of succession plan as the root cause of succession disputes in African family organizations. He further stated that lack of succession planning promotes organizational instability by paving way to succession disputes.

Hart (1993) said that succession events are emotionally charged with feelings of expectation, apprehension, abandonment, loss, and relief. As such, succession disputes need to be avoided. Hart suggested that sustainable leadership plans should be put in place from the time a leader is appointed. On the same issue, Drummond (2001:23) said that the blow of the succession disputes can be made softer by distributing leadership through the organization so that it can carry the torch once the principal leader has gone. This implies that, before death, the principal leader has to open up on who is to succeed him. In the absence of a succession plan, the sudden departure of the incumbent leader causes major upheavals of power and authority, creating conflict and thorny estate issues among the heirs (Lansberg, 1988). In support of the issue of having a succession plan in the AICs in general and the ZAFM church in particular, Morris (1997) reiterated that a thoughtfully developed succession plan increases the likelihood of

cooperation among stakeholders as well as enhances the chance of a smooth and satisfactory succession process. Both Morris (1997) and Lansberg (1988) agree that the development of a succession plan implies that the process will be conducted in an orderly fashion since it gives time for preparation before, during and after the succession event. This implies that having a succession plan in place makes room for the development of specific criteria for the selection of a successor. This would in turn reduce succession disputes in the ZAFM church.

Masondo (2004:74) said that after the death of Johannes Galilee Shembe, tensions arose in the church and caused major schisms. For him, people had conflicting views about whether or not Galilee had made some succession plan. The lack of clarity on the issue of succession plan is one of the major causes of leadership succession disputes and in most cases, it leads to wrangles, squabbles and violent conflicts. This implies that the death of a bishop creates a leadership vacuum that causes confusion in the church as they try to fill it. For Masondo (2004:79), lack of succession planning causes a chaotic situation after the death of the incumbent leader. Like what Masondo (2004) identified in the church of Shembe, the appeal to the courts of law could not stop schism and bloodshed in the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko. Therefore, due to lack of clarity on the issue of succession planning, succession disputes are inevitable in AICs.

7.4.3 Lack of retirement age and package (*Kusava nemakore ekumira basa*)

The characteristics and qualities of most AIC bishops are usually charismatic, energetic, charming and creative. Such characteristics makes it difficult for them to relinquish power as long as they are still alive. They have a unique attachment with their churches, which they regard as the labour of their own hands, a family legacy and an empire for the future family generations. It is because of this reason that bishops find it difficult to retire, even when it is clear that a transition of leadership is imminently needed. It makes them cling to power until their untimely death.

The participants during the focus group discussions said that the ZAFM church must come up with the retirement age limit for its leaders rather than letting them lead for the lifetime. The participant further noted that having a retirement age limit would ensure that the incumbent leader has enough time to advise and train the successor while he is still on retirement. This would reduce chances of succession disputes since most of the people will be respecting the

retiring leader. The participant said that as long as the incumbent leader is still alive, there could not be anyone who would want to be seen revolting against him.

Following on the issue of retirement age, another participant said that there is a need for the ZAFM church to come up with retirement packages as a way of encouraging leaders to vacate positions for others to take over. The retirement package, according to this participant, must include a retirement home, money, provision of education to the retired leader's children and most probably provision for his daily needs. The provision of retirement package gives hope to the leaders since they would know that their future is guaranteed. This would in turn give time to groom the incoming leader. If a retirement age and package were put in place, leaders would leave office after either appointing or grooming their successors. Moreso, the incoming leader would still receive some guidance from the retiring leader. This reduces the chances of succession disputes because successors normally hide behind the deceased leader, claiming that they were appointed or nominated by him secretly. If the succession process takes place while the incumbent leader is alive, then everything becomes known as far as his views on succession are concerned.

Zonal Priest 1 said that currently, leaders in the ZAFM church do not receive any remuneration for the services rendered save for allowances and other benefits. If the leaders are remunerated, it will reduce the issue of dissatisfaction and the urge to become leaders so as to get some benefits associated particularly with the office of a bishop. What makes the sons of the dying bishop to fight over succession is the understanding that there are more benefits associated with the office as compared to others. If every office bearer were paid, there would be fewer succession disputes as the sons would know that even if they would become priest or hold any other post, they would get something for their survival. Remuneration, according to this participant, is a way of recognising the importance of the work someone is doing in the church. More to this, the participant said that toiling for no payment creates hatred and dissatisfaction that in turn sows the seeds of succession disputes.

7.4.4 *Kusava neramangwana rakajeka pazvigaro zvinogadzwa nabishopi* (Lack of security on some leadership positions)

There are other positions or offices which are not subject to inheritance; that is, the position of the vice bishop, chief priest, district priest and Zonal Priest. The office bearers of these offices can be demoted at any time by the bishop. Bishops, as a way of having control over followers,

purposefully use this leadership style. This is supported by Navahandi (2000) who said that leaders often use threats and influence to guide and control followers. However, in as much as the leaders would want to control the followers using threats and influence, the method also leads to dissatisfaction and disputes. The fact that there are offices that are not subject to inheritance creates fear of the unknown in the bearers of such offices. The offices do not have security. The absence of security in these positions opens avenues to disputes as the office bearers try to create the security that can only be possible if they become bishops in their own right.

7.4.5 Kufurirwa (Bad influence)

Influence from the mother or friends is another factor. Narrator “C” also said *chimwe chezvikonzero zvemakakatamwa pakati pevutungamiriri kufurirwa nevanhu vanenge vachida kupiwa zvigaro zvepamusoro. Vanhu ivavo vanofurira mwana kana imwe hama yabishopi kuti amutse makakatamwa vachiitira kuti kana vakuru vakanetsana umwe achatanga yake chechi ivo votevera vonopihwa zvigaro zvepamusoro nekuti vanenge vakamupa mazano*. (The influence of other lesser positioned office bearers is another cause of succession dispute in the ZAFM church. The leaders, particularly those in positions that depend on the appointment by the bishop, can influence members of the bishop’s extended family to dispute the selection of the other son as bishop so as to increase their chances to occupy positions of authority). The issue here is that if lesser leaders like the ministers and pastors help the other son of a bishop or any other relative to become a bishop, he will obviously give them higher positions in the newly formed church. This implies that the backing of one of the sons of the dying bishop is taken by others as a way to increase their chances of getting higher leadership posts.

7.4.6 Lack of adjudication procedure for dispute resolution

Lack of well-constituted ways of managing, preventing and solving succession disputes is another cause of leadership contestation. One Zonal Priest said that there is a need for various plans and methods to reduce tension during periods of conflicts to make peace possible. The methods would help the conflicting sides to work out their differences peacefully to avoid clashes. The aim is to prevent conflicts before they start or lead to verbal, physical, or legal stages. If there can be measures to resolve the grievances of the conflicting sides, then people would be in a position to talk to each other, to see different factors contributing to the disputes, and to come up with solutions that benefit everybody in the church. In his own words Zonal

Priest 4 said *pachizvimbo chekuti vanhu vanenerane mhosva nekutukana kana pane nzira dzokugadzirisana dzakaiswa mubumbiro remutemo wekereke vanhu vanobva vagadzirisana voshanda pamwe chete* (Instead of finding faults in each other, if there are set measures to prevent and manage succession disputes, people would listen to each other and work together for solutions). Measures for managing and preventing disputes also help by providing efficient means of settling personal disputes.

When I asked the group to come up with some of the measures they think would help in managing and preventing disputes in the ZAFM church, they raised three basic measures. These are negotiation, mediation, and arbitration. The group of circuit leaders said that these are basic Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) measures. Negotiations would help the contesting groups to work out their differences and come up with solutions to their problem. As suggested by the group, the contesting groups should sit down with the help of a neutral negotiator. The negotiations, said the group, would make each contesting side to see its faults and then look for agreement rather than fighting openly or breaking away. When contesting parties decide to negotiate, they are expected to show a give-and-take attitude. In a negotiation forum, each disputant will either attempt to convince the other side to comply with his opinion, to modify the opposing wishes and move toward a settlement, or to create a solution that meets the needs of all sides (Adu-Yeboah, Obiri Yeboah, 2008:97).

As negotiations go on, each side suggests changes to the other party's point of view and makes its own. Negotiation is a good first step for almost all types of disputes, including organizational, family, marriage, divorce and personal situations, said another participant. The other one said *hapana musha usingarwiwi. Musha umwe neumwe unorwiwa, kana pachivanhu chedu vanhu vaitorwira humambo, asi vaitorwa vogarwa navo pasi voyananiswa voenderera mberi nekugarisana zvakanaka. Hatirambi kuti kuyananiwa pane dzimwe nguva kwairamba, asi vanhu vanenge vambozama kugadzirisana makakatamwa anenge aripo. Kana zvaramba ndopaizoita kuparadzana kwehumambo umwe achienda nekwake umwe nekwake*. (conflicts are found in almost every household. Even in the traditional societies, people could dispute over chieftainship, but the contesting parties were made to sit down and try to solve their difference. We do agree that in the traditional society, at times reaching a resolution was difficult but attempts were made to resolve the differences. When it became difficult to resolve the dispute, that is where each contesting chief would establish his own chiefdom far away from the other). *Kutaurirana ndiyo chete nzira ingashande kugadzirisana makakatamwa saka*

bumbiro remutemo wekereke rinofanira kunge richidudza pachena kuti makakatamwa anogadziriswa sei. (Negotiation is the surest way of dealing with disputes between conflicting parties hence the church constitution must spell out how disputes can be resolved).

Circuit leaders, during the focus group discussions, agreed that mediation (a process whereby a neutral person (the mediator) helps people to negotiate with each other and resolve their disputes) is the other means through which disputes can be resolved. The group said that a mediator should be a person who has good knowledge of the issues and the types of disputes at stake. The mediator calls every person involved in the disputes for a face-to-face meeting. The people in the dispute decide what they want to talk about. Each of the parties is allowed to explain its position in the dispute. The mediator then helps them identify issues or problems. The mediator does not decide the results of the dispute but helps the parties to talk about their problems. The people in dispute therefore work out a solution to their difference with the help of the mediator. This suggestion is supported by Adu-Yeboah and Obiri Yeboah (2008: 98) who said that a mediator often uses persuasion to get people to soften a strong stance. The group said that mediation is effective in the preservation of relationships between contesting parties. One of the participants said *sevana vemunhu mumwe kana makakatamwa amuka pakusarudza munhu anotevedzera mutungamiriri afa kutaurirana paine munhu asina divi raakarerekera kunoita kuti kunyangwe vakatadza kuwirirana asi vanogona kuzotaudzana muupenyu hwavo.* (As sons of the same father, when disputes arise concerning who should be the successor, having a mediator helps in keeping the contesting sons together; even if their differences are not resolved, they will be in a position to see one another in future unlike when no attempts to reach an understanding have been made). Therefore, when family members have disputes with one another, mediation may be the best process to use.

The church should have an arbitrator and the constitution should specify who such a person is, said the group members in the council of priests' discussion. The arbitrator would make sure that the people in disputes present their case to him or her, as an independent person whose decision, the parties agree, will be final and binding. Binding arbitration means that the parties surrender their rights to a trial and agree to accept the arbitrator's decision as final. In such a scenario, the group said, they believe that all parties involved in the disputes can find a lasting solution to the succession disputes in the church.

7.5 Economic Factors

Aristotle once said that the causes of revolution are to be found in inequality, particularly in the separation of economic and political power. This implies that succession disputes are caused by economic factors, as leaders who do not benefit from rendering their services protest against exploitation by the bishop.

7.5.1 *Kukara* (Greed)

One of the economic causes of succession disputes is greed for access to church resources and gifts that accrue to the leader for conducting certain events. Bishops get allowances while other office bearers in the church do not get anything. According to the vice-bishop during the face-to-face interviews, some people cause succession disputes so that they become bishops because of greediness. There are certain advantages that people associate with being a bishop. He gave an example that at every occasion that takes place in the church, be it a memorial service, marriage ceremony or any form of gathering, the bishop gets some portions of the beast slaughtered. The portions, as he mentioned, include the thigh, liver, heart, kidneys and the brisket. He said, *tinotova navo vanhu vakabuda muno muchechi nekuda kwekukarira kudya, tinotovaziva nemazita* (we have such people who left the church because of greediness and have their names). Bishops in the ZAFM church enjoy prestige, monetary and material gains. They are given good cars by the church; the position is associated with popularity, prominence and respect.

Those who precipitate succession disputes want to start a new church for economic gain. The succession disputes between Chimhangwa and Dorius Shoko were caused by greed for the benefits accrued by the bishop. Chimhangwa grabbed the machines that were donated by Daneel, the renowned scholar of AICs in Zimbabwe, through Fambidzano. Moreso, Chimhangwa failed to honour the church directive that at any gathering there are certain meat portions that should be given to the bishop. After a gathering at his church, Chimhangwa decided not to surrender the portions. This aroused disputes, and schism followed thereafter. The contestations between Dorius and Zachariah were also caused by greed. Dorius came back to the church after he had lapsed in his faith and became a drunkard after the death of his father. The main reason for his coming back was to take over bishopric since he knew of the benefits associated with it. Ezra and Jamson were locked in acrimonious disputes because they wanted the benefits associated with bishopric office. The zeal to become famous, prestigious, access

church money and other materials and be respected were at play during the Dorius and Zachariah as well as the Jamson and Ezra contestations.

The ZAFM church constitution clearly spells out that office bearers are not paid, save for the bishop who only gets allowances. This is the other cause of succession disputes that falls under the economic factors. As a way of increasing their chances to reach the position where they get allowances, junior office bearers raise either religious, social or a political issue against the bishop. As the matter becomes unresolvable, then the one who stirred the dispute forms his own branch of ZAFM, comes out as the bishop, and gets allowances.

7.5.2 Scramble for the deceased's wealth and possessions (*Kurwira pfuma yemufi*)

The whole issue of disputes, particularly those between the sons of the deceased bishop, is caused by the scramble for the deceased's wealth and possessions. The one who succeeds the deceased bishop takes over the whole of the property left behind. The High Priest, during the face-to-face interviews, said that after the death of the bishop, succession disputes are stirred by competition to control his wealth. According to him, the many wives of the bishop trigger the competition. Each wife would be supporting her son to become a bishop knowing fully that at the end she gains control of her late husband's wealth. Popularity is the other issue that the high priest raised. For him, people crave popularity, especially women. To be regarded as the mother of the bishop gives prestige in the society. In order to get such a prestigious position in society, the wives of the deceased bishop make efforts to ensure that their own sons take over the position of a bishop. The general ZAFM church policy is that the successor bishop takes over everything that the deceased bishop possessed. Some of the positions, as mentioned in chapters 5 and 6, include the church regalia, staff, crown and leadership. These relics of the deceased bishop would transfer the powers that were in him to the successor. Such a belief makes the competition for the office of a bishop stiff and bloody.

7.5.3 Embezzlement of church funds

Narrator "C" said, *kusanyatsomira zvakanaka kwenyaya dzekushandisa mari uye imwe midziyo nepfuma pachechi ndechimwe chezvikonzero zvinosakisa kuti pave nemakakatamwa pakati pevatumiriri. Kazhinji mabishopi anozviunganidzira pfuma vatendi vachifa nenzara. Kazhinji hapana kana chinotaurwa maererano nekuti mari dzinobviswa nevana vesangano uye dzinobva kumadhona dzinoshandiswa sei muchechi ndokusaka makakatamwa achizovepo.*

This means that lack of transparency in the use of money and other properties of the church causes disputes to arise. In most cases, the bishop enriches himself at the expense of the whole church. There is no proper feedback on how church funds and donations from well-wishers are used, thus disputes erupt between leaders and followers. Moreso, those with the urge to become leaders themselves take advantage of the lack of transparency and start their own churches with proper use of money. In this case, when someone has misused church funds and is asked to explain, he would start to blame the bishop for his follies, as well as cast doubt his authenticity as the leader because of the raised follies. Such disputes on the authenticity of the leader would then lead to schism after failing to reach consensus.

7.6 Evaluation of the Causative Factors for Succession Disputes

A critical analysis of the factors for succession disputes in the ZAFM church indicate that they have varying weight. From the way I understood them from data collection methods used in this study, the religious factors are mentioned first but they are not the main causes of succession disputes. At the heart of most succession disputes in the church, we have political factors. The urge to become an overall leader of the organization causes people to fight in this church. Church leadership is considered and regarded with high esteem by the congregants in the ZAFM church. Becoming a leader means a lot to them. Leadership is associated with a number of things in the church. Among other things, there is respect from all the congregants, and it is associated with wealth, power and charisma. The bishop is treated like a king and is well respected. This kind of esteem fulfills one of the basic human desires of having power and control over a large group of people. Most of the leaders who broke away from the ZAFM church, criticizing the issue of hereditary leadership, went on to assimilate the same concept in their churches. This means that after amassing some wealth, they are not free to let an outsider enjoy that wealth; hence they introduce the hereditary leadership succession model. This implies that the hereditary succession model was not the real cause of the succession disputes but was just used as a way to start their own church and increase their power and economic base. In each of the data collection methods used in this study, respondents raised political factors. The political factors were mentioned more than any other factors; hence it seems they are the major causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church.

Following the political factors are the economic factors. It seems most people who have been involved in succession disputes sought to attain wealth. The position of the bishop is associated with wealth, charisma and power. All these are necessary for economic attainment. From the

participants'' responses, economic factors occupy position number two. Economic factors were mentioned by the bishops and vice-bishops during the face-to-face interviews. The focus group discussions with the council of high priest, circuit leaders, and the lay people all mentioned economic factors as causes of succession disputes.

Social factors are third in the ranking of factors which cause succession disputes in the ZAFM church. Social factors were repeatedly mentioned during the focus group discussions with all the groups. The narrators also frequently mentioned social issues as causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. In most cases, social factors are used as scapegoats for political and economic factors. It is difficult if not impossible for one to clearly and openly state 'I want to be a leader'. As a way of concealing the real agenda for causing a dispute, people normally appeal to social issues in the church, but behind the social issue there will be political and economic factors. A typical example here is how Jeremiah Shava raised the issue of polygamy against Andreas Shoko but himself took a second wife soon after creating his own ZAFM church in Chief Shindi's area. On the same note, Chimhangwa was against the benefits that are given to the bishop, particularly the meat portions, but assimilated the same system soon after starting his own church.

Religious factors rank number four on the causes of succession disputes from my perception of the data. Like the social factors, religious factors are also used to conceal the political and economic ambitions of the disputing leaders. In all the data collection methods used, religious factors were mentioned, but the respondents seemed to say that they were not the main factors for succession disputes. Simon Tawanda, during the time of Andreas Shoko, raised the issue of fourteen days of prayer without eating bread but when he started his own ZAFM church, he never urged his followers to pray for fourteen days without eating bread, until he rejoined Shoko. This implies that the said cause of the dispute was not the real one. On the same note, Mushingi from Bulawayo had disputes with Shoko on the use of beer in the Lord's Supper, but he is said not to have continued with the system when he started his own church. Therefore, religious factors were raised as the causes of succession disputes, but the real reasons were hidden behind the religious factors.

7.7 Summary

This chapter has presented, analyzed and evaluated data on the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church of Andreas Shoko. The factors were grouped into four basic themes, which

are political, economic, social and religious factors. Political factors seemed to be the ones on top, followed by economic, then social and religious factors. Links were established between the causes of succession disputes in the traditional Shona societies, the bible and other churches. The next chapter presents a summary, conclusion and recommendations from this study.

CHAPTER 8

TOWARDS THE ADOPTION OF A MENTORSHIP SUCCESSION MODEL IN THE ZAFM CHURCH IN ZIMBABWE

8.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, this study presented, analyzed, and evaluated the data that emanated from the fieldwork. The data was presented using a thematic approach. This chapter gives the researcher's statement of eidetic intuition from the whole study. The researcher's statement of eidetic intuition calls for the adoption of Mentorship Succession Model (MSM) as a response to the inevitability of succession disputes. The need for this model arises from the fact that much of the bloody succession disputes are hinged on the methods that the church uses to appoint the successor after the demise of the incumbent leader. From the time of the death of the founder of ZAFM, the 1949 Zionist covenant had been used as a way of choosing the successor. However, there is no agreement within the Zionist churches as to how this can be enforced. Every time the covenant was used disputes have always ensued. Furthermore, there are other Zionists leaders like Bishop Ezra who totally disqualify the ever existence of such a covenant. His view on the no existence of the 1949 covenant are proved on the fact that even those who support it do not have a single copy. The MSM is presented as a panacea to the succession disputes in the ZAFM church. This study is aware that there cannot be a succession model that can totally stop the inevitability of succession disputes. What the study does is to argue that the adoption of the MSM would present a smooth transfer of power that would in turn minimize the occurrences of succession disputes in AICs in general and the ZAFM church in particular.

8.1 The Mentorship Succession Model (MSM)

In this section the researcher gives the frameworks of the MSM. The views of the participants were important in the construction of this model. The MSM provides a foundation for situating training in the whole spectrum of succession in the ZAFM church. As such, the section starts by providing different scholarly definitions of the term mentorship.

Mentorship can be defined as a dynamic and reciprocal relationship in which a knowledgeable and wise incumbent helps a less experienced person to develop specific leadership qualities (Meyers, 2006:2). Steinmann (2006) defined mentorship as a shared personal relationship whereby an experienced person advises, guide and role model for a less experienced person. Mentorship has also been defined as a process whereby a knowledgeable person trains someone who is less knowledgeable to get different leadership skills. Rothwell (2005:58) said that mentorship is a process whereby a talented junior person forms an attachment to a sensitive and intuitive senior person who understands and has the ability to communicate with the individual. In all these definitions the issue of mentorship calls for the creation of a strong bond between the mentor and the mentee. In this case, the mentor has to be experienced. Moreso, instead of looking at familial relationships mentorship focuses on potentiality when choosing a successor candidate. It also emphasizes the exchange of knowledge and skills which the mentor instills in the mentee.

Aynsley (2005:2) said that in the mentorship process the mentor should engage more on listening and questioning the mentee and offer advice to the mentee. On the same note, Zachary (2000:3) said that the role of the mentor should include facilitation. In this case the mentee is subjected in the learning process by creating a conducive climate. This suggests that a mentor is a person with a serving and inspirational attitude who sees development and leadership potential in a yet to be leader. The mentor supports, advises and guides the mentee to realise his potential (Steinmann, 2006:3).

Ferman (2002:147) said that mentorship is a process whereby a successor candidate is assisted, guided and trained by a mentor. This definition departs from the inheritance and appointment approaches to succession. It focuses on mutual evaluation of the leadership values in the mentee that the mentor should bring to fruition.

The MSM as suggested in this study can follow the manner in which leadership was transferred from Moses to his successor Joshua. In the bible, Moses mentored his succession up to a point where he was sure the successor can now take over. This story is recorded in Deuteronomy 31v1-8 which reads:

Then Moses went out and spoke these words to all Israel: ² “I am now a hundred and twenty years old and I am no longer able to lead you. The LORD has said to me, ‘You shall not cross the Jordan.’ ³ The LORD your God himself will cross over ahead of you. He will destroy these

nations before you, and you will take possession of their land. Joshua also will cross over ahead of you, as the LORD said. ⁴ And the LORD will do to them what he did to Sihon and Og, the kings of the Amorites, whom he destroyed along with their land. ⁵ The LORD will deliver them to you, and you must do to them all that I have commanded you. ⁶ Be strong and courageous. Do not be afraid or terrified because of them, for the LORD your God goes with you; he will never leave you nor forsake you.” ⁷ Then Moses summoned Joshua and said to him in the presence of all Israel, “Be strong and courageous, for you must go with this people into the land that the LORD swore to their ancestors to give them, and you must divide it among them as their inheritance. ⁸ The LORD himself goes before you and will be with you; he will never leave you nor forsake you. Do not be afraid; do not be discouraged.”

Succession disputes in the ZAFM can be mitigated by efficiently adopting a succession model which minimizes the occurrence of succession contestations. The story of Moses and Joshua comes towards the end of Moses’s leadership time. As Moses was nearing his demise, he mentored Joshua. Joshua was chosen by God and Moses was thrust with the task to mentor him. The MSM dictates that the mentee should always be with the mentor wherever he goes. Whatever the mentor does the mentee must be present to see how it has been done. In the biblical story of Moses and Joshua, Joshua accompanied Moses to collect the Ten Commandments, he was with Moses when he smashed the tablets. Moses as the mentor kept Joshua close to him so that he could train him for his future role as a leader.

The MSM can be summed in four principles which are:

You observe when I am doing it.

You should be with me when I am doing it.

When you do it I am in the background encouraging.

When you do it I am watching your skills.

This implies that in the Mentorship Succession Model the mentor prepares the mentee to take over leadership when the time comes. So, incumbent leaders need to create opportunities for the mentee to put their skills to use. If Moses had not let Joshua lead while he was still with him, Joshua would not have become the leader he eventually became.

The ZAFM church can learn a lot from the Moses and Joshua story. It was Moses who realised the need to mentor someone who would take over leadership. After the involvement of God, Moses had to summon all the Israelites to inform them about who should be the next leader. This implies that the successor candidate has to be known to the whole church hence should not be kept secret. The other lesson to learn from the Moses and Joshua story is that choosing the successor candidate must involve every key stakeholder. So, the Mentorship Succession Model involves compulsory decisions making about the church's continued need for leadership before a leadership crisis occurs. The Mentorship Succession Model also suggests that it is of primary importance that the incumbent leader together with the key church stakeholders realizes that no leader is immortal. Due to debilitating sickness and sudden death, the demise of the incumbent leader can necessitate leadership crisis any time. This means that it is vital for the church to make plans to ensure a smooth leadership transition from the incumbent to the successor. The realisation of the mortality of leaders should inform the ZAFM church that it should adopt the Mentorship Succession Model so that it proactively takes steps to ensure smooth transition when the time is ripe.

8.2 Steps in the execution of the Mentoring Succession Model

The model which the researcher is suggesting as the potential solution to succession disputes in the ZAFM church has four stages. If these are properly followed and monitored, then succession disputes would be minimized. Adoption of this model would cover up for the causes of succession disputes like lack of training, failure to understand the backbone of Zionism, lack of a succession plan, disagreement on kingmakers, nepotism, scramble for the deceased bishop's wealth and others.

8.2.1 Identifying the mentee

The first stage in the Mentoring Succession Model concerns the identification of a successor within the church. This stage requires adequate planning and preparation. There is need to involve all key church stakeholders which include the Bishop, vice- bishop, high priests and pastors to develop a schedule for assessing each potential successor. In doing this they have to be basing on such factors as suitability, commitment, acceptability, fortitude and devotion. The key stakeholders responsible for the identification of the potential successor need also to consider keenness and commitment of that individual to the growth of the church. The stakeholders should not be limited to the family of the bishop in identifying the successor

candidate. The successor candidate should be anyone who has the qualities of a leader like love, compassion, dedicated to lead, willing to accept advise, not greedy, possessed with the holy spirit (*mweya*) and not easily influenced. They would be guide by Biblical chapters which spells out the qualities of a good leader like 1 Timothy 3:2-7; Titus 2:8 and II Timothy 2:24-28. This implies that the key stakeholders would be looking for attributes in potential successors rather than their relationship with the incumbent bishop. If the key stakeholders choose a successor from any suitable candidate in the church, the blame for causing disputes would not be given to one person. Moreover, it would reduce tension caused by the Bishop's failure to hand over leadership to gifted spiritual leaders, and chose to be succeeded by his son, who might not have the practical skills, spiritual possession and authority to ensure the continuity of the church. In almost every AIC the incumbent bishops always want to be succeeded by their sons in order to preserve their heirloom and ensure that their labor in developing the church is not jeopardized by assigning leadership to an outsider. This system should be replaced by the Mentorship Succession Model. When the key stakeholders are satisfied and have agreed on their candidate they should then bring him to the whole congregation especially during the annual conferences where most people would be present. At such a gathering, the successor candidate must be introduced to seek the approval of the whole congregation. If all the people accept the choice, then chances of contesting his leadership when he finally assumes power would be limited. Imposing the successor candidate would result in major divisions and the decline of the church. This would also happen if all stakeholders are not consulted in the choice of the potential successor. The endorsement of the successor candidate by the whole church would then lead to the next stage. The identification of the mentee has to be a process with stages which include; the appointment of the mentee by key church leaders; confirmed to the whole church; approved by the congregation; mentored by the incumbent leader with the help of key office bearers and lastly be empowered to practice as an independent leader.

8.2.2 Executing Mentorship

The second stage in the implementation of the Mentorship Succession Model is mentoring the successor candidate. This is important because it gives time to assess present abilities and skills and establish areas where more training and refinement of leadership skills are required. The training skills should aim at bringing the successor's skills and abilities up to the required level of a leader. Kreider, (2008:28) said that a mentor has to take the role of a father, teacher,

adviser, developer, listener and inspirer. Mentoring also gives time for active building for support for the successor. Building support for the successor should include family members, office bearers as well as the entire congregation. A successor without adequate support is likely to fail in his responsibilities as he may not be able to secure cooperation from key stakeholders.

The incumbent bishop should also be open to the new successor to teach him tactics for developing an accurate dream for the church. Exchanges between the successor and the incumbent bishop must involve sharing of the church vision that has endured over the years, as well as the new hopes and vision for the future. The vision should also be shared with the key office bearers and congregation members nationally and internationally. The move to let the successor candidate take over leadership while the incumbent leaders is still around would provide the opportunity to nurture and train the successor candidate based on the culture and practices of the church. The role of the incumbent leader (mentor) would be to watch over the activities of the successor candidate and advise him accordingly. The successor candidate would have more opportunities to observe and learn from the founder before he fully assumes power. The mentor, will have the opportunity to share his wisdom and experiences, evolve his thinking, develop a new relationship, and deepen his skills as a mentor. Similarly, Messmer (2003) said that the individual benefits for the mentor include career revitalization, social recognition, personal satisfaction, increased power, leadership skill development, and supervisory and training ability development. The mentee benefits increased self-esteem, strength of an interpersonal bond, confidence, identity and socialization in the MSM (Ragins et al., 2000).

In the Deuteronomy 31 story, Moses engaged in providing Joshua with challenging leadership tasks. Joshua was taking much of Moses' day- to day duties and this made the Israelites to get sufficient time to perceive Joshua as the chosen successor to Moses. The credibility that Joshua had with Israelites, managed to prevent succession disputes after Moses' demise. Similarly, if the incumbent bishop relegates his duties to the successor candidate, then the congregates would have time to know, trust, understand and accept the successor before the bishop dies. This would then facilitate a smooth transition of leadership. Mentorship makes the successor candidate to obtain credibility within the congregation before the transition is completed. The successor candidate would also get time to positively perceive his failures and try to adjust with the help of the mentor before the final transition of power.

8.2.3 Developing an Exit Strategy

This is a plan meant to address how the outgoing bishop should slowly be removed from the day-to-day church activities. The exit strategy must include how the incumbent bishop should relinquish power and spells the duties of the mentee. The transfer timelines and schedules would then be spelt out at this stage. Setting timelines would ensure that goals and measurable objectives are delivered according to the set schedule. The timelines should be set in a realistic manner that would give ample time for the mentee to meet the objectives. When the exit plan and schedule is complete, all stakeholders should receive the implementation schedule and clarifications are made on how the mentee should continue with the execution of duties. Communicating the exit strategy would enable key office bearers and congregates to voice their concerns if any before the actual implementation of the power transfer. The exit strategy exposes the mentee to the real duties of the leader. At the same time, it gives people time to measure the suitability of the mentee as the successor. The mentor should terminate the mentoring process at the rightful time. The termination of mentorship gives the mentor the opportunity to assess his progress and achievements in the mentoring process as the mentee exhibits the acquired skills. Steinmann (2006:148) said that mentors must know how to let go and how to deal with feelings of loss and anger associated with the termination of mentorship relationship. For him, termination stage exposes the mentee to independence and autonomy.

8.2.4 The assumption of power by the successor candidate

After relinquishing power to the successor candidate, the incumbent bishop would be acting as the advisor. He would be only coming to the leadership scene when need be. In the event that the incumbent bishop dies before the successor candidate becomes fully aware of his duties, the other office bearers would help him assume power as they advise each other. One the candidate finally assumes power then the key office bearers with the help of the new bishop need to choose another candidate for mentorship.

8.3 Benefits of the Mentorship Succession Model

A number of benefits can be identified from the use of the MSM. The MSM can help to reduce schisms, breakaways and succession disputes. This is so because completion for leadership posts is minimized. This comes due to the fact that succession disputes are caused by people who do not see their way up the echelons because their gifts and potential are not recognized

by their leaders. People have a tendency of leaving institutions and organisations that stifle their growth.

The MSM also fosters trust between leaders and followers since delegation of authority devolves to emerging leaders without concentrating only on the family of the incumbent leader. The model further ensures a smooth transition of power. It provides a pool of leaders who are ready to take over leadership when time is ripe. The model fosters church growth since prospective leaders are allowed to emerge and exercise their gifts. This reduces strife and break aways hence unity is built in the church.

Resentment over the choice of successor can be evaded if the Mentorship Succession Model is used. This is caused by the fact that the successor would have time to correct his mistakes and adjust to the accepted qualities of a leader. The desire for continuity above everything else is the core aim of MSM.

Mentorship Succession Model would ensure effective succession that will ensure the stability and continuity of the church without any contestations and fights. Succession and the transition of leadership is often a challenge to many AICs hence the adoption of the model would present a least disruptive approach to leadership succession. In the MSM, the church's key office bearers are involved in the selection of the successor, the congregates are involved, time is given to give disgruntles and above all the successor is mentored well in time hence disputes would be minimal.

The MSM is Scripture based and scripture provides extensive discussion and guidance with regard to how it is done. The model calls for an inclusive internal identification of a successor to reduce fights and squabbles. The incumbent leader has to dedicate his time to purposefully instilled his teachings, values, spirit and vision into the successor candidate. This would ensure continuity. The incumbent leader transfers his leadership skills to the successor candidate so that he would be able to follow the same path when the time come.

Through MSM, the church would be assured of continuity in the event that the bishop in no longer present to lead the congregation. The church would also not be constrained to choosing the bishop's son to take over due to the lack of other well-prepared leaders. This reduce chances of nepotism and creating a dynasty or royal house in the church. The MSM would also help in separating church business from family matters. Once there is separation between church and family business then the scramble for the property and wealth of the deceased leader would not

be an issue. Disputes in the ZAFM church are used as gateways to prosperity and mechanisms to build familial empires.

The MSM is different from other succession models in that it emphasizes on a unique relationship between the mentor and the mentee. It is also unique because it offers various alternatives that can be utilized by the mentor to train their mentees. The model is good for churches that have a vision for church growth with the aim to impact future generations.

MSM can provide peace of mind for other people within the church. In most cases, it is difficult to accept change especially if a key leader is vacating his or her position. However, if the congregates know that the person who is leaving has groomed his or her replacement, it can help ease people's minds about the upcoming changes. MSM avails a perfect bridge between the vacating leaders and the successor. MSM can be a perfect way for mentors to wrap up their careers.

Moreover, the leader who has been mentored over a long period of time would be suitably equipped to take over leadership with the least disruption of church policy, doctrine and culture. There is guarantee of the continuity of the church's values, vision and overall culture if mentorship has been put in practice. This is evidenced in the story of Moses and Joshua. The lengthy preparation of Joshua for leadership enabled him to successfully complete the mission of taking God's people to the Promised Land.

8.4 Conclusion of the Study

This section presents the overall conclusions of the study by looking back into the objectives to see if they have been achieved.

As stated in chapter one, this study was anchored on three objectives.

8.4.1 Objective 1- Tracing the History of the ZAFM in Zimbabwe

The study managed to trace the history of the ZAFM church from its inception to the present. The study identified the leaders who broke away from the ZAFM church to establish their own churches. In doing so, the study was able to answer the basic question on how the ZAFM church came into being. The study established that the church was founded by Joni Chinatsira, named Andreas Shoko at baptism in South Africa. The surname Shoko was taken from his totem. The

study established that the name Andreas Shoko never appeared on his national identity card. Shoko encountered the South African Zionists when he was a migrant worker in South Africa. He was baptized by Enginasi Lekganyane together with his childhood friend Samuel Mutendi in the Zion Jordan River. After baptism, Samuel Mutendi was chosen to be the emissary to Zimbabwe in 1923. In 1925, Mutendi, together with Lekganyane, broke away from ZAFM to form the ZCC. In 1931, Shoko returned from South Africa and established the ZAFM church. Shoko faced much resistance from both traditional and state leaders but he managed to push his way through. The church experienced its first schism in 1948 when Jeremiah Shava led a breakaway with a number of followers. In 1949, the church experienced the second breakaway by Rueben Museva, and in 1950, it experienced the third breakaway through Ruka Changa. After the 1950 schism, Shoko tried to prevent further schisms for almost twenty years until 1970 when Simon Tawanda led a breakaway. The last breakaway in the ZAFM church during the lifetime of Shoko took place in 1985 through Ishmael Mushingi. The study stated that Shoko died in 1985 and was succeeded by his son Dorius Pedzisai Shoko, from the first wife. Succession disputes erupted between Dorius and his brother Zachariah, and the two ended up each having his own church. In 1992, Chimhangwa broke away from the ZAFM church and started his own branch near Chivi growth point. Dorius died in October 2012 when he was 80 years old.

After the death of Dorius Pedzisai Shoko, disputes erupted between his two sons Jamson and his young brother Ezra Pedzisai Shoko. Jamson based his claim to the throne on the 1949 Zionist covenant while Ezra claimed that the late bishop anointed him and there was a will written to that effect. The disputes spilt into the community court but it could not be resolved and it went to the civil court. The civil court could not stop the disputes and the case was referred to the High and Supreme Courts. The two brothers could not reach an agreement and they ended up each forming his own branch of ZAFM church. The disputes made the congregants more confused as they could not tell which of the two sons of the late bishop they should follow. The disputes disturbed the peace and growth of the church. Moreso, it led to loss of life and property. This led us to the larger question of the study that is addressed by objective 2.

8.4.2 Objective 2- The causes of succession disputes

The aim here was to come up with reasons why succession disputes erupt in the ZAFM church. The study established a number of causative factors which were grouped under four themes

which are political, religious, social and economic factors. This objective was achieved. The interviewees, focus group participants and other informants gave various causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church. Under political factors it emerged that succession disputes are caused by issues related to the urge to lead, succession models used in the church, disagreement among king makers and nepotism.

Under the religious factors, the study established that at the heart of all succession disputes in the ZAFM church, the sins of the principal leader are raised. However, the researcher observed that even though religious factors are raised loudly in the succession disputes, they are not the main causes but are used as scapegoats. The study showed that disputes concerning Zionist doctrine, polygamy, lack of theological training, lack of spirit possession and miraculous healing are some of the causes of succession disputes. The study established that religious factors are based on legalistic approaches that put emphasis on strict observance of biblically defined cords of ethics. They are also hinged on the interpretation a certain group of followers gives to biblical verses. Therefore, doctrinal issues, differing biblical interpretation, create fertile ground for succession disputes in the ZAFM church.

On the social factors, the study found out that polygamy was at the top. Other causes included lack of a sense of identity, the premature death of the bishop, lack of proper succession plan, lack of adjudication procedure for dispute resolution and lack of retirement age and package. All these elements were woven together to show the role of social factors in the causes of succession disputes in the ZAFM church.

Lastly, the study discussed economic factors. These factors included provision of allowances only to the bishop, greed, scramble for the deceased' wealth, embezzlement of church funds, inadequate funds, embezzlement of church aid, and disagreements over the use and distribution of aid. The study observed that succession disputes have led to the emergence of corrupt leaders whose aims and visions are to embezzle money at the expense of the poor and less privileged in the society.

8.4.3 Objective 3- Organizational structure and Succession Models

This objective was meant to answer the question on the organizational structure and models of succession used in the ZAFM church. The purpose of looking at the organizational structure was to establish if there is a bearing between organizational structure and succession disputes.

The organizational structure of the ZAFM church was observed to be a result of the succession models used. Two models were observed that is inheritance and appointment succession models. Most of the succession disputes in the ZAFM church were established to be hinged on these succession models. It was observed that the two models shut the door for other church office bearers and sons of the deceased bishop to rise to positions of authority. The study highlighted that the two models of succession were borrowed by the ZAFM church from the traditional Shona societies.

Given the explanations on the three objectives that formed the basis of this study, the researcher is convinced that they have been all achieved. As a way of finding a solution to the inevitability of succession disputes in the ZAFM church, the researcher suggested the adoption of the Mentorship Succession Model. This model opens the doors to every member of the ZAFM church to be accorded a chance to rise to the post of the bishop. The model looks at leadership qualities not the preservation of family legacy.

8.5 Study Limitations

As this study comes to an end it is important to highlight some of the limitations to this study. The first limitation is that though I am an African Christian, I do not belong to the church under investigation. This might have affected my analytical scope as well and my interpretation of some of the lived experiences of the people who encountered succession disputes. The other limitation was that the causes of succession are embellished in a lot of mystical stories. This would then emphasize on a particular mystery instead of the real issues which triggered disputes. Normally people hide behind a certain issue in their pursuit of the ambitions to lead. In their narrations they raise an issue which easy to tell others but behind their mind hiding the real story. Therefore, given the inevitability and complexity of succession disputes, it was not possible for me to document all the causes of succession disputes in this study. It was impossible for the researcher to interview all the leaders who were involved in succession disputes in the ZAFM church. This was caused by the fact that the church is so widely spread in Zimbabwe and other neighboring countries.

8.6 Recommendations for Further Studies

For the purposes of further research, this study recommends research into the following areas that are mentioned in passing in the current study.

Future research may consider looking at the place of women in the ZAFM church. The ZAFM church since it adopted much from the traditional Shona societies which were patriarchal in nature there is need to investigate its position in so far as the plight of women is concerned. This would include among other things their perception on women leadership and the role women play in the church.

Given the current issues on how the church should respond to the politics of the day, future researchers may focus on the role of the ZAFM church in state politics. It has been a debatable issue on whether the church should involve in politics or not. This issue would be very interesting to pursue. The other area worth pursuing is on the role of the ZAFM church on rural development.

Lastly the research recommends that future studies may focus on the perception of the ZAFM church on disability. This would include the church's perception on having people living with disability in leadership positions, how they treat them and whether they are accepted in the church or not.

It is the assumption of the researcher that other studies on the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe may pursue the themes mentioned above since this study has not intensively dealt with them. Research into such themes would be very important in contributing to an exhaustive analysis of the *ndaza* Zionists in Zimbabwe.

8.7 Summary

This chapter has managed to come up with a model which may help in curbing the issue of succession disputes in AICs in general. The chapter has also revisited the study objective and analyze them to see if they have been achieved. The chapter also suggested some of the themes which can be pursued by future researchers on the ZAFM church and its activities in Zimbabwe. These researches would help to answer some of the unanswered questions on the ZAFM church in Zimbabwe.

REFERENCES

- Abraham, F. 1893. *Modern Sociological Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Acocella, L. 2011. "The Focus groups in social research: advantages and disadvantages." *Journal of Qualitative and Quantitative, Springer*, pp.1-12.
- Anderson, A. 2000. *Zion and Pentecost: The Spirituality and Experience of Pentecostal and Zionist/ Apostolic Churches in South Africa. African Initiatives in Christian Mission*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press
- Adu-Yeboah, J. K., and Obiri-Yeboah, D. 2008. *Practical social studies*. Accra, Ghana: Kwadwoan Publishing.
- Alokan, O. A. P and Ogunyemi, C.B. 2011. "An Examination of the Politics of Schism and Secession amongst Indigenous Pentecostal Groups in Nigeria: Trends and Prognosis in Church Literature." *Journal of Education and Practice*, 2(6): 21-32.
- Amanze, J. N. 1988. *African Christianity in Botswana: The Case of African Independent Churches*. Zimbabwe: Mambo Press.
- Asher, H. B. 2013. *Theory Building and Data Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press.
- Aynsley, D. 2005. *Choosing a Mentor Using the Sun Mentor Register*. Paper Presented in a Lunch Time Seminar, Sydney University, Australia (10 December 2017)
- Babbie, E. R. and Mouton, J. 2001. *The Practice of Social Research*. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.
- Banjo, A. 2008. "A Descriptive Analysis of Succession Crisis and Post-Eyadema Political Developments in Togo." *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa (Volume 10, No.2)*, pp 1-20.

Barnard, M. Nell. And Mbaya, H. 2014. "Rev Pungula Wellington Dingani: leadership in the Corinthian Church in Phepheni, Eastern Cape, South Africa." *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif*, 55(1): 9-28.

Barrett, D. B. 1968. *Schism & Renewal in Africa: An analysis of six Thousand Contemporary Religious Movements*. London: Oxford University Press.

Basit, T.N. 2010. *Conducting Research in Educational Contexts*. 1st ed. London, New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Bass, B. M. 1990. *Bass and Stogdill's handbook of leadership: A survey of theory and research*. New York: Free Press.

Bell, J. 2005. *Doing your Research Project. A guide for first-time researchers in education, health and social science*. (4th ed.). Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Bellenger, D. N.; Bernhardt, K.L. and Goldstucker, J.L. 2011. *Qualitative Research in Markieting*. Chicago: Marketing Clasics Press

Bentz, V. M. and Shapiro, J. J. 1998. *Mindful Enquiry in Social Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Berg, B. L. and Lune, H. 2012. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* (8th ed). Harlow, Essex, England: Pearson.

Berg, B. 2001. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Allyn and Beacon: USA

Bernard, H. R., 2011. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (5th ed.). Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

Best, J.W. & Kahn, J.V. 2003. *Research in Education* (9th ed). United States of America: Pearson Education Company.

Best, W.J. 2003. *Research in Education*. New Delhi: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C. and Kagee, A. 2006. *Fundamentals of social Research Methods. An African Perspective* (4th ed). Cape Town: Juta.

Bloor, M., Frankland, J., Thomas, M. and Robson, K. 2001. *Focus Groups in Social Research*. London: SAGE Publications.

Bogdan, R.C. & Biklen, S.K. 2003. *Qualitative Research for Education. An Introduction to Theory and Method (4th ed)*. United States of America: Pearson Education Group, Inc.

Boundless, 2016. "The Conflict Perspective." *Boundless Sociology*. <https://www.boundless.com/sociology/textbooks> (04 October 2016)

Breakwell, G., Hammon, S., Fife-Schaw, C. and Smith, J. A. (Eds). 2007. *Research methods in psychology (3rd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Bryman, A. 2001. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burns, N. and Grove, S. 2011. *Understanding nursing research: Building an evidence-based practice (5th ed.)*. Maryland Heights, MO: Elsevier Saunders.

Burton, J. 1990. *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Burton, J. 1990. *Conflict: Human Needs Theory*. London: Macmillan.

Burton, J. 1990b. *Conflict: Basic Human Needs*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Chara, M. T. and Aliyu, J. 2010. "Classes, Class Conflict and Class Struggle: A brief Analysis of Marxist Theory in the Context of Nigeria." *Journal of Sociology, Psychology and Anthropology in Practice: In'I Perspective* vol 2. No 1-3.

Charan, R., Drotter, S., and Noel, J. 2001. *The leadership pipeline*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Charry, K. 2012. *Leadership Theories - 8 Major Leadership Theories*. From <http://psychology.about.com/od/leadership/p/leadtheories.htm>. (02 October 2016).

Chidester, D. 1991. "Worldviews Analysis of African Indigenous Churches." *Journal for the Study of Religion*, 2:15-29.

Chikungwa, T. and Chamisa, S. F. 2013. "An Evaluation of Recognition on Performance as a

Motivator: A Case of Eastern Cape Higher Education Institution.” *Mediterranean Journal of social sciences*, Vol 4, No 14, p: 219.

Chiminige, V. 2013. “*An Analysis of Myths and Rituals in the Zion Christian Church of Samuel Mutendi*.” Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, UNISA.

Chiromo, A.S. 2006. *Research Methods and Statistics in Education: A Students’ Guide*. Gweru: Midlands State University.

Chitando, E. 1998. “The Phenomenological Method in a Zimbabwean Context: To Liberate or to Oppress.” *Zambezia*. 15 (1):101- 114.

Clark, J. K. A. 2010. “Leadership competency for doctors: a framework.” *Leadership in Health Services*, Vol. 23 Issue: 2, pp.115-129.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. 2000. *Research Methods in Education*, (5th ed.). London: Routledge.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison, K., 2011. *Research Methods in Education*, (7th ed.). London: Routledge.

Collier, P. 2003. *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington: The World Bank.

Collins, R. 2002. *Conflict Sociology*. New York: Academic Press.

Collins, R. 2003. *Four Sociological Traditions: Selected Readings*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Conger, J. A. 1999. “Charismatic and transformational leadership in organizations: An insider's perspective on these developing streams of research.” *The Leadership Quarterly*, 10(2), 145-179.

Conger, J. A. 2011. Charismatic leadership. In Bryman, D. C., Grint, K., Jackson, B. and Uhl-Bien, M. (Eds.). *The SAGE handbook of leadership*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Coser, L. 1998. *The Functions of Social Conflict*. New York: Free Press.

Cox, J.L. 2010. *Expressing the Sacred*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Creswell, J. W. 2005. *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc.

Creswell, J. W. 2003. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

Creswell, J. W. 2006. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Creswell, J.W. 2008. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Creswell, J. W. 2009. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach* (3rdEd.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W. 2013. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design Choosing Among Five Approaches* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.

Creswell, J. W. 2014. *Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Crossman, A. 2017. *Conflict Theory: A Brief Overview*. [http:// sociology. about/com/od](http://sociology.about.com/od). 07 October 2017.

Daft, R.L. 2005. *The Leadership Experience*, (3rd ed.). Thomson-Southwestern, Vancouver.

Dahrendorf, R. 1988. *The Modern Social Conflict: An Essay of the Politics of Liberty*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Dahrendorf, R. 2007. *The Modern Social Conflict: The Politics of Liberty*. Transaction Publishers.

Daneel, M. L. 1970. *Zionism and faith healing in Rhodesia: Aspects of African Independent Churches*. The Hague: Mouton.

Daneel, M.L. 1988. *Old and new in Southern Shona independent churches: leadership and fission dynamics, Vol .3*, Gweru: Mambo Press.

Daneel, M.L. 1971. *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches. Vol I*. The Hague: Mouton.

Daneel, M.L. 1977. "The Growth and Significance of Shona Independent Churches." in M.F.C Bourdillon (ed.). *Christianity South of the Zambezi Vol ii*. Gweru: Mambo Press, page numbers.

Daneel, M.L. 1987. *Quest for Belonging: An Introduction to the Study of African Independent Churches*. Gweru: Mambo Press.

Daneel, M.L. 1993. "African Independent Church Pneumatology and the Salvation of all Creation." *International Review of Mission*, 82,326: 143-166.

Danesh, H.B. 2006. "Towards an integrative theory of peace education." *Journal of Peace Education*, 3(1), 55–78.

Danesh, H.B. 2011. "Human Needs Theory, Conflict, and Peace." In D. J. Christie (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Peace Psychology*. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell.

De Castro, A. 2003. "Introduction to Giorgi's Existential Phenomenological Research Method." *Psicologia desde el Caribe. Universidad del Norte*. No 11: 45-56.

Demmers, J. 2012. *Theories of violent conflict: An introduction*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y S. 2005. "Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research", In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. 2011. *The SAGE Handbook of qualitative research (4th ed.)*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.). 1994. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Deutsch, M. and Coleman, P.(eds.). 2000. *The handbook of conflict resolution: Theory and Practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Drake, P. 2013. *Best Practices in Research & Evaluation: Focus Groups*. Scotts Valley CA: ETR Best Practice Guides.
- Du Brin, A. 2004. *Leadership: Research Finding, Practice, and Skills*, (4th ed), Houghton Mifflin, U.S.A.
- Eagleton, T. 1983. *Literary theory: An introduction*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Easterby-S. M., Lyles, M.A and Tsang, E.W.K. 2008. “Interorganizational knowledge transfer: Current themes and future prospects.” *Journal of Management Studies* 45(4): 677–690.
- Edmunds, H. 1990. *The Focus Group Research Handbook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Eisenhart, M. 1991. *Conceptual frameworks for research circa 1991: Ideas from a cultural anthropologist; implications for mathematics education researchers*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting North.
- Elliot, J.H. (ed). 1986. *Social- Scientific Criticism of the New Testament*. London: SPCK.
- Elliott, J.H. 1993. *What is social-scientific criticism? Guides to biblical scholarship, New Testament Series*. Minneapolis: Fortress.
- Fantana, F. and Frey, J. 2000. “Interview: From Structured questions to negotiated Text.” in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fegley, S. (2006). *2006 succession planning survey report*. Alexandria, VA: The Society for Human Resource Management.
- Fields, J. 2014. “Collaboration in action: A book review of Alice McIntyre’s Participatory Action Research.” *The Qualitative Report*, 19 (Rev. 4), 1-4. [Http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR19/fields](http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR19/fields) (20 September 2016).

Ferman, T. 2002. "Academic Professional Development Practice: What Lecturers find Valuable?" *The International Journal for Academic Development*, 7 (2): 146-158.

Fife, W. 2005. *Doing Fieldwork: Ethnographic Methods for Research in Developing Countries and Beyond*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fisher, S., Abdi, D., Ludin, J., Smith, R., and Williams, S. 2000. *Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action*. New York: Zed Books.

Franklin, M. I. 2012. *Understanding Research: Coping with the Quantitative-Qualitative Divide*. New York: Routledge.

Fred-Mensah, B. K. 2008. "African conflict 'Medicine': An emerging paradigm shift in African conflict resolution?" In Terrence Lyons and Gilbert M. Khadiagala (eds.) *Conflict management and African politics: ripeness, bargaining, and mediation*. London: Routledge.

Gardner, H. 2005. "Leading minds: An anatomy of leadership." *Leadership Review*, Kravis Leadership Institute, Claremont: McKenna College, Vol. 6.

Gibson, W.J. and Brown, A. 2009. *Working with Qualitative Data*. Washington DC: Sage Publications Ltd.

Gill, P. 2008. "Methods of data collection in qualitative research: interviews and focus groups." *British Dental Journal* 204, 291 – 295.

Gilman, R. 2003. "The next great turning." *In Context*, 33 (Winter), 11-12.

Giorgi, A. (ed). 1985. *Phenomenology and Psychological Research*. Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press.

Grant, C. and Osanloo, A. 2014. "Understanding, Selecting, and Integrating a Theoretical Framework in Dissertation Research: Creating the Blueprint for Your House." *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice and Research*, vol 4, Issue 2. pp12-26.

Gravingholt, J., Ganzle, S. and Ziaja, S. 2009. *Policy brief: concepts of peacebuilding and state building-how compatible are they?* Germany Development Institute, Draft, 11 March.

- Greenleaf, R. K. 1970. *The servant as a leader*. Indianapolis, IN: Greenleaf Center.
- Gubrium, J. F., and Holstein, J. A. 2000. "Analyzing interpretive Practice." In Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds). *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hammersley, M. 2000. *Taking Sides in Social Research*. London: Routledge.
- Hans, J and Wolfgang Knöbl. 2011. "Conflict sociology and conflict theory." In *Social Theory: Twenty introductory lectures*. By Hans Joas and Wolfgang Knöbl, 174–198. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Hart, A.W. 1993. *Principal Succession: Establishing Leadership in Schools*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Henning, E. 2004. *Finding your way in qualitative research*. (1st ed.). Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Hersey, P., Blanchard, K.H., and Johnson, D.E. 1996. *Management of organizational behaviour*. (7th ed.). Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall.
- Hertnon, S. 2005. *A Theory of Universal Human Needs*. <http://universallyhumane.wordpress.com>.
- Hinnells, J.R. 2005. *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*. London: Routledge.
- Hock, D. 1999. *Birth of the chaordic age*, San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.
- House, R.J., Hanges, P. J., Javidan, M., Dorfman, P.W. and Vipin Gupta (eds.). 2014. *Culture, Leadership, and Organizations: The GLOBE Study of 62 Societies*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications NGTT DEEL 55, NO 1.
- House, R.J., Javidan, M., Hanges, P. and Dorfman, P. 2002. "Understanding Cultures and Implicit Leadership Theories Across the Globe: An Introduction to Project GLOBE." *Journal of World Business*, 37 (1).
- Hughes, R. L., Ginnett, R. A., and Curphy, G. J. 1993. *Leadership: Enhancing the lessons of experience*. Homewood, IL: Irwin.

Isenhardt, M., and Spangle, M. 2000. "Conflict in Action." In *Collaborative approaches to conflict resolution*. London: Sage Publications.

Jaworski, J. 1996. *Synchronicity: The inner path of leadership*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Jago, A. G. 1982. *Leadership: Perspectives in Theory and Research*. Management Science, 28(3), 315-336.

Judge, T. A. and Piccolo, R. F. 2004. "Transformational and Transactional Leadership: A Meta-Analytic Test of Their Relative Validity." *Journal of Applied Psychology* Vol. 89, No. 5 p 755–768.

Jules-Rosette, B. 1997. *At The Threshold of the Millennium: Prophetic Movements and Independent Churches in Central and Southern Africa*. Arch de sc.soc.des Rel, 99:153-167.

Kagama, D.N. 2014. "The Challenge of Church-hopping in Kenya: Factors Leading to the Migration of Church Members from the Methodist Church in Kenya". *Journal of Educational Policy and Entrepreneurial Research*, 1 (2) 36-40.

Keith, G. 2007. *Rethinking leadership, management and command on D-day*. Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan.

Kensit, D. A. 2000. *Rogersian theory: A critique of the effectiveness of pure client-centred therapy*. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*, 13 (4), 45-342

Kirk, J. & Miller, M.L. 1992. *Reliability and validity in Qualitative Research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Kitzinger, J. 1995. *Qualitative research: introducing focus groups*. Bmj, 311(7000), 299-302.

Kivisto, P. 2004. *Key Ideas in Sociology* (2nd ed), New Delhi: 8 Pine forge press.

Klein, K.J. and House, R.J. 1995. "On Fire: Charismatic Leadership and Levels of Analysis." *Leadership Quarterly*, 6 (2) p 183-198.

Knapp, P. 1994. *One World – Many Worlds: Contemporary Sociological Theory* (2nd ed.) Harpercollins College Div.

Kreider, L. 2008. *Authentic Spiritual Mentoring: Nurturing Younger Believers Toward Spiritual Mentoring*. Ventura, CA: Regal.

Krueger, R. A. 1994. *Focus group: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Krueger, R.A., Casey, M.A. 2009. *Focus groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Kumar, R. 2007. *Research Methodology: A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners* (2nd Ed) South Asia: Dorling Kindersley Pvt Ltd.

Kuhn, M. 2001. *From African Consciousness to Sub-Conscious Inculturation: A Study into African Independent Churches (AICs) in Nyanza/Kenya*. Diploma Study, University of Freiburg.

Kvlae, S. 1996. *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lankshear, C. and Knobel, M. 2004. *A Handbook for Teacher Research: from design to implementation*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

Lansberg, I. 1988. The Succession Conspiracy. *Journal of the Family Institute*, 1 (2) 119-143.

Lederach, J.P. 1995. *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation across Cultures*, New York: Syracuse University Press.

Leedy, P. D. & Ormrod, J. E. 2005. *Practical research: Planning and design* (8thEd.) Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.

Lester, S. 1999. *An Introduction to Phenomenological Research*. Stan Lester Developments, Taunton.[http:// www. Sld.demon.co.uk](http://www.Sld.demon.co.uk) (20 September 2016).

Litosseliti, L. 2003. *Using Focus groups in Research*. London and New York: Continuum.

- Lodico, M.G., Spaulding, D.T. and Voegtle, K.H. 2010. *Methods in Educational Research. From Theory to practice. (2nd ed.)*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass A Wiley Imprint.
- Lovitts, B. 2005. "How to grade the dissertation." *Academe*, 91(6), 18-23.
- Lumumba, U. 2012. *Hospitality and Tourism Human Relations Management in Africa*, USA: Author House.
- Lysaght, Z. 2011. *Epistemological and paradigmatic ecumenism in "Pasteur's Quadrant:" Tales from doctoral research*. Official Conference Proceedings of the Third Asian Conference on Education in Osaka, Japan.
- Makamure, C. 2017. "*Power struggles and leadership Succession Practices in the African Apostolic Church of Johanne Marange (AACJM)*." Unpublished paper presented at ATISCA Conference, Zimbabwean Chapter.
- Mamabolo, L.R.C. 2009. *The experiences of registered nurses involved in the termination of pregnancy at Shoshanguve community health centre*. MA dissertation. Health Studies. UNISA.
- Maphosa, F. 999. "Leadership Succession: A Recalcitrant Problem in the Indigenization of African Economies." *Zambezia* Xxvi (ii).
- Maphosa, S. B. 2013. "Thinking Creativity about methodological issues in conflict-affected societies: A primer from the field." *Journal of Peace building and Development*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp 54-72.
- Marable, M. 2011. *Beyond boundaries: The Manning Marable reader*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Marcel et all. 2014. in *Rev Pungula Wellington Dingani- Leadership in the church Corinthian church in Phepheni, Eastern Cape, South Africa, NGTT DEEL 55, No 1*
- Maree, K. 2007. *First steps in research. (1st ed)*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.
- Marshall, C. 2006. *Data Collection Methods*. www.sagepub.com/upm-data/10985 chapter 4. (20 September 2016).

- Masango, M. 2002. "Leadership in the African context" *VERBUM ET ECCLESIA* JRG 23 (3) p707-718.
- Masondo, S. 2004. "The Three Generations of Shembe: Leadership Contests within the Nazareth Baptist Church." *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa* 18: 69-79.
- Masondo, S. 2015. "Prophets never die? The story of Bishop P.J. Masango of the St John's Apostolic Faith Mission." *Alternation Special Edition* no 14, 231-246.
- Maxwell, J. A. 2005. *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Maxwell, J. 2013. *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- May, T. 2011. *Social Science Research: Issues, Methods and Processes*. Berkshire: Open University Press.
- Mazarire, G. C. 2004. "The Rise and Fall of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in The Victoria Circle 1888-1950: A Dissenting View of the Church's Alleged Invention of Chikaranga with Particular Reference to the Chivi Circuit." *New Dimensions in History Seminar Paper No. 5* Department of History, University of Zimbabwe.
- McCutcheon, R.T. 2004. "The Ideology of Closure and the Problem with Insider/ Outsider Problem in the study of religion." *Studies in Religion/ Sciences Religieuses* 32/3 (2003): 337-352.
- McGiven, Y. 2006. *The Practice of Market and Social Research: An Introduction*. London: Prentice Hall.
- McIntyre, A. 2008. *Participatory Action Research*. London: Prentice Hall.
- Melton, J. G. 1991. "Introduction: When Prophets Die: The Succession Crisis in New Religions". In Miller, T. (ed.). *When Prophets Die: The Post Charismatic Fate of New Religious Movements*. Albany: State university of New York press, 1-12.

Merriam, S. B. 2002. *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B. 2002. *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B. 2009. *Qualitative research: A guide to Design and Implementation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mertens, D. 1998. *Research methods in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Messmer, M. 2003. *Building an effective mentoring program*. Strategic Finance, 17-18.

Meyer, M. and Fourie, L. 2006. *Mentoring and Coaching: Tools and Techniques for Implementation*. Randburg, South Africa: Knowres Publishing.

Miles, M. B. and Huberman, A. M. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded source book*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M. and Saldaña, J. 2014. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (3rded.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. 1994. *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Miller, J., and Glassner, B. 2011. "The 'Inside' and the 'Outside': Finding Realities in Interviews." In Silverman, D. (ed). *Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Minichiello, V., Aroni, R., Timewell, E. and Alexander, L. 1990. *In-depth Interviewing: Researching people*. Hong Kong: Longman Cheshire Pty Limited.

Molobi, M. 2011. "Power Struggle, poverty and Breakaways in the African Independent Churches in South Africa." *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 37 (2).

- Moore, S. 1994. *Sociology*. London: Letts Educational Books.
- Morgan, D. L. 1998. *The focus group guide book*. London: Sage Publications.
- Morgan, G. 1996. *Images of organization*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Morris, M. H., Williams, R. O., Allen, J. A., & Avila, R. A. 1997. "Correlates of success in family business transitions." *Journal of Business Venturing*, 12, 385-401.
- Morse, J. M. et- al. 2002. "Verification Strategies for establishing Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research." In *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. Vol. 1, No 2 pp. 1-9.
- Morse, J.M. and Richards, L. 2002. *Readme First for a User's Guide to Qualitative Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Motshwaraganyi, T. 2010. *The two largest churches in Southern Africa*. Maltipular Senior Publishers.
- Mouton, J. and Marais, H.C. 1990. *Basic Concepts in the Methodology of the Social Sciences*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Muller, R. 2011. *African Pilgrimage: Ritual Travel in South Africa's Christianity of Zion*. London: Ashgate Press, 978-1-4094-8164-5.
- Mugambi J. N. K. 1989. *African Heritage and Contemporary Christianity*, Longman Kenya.
- Mwaura, P. N. 1999. "The use of Power in African Instituted Churches." *A Journal of Social and Religious Concern Volume 14 No. 3*.
- Navahandi, A. 2000, *The Art and Science of Leadership*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Newwell, R. and Burnard, P. 2006. *Vital Notes for Nurse: Research for Evidence-based Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

- Nicholson, L. 1992. "On the Postmodern Barricades: Feminism, Politics and Social Theory." in S. Seidman and D. G. Wagner(eds.) *Postmodernism and Social Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Northouse, P.G. 2007. *Leadership theory and practice* (3rd ed.) Thousand Oak, London: New Delhi, Sage Publications.
- Northouse, P.G. 2010. *Leadership: Theory and Practice*. New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Nye, M. 2003. *Religion the Basics*, London: Routledge.
- Omery, A. 1983. "Phenomenology: A Method in Nursing Research." *ANS. Advances in Nursing Science*, 5 (2): 49-63.
- Oosthuizen. G.C. 1981. *Succession Conflict within the Church of the Nazarites: IBandla zamaNazareth*, Durban: university of Durban.
- Patton, M. Q. 2002. *Qualitative research & evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Polit, D. F., & Beck, C. T. 2004. *Nursing research: Appraising evidence for Nursing Practice (7th Edition)*. Philadelphia: Wolters Klower/Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.
- Polkinghorne, D. E. 2005. "Language and Meaning: Data Collection in Qualitative Research." *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52, 137-145.
- Pratt, B. and Loizos, P. 1992. *Choosing Research Methods: Data Collection for Development Workers*, United Kingdom: Oxfam
- Privé, A. A. 2007. "An existential-phenomenological investigation of self-cutting among adolescent girls." *Graduate Theses and dissertations*.<http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/2329>
- Punch, K.F. 1998. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Punch, K.F. 2004. *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. London UK: Sage Publications.

Ragins, B.R., Cotton, J. L. and Miller, J. S. 2000. "Marginal Mentoring: The Effects of type of Mentor, Quality of Relationship and Program Design on Work and Career Attitude." *Academy of Management Journal*, 43 (6): 177-179.

Rakhim, M. A. 2010. *Managing Conflict in Organizations*. Transaction Publishers. <http://books.google.com/books> (16 October 2016).

Ranger. T.O. 1986. "Religious Movements and Politics in Sub- Sahara Africa." *African Studies Review*, 29:1-69.

Reychler, L., and Paffenholz, T. (eds.). 2001. *Peacebuilding: a field guide*. London: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

Ritzer, G. 2000. *Modern Sociological Theory (5th ed.)*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Roberts N. C., Bradley R. T. 1988. "Limits of charisma." In Conger J. A., Kanungo R. N. (Eds.), *Charismatic leadership: The elusive factor in organizational effectiveness: 253–275*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Robson, C. 2011. *Real world research: A resource for social -scientists and practitioner-researchers. (3rd ed.)*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Rossel, J. 2013. *Conflict Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rothwell, J. R. 2005. *Effective Succession Planning: Ensuring Leadership Continuity and Building Talent from Within, (3rd ed.)*. Broadway, New York: Library of Cogress.

Rubenstein, R. E. 1999. "Conflict Resolution and the Structural Sources of Conflict," in Jeong), pp.173-195.

Rummel, R. J. 1977. *Understanding Conflict and War*. Vol. 3. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Rummel, R.L., 2010. “*Conflict in the Socio-cultural Field.*” Hawaii.edu. [http://www.hawaii.edu /powerkills](http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills). (12 October 2016).

Sadala, M., Adorno, R. 2002. “Phenomenology as a method to investigate the lived experience: a perspective from Husserl and Merleau Ponty’s thought.” *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 37 (3), 282–293.

Sarter, M. 2006. *The consequences of a theoretical, task-driven experimentation: Theoretical comment on Paban, Chambon, Jaffard, and Alescio-Lavtier (2005)*, 120(2), 493-494.

Sarros. J.C. 2002. “Servant Leadership: Its Origin, Development and Application in Organisations.” *Journal of Leadership and Organisation Studies*, vol. 9, No 2.

Schauder, D. 2002. “Postscript: Seven questions for information management and systems researchers.” In K. Williamson (Ed.), *Research methods for students, academics and professionals: Information management and systems* (2nd ed., pp. 323-329). Wagga Wagga, NSW: Centre for Information Studies, Charles Sturt University.

Sears, A. 2008. *A Good Book, In Theory: A Guide to Theoretical Thinking*. North York: Higher Education University of Toronto Press.

Seibert, G. 2005. “But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal: Zion churches in Mozambique since the early 20th century.” *Social Science and Missions*. 2005;17(1):125–50.

Sharma, J.N. 2007. “Conflict Management.” *Rediscovering Gandhi* vol 3, p248.

Sherman, R.R. and Webb, R.B. 1988. *Qualitative Research in Education: A Focus*. Gainesville: University of Florida.

Shoko, T. 2011. “Shona Traditional Religion and Medical Practices: Methodological Approaches to Religious Phenomena.” *Africa Development*, Vol xxxvi, No 2. Pp.277-292.

Smart, N. 1973. *The Phenomenon of Religion*. New York: Seabury Press.

Somekh, B. and Lewin, C. 2005. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences (1st ed.)*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

- Spillane, J. P. Halverson, R & Drummond, J. B. 2001. *Investigating School Leadership Practice: A distributed Perspective; Educational Research*. 30(3), 23-28.
- Steinmann, N. 2006. *Fundamentals for Effective Mentoring: Raising Giant Killers*. Randburg, South Africa: Knowres Publishing.
- Strass, A.L. and Corbin, J.M. 1998. *Basic Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded*. London: Longman. Theory.
- Streubert, H.J. and Carpenter, D.R. 2003. *Qualitative Reason in Nursing (3rd ed)*. Lippincott: Philadelphia.
- Sundkler, B. 2004. *Bantu Prophets in Southern Africa*. England: James Clarke co.
- Swanson, R. A. 2013. *Theory Building in Applied Disciplines*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.
- Taringa, N.T. 2013. The Historical- Typological Phenomenology of Religion: Problems and Promises. *Alternation Special Edition*. 11: 87-109.
- Taylor, S. and Bogdan, R. 1984. *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods*. New York: Wiley.
- Thomas, S.P., 2005. "Through the lens of Merleau-Ponty: Advancing the Phenomenological Approach to Nursing Research." *Nursing Philosophy* 6, 63–76.
- Tipgos, M.A. and Keefe, T.J. 2004. "A comprehensive structure of corporate governance in post-Enron corporate America." *The CPA Journal*, 74(12): 46-51.
- Trochim, W. M.K. 2006. *Philosophy of Research Methods Knowledge Base*. College of Education. Alabama State University.
- Troyer, L. and Youngreen, R. 2009. "Conflict and Creativity in Groups." *Journal of Social Issues* 65:409-427
- Van Manen, M. 2013. "The call of pedagogy as the call of contact." *Phenomenology and Practice*, 6(2) pp. 8-34.

Van Zyl, D.C. 1996. "Zionists Doing Theology." In Kitshoff, M.C. (ed.). *African Independent Churches Today*. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Van Zyl, E.S., Dalglish, C. and Lues, L. 2009. *Leadership in the African Context*. Cape Town: Juta and Co Ltd.

Warner, M. 2001. *Complex problems, negotiated solutions: tools to reduce conflict in community development*. London: ITDL Publishing.

Welman, J. C., Kruger, S. J. 1999. *Research methodology for the business and administrative sciences*. Johannesburg, South Africa: International Thompson.

Wiersma, W. 1995. *Research methods in Education: An Introduction*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Yin, R. K. 1994. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, second edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

Yin, R. K. 2012. *Applications of Case Study Research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

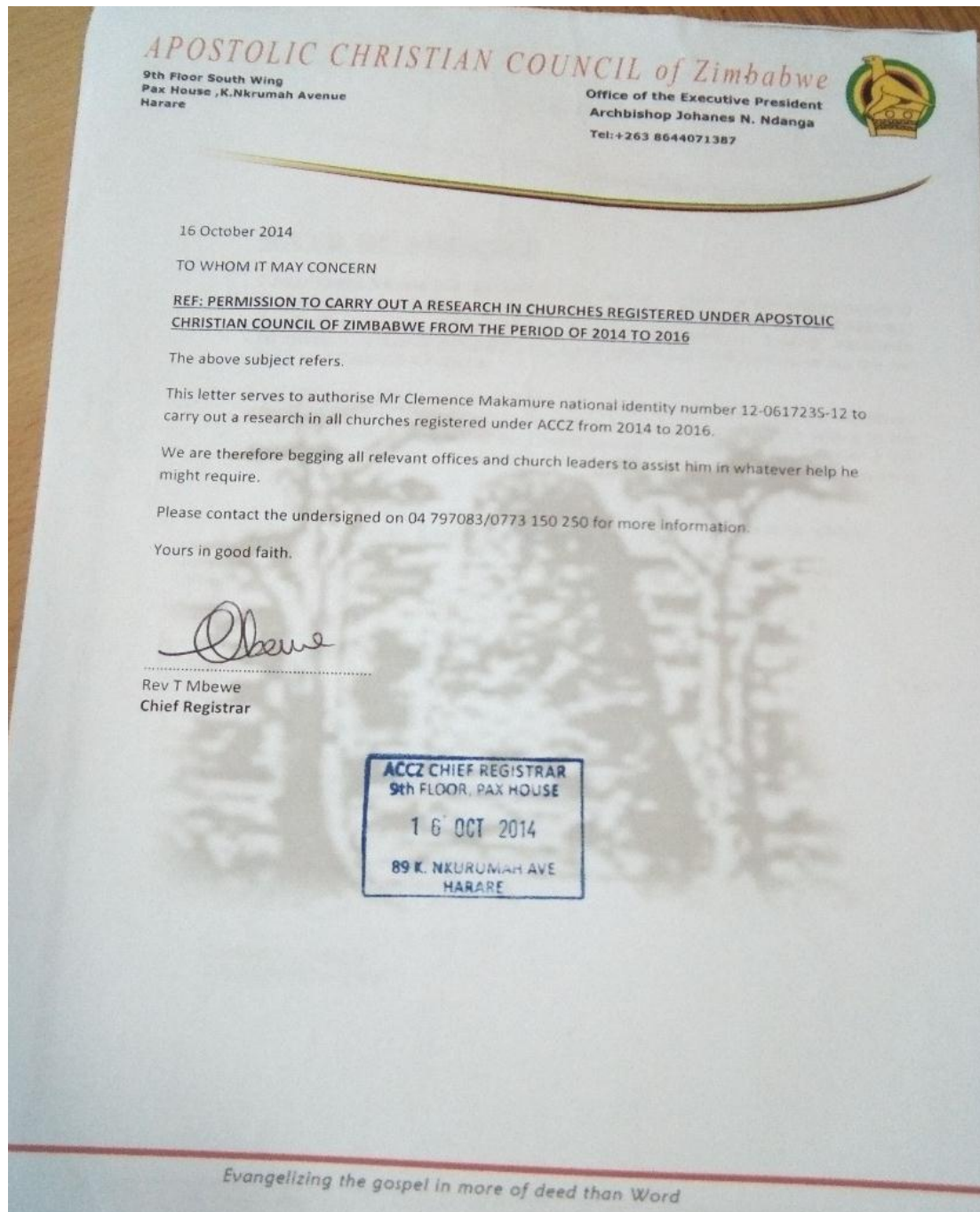
Yin, R. K. 2014. *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.

Yukl, G. 2007. *Leadership in organizations, (4th ed.)*. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

ACCZ approval letter to carry out research



Appendix 2

UKZN Ethical Clearance



22 January 2018

Mr Clemence Makamure (214555356)
School of Religion, Philosophy & Classics
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Makamure,

Protocol reference number: HSS/1652/015D

New Project title: A Phenomenological Study of the Causes of Leadership Succession Disputes in the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM) in Zimbabwe.

Approval notification – Amendment Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application for an amendment dated 18 January 2018 has now been granted Full Approval as follows:

• **Change in Title**

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study must be reviewed and approved through an amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

Professor Shemuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

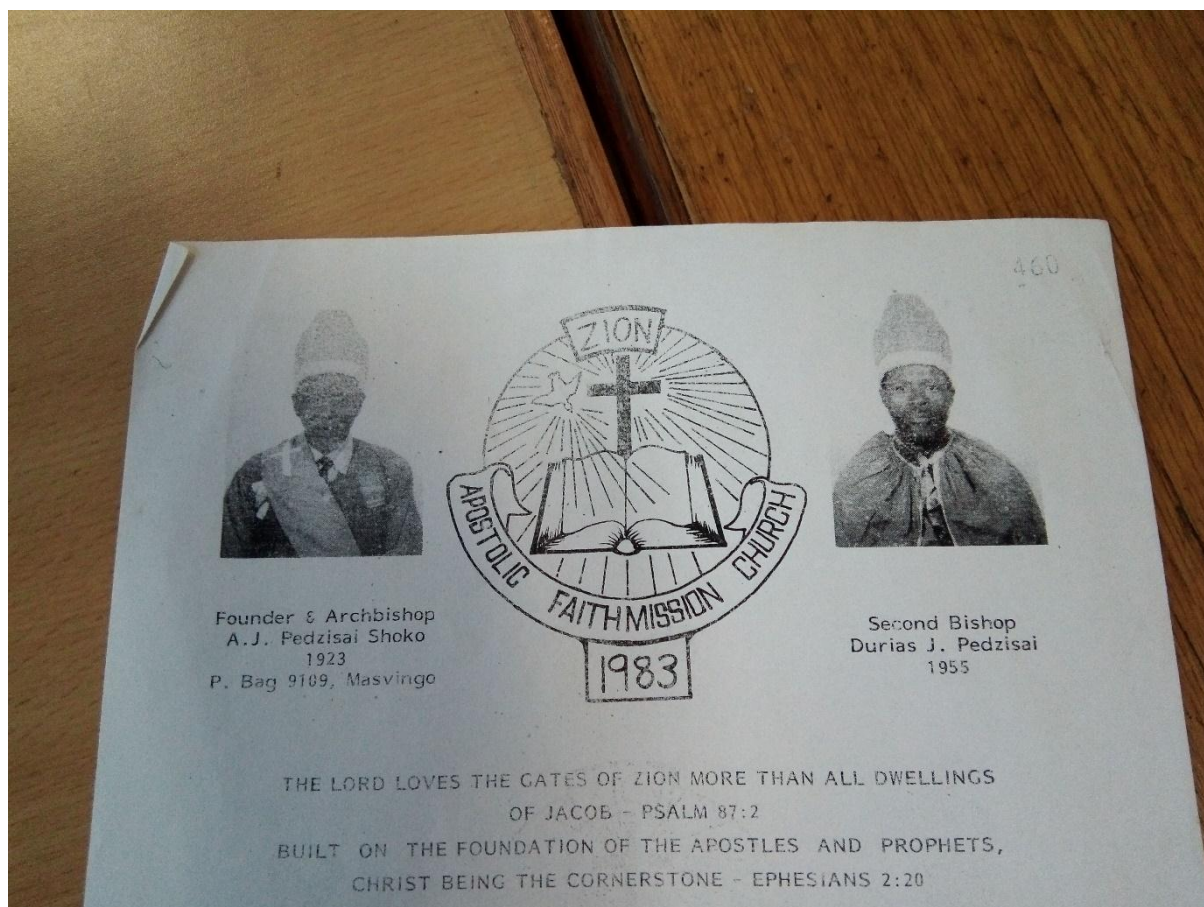
/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr Sibusiso Masondo
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor P Denis
cc School Administrator: Mr Alleyne Dean Coleman

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shemuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Pietermaritzburg 4001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3067/3068/3069/3070/3071/3072/3073/3074/3075/3076/3077/3078/3079/3080/3081/3082/3083/3084/3085/3086/3087/3088/3089/3090/3091/3092/3093/3094/3095/3096/3097/3098/3099/3100/3101/3102/3103/3104/3105/3106/3107/3108/3109/3110/3111/3112/3113/3114/3115/3116/3117/3118/3119/3120/3121/3122/3123/3124/3125/3126/3127/3128/3129/3130/3131/3132/3133/3134/3135/3136/3137/3138/3139/3140/3141/3142/3143/3144/3145/3146/3147/3148/3149/3150/3151/3152/3153/3154/3155/3156/3157/3158/3159/3160/3161/3162/3163/3164/3165/3166/3167/3168/3169/3170/3171/3172/3173/3174/3175/3176/3177/3178/3179/3180/3181/3182/3183/3184/3185/3186/3187/3188/3189/3190/3191/3192/3193/3194/3195/3196/3197/3198/3199/3200/3201/3202/3203/3204/3205/3206/3207/3208/3209/3210/3211/3212/3213/3214/3215/3216/3217/3218/3219/3220/3221/3222/3223/3224/3225/3226/3227/3228/3229/3230/3231/3232/3233/3234/3235/3236/3237/3238/3239/3240/3241/3242/3243/3244/3245/3246/3247/3248/3249/3250/3251/3252/3253/3254/3255/3256/3257/3258/3259/3260/3261/3262/3263/3264/3265/3266/3267/3268/3269/3270/3271/3272/3273/3274/3275/3276/3277/3278/3279/3280/3281/3282/3283/3284/3285/3286/3287/3288/3289/3290/3291/3292/3293/3294/3295/3296/3297/3298/3299/3300/3301/3302/3303/3304/3305/3306/3307/3308/3309/3310/3311/3312/3313/3314/3315/3316/3317/3318/3319/3320/3321/3322/3323/3324/3325/3326/3327/3328/3329/3330/3331/3332/3333/3334/3335/3336/3337/3338/3339/3340/3341/3342/3343/3344/3345/3346/3347/3348/3349/3350/3351/3352/3353/3354/3355/3356/3357/3358/3359/3360/3361/3362/3363/3364/3365/3366/3367/3368/3369/3370/3371/3372/3373/3374/3375/3376/3377/3378/3379/3380/3381/3382/3383/3384/3385/3386/3387/3388/3389/3390/3391/3392/3393/3394/3395/3396/3397/3398/3399/3400/3401/3402/3403/3404/3405/3406/3407/3408/3409/3410/3411/3412/3413/3414/3415/3416/3417/3418/3419/3420/3421/3422/3423/3424/3425/3426/3427/3428/3429/3430/3431/3432/3433/3434/3435/3436/3437/3438/3439/3440/3441/3442/3443/3444/3445/3446/3447/3448/3449/3450/3451/3452/3453/3454/3455/3456/3457/3458/3459/3460/3461/3462/3463/3464/3465/3466/3467/3468/3469/3470/3471/3472/3473/3474/3475/3476/3477/3478/3479/3480/3481/3482/3483/3484/3485/3486/3487/3488/3489/3490/3491/3492/3493/3494/3495/3496/3497/3498/3499/3500/3501/3502/3503/3504/3505/3506/3507/3508/3509/3510/3511/3512/3513/3514/3515/3516/3517/3518/3519/3520/3521/3522/3523/3524/3525/3526/3527/3528/3529/3530/3531/3532/3533/3534/3535/3536/3537/3538/3539/3540/3541/3542/3543/3544/3545/3546/3547/3548/3549/3550/3551/3552/3553/3554/3555/3556/3557/3558/3559/3560/3561/3562/3563/3564/3565/3566/3567/3568/3569/3570/3571/3572/3573/3574/3575/3576/3577/3578/3579/3580/3581/3582/3583/3584/3585/3586/3587/3588/3589/3590/3591/3592/3593/3594/3595/3596/3597/3598/3599/3600/3601/3602/3603/3604/3605/3606/3607/3608/3609/3610/3611/3612/3613/3614/3615/3616/3617/3618/3619/3620/3621/3622/3623/3624/3625/3626/3627/3628/3629/3630/3631/3632/3633/3634/3635/3636/3637/3638/3639/3640/3641/3642/3643/3644/3645/3646/3647/3648/3649/3650/3651/3652/3653/3654/3655/3656/3657/3658/3659/3660/3661/3662/3663/3664/3665/3666/3667/3668/3669/3670/3671/3672/3673/3674/3675/3676/3677/3678/3679/3680/3681/3682/3683/3684/3685/3686/3687/3688/3689/3690/3691/3692/3693/3694/3695/3696/3697/3698/3699/3700/3701/3702/3703/3704/3705/3706/3707/3708/3709/3710/3711/3712/3713/3714/3715/3716/3717/3718/3719/3720/3721/3722/3723/3724/3725/3726/3727/3728/3729/3730/3731/3732/3733/3734/3735/3736/3737/3738/3739/3740/3741/3742/3743/3744/3745/3746/3747/3748/3749/3750/3751/3752/3753/3754/3755/3756/3757/3758/3759/3760/3761/3762/3763/3764/3765/3766/3767/3768/3769/3770/3771/3772/3773/3774/3775/3776/3777/3778/3779/3780/3781/3782/3783/3784/3785/3786/3787/3788/3789/3790/3791/3792/3793/3794/3795/3796/3797/3798/3799/3800/3801/3802/3803/3804/3805/3806/3807/3808/3809/3810/3811/3812/3813/3814/3815/3816/3817/3818/3819/3820/3821/3822/3823/3824/3825/3826/3827/3828/3829/3830/3831/3832/3833/3834/3835/3836/3837/3838/3839/3840/3841/3842/3843/3844/3845/3846/3847/3848/3849/3850/3851/3852/3853/3854/3855/3856/3857/3858/3859/3860/3861/3862/3863/3864/3865/3866/3867/3868/3869/3870/3871/3872/3873/3874/3875/3876/3877/3878/3879/3880/3881/3882/3883/3884/3885/3886/3887/3888/3889/3890/3891/3892/3893/3894/3895/3896/3897/3898/3899/3900/3901/3902/3903/3904/3905/3906/3907/3908/3909/3910/3911/3912/3913/3914/3915/3916/3917/3918/3919/3920/3921/3922/3923/3924/3925/3926/3927/3928/3929/3930/3931/3932/3933/3934/3935/3936/3937/3938/3939/3940/3941/3942/3943/3944/3945/3946/3947/3948/3949/3950/3951/3952/3953/3954/3955/3956/3957/3958/3959/3960/3961/3962/3963/3964/3965/3966/3967/3968/3969/3970/3971/3972/3973/3974/3975/3976/3977/3978/3979/3980/3981/3982/3983/3984/3985/3986/3987/3988/3989/3990/3991/3992/3993/3994/3995/3996/3997/3998/3999/4000/4001/4002/4003/4004/4005/4006/4007/4008/4009/4010/4011/4012/4013/4014/4015/4016/4017/4018/4019/4020/4021/4022/4023/4024/4025/4026/4027/4028/4029/4030/4031/4032/4033/4034/4035/4036/4037/4038/4039/4040/4041/4042/4043/4044/4045/4046/4047/4048/4049/4050/4051/4052/4053/4054/4055/4056/4057/4058/4059/4060/4061/4062/4063/4064/4065/4066/4067/4068/4069/4070/4071/4072/4073/4074/4075/4076/4077/4078/4079/4080/4081/4082/4083/4084/4085/4086/4087/4088/4089/4090/4091/4092/4093/4094/4095/4096/4097/4098/4099/4100/4101/4102/4103/4104/4105/4106/4107/4108/4109/4110/4111/4112/4113/4114/4115/4116/4117/4118/4119/4120/4121/4122/4123/4124/4125/4126/4127/4128/4129/4130/4131/4132/4133/4134/4135/4136/4137/4138/4139/4140/4141/4142/4143/4144/4145/4146/4147/4148/4149/4150/4151/4152/4153/4154/4155/4156/4157/4158/4159/4160/4161/4162/4163/4164/4165/4166/4167/4168/4169/4170/4171/4172/4173/4174/4175/4176/4177/4178/4179/4180/4181/4182/4183/4184/4185/4186/4187/4188/4189/4190/4191/4192/4193/4194/4195/4196/4197/4198/4199/4200/4201/4202/4203/4204/4205/4206/4207/4208/4209/4210/4211/4212/4213/4214/4215/4216/4217/4218/4219/4220/4221/4222/4223/4224/4225/4226/4227/4228/4229/4230/4231/4232/4233/4234/4235/4236/4237/4238/4239/4240/4241/4242/4243/4244/4245/4246/4247/4248/4249/4250/4251/4252/4253/4254/4255/4256/4257/4258/4259/4260/4261/4262/4263/4264/4265/4266/4267/4268/4269/4270/4271/4272/4273/4274/4275/4276/4277/4278/4279/4280/4281/4282/4283/4284/4285/4286/4287/4288/4289/4290/4291/4292/4293/4294/4295/4296/4297/4298/4299/4300/4301/4302/4303/4304/4305/4306/4307/4308/4309/4310/4311/4312/4313/4314/4315/4316/4317/4318/4319/4320/4321/4322/4323/4324/4325/4326/4327/4328/4329/4330/4331/4332/4333/4334/4335/4336/4337/4338/4339/4340/4341/4342/4343/4344/4345/4346/4347/4348/4349/4350/4351/4352/4353/4354/4355/4356/4357/4358/4359/4360/4361/4362/4363/4364/4365/4366/4367/4368/4369/4370/4371/4372/4373/4374/4375/4376/4377/4378/4379/4380/4381/4382/4383/4384/4385/4386/4387/4388/4389/4390/4391/4392/4393/4394/4395/4396/4397/4398/4399/4400/4401/4402/4403/4404/4405/4406/4407/4408/4409/4410/4411/4412/4413/4414/4415/4416/4417/4418/4419/4420/4421/4422/4423/4424/4425/4426/4427/4428/4429/4430/4431/4432/4433/4434/4435/4436/4437/4438/4439/4440/4441/4442/4443/4444/4445/4446/4447/4448/4449/4450/4451/4452/4453/4454/4455/4456/4457/4458/4459/4460/4461/4462/4463/4464/4465/4466/4467/4468/4469/4470/4471/4472/4473/4474/4475/4476/4477/4478/4479/4480/4481/4482/4483/4484/4485/4486/4487/4488/4489/4490/4491/4492/4493/4494/4495/4496/4497/4498/4499/4500/4501/4502/4503/4504/4505/4506/4507/4508/4509/4510/4511/4512/4513/4514/4515/4516/4517/4518/4519/4520/4521/4522/4523/4524/4525/4526/4527/4528/4529/4530/4531/4532/4533/4534/4535/4536/4537/4538/4539/4540/4541/4542/4543/4544/4545/4546/4547/4548/4549/4550/4551/4552/4553/4554/4555/4556/4557/4558/4559/4560/4561/4562/4563/4564/4565/4566/4567/4568/4569/4570/4571/4572/4573/4574/4575/4576/4577/4578/4579/4580/4581/4582/4583/4584/4585/4586/4587/4588/4589/4590/4591/4592/4593/4594/4595/4596/4597/4598/4599/4600/4601/4602/4603/4604/4605/4606/4607/4608/4609/4610/4611/4612/4613/4614/4615/4616/4617/4618/4619/4620/4621/4622/4623/4624/4625/4626/4627/4628/4629/4630/4631/4632/4633/4634/4635/4636/4637/4638/4639/4640/4641/4642/4643/4644/4645/4646/4647/4648/4649/4650/4651/4652/4653/4654/4655/4656/4657/4658/4659/4660/4661/4662/4663/4664/4665/4666/4667/4668/4669/4670/4671/4672/4673/4674/4675/4676/4677/4678/4679/4680/4681/4682/4683/4684/4685/4686/4687/4688/4689/4690/4691/4692/4693/4694/4695/4696/4697/4698/4699/4700/4701/4702/4703/4704/4705/4706/4707/4708/4709/4710/4711/4712/4713/4714/4715/4716/4717/4718/4719/4720/4721/4722/4723/4724/4725/4726/4727/4728/4729/4730/4731/4732/4733/4734/4735/4736/4737/4738/4739/4740/4741/4742/4743/4744/4745/4746/4747/4748/4749/4750/4751/4752/4753/4754/4755/4756/4757/4758/4759/4760/4761/4762/4763/4764/4765/4766/4767/4768/4769/4770/4771/4772/4773/4774/4775/4776/4777/4778/4779/4780/4781/4782/4783/4784/4785/4786/4787/4788/4789/4790/4791/4792/4793/4794/4795/4796/4797/4798/4799/4800/4801/4802/4803/4804/4805/4806/4807/4808/4809/4810/4811/4812/4813/4814/4815/4816/4817/4818/4819/4820/4821/4822/4823/4824/4825/4826/4827/4828/4829/4830/4831/4832/4833/4834/4835/4836/4837/4838/4839/4840/4841/4842/4843/4844/4845/4846/4847/4848/4849/4850/4851/4852/4853/4854/4855/4856/4857/4858/4859/4860/4861/4862/4863/4864/4865/4866/4867/4868/4869/4870/4871/4872/4873/4874/4875/4876/4877/4878/4879/4880/4881/4882/4883/4884/4885/4886/4887/4888/4889/4890/4891/4892/4893/4894/4895/4896/4897/4898/4899/4900/4901/4902/4903/4904/4905/4906/4907/4908/4909/4910/4911/4912/4913/4914/4915/4916/4917/4918/4919/4920/4921/4922/4923/4924/4925/4926/4927/4928/4929/4930/4931/4932/4933/4934/4935/4936/4937/4938/4939/4940/4941/4942/4943/4944/4945/4946/4947/4948/4949/4950/4951/4952/4953/4954/4955/4956/4957/4958/4959/4960/4961/4962/4963/4964/4965/4966/4967/4968/4969/4970/4971/4972/4973/4974/4975/4976/4977/4978/4979/4980/4981/4982/4983/4984/4985/4986/4987/4988/4989/4990/4991/4992/4993/4994/4995/4996/4997/4998/4999/5000/5001/5002/5003/5004/5005/5006/5007/5008/5009/5010/5011/5012/5013/5014/5015/5016/5017/5018/5019/5020/5021/5022/5023/5024/5025/5026/5027/5028/5029/5030/5031/5032/5033/5034/5035/5036/5037/5038/5039/5040/5041/5042/5043/5044/5045/5046/5047/5048/5049/5050/5051/5052/5053/5054/5055/5056/5057/5058/5059/5060/5061/5062/5063/5064/5065/5066/5067/5068/5069/5070/5071/5072/5073/5074/5075/5076/5077/5078/5079/5080/5081/5082/5083/5084/5085/5086/5087/5088/5089/5090/5091/5092/5093/5094/5095/5096/5097/5098/5099/5100/5101/5102/5103/5104/5105/5106/5107/5108/5109/5110/5111/5112/5113/5114/5115/5116/5117/5118/5119/5120/5121/5122/5123/5124/5125/5126/5127/5128/5129/5130/5131/5132/5133/5134/5135/5136/5137/5138/5139/5140/5141/5142/5143/5144/5145/5146/5147/5148/5149/5150/5151/5152/5153/5154/5155/5156/5157/5158/5159/5160/5161/5162/5163/5164/5165/5166/5167/5168/5169/5170/5171/5172/5173/5174/5175/5176/5177/5178/5179/5180/5181/5182/5183/5184/5185/5186/5187/5188/5189/5190/5191/5192/5193/5194/5195/5196/5197/5198/5199/5200/5201/5202/5203/5204/5205/5206/5207/5208/5209/5210/5211/5212/5213/5214/5215/5216/5217/5218/5219/5220/5221/5222/5223/5224/5225/5226/5227/5228/5229/5230/5231/5232/5233/5234/5235/5236/5237/5238/5239/5240/5241/5242/5243/5244/5245/5246/5247/5248/5249/5250/5251/5252/5253/5254/5255/5256/5257/5258/5259/5260/5261/5262/5263/5264/5265/5266/5267/5268/5269/5270/5271/5272/5273/5274/5275/5276/5277/5278/5279/5280/5281/5282/5283/5284/5285/5286/5287/5288/5289/5290/5291/5292/5293/5294/5295/5296/5297/5298/5299/5300/5301/5302/5303/5304/5305/5306/5307/5308/5309/5310/5311/5312/5313/5314/5315/5316/5317/5318/5319

Appendix 3

1955 Certificate showing Doris as the successor of Shoko



Appendix 4

ACCZ Bishop's License



Appendix 5

ACCZ Oath of Service Certificate

APOSTOLIC CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
of Zimbabwe

No. 23 Wembley Crescent, Eastlea, Harare
P.O. Box CY 578 Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe
Telephone: 2638644507/1406/19
Cell: 0773150250

OATH OF SERVICE


I **JOHANES NYAMWA NDANGA** the president of Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe by lawful authority do hereby swear in **JAMESON PEDZISAI SHOKO** Registration number 12-0224101-12 of **ZION APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION CHURCH** as an **ARCHBISHOP** of a legally constituted Church effective this the **2nd DAY of FEBRUARY 2013**

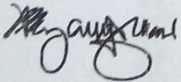
I **JAMESON PEDZISAI SHOKO** of **ZION APOSTOLIC FAITH MISSION CHURCH** being fully aware of the requirements associated with God's calling to His service do hereby accept before the Church and all witnesses gathered here that I will faithfully serve God the Almighty and the Church through the medium of His Son Jesus Christ.

I shall exercise kindness to all in an effort to forgive, counsel and to render spiritual guidance to all without favor or discrimination.

May God help me!

Signed at **MASVINGO** on this the **2nd** day of **February 2013**.


.....
Jameson Pedzisai Shoko
ARCHBISHOP


.....
Johanes N. Ndanga
PRESIDENT- ACCZ

Hon Mrs Joice T.R. Mujuru (Matron), Archbishop J.N. Ndanga (Executive President), F. Mafuta, T. Mbewe, C. Mashava, Y. Tsine, B. Sibanda, J. Chirwa, L. Matanhike, D.O.A. Danda, O. Muzondo, O. Matsveru

Appendix 6

Picture 1 Showing the surviving wives of Andreas Shoko



Picture 2 Showing Bishop Jamson Pedzisai Shoko franked by his two precursors Bishop Dorius Pedzisai Shoko and Andreas Shoko.



Picture 3 showing the call for the church to build its own Jerusalem- Zioni City.



Picture 4 Showing Bishop Ezra Pedzisai Shoko and his wife in their Bishopric regalia



Picture 5a Showing bishop Jamson drawing a bottle of anointed water from his pockets at the beginning of healing session.



Picture 5b Showing Bishop Jamson during the prayer and healing sessions.



Picture 6 Showing the colours of the Bishop's sacred codes and dressing.



Picture 7 Chief Chivi following church proceedings during the 2017 Easter conference at Museva.



Picture 8 The wife of Bishop Jamson in her church regalia following church proceedings during the 2017 Easter Conferences.



Picture 9 Vice- Bishop in his church regalia listening to church proceedings.



Picture 10a Members of the Ezra camp dancing during church service with the bishop leading.



Picture 10b Members of the Ezra camp following church proceedings during church service.

