THE UNIVERSITY of EDINBURGH

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RESOURCING THE LOCAL CHURCH:

Attitudes among Mozambican evangelicals towards economic dependency and self-reliance

Richard John Reeve

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Centre for the Study of World Christianity,

School of Divinity,

University of Edinburgh

August 2017

Declaration

I hereby declare that I composed this thesis; the work contained is my own; this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification, and that any included publications are my own work, or where the work of others is quoted/referred to that it is duly acknowledged at the point of reference.

Richard J. Reeve
August, 2017

Abstract

Debates concerning how churches in the developing world are best resourced in terms of their funding base and the implications of this for other aspects of church life have been conducted for over 150 years. The solutions offered have ranged from the Three-Self theory, with its advocacy of local self-support, to wholesale financial support from abroad, and in between a combination of those methods in a variety of configurations.

This thesis focuses on the recent experiences of evangelical Christians in a southern Mozambican context, paying particular attention to three case studies: the Igreja Evangelica Arca da Salvação; the Ministério Centro de Louvor; and the Igreja Reformada em Moçambique. It asks why so many churches in Mozambique are seemingly locked into a dynamic of economic dependency on donors from abroad, but also why it is that in that shared and impoverished national context some churches are attempting, with some success, to resource their own activities.

Using accounts and reflections obtained first-hand from Mozambican Christians, the thesis suggests that, alongside important factors such as the historical circumstances surrounding the emergence of each church group or denomination, the vision and agency of leaders in each local congregation are also fundamental to the resourcefulness of the members and the developmental trajectory of the church. In the context of self-governance, the role of such leadership is highlighted as crucial to the emergence of both self-funding and self-propagation.

As well as contributing to the debate concerning the resourcing of churches in the developing world, this thesis addresses social theory that is concerned with how and why individuals invest their available resources in the religious communities of which they are part. It also contributes to the study of independent churches in southern Africa, concerning their potency for independent economic development.

Finally, this thesis argues that, for the purposes of avoiding the cultivation of unhealthy dependency in national churches, international mission societies and para-church organizations in developed nations would do well to analyse the dynamics of which they are part. Where partnerships consist largely of sponsorship, it is argued, the risk of ongoing unhealthy dependency is high.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated in memory to Rev. Canon Roger William Bowen (1947-2017) who first modelled to me a healthy relationship between faith and scholarship. Also as one who alerted me - it is with ‘all the saints’ that we might comprehend ‘the breadth and length and height and depth’ of the love of Christ. (Ephesians 3:18 ESV.)

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACRIS – *Acçâo Cristá Interdenominacional de Saude*
(Interdenominational Christian Action for Health).

(IE)ADS - *Igreja Evangelica Arca*[1] *da Salvação*
(The Ark of Salvation Evangelical Church)

AEM - *Associação Evangélica de Moçambique*
(Evangelical Association of Mozambique).

AIC - African Initiated Church

CCM – *Conselho Cristão de Moçambique*
(Christian Council of Mozambique)

FBO – Faith Based Organisation

IRM - *The Igreja Reformada em Moçambique* (The Reformed Church in Mozambique).

IURD – *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus* (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God)

FRELIMO - *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Mozambique Liberation Front).
To mark the distinction between the independence movement and the post-independence political party 'Frelimo' is now rendered in lower case.

MCL - *The Ministério Centro de Louvor* (the Ministry Centre of Praise).

PEA – Portuguese East Africa: an umbrella term grouping individual Portuguese colonies in the territory that is now Mozambique. Sometimes referred to instead as 'Portuguese Mozambique'.

RENAMO - *Resistência Nacional Moçambicana* (Mozambican National Resistance).

[1] 'Arca' used in reference to the boat of Noah used for salvation purposes in the biblical account.

Map 1 – Mozambican Provinces

Introduction

At the time field research for this thesis was undertaken (October 2008-December 2010), Mozambique was one of the world's most aid-dependent[1] countries.[2] Since the country gained its position during the 1990s as Africa's largest recipient of foreign aid, an economic pattern developed in which the national budget was being sourced from abroad annually by more than half.[3] Even that assessment did not adequately quantify the extent of Mozambique's dependency, as 60 percent of aid to Mozambique was 'off budget', so not accounted for in state finances.[4] By 2008 some NGOs were ready to concede that aid interventions in Mozambique had yielded mixed results, also cultivating a '…mentality of aid dependency'.[5]

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[1] Mozambican economist, Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, outlines the symptoms of national Aid dependency as 'multidimensional … [affecting] the institutional culture, thinking, policies and options of the systems of governance, as well as the interactions between agents, public policy options, the financing of such policies…[going] beyond basic resources (public finance, foreign exchange, savings) and basic capacities (technical, managerial) to include many other aspects of life. Aid dependency is structural …[as] the basic functions of the state and society are aid dependent…[A]id dependency is dynamic…[-] the pattern of development that is structurally and multi-dimensionally aid dependent generates new and deeper aid dependencies…' Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, 'Aid Dependency and Development: a Question of Ownership? A Critical View,' *Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos, Working paper,* (2008): p.1, 5, 13, accessed 24 August 2009, http://www.iese.ac.mz/lib/saber/ead_34.pdf

[2] Stefano Bellucci, 'Management of Social Transformations,' Discussion Paper – N° 56, Governance, Civil Society and NGOs in Mozambique, *MOST,* United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, (2002) p.13, accessed 1 November 2009, unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001252/125280e.pdf

[3] Joseph Hanlon, 'Strangling Mozambique: International Monetary Fund 'stabilization' in the World's Poorest Country.' *Multinational Monitor* 17, no. 7-8 (1996), accessed 24 August 2009. http://www.allbusiness.com/specialty-businesses/581027-1.html ; African Development Bank (ADB), the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 'African Economic Outlook (2008)', accessed 24 August 2009, http://www.afdb.org/en/knowledge/economics-research/documents-publications/african-economic-outlook-2009/african-economic-outlook-2008/

[4] These statistics from Joseph Hanlon 'Joint review - 2005: aide memoire and Annexure 3, Report no. 86 Mozambique Government/G16,' *SARPN,* (18 May 2005), accessed 1 November 2009, http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001245/index.php , and an interview undertaken with Mozambican Economist Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, interview by author, offices of the Institute for Social and Economic Studies (IESE – Portuguese: *Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos*), Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique, 18 March 2010.

[5] Abdul Ilal, 'Aid effectiveness: The case of Mozambique - An independent analysis of ownership and accountability in the development aid system,' *Trocaire/CAFOD/Eurodad* (January 2008, 24), accessed 12 September 2009, http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0002972/index.php

During the same period many churches also were characterised by the dependence of their community life and activities on funding by donors abroad. Influenced by a range of factors - that this thesis aims to investigate - this dependence was manifested in anything from *ad hoc* project funding to wholesale support including pastors' salaries; theological colleges / training; church buildings; health centres; schools and departmental vehicles.

RESEARCH QUESTION

In reference to the churches, the definition of economic dependency used in this research is that of the historian of African Christianity Adrian Hastings, who defines it as one group depending for its existence and services upon the continuous charity of others.[6] Alongside references to other church groups on the Mozambican scene, this research focuses on three ecclesial case studies to identify what may lie behind the dependency of churches in Mozambique. What features and qualities are there, in terms of their inheritance and mindset, and moreover how it is that some congregations have resisted that trend, undertaking both church life and mission using local resources? With that objective, the thesis approaches the question in two stages:

1. Firstly, and given the national context of dependency of all three groups, the research gathers and considers the explanations of insiders and close observers[7] as to how each group in the case studies came to resource their work. What in their view were the factors – historical, organisational, and in terms of the mindset of the leaders and members – that led one church to subsume the economic dependency found elsewhere in society, and yet another to resource itself independently?
2. A second component of the research is concerned with the same question but gives prominence to the researcher's role in analysis and explanation. That is to say, having considered the historical context of

[6] Adrian Hastings, *Mission and Ministry* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1971), p.14.

[7] As well as with members and leaders of the three churches in the case-studies, interviews were undertaken with a range of other people who knew these churches well. For instance, data and reflection were gleaned from missionaries who had worked with the Igreja Reformada em Moçambique (IRM) since the 1980s; missionaries who had known the Arca da Salvação and MCL from early in their development, and the general secretary of the Christian Council of Mozambique, of which the IRM is a member.

the national churches generally; having examined the explanations of those connected with the three case-studies; having considered those explanations alongside the researcher's own participation with, and observation of, each of those groups; and having considered contradictions arising from the variety of sources examined – what factors best explain the route each congregation among the case studies has taken?

Locating the churches

This thesis reports and analyses research undertaken with three evangelical churches in Mozambique:

1. *The Igreja Reformada em Moçambique* (IRM).
2. *The Ministério Centro de Louvor* (MCL).
3. *The (Igreja Evangelica) Arca da Salvação* (ADS).

Respectively, those groups may be translated into English as the Reformed Church in Mozambique, the Ministry Centre of Praise, and the Evangelical Church Boat ('Ark') of Salvation. The latter, however, generally only now uses the acronym ADS, and the full title *Arca da Salvação*.

Although all three are members of the Evangelical Association of Mozambique (*Associação Evangélica de Moçambique*) the background to each of these groups differs: The development of the IRM as a denomination[8] in Mozambique stemmed from the cross-border missionary work of both Black and White South Africans from the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, via Malawi, as far back as 1909. Although first planted and most fully developed in Tete Province (northwest Mozambique), by the 1980s the IRM had spread south to Gaza and Maputo provinces. In 2008 the IRM membership nationally was reckoned to be 70,000.[9] The conservative, biblical heritage

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[8] See discussion below for use of 'denomination', pages 8-9.

[9] 'The History of the Reformed Church in Mozambique (IRM),' Hefsiba Institute for Christian Higher Education, accessed 3 December 2014, http://www.hefsiba.org/History.aspx . (The Website Reformiert online gives a figure of 28,000, nationally. 'Statistic data of church,' Igreja Reformada em Mocambique, Reformiert online, accessed 11 April 2017, http://www.reformiert-online.net/adressen/detail.php?id=13230&lg=eng)

of the Dutch Reformed roots of the IRM was still evident in the liturgy and expression of IRM churches. This group was chosen for research as representing a church that is working in a context of profound economic dependency on foreign support. Whilst also receiving support from North America and the Netherlands,[10] overwhelmingly the external resources of the IRM come from the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) in Mozambique's neighbour, South Africa.

The MCL differs again, having emerged independently of denominational ties, from a bible study group that was formed in the mid-1980s. This group had already begun to plant other study groups in Gaza and Nampula provinces before successfully registering with the Ministry of Religion as a church in 1989. Nationally the MCL claim a membership of 3,500 members. Approximately two-thirds of that figure is accounted for among twenty-seven churches in the southern provinces of Maputo and Gaza where fieldwork for this study took place. There are also thirteen MCL churches located in the provinces of Manica, Nampula, Niassa, Sofala and Tete.[11] As with the churches in the other two case studies, preaching from the bible makes up a central part of MCL Sunday services. Otherwise, the liturgy could be described as informal, and in some ways 'charismatic' – with song, dance and space given to worship in 'tongues'.[12] The MCL is demonstrative of a group with local congregations spread along a spectrum between self-support and assistance from abroad, with different approaches to resourcefulness evident in its various locations.

The origins of the ADS are in Maputo Province, where it was founded as an independent congregation in 1997, the founder having left a Zionist church – the

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The numerical data available to the researcher from both the ADS and MCL was conveyed by national leaders who made their own calculations based on the reports of local leaders as they attended national and regional conferences of those churches. '[W]e are working on statistics, but it is not determined…' I was told by a ADS leader, '…we are trying to establish a number to measure our growth.' From interview with Daniel Vasco Moiana (son of ADS founder), interview by author, One Challenge offices, Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique 16 February 2009.

[10] American and Dutch support for the IRM was restricted, largely, to personnel and funding at the IRM Hefsiba training college.

[11] Based on data submitted at an MCL conference during April 2010. Francisco David Zimba, interview by author, MCL headquarters, Machava, Mozambique, 19 May 2010.

[12] During interviews some leaders and members used the term 'Carismático' in reference to the MCL.

Assembléia da Chuva (ADC, in English – Assembly of Rain). The founder's move away from the ADC was due to his wanting to take a more evangelical and rigorously biblical line, in contrast for instance to the on-going blood sacrifices of the ADS. However, some of the more exuberant expressions of Zionist worship, song and dance, have remained characteristic of the ADS and have resonated subsequently with more recent Pentecostal influences on this church.[13] Nationally the ADS claim a membership of 8,000, distributed among churches in the provinces of Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, Sofala, Manica, Tete and Zambézia, with the largest groupings located in Maputo and Zambézia.[14] All research interviews with ADS members were carried out within Maputo province in southern Mozambique, where the ADS headquarters and classrooms for an education project are located also.15 This church was chosen for study as one that is noted for undertaking both church life and mission using the economic resources of its members.

Although the MCL and ADS emerged independently of any external mission agency, and although those involved with the ADS describe the church from which it emerged as 'Mazione' (Zionist), in order to avoid confusion in this thesis, neither the term 'African Initiated Church' (AIC), nor the classical AIC subcategories of 'Zionist' or 'Ethiopian' are used in reference to the groups in the case studies.

There is no universally applicable description of what constitutes an AIC. Over the last forty to fifty years AICs have been defined in different ways, the letter 'I' in the abbreviation indicating different words in different periods. Within scholarship concerned with African ecclesiology, the term 'AIC' first denoted an 'African Independent Church' which, according to New Religious Movements specialist, Harold Turner, meant 'a church which has been founded in Africa, by Africans, and primarily

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[13] The founder trained at a college of the Assembly of God in Maputo. See 'Training Leaders, Mozambique-Maputo: Escola Bíblica da Assembléia de Deus,' Global Ed, accessed on 20 March, 2016, http://paocglobaled.celect.org/mozambique-maputo

[14] Based on figures submitted by local leaders at an IRM members conference held during August 2010. Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, 11 November 2010.

[15] The researcher met and interacted with ADS members elsewhere in Mozambique as part of interdenominational conferences.

for Africans'.[16] Later, some churches that had been established in Africa by European missionaries came also to see themselves as independent, and the term the term 'indigenous' was applied to differentiate the former category.[17] Bengt Sundkler is noted for having attempted differentiation between what he referred to as 'Ethiopian' churches, used in reference to independent churches in Africa that had emerged from missionary planted groups, and 'Zionist',[18] to denote groups those that were independent from the outset.[19] Certain patterns of development and characteristics have also been noted among the types as follows: Ethiopian churches generally were earlier in origin, deriving first from foreign missionary activity and control. Often it was political and administrative reaction against their founders' control that led to a quest for independence. Usually, even after independence, such churches would continue to reflect the Christian traditions from which they emerged in terms of baptismal practices, liturgies and clerical vestments.[20] By contrast, 'Zionist', 'Prophet-Healing' (built around a strong leader) or 'Spiritual' churches are characterized by a stress on the work of the Holy Spirit, and on divine healing. Often their liturgy combines African cultural elements along with Christian influences from without. These churches in some ways reflect Pentecostal Christianity elsewhere, although, as Anderson states, '…they have moved away from…[the Pentecostal] movement in several respects over the years, and may not be regarded as "Pentecostal" without further qualification.'[21] Among these churches, the use of various symbolic objects such as rope, staffs, ash, holy water and paper may also be used in ceremonial rituals. The use of uniforms by members is also common.[22] Very

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[16] Harold W. Turner, *Religious Innovation in Africa*, (Boston: G K Hall, 1972), p. 92.

[17] Allan H. Anderson, 'Pluriformity and contextuality in African Initiated Churches,' (September 1997): p.2 accessed 9 May 2017, http://artsweb.bham.ac.uk/aanderson/Publications/pluriformity_and_contextuality_i.htm

[18] Although used to denote a form of independentism, in its southern African context, the name 'Zionist' derives from missionary work in South Africa in the early 1900s (to which some Zionist churches can trace their origins) of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church, founded by Alexander Dowie, and based at Zion City, near Chicago, USA. Dawid Venter, *Engaging Modernity: Methods and Cases for Studying African Independent Churches in South Africa* (Westport, Conn., London: Praeger, 2004), p.199.

[19] Bengt G. M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 53.

[20] Allan H. Anderson, *Bazalwane: African Pentecostals in South Africa* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 1992), pp. 126-127.

[21] Anderson, 'Pluriformity and contextuality,' p.4

[22] Anderson, 'Pluriformity and contextuality,' p.4

often a traditional African understanding of the spirit world may play a part in the teaching of these churches. Sometimes this is incorporated into the beliefs and practices of the church; in other instances it is treated as taboo and taught against.[23]

A third category of church, 'New Pentecostal', has also been proposed as differentiated from other types of AIC. Like the older AICs which also emphasise the role of the Holy Spirit, New Pentecostal churches are usually led by black Africans, and yet in other ways often reflect North American churches in their ambition to expand and maintain a tightly controlled administration. In some cases they have seceded directly from groups of American origin, such as the Assembly of God (AOG). Their independence is underlined, however, by African autonomy and control. Both leaders and members among these churches tend to have undergone more formal education than those in the other classical AICs and discipleship among these churches usually requires members to distance themselves more from traditional African practices.[24]

In current scholarship, the classical Ethiopian/Zionist distinctions are seen as being of limited analytical value because, as Allan Anderson argues, within each category there are so many exceptions to the general characteristics attributed to them.[25] Nevertheless, as well as the broader category AIC, the term Zionist is used in this work and, in a few instances (usually when quoting other scholars), the term Ethiopian. This is because, in agreement with Gerhard Seibert (with specific reference to churches in Mozambique) and also with Anderson generally, the terms do hold still some value in making these churches more understandable to the outsider.[26] Furthermore, in chapter 2, as part of a general overview of the emergence of the churches in Mozambique, brief consideration is given to AICs. In the absence of historical literature focusing on small

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[23] Anderson, 'Pluriformity and contextuality,' p.4

[24] David Maxwell, 'Witches, Prophets and Avenging Spirits: The Second Christian Movement in North-East Zimbabwe', *Journal of Religion in Africa* 25:3 (1995), pp. 313-314; Paul Gifford, *African Christianity: Its Public Role* (London: Hurst, 1998); Allan H. Anderson, 'The prosperity message in the eschatology of some new charismatic churches', *Missionalia* 15:2 (1987): pp.72-83.

[25] Allan H.Anderson, *African Reformation, African Initiated Christianity in the 20th Century* (Trenton and Asmara: Africa World Press, 2001, p.14.

[26] Gerhard Seibert '"But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal": Zion Churches in Mozambique since the early 20th Century,' *Le Fait Missionnaire. Social Sciences & Missions*. n.º 17, December 2005, p. 103; Allan H.Anderson, *African Reformation, African Initiated Christianity in the 20th Century* (Trenton and Asmara: Africa World Press, 2001, p.14.

evangelical churches in Mozambique, something is to be gained from considering AICs for what they do hold in common with the independent developmental journey of the MCL and ADS.

In the view of this author, however, to categorise the MCL and ADS as AICs would likely confuse more than assist an understanding of them. Firstly, neither group refers to themselves as an AIC, using instead the term evangelical, in some instances 'charismatic', and acknowledging in some instances the influence of Pentecostal (Assembly of God) teaching on their development. Although both emerged independently of foreign input - and the ADS may be characterized by a certain group pride as to what is achieved there under local initiative and resources - neither group demonstrates reticence over collaboration with white or foreign Christians. As we will see, such collaboration extends to receiving the teaching of foreign missionaries at conferences in which these churches participate, or in some cases collaboration in social projects. In some senses the degree of influence and control exercised by the ADS founder is reflective of a small prophet-led church, perhaps in continuity with the Zionist group from which it emerged. However, in other ways this group reflects more closely the evangelical self-definition within its name.[27] If only for reasons of circumstance, the MCL is loosely controlled to the point of the internal independence of its more far-flung member congregations. In part this is due to difficulty of communications but also probably reflects the fact that, in contrast to the more closely controlled model found common among AICs, the MCL was more a 'movement' built around an evangelistic model, rather than a denomination with a defined organisational structure.

In this thesis, where discussed alone (as opposed to when grouped with the other churches in the case studies) the IRM as a whole is referred to as a 'denomination', while the MCL and ADS are referred to as 'groups'. This is due to some of the factors outlined above. The IRM conforms in most respects to what in a European context is understood as a denomination.[28] It is a Reformed church patterned broadly on the DRC model from

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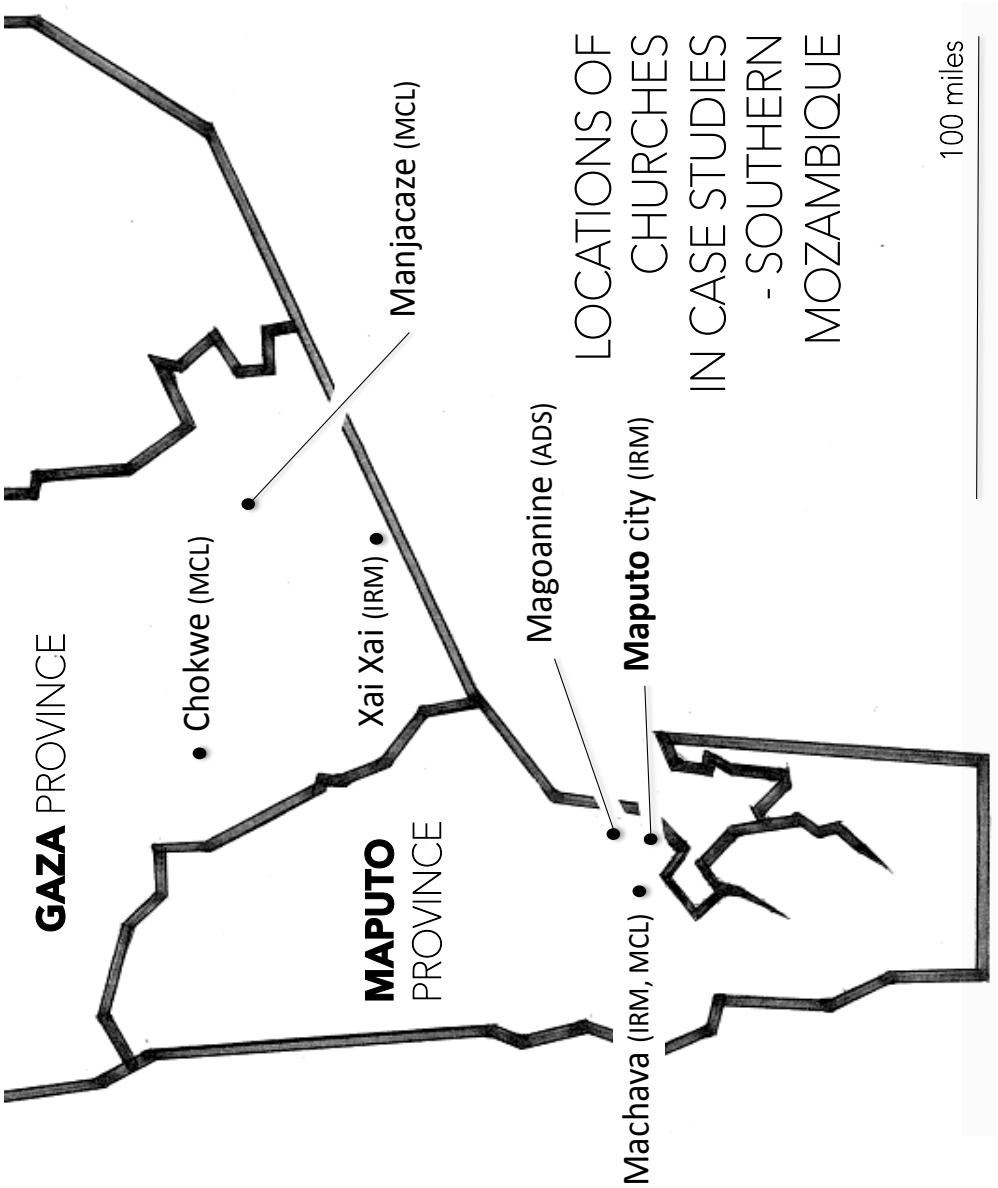
[27] Although abbreviated to ADS – *Arca da Salvação*, the full name of the church begins with *Igreja Evangelica.*

[28] See John Scott and Gordon Marshall. 'Denomination,' in *A Dictionary of Sociology*, (Oxford University Press, 2009), accessed 31 May 2017, http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199533008.001.0001/acref-9780199533008-e-544

which it derives in South Africa, and holds much in common with other (Dutch) Reformed churches globally. There is a clear structure in many aspects of church life, a standard of orthodoxy,[29] as well as established procedures for the training of ministers in a centralised theological facility. Such leaders are then recognized within the Reformed church generally. By contrast, the MCL and ADS are indigenous groups of churches that have developed in Mozambique. These groups may well come to develop the characteristics associated with a denomination but, at the time of this research, they did not have such highly developed structures of ministerial training, administration or recognition of authority. However, due to a common founder and shared history, each group recognized other congregations of the same name and would collaborate such as through conferences and evangelism. The MCL and ADS can therefore be meaningfully referred to as groups of churches.

[29] Apostles Creed, Canons of Dort, Belgic Confession, Heidelberg Catechism.

Map 2 – The locations of churches in the case studies



Locating the research

First and foremost, this thesis is concerned with a set of relational dynamics within the field of study that is increasingly described as "World Christianity", though in some other contexts it is referred to in terms of "missiology".[30] The research observes how it is that a local church group may move in one of two directions with regard to either self-support, or economic dependence on an external donor. With particular reference to the developing world, the thesis concludes that, for the stable long-term identity of each congregation, the role of leadership is key in establishing a "virtuous circle" in which members become a resource to one another for both the development of the church and also for mutual support in their domestic situations.

In order to fulfil the objective of this thesis, namely to explain the degree of economic dependency or self-support exhibited by various Mozambican churches, this research undertakes a multidisciplinary approach, whereby its concern for issues that are widely debated within the field of World Christianity intersects with at least two other areas of scholarly concern. Taken together, the thesis is constructed with reference to the following areas:

- in World Christianity, a long-running yet unexhausted debate concerning the self-reliance of the churches in the developing world;
- social research that is concerned with how and why individuals invest their available resources in the religious communities of which they are part;[31]
- the study of independent churches in southern Africa, concerning their potency for independent economic development.

We will now consider each in turn before briefly outlining the remaining context of the thesis.

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[30] As research undertaken through the University of Edinburgh School of Divinity, and specifically at the Centre for the Study of World Christianity, this work belongs to a general concern for "the history and contemporary reality of Christianity as a world religion". 'About CSWC,' School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh, accessed 2 November 2017, https://www.ed.ac.uk/divinity/research/centres/world-christianity/about .
"Missiology" is a term more often used within North American and European ecclesiastical scholarship and is concerned with the mandate, message, and mission activities of the church. Johannes J. Knoetze, 'A long walk to obedience: Missiology and mission under scrutiny (1910-2010),' *Die Skriflig, 51*(2), (2017) E1-E7.

[31] Sometimes categorised in terms of 'spiritual' or 'religious capital'. See discussion pages 18-20.

The debate concerning how churches in the developing world are best resourced financially has not been exhausted in over 150 years. We can trace concern for the issue back principally to the theories and writings of Henry Venn (Honorary Clerical Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, 1841–73) and Rufus Anderson (Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions). Venn is noted, especially, for advocating a 'three-self' formula, the aim of which was for foreign missionary societies to plant churches abroad that became self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating communities of believers.[32] The achievement of these goals, it was posited, represented the ecclesial maturity of missionary planted churches to the point of their indigeneity.[33] Others who wrote with concern for self-reliance, or were themselves concerned to plant self-supporting churches, include Anthony Norris Groves (1795-1853)[34]; John Livingstone Nevius (1829-1893)[35]; Roland Allen (1868-1947)[36] and Melvin Hodges (1909-1988).[37]

Increasingly, by the end of the late twentieth century, many western mission agencies were talking in terms of mission 'partnerships' with churches in the developing

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[32] Although applied first by Venn and Anderson to the church, the term 'indigenous' was borrowed from 19th century sociology where it was used of culture and institutions that were native to a people and place. William R. Shenk, 'Rufus Anderson and Henry Venn: A Special Relationship?' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 5, no. 4 (October 1981): pp.168–172.

[33] 'Indigeneity': to identify a church that (now) belonged to the culture or nation in which it was located. William A. Smalley, 'Cultural implications of an indigenous Church', in *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement*, ed. R. D. Winter and S. C. Hawthorne, William Carey Library, California, 1992), p. 149.

[34] Robert Bernard Dann, 'The Legacy of Anthony Norris Groves,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, Vol.29, No.4, Oct. (2005), p.198.

[35] John Livingstone Nevius in *The Planting and Development of Missionary Churches.* 3rd ed. (New York: Foreign Missionary Library, 1899).

[36] Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (original 1912) Fourth ed. (London: World Dominion Press, 1956); *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church and the Causes Which Hinder It*. Second ed. (London: World Dominion Press, 1949).

[37] Melvin Hodges in *The Indigenous Church,* (Springfield, Missouri: Gospel Publishing House, 1953).

world as a means by which to offset concerns about paternalism.[38] In 2004, however, Tim Dakin, then General Secretary of the UK-based Anglican Church Mission Society (CMS), was questioning if, in fact, the partnership model was 'the last late flourishing of Christendom' and a 'cover-up for post-colonial guilt for maintaining a north to south [global] practice'.[39]

In the post-colonial era, especially, African leaders also were to deliberate over what they perceived as unhealthy international church relationships and funding patterns. Most famously, in 1971, John Gatu, then General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, called for a 'moratorium' on foreign mission personnel and funding, to allow 'the churches of the Third World …[to] find their own identity'.[40] There was not widespread implementation of Gatu's ideas. Gatu himself remained unconvinced of partnership, as he saw it unfolding, as a means by which to offset the paternalism of western churches, in 1996 questioning: 'If we are talking about interdependence when all the money and personnel come from overseas, what is it that we in Africa are contributing to make our interdependence a reality?'[41] Similarly, in 2002, the Roman Catholic scholar Patrick Kalilombe claimed: '[E]xternal assistance [to Africa] has been flowing in: development loans, grants, project funds, technical advice, and even seemingly free donations… Nevertheless, experience has proved that these donations only escalate the situation of poverty. External funding has turned out to be an "albatross

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[38] Often 'partnership' was argued for from a biblical basis in reference to the apostle Paul's description of a relationship he had churches that supported his work as a missionary: '...I always pray for you with joy,' he says, 'because of your partnership in the gospel from the first day until now…' (Philippians 1:4b, New International Version). Although originating earlier, the idea of partnerships between churches, internationally, became increasingly popular in the post-colonial era, as a means by which to move away from the paternalistic oversight of national churches by foreign personnel and organisations towards a mutual interdependence. See discussion of partnership in Chapter 6, pages 229-231. Significant among British evangelicals was the biblical case for partnership as put by John R.W. Stott, in *One People* (London: Falcon Books 1968), p.75

[39] Timothy Dakin, 'Deepening Partnership,' A Ramsden University Sermon, Cambridge University, Cambridge, 2004. Typescript as loaned by Professor Brian Stanley, Centre for the Study of World Christianity, School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh.

[40] John Gatu, 'Missionary Go Home,' *The Church Herald*, 5 Nov. 1971, p. 4. More recently Gatu wrote on the church and self-determination in John G. Gatu *Fan into Flame: An Autobiography* (Nairobi: Moran, 2016). See also *Joyfully Christian, Truly African* (Nairobi: Acton, 2006), pp. 114-115, 132-135. On the same theme from a Roman Catholic perspective see Paul Kalanda, 'Consolidating Christianity in Africa,' *Missiology*, 4 no. 4 1976, pp. 395-404.

[41] John Gatu, 'Rationale for Self Reliance,' World Mission Associates, 1996, accessed 1 October 2007, http://www.wmausa.org/page.aspx?id=83845

hung around the neck" of our nations…There seems to be no other solution than to continue begging in order to survive.' And yet Kalilombe also stated: 'When the Church, planted in the midst of a poor and hopelessly dependent continent, demonstrates the possibility of "providing for its own needs", it…demonstrates the conditions and the means by which this is possible. In this way, self-reliance becomes part of the Church's mission of evangelizing Africa, and indeed the whole world.'[42]

For some, however, who are concerned with the interface between northern-hemisphere church communities and development, the giving of aid remains central to the Church's mission. It is appropriate, the argument goes, that those who have less should be the recipients of largesse from those who have more. In his book, *The Hole in our Gospel*, World Vision[43] president Richard Stearns claims a lack of giving of the North American church to the world's poor represents both a partial Christianity and a strategic failure of development. 'It would take just a little over 1 percent of the income of American Christians' he writes, 'to lift the poorest 1 billion people in the world out of extreme poverty'. If, by contrast, the American churches gave 10 percent of their income, as Stern argues they should, '…we would have an extra $168 billion to spend in funding the work of the Church worldwide…'[44] Similarly, in his book of 2007, *To Give or Not to Give*, John Rowell suggests much talk of dependency overstates its significance, referring in the first edition of his book to a 'dependency myth'.[45] He goes

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[42] Patrick. A. Kalilombe, 'A call to self-reliance of the Church in Africa,' *AFER* (*African Eccelesial Review*), Vol. 44, Issue 1-2, Period Feb. – April 2002, pp. 2,4.

[43] World Vision International is an evangelical Christian humanitarian aid and development organization originating in North America. 'Our Vision,' World Vision, accessed 11 April 2017, http://www.wvi.org/

[44] Richard Stearns, *The Hole in Our Gospel* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2009), pp. 216, 217, 218, 219.

[45] John Rowell, *To Give or Not to Give* (Colorado Springs: Authentic, 2007).The first print run of Rowell's book featured the subtitle 'Generosity and the Dependency Myth'. During the same year, for subsequent print runs and thereafter, this was altered to 'Rethinking Dependency, Restoring Generosity, and Redefining Sustainability'. Respective images of differing versions accessed 21 August 2008 found at http://www.buy.com/prod/to-give-or-not-to-give-generosity-and-the-dependency-myth/q/loc/106/202875069.html and http://www.amazon.com/Give-Not-Rethinking-Dependency-Sustainability/dp/1932805869/ref=pd_bxgy_b_img_a

on to argue that the church of the rich West would do well to engage in 'Marshall Plan' giving,[46] to resource the churches of the developing world.

Rowell's 'Marshall Plan' reference is pertinent. Today's foreign funding for national churches among evangelicals, global north to global south, says historian Brian Stanley, can indeed be traced to the Marshall Plan. Describing a steady shift in the character of international Christian engagement beginning 100 years ago, Stanley shows how the giving of aid was first incorporated as a strategy of mainline western ecumenical churches. Following the 2nd World War, however, and influenced by the North American Marshall Plan for Europe's economic recovery, evangelical para-church organisations also began giving along similar lines.[47]

The case today against the sponsorship of southern hemisphere churches by richer northern churches and organisations comes from a number of directions. In his 2005 book, *Mission in the Way of Paul*, Christopher Little approaches the issue first from the discipline of biblical studies. There is no way, contests Little, to use Pauline missionary practice as a precedent for supporting either missionaries or nationals with regular salaries. The outcome of partnership along these lines, he goes on to argue, places unnecessary obstacles in the path of healthy church development in the newer Christian communities.[48]

Little belongs to a strand of self-reliance thinking from the USA advocated and much written about by ex-missionary in Africa, Glenn Schwartz. Schwartz is the founder and Executive Director Emeritus of World Mission Associates (WMA), a North American organisation concerned to influence church planting to be free of dependency

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[46] Marshall Plan: A post World War II U.S. funded initiative, aiming to rehabilitate the economies of 17 European countries. 'Marshall Plan,' *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, 2008, accessed 21August 2008, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/366654/Marshall-Plan

[47] Brian Stanley, 'From Missionary Societies to Christian. NGOs: how Christian mission became international development,' Address given as part of symposium at The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), the University of London, on Tuesday 5 November 2013. Typescript loaned by Professor Brian Stanley, Centre for the Study of World Christianity, School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh.

[48] Christopher R. Little, *Mission in the Way of Paul: Biblical Mission for the Church in the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), p. 75ff

on foreign input.[49] In his 2007 book, *When Charity Destroys Dignity*, Schwartz takes the line that global partnerships that amount to the sponsorship by Western churches of Christian communities in the developing world undermine the indigeneity and dignity of those churches. He goes on to argue that international church relations, in relation to the flow of economic resources, need rethinking altogether.[50] Similarly, Robert Reece in *Roots and Remedies of the Dependency Syndrome in World Missions* draws on his own experience as a missionary with the church in Zimbabwe to argue that the attitudes and policies of North American missionaries have greatly contributed to economic dependency in mission-founded churches of the developing world. He then puts the case for the on-going relevance of the aforementioned three-self formula[51] while adding David Bosch's 'self-theologising'[52] as a prerequisite for offsetting the 'dependency syndrome'.[53]

Similar to Glenn Schwartz in having founded an organisation dedicated to the relational dynamics of northern- and southern-hemisphere churches is Jim Harries, who is the chairman of the Alliance for Vulnerable Mission (VM). Harries is also concerned to avoid situations of dependency in church planting, and promotes instead a strategic 'vulnerability'. By this he means methods of engagement that do not have the benefit of

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[49] 'Our History: Founder,' WMA (World Mission Associates), accessed 13 April 2017, https://wmausa.org/about-us/our-history/

[50] Glenn J. Schwartz, *When Charity Destroys Dignity: Overcoming Unhealthy Dependency in the Christian Movement* (Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse, 2007).

[51] That mature churches self-govern, self-support and self-propagate.

[52] Bosch himself cites Paul Hiebert as identifying 'self-theologizing' as a missiological principal and adding it to the three-self formula. Bosch discusses the idea in David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, American Society of Missiology Series, No. 16 (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1991), pp. 450–457. Earlier work by Hiebert on self-theologising includes 'The forth self,' in *Anthropological Insights for Missionaries* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1985), pp. 193-224 and 'The missiological implications of an epistemological shift,' *Theological Students Fellowship Bulletin* 8/5 (May-June 1985): pp. 12-18. Hiebert develops his thinking further in *Anthropological Reflections on Missiological Issues* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1994), pp. 35–51.

[53] Robert Reese, *Roots and Remedies: Of the Dependency Syndrome in World Missions* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2009).

outsider resources built into them, are instead locally resourced and, he claims, more conducive to a 'strong local confidence in their spiritual or developmental value'.[54]

Whilst there is a considerable volume of literature pertaining to the funding of the southern church by the northern-hemisphere churches versus self-reliance, conspicuous by its absence is work that gives a platform to members of the churches of the developing world to communicate their own understanding as to how and why churches take the developmental line that they do. One exception is the unpublished doctoral PhD thesis of Frampton Fox, the data for which derives from interviews undertaken with Indian Christians church and organisational leaders. Fox aims to examine the flow of foreign funds to India from the cultural perspective(s) of Indian recipients. This he does via the cultural metaphor of 'money as water', going on to suggest there is a considerable mismatch in perception between North American donors and Indian recipients.[55] Fox's work is an inspiration for this thesis, both for what it is, and what is isn't. Whilst Fox sets a precedent for insider voices as a form of ethnographic data in examining dependency versus self-reliance, in having been conducted in India, it highlights the place there still is for similar ethnographic work to be undertaken in Africa in general, and Mozambique specifically.

In conclusion, we may note that, notwithstanding Fox's unpublished work, writing to date concerned with the self-reliance debate and international church sponsorship has been undertaken largely from a theoretical standpoint (with arguments from ideology, theology, or biblical studies), rather than being descriptive of ecclesiastical realities. Alternatively, in recent years, issues of dependency and self-reliance have been written about from the perspective of donors, and built around the objectives of global-north churches that are deliberating how best to use funding in the

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[54] Vulnerable Mission website, accessed 12 April 2017, http://www.vulnerablemission.org/ Harries' writing includes: *From Theory to Practice in Vulnerable Mission: an academic appraisal* (Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2012); *Communication in Mission and Development; Relating to the Church in Africa* (Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2013); *Vulnerable Mission: Insights into Christian Mission to Africa from a Position of Vulnerability* (Pasadena: William Carey Library, 2011).

[55] Frampton Fox, 'Money as water: a patron-client approach to mission dependency in India' (PhD diss., Trinity International University: Deerfield, Illinois, 2003). For further discussion of a cultural mismatch in perceptions of giving see section 'Gifts and reciprocity' in Chapter 6: Analysis, page 211-219.

developing world. By contrast with both of these, the research that follows adds value by using data emanating from national church members themselves. The thesis draws on the views of those who are from global-south communities and are potential recipients of foreign aid. The form of the study will, therefore, go some small way to redressing what is otherwise lacking – namely, a platform for grass-roots insider voices and, secondly, data that emanates from specific situations in developing nations.

The second area of scholarly concern with which this thesis intersects is that of social capital.[56] As some scholars have noted with regards to general development goals in southern Africa, independent churches particularly have demonstrated a capacity to generate a form of social capital that mobilizes their adherents in ways not elsewhere observed, be that among mainline churches in receipt of foreign funding, or simply other developmental models that are lead by outsiders to the development context.[57] Beyond this general category of social capital - which may be used to analyse any group - others have made reference also to 'spiritual' and 'religious' capital as terms by which to define and assess how spiritual beliefs and practices influence individual behaviour, which then manifests itself in personal motivation and commitment to act with and on behalf of the group in creative ways.[58] The presuppositions, beliefs and values held by individual members of religious communities are likely, of course, to influence both the economic participation of members and also the institution's vision of the appropriate funding methods for ministry.[59] In this thesis, therefore, spiritual and religious capital will be considered and applied as analytical tools.

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[56] Social capital: the collective value of social networks, and the inclinations that arise from those networks for their members to benefit one another, collaboratively. Robert D. Putnam, 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital,' *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1 (1995): pp. 65-78. Also subsequently in his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

[57] Barbara Bompani, 'Religion and Development from Below: Independent Christianity in South Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol 40 , No. 3 (2010): p.322.

[58] Afeosemime U. Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora: New Currents and Emerging Trends in World Christianity*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2013). p.106f

[59] Chris Baker and Hannah Skinner, 'Faith in Action: The Dynamic Connection between Spiritual and Religious Capital,' Report of The William Temple Foundation's Research Project (2002-2005): pp. 11-12, accessed 11 April 2017, http://williamtemplefoundation.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Faith-in-Action-William-Temple-Foundation-2003.pdf

As spiritual and religious capital derive from the better known theory of social capital, it is necessary to address criticisms of the former in order to anticipate criticisms also of the latter, as employed by this research. Criticism of social capital includes the charge that, both as a means of development and as a research tool, it may be too abstracted from other contextual considerations that influence community wellbeing. As a means of development, for instance, where a group is contained within a broader economic context, such as the nationwide economic poverty of Mozambique, it is argued that even with significant social capital it will be difficult for any given community to make significant gains beyond the parameters of the wider economy. That is to say, as a prescription for development, social capital may be blind to the broader circumstances in which a community must operate.[60] Making a similar point, but with regard to the analytical value of social capital, Ben Fine argues that methodological rigour demands reference beyond the parameters of any given group to the broader context of which they are part. What are the other factors, he asks, historical and also economic, that influence what a group has to work with?[61]

In defence of social capital's relevance to this thesis, in its relationship to spiritual and religious capital, the following three points may be made:

1.) There is a precedent in the work of figures such as James Coleman for research into social capital that both demonstrates its developmental value for the powerless and marginalised whilst also being aware of the broader context in which it functions.[62]

2.) One of the arguments this thesis will advance is that, in spite of the challenging wider economic context in which Mozambican Christians find themselves,

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[60] A view expressed by Irena Grugulis on 'Social Capital, Gentrification,' *Thinking Allowed*, BBC Radio 4, UK, 8 August 2012, accessed 11 April 2017, http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01ljk4r See also Irena Grugulis and Dimitrinka Stoyanova 'Social Capital and Networks in Film and TV: Jobs for the Boys?' *Organization Studies* 33, no. 10 (2012): pp.1311-1331.

[61] A view expressed on 'Social Capital,' *Thinking Allowed*, BBC Radio 4, UK, 23 June 2010, accessed 11 April 2017, http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00ss2q6 See also: Ben Fine, *Theories of Social Capital: Researchers Behaving Badly* (London/New York: Pluto Press, 2010).

[62] James Samuel Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1990).

some communities have indeed improved their lot, and to a large extent that is owed to the character of social, spiritual and religious capital in their churches.

3.) In order to avoid the charge that – both as an analytical tool, and resource for social development - social capital is too often abstracted from other contextual influences, due consideration will also be given in this thesis to the economic situation of Mozambique and the historical background of the churches.

In our study and analysis of the IRM, MCL and ADS, in chapters 3-6, we will consider how the ideas of spiritual and religious capital can be applied to specific cases in Mozambique. At this point, and with reference to the work of Chris Baker and Hannah Skinner, some general definitions will suffice:

> **Spiritual capital** refers to the values, ethics, beliefs and vision which faith communities bring…It also refers to the holistic vision for change held within an individual person's set of beliefs…
> **Religious capital** reflects the pragmatic and functional outworkings of spiritual capital…Religious capital is put into practice by faiths - in institutional or network form – supporting practical work within their own communities, as well as participating in other areas of social and public life for the benefit of wider society.[63]

The third area of research to which this thesis aims to contribute pertains to the developmental potency of faith-based organisations (FBOs). Writing in 2015, Barbara Bompani, who is Director of the Centre of African Studies at the University of Edinburgh, claims the developmental role of FBOs in developing nations has been under-reported, especially in regard to the religious character and qualities of those groups. Given what she describes as their great potential for development, this represents a missed opportunity for development in general. '…Religious organisations, especially in what might be considered a "pre-bureaucratic" stage,' she says, 'need to be understood in their specificities, especially in relation to their history, reading of religious beliefs and practices, and leadership, all of which shape their approach to development.'[64] Bompani states also that little research has been undertaken concerning the developmental potential of independent churches in South Africa. It is worthy of note

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[63] Baker and Skinner, 'Faith in Action…' pp. 11-12.

[64] Bompani, 'Local Religious Organisations Performing Development…' pp. 208, 211.

at this stage, therefore, that even less has been written concerning Mozambican independent churches, and less still concerning independent evangelical churches.[65]

It is their religious characteristics that differentiate faith-based groups from their secular equivalents, notes Gerard Clarke, in that they represent a distinct and important adjunct to the secular development discourse.[66] Marthinus Daneel has been most alert to those qualities as a scholar who chronicled the life of African Instituted Churches (AICs) in their developmental trajectory from base community level.[67] Daneel's work demonstrated both a practical concern for the developmental potency of church groups and scholarly observation. Perhaps the most enduring legacy of Daneel's contribution has been the value given to observation of church groups in the field, as opposed to theoretical abstraction.[68]

There are a number of other scholars interested in development among church communities in Africa whose fieldwork intersects sufficiently with the thesis that follows here to be of interest. Ulla Alfredsson comes close geographically in 'Where God Lives: An Introduction to a Study of the Independent Churches in Maputo, Mozambique.'[69] However, her use of the term 'independent' does not allow for evangelical independent churches, as she focuses largely on Zionist groups. Alfredsson's description of the context in which Mozambican AICs operate, however, does offer helpful background to the national context of the groups in this study.[70] James Pfeiffer's

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[65] Barbara Bompani, 'Religion and Development from Below: Independent Christianity in South Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40, no. 3 (2010): p. 307.

[66] Gerard Clarke, 'Faith Matters: Faith-based Organisations, Civil Society and International Development,' *Journal of International Development* 18, no. 6 (2006): p. 845.

[67] Marthinus Daneel, *African Earthkeepers, Vol. 1, Interfaith Mission in Earth Care* (Pretoria: UNISA Press 1998); *African Earthkeepers. Vol. 2, Environmental Mission and Liberation in Christian Perspective* (Pretoria: UNISA Press 2000).

[68] Dana L. Robert, 'M.L. Daneel: Missionary as Folk Theologian,' in *Frontiers of African Christianity: Essays in Honour of Inus Daneel*, ed. G. Cuthbertson, H. Pretorius, and D. Robert. Volume 8, African Initiatives in Christian Mission (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2003). p.14.

[69] Ulla Alfredsson and Calisto Linha 'Where God Lives: An Introduction to a Study of the Independent Churches in Maputo, Mozambique', *SEC Research Reports/Rapporter från Forsknings gruppen för utbildnings- och kultursociologi* 20 April 1998, accessed 24 September 2015, http://www.skeptron.uu.se/broady/sec/sec-20.pdf

‘African Independent Churches in Mozambique: Healing the Afflictions of Inequality,’ represents a rare insight into the Mozambican AICs, though again it is a work largely concerned for Zionist responses and growth in the face of a regional HIV/AIDS pandemic.[71] Similarly, Gerhard Seibert’s article ‘“But the manifestation of the Spirit …’ is a good introduction to Mozambican Zionism. Seibert’s focus, however, does not overlap a great deal with aims of this research.[72]

In conclusion, the existing work on church groups in southern Africa generally or in Mozambique specifically represents a precedent for the exploration of developmental patterns among religious groups. To date, however, evangelical groups have not been represented in the literature, meaning the time is ripe for their study as a strand of church life and mission that is, in some cases, developing with the use of local resources. The data and analysis provided by such a study will be of value to those concerned for the self-reliance debate, social theory pertaining to spiritual and religious capital, and the developmental potential of churches in contexts where poverty and/or economic dependency are the norms.

THESIS OUTLINE

The remainder of the thesis is structured as follows:

Chapter 1. Methodology –

METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on the means by which data from the three churches in the case studies have been collected and analysed. That is undertaken by outlining the role of ethnography in this project and features a ‘reflexive declaration’ concerning the researcher’s personal reasons for arriving at this field of enquiry. Finally, there is a

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[71] James Pfeiffer, ‘African Independent Churches in Mozambique: Healing the Afflictions of Inequality,’ *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, New Series, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Jun., 2002), pp. 176-199.

[72] Seibert is concerned with the socio political context of AICs that emerged during colonial rule and then during independence. Secondarily, he addresses ritualism within Zionism. Gerhard Seibert ‘“But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal”: Zion Churches in Mozambique since the early 20th Century,’ *Le Fait Missionnaire. Social Sciences & Missions*. no 17 December 2005, pp. 103-128.

discussion of practical difficulties encountered during the fieldwork, and how they have been addressed.

Chapter 2. The Mozambican economy and the development of the churches

In order to put the thesis into context and to supply an historical component for the ethnography that follows, this chapter outlines the main trends within Mozambican political, economic and ecclesiastical history.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 –

These chapters consist of three individual case studies of the three selected church groups, all of which define themselves as evangelical, that is the IRM, the MCL and the ADS. Each chapter consists of a description of the respective group and its history. Then, via the views of members and leaders and supplemented by the researcher's own participation-observation and reflection, each chapter addresses the principal research questions. This is undertaken largely with each group in isolation before bringing the findings together for comparison and analysis in the chapter that follows.

Chapter 6 – Analysis

This chapter sets out to compare the three case studies that have, until now, been discussed discretely. It identifies common themes and significant differences. From that comparison the questions raised in the Introduction are then addressed, that is 'what is it that determines the location of these churches along a spectrum from economic dependency to self-support?' The discussion is related to social research concerned with both the giving and receiving of gifts and, with reference to 'spiritual' or 'religious capital'. The chapter then addresses questions posed earlier regarding the developmental potency of churches Africa. Lastly, the chapter turns to scholarly and practical interest in the self-reliance of the churches in the developing world, asking what significance there is for the churches themselves in the character and methods of the funding strategies they pursue.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

In this chapter conclusions are drawn concerning the dependency of churches in Mozambique past, present and future. Attention is also given to cases where self-reliance has been pursued among some congregations in contrast to others of the same group. The chapter summarises the thesis and sets it in a broader context, highlighting also areas yet to be addressed in current scholarship.

Chapter 1: Methodology

'Anthropologists, sociologists and theologians from foreign Churches have been studying us for many years…[but we] do not recognize ourselves in their writings.'[1]

The Introduction of the previous chapter outlined the central research question and areas of scholarly concern which this thesis addresses. In considering what it is that lies behind the dependency/self-reliance of churches in Mozambique, a two-step process was outlined: part one consisted of engaging with three church groups taken as case studies, in order to gather the explanations of insiders and close observers as to how it is each group has come to resource their work; the second stage of the process was concerned with the researcher's role in interpretation and analysis.

We turn now to the methodology of this two-stage process giving special consideration to the following:

a) the relevance of ethnographic methodology;

b) the component elements of ethnography as it has been undertaken;

c) methodological challenges;

d) researcher reflexivity in the line of enquiry.

Finally, there is a brief consideration of a framework for the later analysis of insider-sourced data for presentation to scholarly communities beyond the research context.

Ethnography

The relationship between this study and the use of ethnographic methods is a traditional one. The aim of this work is to glean, contrast and compare social phenomena from three religious communities. Subsequently, and in keeping with much ethnographic work, the study aims to make generalisations for evaluation beyond the parameters of the

[1] Nbumiso Ngada, then president of the African Spiritual Churches Association (ASCA), an umbrella organization of AICs in southern Africa. Nbumiso Ngada, et al., *Speaking for Ourselves* (Braamfontein: Institute for Contextual Theology, 1985), p. 5.

immediate research context.[2] To that end this research sets up multiple case studies, the rationale being that social phenomena are better understood when compared in relation to two or more contrasting situations.[3] During data collection and initial presentation of the results of the research (chapters 3-5), each case study is treated as a separate unit. Such a method provides scope to explore the issues that arise from the differing contexts of each group. In Chapter 6, data from each group is juxtaposed and analysed together for the purposes of comparison and contrast. This analysis is also opened up and assessed alongside broader theories from beyond the research context.[4]

Identifying groups to study

In the first instance, the researcher's familiarity with the groups in the study was established while working as a Crosslinks 'mission partner' in a variety of roles in Mozambique.[5] It was through working with and observing profound economic dependency among mainline traditions in Mozambique that the researcher first developed a personal interest in congregations or groups that attempted economically independent ministries. The researcher's work with the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM),[6] and later with the Igreja Reformada em Moçambique (IRM)[7] led to reflection on the widespread funding dynamics whereby national churches in the developing world are sponsored by foreign donors. Later still, as someone working with churches in Mozambique in a professional capacity, the researcher encountered the Arca

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[2] Merryl Wyn Davies, *Introducing Anthropology* (Duxford : Icon Books, 2002), p.4.

[3] Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 53.

[4] Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, pp. 53-4.

[5] Crosslinks: Until 1992 known as the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society (BCMS), Crosslinks is an evangelical Anglican missionary society that largely draws its support from parishes in the Church of England and Church of Ireland. The term 'mission partner' is used by some mission agencies, usually in reference to those working inter-culturally or in nations other than their own. Crosslinks define their mission partners as being 'seconded through Crosslinks to a local institution or church'. 'What is a mission partner?' Crosslinks, accessed 29 November 2015 http://www.crosslinks.org/mission-partners/what-is-a-mission-partner.

[6] An ecumenical Christian organisation made up of national Protestant Churches of various denominations. The researcher worked with CCM from 2002-2005. See below: 'The researcher in context – background, status and reflexivity', pages 41-43.

[7] Deriving from the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa.

da Salvação (ADS) and the Ministério Centro de Louvor (MCL), churches that appeared to have emerged and, in some cases, sustained themselves independently.[8]

Due to their varying developmental histories and strategies for the sourcing of funds, research into these groups represented an opportunity for comparison and contrast. At the same time, they also represented a focus for the study as each referred to themselves as 'evangelical' and were members of the Evangelical Association of Mozambique (*Associação Evangélica* de *Moçambique*). As someone known to the leaders of these churches in a professional capacity (discussed below), it was possible for the researcher to negotiate access to them.

Participation observation

Living in Mozambique from 2002, and working with national churches, meant the researcher was able to begin informal preparatory observation prior to systematic research. With other research objectives in mind, some individual and focus-group interviews were undertaken within the IRM in 2005-2006, along with the use of ethnographic diaries.[9] Some preparatory interviewing for this study also took place during 2009.[10] As such, this earlier work meant that a longitudinal aspect could also be incorporated into the ethnography. That is to say, having spoken to church leaders about certain initiatives of their churches at an earlier stage, the researcher could refer back to those projects in subsequent interviews, be they with clergy or regular members, in order to provoke reflection. Furthermore, some contact has been maintained with individuals from among the groups in this study. That on-going communication, however, has been fragmentary; meaning consistent, comparable access to each group was restricted to the

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[8] The ADS and MCL were first suggested to the researcher as potential case studies by a Brazilian missionary colleague Barbosa Oliveira. Oliveira had known the founders of both churches for nineteen years and believed that, as groups that had emerged independently, they would be worthy examples for research.

[9] These were part of MA level action-research looking at group participatory bible studies: Richard Reeve, 'Action research towards the provision of motivational Christian nurture in Base Christian Communities – Maputo Mozambique' (MA diss., University of Warwick, 2006).

[10] Interviews with ADS leaders and members were undertaken, establishing both the relevance of the proposed area of research and some denominational history. This earlier research helped the design of research questionnaires for later use with all case-study groups.

period 2008-2010. The field work therefore, which largely consisted of participation-observation and interviews, is restricted to that period.

Interviews – individual and group

Since the 1990s, there has been a steady increase in the number of researchers using ethnographic-style interviewing for what it offers in terms of learning directly from interviewees as to how they interpret their experiences, and as a means by which to make research relevant to its co-operants.[11]

Recorded interviews for this research were undertaken in-country with forty-seven people.[12] Of those, twenty-two (just under 47 percent) were with regular church members. The larger part (53 percent) were undertaken with elites, that is to say, those who were founders of the churches, current church leaders, missionaries, or Mozambican academics with an interest in the churches. Nevertheless, in each case study, with reference to the individual congregation selected – that is the IRM in Maputo city in chapter 3, the MCL at Manjacaze in chapter 4 and the ADS at Magoanine in chapter 5 – the views of regular rank-and-file members are given prominence in the consideration of attitudes to the resourcing of the church. However, in the thesis as a whole, and especially when considering congregations other than those selected as case studies, most attention has been paid to those informants who belong to one of the above elite groups. The comparative privileging of elites generally in this research can be justified by reference to the distinctive insights those individuals were able to offer. For instance, with reference to the developmental history of each church, the founders and leaders were often uniquely placed to comment on both the way the group of churches to which they belonged had emerged and on subsequent developmental patterns.[13] To help illustrate recent missionary trends more broadly, and to supplement secondary (textual) sources in Chapter 2, interviews were conducted with the following three categories of

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[11] Methodology as advocated in Paul Atkinson, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont, John Lofland and Lyn Lofland (eds.), *The Handbook of Ethnography* (London: Sage, 2002), p. 370.

[12] Other preparatory meetings, phone calls, or conversations via Skype, were undertaken involving questions to church leaders and members. This figure, however, refers only to interviews that were audio recorded, transcribed and/or translated to English.

[13] Interviews were undertaken, for example, with South African missionaries working with the IRM, or missionaries who had collaborated with the ADS or MCL.

interviewee: One with a missionary from a North American church plant,[14] one with a missionary couple from the Brazilian *Igreja Metodista Wesleyana* (IMW, a charismatic Wesleyan Methodist group),[15] and one with two Roman Catholic missionaries.[16] Although not quoted directly, further contextual information was gleaned from interviews with individuals at the *Assembléia de Deus Evangelica*[17] and the *Igreja Evangelica de Cristo em Moçambique*.[18] Further contextual information was gleaned from Mozambican academics that had researched overlapping areas of scholarly concern in Mozambique. In order to identify themes for discussion, these semi-structured, audio-recorded interviews were often preceded by informal discussions with prospective interviewees.[19]

A key component of this research has been to obtain the accounts of older and/or founder church members, who had a first-hand knowledge of key shifts and developments in their church's history.[20] While such informal means of doing history ran the risk of generalisations, based on a few interviewees' interpretation of events, where groups of individuals expressed a similar interpretation concerning the same shared history, it is reasonable to assume that those themes are at least 'representative', and

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[14] The interviewer asked that the name of his sending church be withheld.

[15] For *Igreja Metodista Wesleyana* (IMW) see: 'História da Igreja Metodista Wesleyana,' Portal Weslyana, Metodista Weslyana, accessed 13 June 2017, http://wesleyana1.com/historia/ ; for IMW missionary in Africa (including Mozambique) see: 'África.' Secretaria Geral de Missões, Metodista Weslyana, accessed 13 June 2017, http://www.missoesimw.com.br/em-branco-cqvj

[16] Interviews were undertaken with two Roman Catholic missionaries who were contending for the self-reliance of congregations with which they were serving in Mozambique: José Geraldo da Silva, (Brazilian missionary padre of the Parish of São João Bosco, Bairro Bagamoyo, Maputo Province, and member of the Pastoral Commission of Tithing *(Commissão de Pastoral do Dízimo)* and Padre Estaban Cullen, an Argentinian Padre working with the Parish of *Nossa Senhora da Gaça* (Our Lady of Grace), Maputo Province.

[17] Joana Rato Camisa (women's group leader at *Assembléia de Deus Evangelica* (Evangelical Assembly of God)), interview by author, Bairro Aeroporto, Cuamba District, (Niassa Province), 17 June 2010.

[18] Faustino Paulo Piassone (evangelist with the *Igreja Evangelica de Cristo em Moçambique* (The Evangelical Church of Christ in Mozambique), interview by author, Bairro Aeroporto, Cuamba District, Niassa Province), 17 June 2010.

[19] This was more usually the case with church leaders and members who were known to the researcher. For interviews with academics and those outside the case studies a single interview often had to suffice. However, those interviews also were usually preceded by preparatory communication undertaken by email.

[20] Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative Researching*, 2nd edition (London: Sage, 2002), p.63.

worthy as statements concerning the way that the group understands its own historical development.[21]

Having negotiated access with the leaders of the groups featured in each case study, researcher participation-observation then served as a means by which to identify interviewees and interview questions that would produce material for analysis. As part of that process semi-structured interviews were designed for use with individuals and groups. The questions used were intended to provoke reflection among interviewees concerning the attitude to ecclesial funding. Discussion focused especially on the current church of which the interviewee was a part. However, typically, interview questions would also address any experience the interviewee(s) had of other church groups.

The interview format was semi-structured, and guided by written questions that were prepared prior to interview. This approach allowed space for the interview to take on new directions according to the particularities of the conversation. In many instances an informal discussion had already taken place with an interviewee before a recorded interview, be that immediately prior or as part of a historical relationship between the researcher and interviewee. At other times, where interviewees were less likely to be familiar with either the researcher of the area of study, some preamble served to put the interview in context. In all cases, interviews would seek to ascertain how, in the experience of interviewee, the church they belonged to arrived at its current funding model. Which factors were held by the interviewee to be significant – historical, organizational, in the pattern of teaching, and in terms of the mindset of the leaders and members? Questions allowed for both reflection on church structures and also personal testimony pertaining to motivational factors held as important by the individual.

In some instances the same interviewee was interviewed more than once. In such cases the first interview might serve simply to glean background information to a church, whereas the second was to reflect more on the issues of dependency and self-support. At other times a one-to-one interview would be undertaken with an individual who then

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[21] To describe the same process, Davies uses the term ‘empirically generalizable knowledge’. Davies, *Reflexive Ethnography*, p. 170.

later made up part of a focus group. The latter of these approaches served to assist the researcher in gaining familiarity with the church scene, gaining confidence in the subject matter, and then in designing focus group interviews.

Group interviews also gave co-operants the opportunity to talk around a subject with other insiders to their situation and use terminology they held in common. Furthermore, they enabled more timid interviewees to open up in a way that may have been difficult, alone with a researcher.[22] Notwithstanding, where interviews were conducted with individuals alone, space was afforded an interviewee to express views they may have self-censored in a group situation.[23]

Navigating methodological challenges –

Secondary historical sources and the case studies

Relative to the researcher's experience of churches in the UK, the groups in this study seemed to place little value on documentation and archival systems for administrative purposes. The MCL, for instance, is highly decentralised, lacking in the type of formal denominational structure found in mainline churches in both Mozambique and elsewhere. Record keeping was at a minimum, and that which had been undertaken seemed to be at the request of external bodies,[24] rather than for the administration of the MCL in its own right.

Of the case studies, the IRM was the most developed in the keeping of written records. This may be explained by a precedent set that was set by that denomination's

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[22] See Elizabeth A. Suter, 'Focus Groups in the Ethnography of Communication: Expanding Topics of inquiry beyond participant observation,' *The Qualitative Report*, Volume 5, Numbers 1 & 2, (May, 2000), accessed 1 September 2009, http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR5-1/suter.html

[23] See Kirsty Williamson, 'Research in constructivist frameworks using ethnographic techniques,' *Library Trends*, Volume: 55 Issue: 1 Page: 83(19), (Summer 2006), p. 90; Davies, *Reflexive Ethnography*, p. 17.

[24] For instance, exceptionally, where accountability to a donor has been requested certain documents may be produced. In this research details for external funding channelled through a congregation of the MCL were available to the research only due to the involvement and record keeping of external groups. See Chapter 3, 'The MCL at Chokwe,' page 156f, references to document: John Cosgrave et al, *Valid International and ANSA Report: Independent Evaluation of Expenditure of DEC Mozambique Floods Appeal Funds March 2000 – December 2000, Volume One, Main Report* (London: Disasters Emergency Committee, July 2001), p.96. Accessed 23 June 2016, www.alnap.org/pool/files/erd-2999-full.pdf

founding missionaries from South Africa, and the subsequent involvement of South African missionary personnel who also have placed a high value upon archival systems. It was Willie Gouws, for instance, a Dutch Reformed South African pastor working with the IRM, who produced the only published IRM history, which itself drew largely on records produced by other South African missionaries.[25] Due to its origins, in being produced largely by White South Africans, the available written history of the IRM is likely to represent a certain bias. Those with '…greater social power and cultural capital…' are more likely to be the ones to '…create documents…', says anthropologist Charlotte Davies.[26] Nonetheless, a general familiarity with Mozambican political and ecclesiastical history on the part of the researcher and the existing literary resources pertaining to the case studies was at least useful as a basis from which to begin questioning of interviewees. Even where there was disagreement between a published source and the account of an interviewee, data from divergent sources served to prompt reflection and further insights into the development of the same church.[27]

While the lack of written secondary historical records has presented a challenge to this research, two main points may be made in defence of such a project. First, to have declared the church groups featured here as unworthy of study, due to a lack of one kind of information, would have been to dismiss a potentially rich vein of data within a branch of the global church. Clearly, from an epistemological standpoint, it is more satisfactory to be able to examine information gathered from field notes and interviews, such as those used in this project, when they can be compared and contrasted alongside written accounts pertaining to the same subject. However, as many potential research contexts, globally and historically, are represented by oral tradition, it would seem an inordinate prerequisite to restrict research only to communities that can provide textual historical accounts. Ironically, the formal study of such groups makes its contribution by providing what has hitherto been lacking in terms of written accounts, which may then be used by others in the future.

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[25] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, p. 17. See a fuller discussion of Gouws' book in Chapter 2, pages 99-101, 'Researching the IRM'.

[26] Charlotte A. Davies, *Reflexive Ethnography: A Guide to Researching Self and Others* (London: Routledge, 1999), p.162.

[27] See Mason, *Qualitative Researching,* p.66.

Second, it should be noted that valuable research of church groups, born largely from the first-hand experience of the researcher, is not unprecedented. Although ethnographic work may be strengthened methodologically with reference to written records, it is especially in research contexts that lack resources that other ethnographic components may come to the fore. Speaking of participant observation as a component of ethnography, Amanda Bow highlights ethnography as

> …one of the most flexible techniques…for doing research…[It] not only potentially combines a number of techniques…but also has the flexibility to emphasise some techniques over others, and to leave some techniques out altogether - depending on the requirements and constraints of the research itself, such as…[which] resources…are available.[28]

In defence of his own methodology, which he applies to issues around the intersection between the church in Africa and the aid sector, Paul Gifford argues that, given certain 'provisos', there is validity and scope for research built on 'personal experience'. The provisos, he concedes, include that data from limited sources cannot serve as proof of an argument, and may be susceptible to research that highlights or de-emphasises data, according to the whims of the researcher. Work that is undertaken without reference to other independent material, he says, should not be presented as conclusive. However, in view of his proximity to the groups he is concerned with, Gifford rightly notes, 'There is nothing illegitimate in building a general case from experience, exposure and reflection…[Then, i]t is an invitation to those with more representative examples…[and a deeper understanding] to step forward.' Exposure to, and participation with, groups under research can allow for findings over which consideration and reasoning can take place, and a coherent, convincing picture emerge. Gifford selects what he selects from his first hand data, he says, 'because I think they are revealing of the reality I am describing.' And the reason he gives for identifying those elements as relevant is due to exposure to and experience of them.[29]

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[28] Amanda Bow, 'Ethnographic techniques,' in *Research Methods For Students and Professionals: Information Management and Systems,* Eds Kirsty Williamson, Amanda Bow and Charles Sturt University, second ed., Topics In Australasian Library And Information Studies no. 16 (New South Wales: Wagga Wagga, 2000), p. 267.

[29] Paul Gifford, *Christianity, Development and Modernity in Africa* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2015), pp. 7,8.

Similarly, in his work with AICs since the 1960s, noted researcher and activist Marthinus Daneel built scholarly reflection on his own participation-observation of groups that had not been taken seriously as churches by western scholarship, and yet who were not themselves in the literature prior to his involvement.[30] There he noted the extent to which written texts were 'Western inventions' belonging to 'the bureaucratic order', and so had not been deemed relevant by his action research cooperants in the field in Zimbabwe.[31] It is Daneel's scholarship, claims Dana Robert,[32] that imparted a new shape to AIC studies, and the methods by which they would be researched. He made observation 'the normative standard' in their evaluation.[33] Hennie Pretorius also, a colleague of Daneel's in research during the 1990s, places much importance on oral history for the purposes of studying AICs.[34]

Secondary sources and a general history of the Mozambican ecclesial context

While secondary sources for the case studies in this project have been scant, as a component of ethnography it has been important to undertake a general historical study of the national political and church scene in Mozambique, which is undertaken in Chapter 2. Three further factors reinforce the case for including such a survey:

1.) Ethical reasons

Much of this thesis is built on the fact, stated in the introduction, that Mozambique has long been economically dependent on external parties. Typically, both national Christians and expatriates alike express negative value judgements concerning

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[30] Dana L. Robert, 'M.L. Daneel: Missionary as Folk Theologian,' in *Frontiers of African Christianity: Essays in Honour of Inus Daneel*, ed. G. Cuthbertson, H. Pretorius, and D. Robert. Volume 8, African Initiatives in Christian Mission (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2003). pp. 1, 14.

[31] Daneel here making specific reference to written constitutions. Marthinus L Daneel, 'Contextualising Environmental Theology at Unisa and in African Society,' *Religion and Theology* 2, no. 1 (1995): pp. 91-92.

[32] Professor of World Christianity and History of Mission at Boston University School of Theology (and Daneel's wife).

[33] Robert, 'M.L. Daneel: Missionary as Folk Theologian,' pp. 1, 14.

[34] Hennie L Pretorius, 'Strange are the ways of Zion: a coloured Zionist pioneer,' in *Frontiers of African Christianity: Essays in Honour of Inus Daneel*, ed. G. Cuthbertson, H. Pretorius, and D. Robert. Volume 8, African Initiatives in Christian Mission (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2003). pp. 153-172.

national and ecclesiastical dependency, often referring to it in pejorative terms. There is an ethical responsibility, therefore, on the part of the researcher, towards the Mozambicans who, day-in day-out, wrestle with that economic reality. The background to the underdevelopment and dependency of the Mozambican economy therefore needs to be considered so as to avoid the insinuation that this state of affairs merely reflects a lack of initiative among Mozambicans. Economic dependency was manifest in Mozambique at the time of this research, but its origins are found also in historical relationships with powerful external influences.

2.) Contextual reasons

It is precisely because the national context has been one of dependency that some of the church communities within the case studies are of interest. The general pattern that Chapter 2 outlines is that, since independence, the churches have tended to reflect the national economic scene. Just as the national government designed developmental programmes that presupposed foreign funding, church leaders also have come to assume that foreign donors will resource church activities. A congregation, therefore, or more broadly a denomination or network of churches that has bucked that trend stands out. For a contrast to be made, an understanding of the route taken by both self-supporting and more dependent churches is prerequisite.

3.) Paucity of historical material

For the English-speaking world at least,[35] relevant material on the national and church scene in Mozambique is much less plentiful than might be the case, for example, concerning African nations that were once British colonies/protectorates. One constraint pertains to the lack of black African writers working during the colonial era on the politico-economic development of Mozambique. Until independence in 1975, and due to colonial policy, institutions that could have fostered the growth of black writers were minimal. An exception is the work of Eduardo Mondlane in *The Struggle for*

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[35] There are further published works, for instance in French, which focus on religion generally in Mozambique, or on the Presbyterian Church specifically. See Eric Morier-Genoud; Michel Cahen; Edward Alpers; Jan van Butselaar; Nicolas Monnier and Nicole Khouri & Joana Pereira Leite under 'Religion in Mozambique: Academic Articles,' *LFM, Le Fait Missionnaire Social Sciences & Missions*, accessed 17 October, 2016, http://www2.unil.ch/lefaitmissionnaire/pages/resources-mozambique.html

Mozambique.[36] As we will see in Chapter 2, Mondlane, who was from 1962 the founding president of the Frelimo liberation movement, was educated in part under the Swiss Presbyterians in both Mozambique and South Africa. In general, however, as Perdigao notes, published colonial era writing in Mozambique consisted largely of poetry or novels and most of the writers were themselves descendants of white Portuguese who settled during the colonial era.[37]

The same may be said for church history. From a colonial perspective, 'the Church' in Mozambique meant Roman Catholicism. Independent evangelical groups, such as the MCL and ADS, did not emerge until after independence and earlier Protestant churches, such as the IRM, were seen as a political/ecclesiastical problem in need of a solution.[38] Back in 1892, the state newspaper *O Comércio de Lourenço Marques*, spoke in terms of the need to 'remedy quickly' what was happening in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) due to the 'propaganda of sects' that are 'stalling' and even 'weakening' the work of the Roman Catholic Church.

While first conceding the exception of the Presbyterian Church in Mozambique, Sérgio Chichava refers to Protestants as also being 'invisible' in postcolonial historiography.[39] New ideological constraints in the independence era were to result in literature that was often unrepresentative of realities on the ground and also frustrating to the aims of this research. Typically, observe Abrahamson and Nilsson, standard works concerning Mozambique's development from independence were to align themselves

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[36] Eduardo Mondlane, *The Struggle for Mozambique* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969).

[37] Yovanka Paquete Perdigao 'Say What! Where are the Black writers from Portuguese Africa?,' *Africult*, accessed 16 October 2016, http://afrikult.com/educate-yourself/one-heritage-series/say-what-where-are-the-black-writers-from-portuguese-africa/

[38] O Comércio de Lourenço Marques of 24 September 1892, translation by researcher, quoted by Jan van Butselaar, *Africanos, Missionarios e Colonistas: As origens da Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (Missão Suiça), 1880-1896*, (Lausanne: Département Missionnaire des Églises Protestantes de la Suisse Romande, 1987), p.10.

[39] Sérgio Inácio Chichava, 'Unlike the Other Whites? The Swiss in Mozambique under Colonialism,' in *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World* eds E. Morier-Genoud, M. Cahen (UK: Palgrave Macmillan) p.156

with Frelimo's[40] socialist vision.[41] Increasingly, religion was dismissed by the new political elite as obscurantism and unscientific.[42] The rhetoric of early independence writing tended towards ideologically Marxist accounts of Mozambican life and history, thereby ignoring the importance of religion to Mozambicans.

Given the general paucity of sources, it has therefore been necessary here to draw on textual sources whose focus intersects only partially with the developmental trajectory of church and state. The work most referred to is Malyn Newitt's *A History of Mozambique*.[43] Although sometimes criticised as weak on the independence era, the strength of Newitt's book is in supplying a deeper understanding of influences that shaped the development of Mozambique during the colonial era. This is the first history of Mozambique from the 15th century to the present (published in 1995) and is particularly helpful to those working in English, as it makes thorough use of early, difficult-to-obtain Portuguese sources, as well as scarce first-hand accounts by Africans. Newitt highlights important trends and themes that give the ideal basis for this study that seeks a context for understanding more recent developments.[44]

In conclusion, on the basis of textual sources, reader familiarity with the Mozambican national and ecclesial context cannot be assumed. One function of the chapter that follows is to draw together available resources and supplement them with first-hand interview material that deals the national and ecclesiastical background before introducing the case studies in Chapters 3-4.

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[40] *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (The Mozambique Liberation Front): was founded in 1962 and has ruled Mozambique from 1975, adopting Marxist-Leninism from 1977. Until 1977, the acronym was spelt-out in capital letters, changing then to lowercase to denote the move from a 'front' to a party. Eric Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar: The Relation between Christian Churches and the State in post-Colonial Mozambique, 1974-1981,' *Social Sciences and Missions*, vol (1996): p.1

[41] Hans Abrahamsson and Anders Nilsson, *Mozambique: The Troubled Transition from Socialist Construction to Free Market Capitalism* (London/New Jersey: Zed Press, 1995), p. 5.

[42] A view frequently expressed by Mozambique's first president Samora Machel. Margaret Hall and Tom Young, *Confronting Leviathan: Mozambique Since Independence.* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997), p. 164, 175, 176.

[43] Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1995).

[44] Kathleen Sheldon, review of *A History of Mozambique*, by Malyn Newitt, *African Studies Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1, (April, 1997): pp. 179-181; Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, passim.

Sampling – status, roles and gender

For the purposes of rigor in researching the churches featured in the case-studies it was necessary to interview a range of research cooperants. Within the IRM, I already knew personally a number of clergy and members whom I believed would make for informative interviewees. All that remained was to seek permission from the leadership and/or the individuals concerned in order to set-up interviews. With the ADS and the MCL, whilst I was familiar with some of the leaders, I did not know many regular members prior to the research period. In those cases, therefore, I was dependent first on the church leaders themselves. Only later, having built a relationship of trust, was I in a position to request interviews with regular members.

As stated above, it was often the church leadership who could offer unique historical insights to the development of their churches. However, for reasons of balance and representation, it would have been unsatisfactory to rely only on church leaders as interviewees. These individuals may have been inclined to state an 'official' position, or state a 'party line' which an ordinary church member might have deviated from when asked the same question.

Furthermore, to limit interviewing to church leaders who were involved in the formal decision-making of each congregation, at least with regard to finances, would have been to restrict this aspect of the research largely to male cooperants.[45] And yet, very often in Mozambique, it is the women who are the key supporters of church policy in areas such as tithing.[46] It was necessary, therefore, to work with a variety of interviewees: leaders and rank-and-file members; male and female; married and single, also from a range of age groups. A mix of interviewees was attempted, therefore, for each group. A gender/age-group balance, however, was not always possible. Due to the large-scale migration of men at Manjacaze, for example, to work in South African mines, men were less well represented numerically at that fellowship and the interviews were weighted toward female research cooperants. The perspective was broadened yet further in interviewing through research with individuals who were not at all members of

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[45] Of recorded interviews, just over a quarter were conducted with female coopertants.

[46] It is common in Mozambique for women to run small businesses (from home) and also to administer family finances.

the groups in the case studies, but who cooperated or worked in these churches, either during the period of field study or in the past. Finally, a number of interviews were conducted with individuals and academics who were able to shed light on the national and ecclesiastical scene.[47]

A further factor in the research was the complexity of the relationship the researcher had with the leadership of the churches studied. As a mission partner, between 2004 and 2007, the researcher was seconded by Crosslinks, a British mission society, to work with the *Igreja Reformada em Moçambique* (The Reformed Church of Mozambique (IRM). Then, between 2008 and 2010, the researcher was involved in the provision of leadership training conferences at which representatives of the MCL and ADS sometimes participated. The research dynamic was not, therefore, a question of a total outsider, unknown to the churches in the study, entering an unknown group with no history in common. In theory, familiarity with the researcher and the research agenda could have led to rank-and-file church members being carefully selected for interview by the leadership in order to convey a message that accorded with the leadership. Had that happened, data emanating from the interview process would have been distorted.

In fact, the leaders involved from each group showed great humility and candour in reference to their churches' achievements and frustrations. The IRM leadership proved to be highly transparent in admitting their personal ambivalence concerning their relationship with foreign donors and the '*dependencia económica*' of which they were part. The researcher's background with the IRM meant it would in any case have been difficult to 'hide' from the research process ways in which the church functioned. When those areas were probed, the researcher sensed little or no resistance. There was no attempt to block interviews with cooperants requested by the researcher. In one case, an IRM leader suggested an interview was undertaken with an individual who had left the IRM due to frustration over dependency issues.

[47] Interviews were undertaken with the General Secretary of the Christian Council of Mozambique, of which the IRM is a member. A number of Mozambican academics were interviewed who had worked with an interest in the economic or church scene in Mozambique.

Similarly, in theory, by their selection of interviewees during the earlier stages of interviewing, the leaders of the ADS and MCL could have attempted to orchestrate the research process in order communicate the success of a particular model for church development. If any such agendas did exist, however, they were both imperceptible to the researcher and unlikely in the circumstances. Generally speaking, leaders at both the MCL and ADS seemed too involved with their own work to be to have been distracted by or attracted to the presence of an outsider with a research agenda. The dynamic was one in which these churches sacrificed time and energy to accommodate the research process, but then returned to activities that would in any case have taken place, whether or not outsiders were interested in them.

Language, culture, communication and interpretation

During 2007, the researcher completed a course of study in Changana, a dominant local language in southern Mozambique, where most of this research took place. For practical reasons,[48] however, Changana was not used by the researcher during interviews. In the few instances that translation from Changana to Portuguese was necessary, it was undertaken on behalf of the researcher by a third party. Notwithstanding, the aforementioned language study on the part of the researcher was helpful in other ways, for instance, in presenting the researcher with 'cultural windows' pertaining to a range of proverbs that were used locally, and the values implied by them.[49]

As most research cooperants spoke Portuguese fluently, interviews in that medium were prepared in a semi-structured, written format. A first-language Portuguese speaker checked all Portuguese transcriptions. At other times, where interviewees were also fluent in English,[50] some cooperants would switch between Portuguese and English,

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[48] Including - the limitations of progress in study, the fact that most interviewees spoke Portuguese and, even where they did not, other local languages were sometimes dominant.

[49] For values in culture and proverbs see – Armando Rebeiro, *601 Provérbios Changanas.* 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Paulinas 1989); *Antropologia: aspectos culturais do povo Changana e problemática missionária* (Maputo: Paulinas, 1998); *Valores da línguagem e antroponímia: Estuo sobre a língua Changana* (Maputo: Paulinas, 1998).

[50] Quite often church leaders and the academics I interviewed enjoyed the opportunity to speak some English. Typically these interviews were interspersed with both English and Portuguese.

during the interview, or used English (almost) exclusively. As a consequence, and to facilitate more easily the comparison and analysis of interview data across the board, the decision was made to render all final transcriptions in English.

Records of data

As well as field notes, which were usually transferred to an ethnographic diary,[51] or into folders of supplementary notes for interviews, audio recordings were made of all formal pre-arranged interviews. This allowed for full and accurate transcription of interviews. Recording was undertaken using two digital dictaphones producing MP3 recordings that have since been stored on a computer.[52]

Although the use of an audio recording device was initially obtrusive, in requiring some procedural and technical explanation (on the part of the researcher for the research cooperants), as the interviews progressed, it proved to be a less conspicuous form of recording interview data than note taking. Accordingly, the researcher was free to engage more fully with interviewees, participating also in non-verbal communication.

The researcher in the context – background, status and reflexivity

Ethnographer Rosanna Hertz urges social researchers to consider their own positions and interests that connect them to the phenomena that they study. There are many questions an individual could choose to research, even within the parameters of current scholarly interest. It is important for the researcher, therefore, as part of ethnographic 'reflexivity' and transparency, to consider their own relationship to the research they undertake.[53]

This research was indeed shaped at first by my own questions, stemming from experience as a British national working with the churches in Mozambique. My concern for how the various churches resourced their life and mission began with work I

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[51] See Appendix 3: Ethnographic diary, pages 268-275.

[52] Two dicataphones were used, a.) to allow for malfunction in one of the machines, and b.) in group interviews to increase the likelihood of audibility across the range of participants.

[53] Rosanna Hertz, (ed) *Reflexivity and Voice.* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1997) p. viii.

undertook with the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM), from 2002 until 2005. During that time, as a mission partner sent by an Anglican mission to work with this interdenominational umbrella organisation, I became aware of certain dynamics concerning the funding of the mission of the churches that alerted me to issues of dependency.

The CCM then consisted of 24 groups, which included mainline and evangelical churches; para-church organisations (such as Scripture Union), and five African Initiated Churches – both Ethiopian and Zionist. In my role as a 'Communications Consultant'[54] with the CCM, and as I visited various CCM member churches, I noted certain characteristics among the various denominations. I increasingly formed the view that the mainline churches with European roots gravitated towards large-scale social action projects and were dependent upon their European and North American partners to resource them with funding.[55] This was in spite of what I understood to be the relative wealth, privilege, and power of these denominations, as compared to smaller independent groups.

Inasmuch as wealth and power were visible (for instance judging by cars in the car park, the clothing and stature of the congregants), they seemed to belong to these mainline churches. Not only did these groups seem to attract the middle class and educated elite, but it was at these churches that governmental ministers and others in positions of significant political power were a visible part of the congregation. My early experiences, then, suggested that the relative wealth of a congregation need not equate with a membership that is ready to resource the activities of a church.

With time, a further dynamic came to my attention as CCM colleagues described the desire among some AICs to join the CCM, as a number had already. In official parlance this was usually referred to in terms of a desire to be part of a 'worldwide communion of believers'. More cynically, however, some CCM colleagues would suggest a motivating factor among AIC leaders stemmed from a desire to access the

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[54] Overseeing communications between CCM members and foreign partners.

[55] A dynamic explored by Paul Gifford in reference to Kenya in his book *Christianity, Politics and Public Life in Kenya* (London: Hurst, 2009).

same foreign resources that the mainline churches enjoyed. The issue of self-support versus foreign donorship therefore appeared to be a live issue in the Mozambican context.

From 2005, I began a second phase of work in Mozambique, this time with an individual CCM member church, the IRM. My personal duties were in setting up participatory bible studies and in running small business courses. The small business training was aimed first at IRM members and members of other local churches, although it also came to involve young men from a street children's project. In order to provide small business courses I worked with four Mozambican colleagues, three of whom were IRM members.[56] As we set out to organise the first course I noted the assumption among my IRM colleagues that, as a European, my role would be to source funding for the course from the UK. Following a protracted and passionate debate I informed my colleagues that, although I would not stand in their way should they pursue foreign funding, I believed we should try to get the course to pay for itself by charging the course participants. The expectation should be, I reasoned, that the churches sending course participants could choose to subsidise those individuals that their own church leadership identified as needing assistance. Accordingly, we announced the course on those terms, and then waited for participants to sign up.

In the event, almost all of the IRM potential course trainees, who at an earlier stage had said they could not pay any part of their fees, came to make their own course deposits.[57] In some cases individuals were subsidised by the local IRM church for the remainder of the fee. In the same way other churches asked interested members to pay their own deposit, those churches also covering the remainder[58] for those they identified as needing help. In the same way, the street children's project assisted the participants whom they sent. The outcome was that, on four different occasions, we ran Saturday afternoon courses, each for nine weeks. And yet, assistance for those that needed it, as

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[56] The course participants were made up of IRM members, those from other churches, street boys sent by other projects, and those from the local community, generally.

[57] 50,000 meticais (old currency) – in 2005 worth approximately 1.15 UK pounds.

[58] 200,000 meticais (old currency).

identified by local church leadership, was forthcoming from the churches they represented.

My work with the IRM continued until the end of 2007. At that time my wife and I received a visit from a representative of the southern synod of the IRM, who was responsible for inviting us to work with the local congregation where we had been based. During that visit he explained that the synod were disappointed that Crosslinks, the agency responsible for seconding us to the IRM, had not made funding available directly to the synod. He went on to explain that, were we to work again with the IRM, such funding would be a necessary prerequisite. I explained that, as a policy, Crosslinks did not fund centrally its partner churches and asked also what the requested funding was for. The synod representative was not then able to offer an answer but, during a later meeting, informed me the funding was for 'projects', although he did not elaborate further.

At the time this exchange took place we were, as a family, about to return to the UK for a home leave. The whole matter caused a lot of personal concern and soul-searching with regard to our future work. However, as we discussed the matter with other missionaries to the IRM we learned we were, seemingly, part of the broader pattern of controversy around funds. The Reformed Church in South Africa, then in its 100th year of funding initiatives of the church in Mozambique, had communicated to the Mozambican southern synod that they would be progressively reducing funding for IRM activities. It was to be, as it were, self-reliance determined from abroad.

Among missionaries to the IRM of that time, who were mostly White South Africans, a range of views was manifested as to what the crisis meant. Some felt the historical input from South Africa had given birth to an unhealthy church situation in Mozambique from the outset. Others believed, given the economic challenges of Mozambique's economy, reliance upon wealthier donors from abroad was inevitable,

‘….besides which,’ one South African missionary pastor told me, ‘self-reliance is not in their culture.’[59]

Around the same time I became aware of a debate within the Roman Catholic Church in Mozambique, concerning the paying of tithes. The debate divided generally between two lines. On the one side were those who, due to Mozambique’s economic poverty, felt it was an unjust imposition to expect Mozambican Catholic adherents to pay a tithe. The opposing view was that tithing was a relevant Christian practice for all Christians and its avoidance in Mozambique had led to a dependency syndrome in the Catholic Church there.[60] The funding crisis I had experienced first hand in the IRM, it seemed, extended to other Christian traditions also.

These experiences of ecclesiastical dependency also left me curious as to what alternatives there might be. I began to wonder why it was that certain church groups tended towards dependence upon foreign resources, and yet others in the same general context of poverty attempted work built around what they could source locally. In 2008, and prior to our return to Mozambique, I began formal study, through the University of Edinburgh, looking at issues of dependency and self-reliance among churches in Mozambique.

The relevance of ethnographic data beyond the research context.

A methodological priority in this research process has been to draw on the explanations of insiders, as to how it is the churches of which they are part have come to resource themselves. This has been paramount both for its intuitive logic (asking the

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[59] These words in reference to Mozambicans, generally, made by a white South African pastor who had led an IRM church in Maputo for some years and resourced major building projects for the church (including materials, finance and construction workers from South Africa).

[60] In fact, the call to ‘tithe’ was used merely by some RC leaders to encourage members to engage in some kind of monetary offering to the church, and not a literal giving of ten percent of income. See: Notícias Lusófonas ‘Igreja Católica introduz dízimo mas os crentes contestam,’ *Notícias Lusófonas* (25 September 2007), accessed 16 September, 2009, .http://www.noticiaslusofonas.com/view.php?load=arcview&article=19286&catogory=news

people engaged in an activity why it is they do what they do), and as representing a type of research that has not to date been used widely in the self-reliance debate.

However, the conclusions drawn about the resourcing of the churches in this study lend themselves also to interest and debate beyond the geography of the research context. Other interested parties were identified in the Introduction, and include those involved in the long-running self-reliance debate; those concerned for the developmental potential of church communities, globally, and those interested in the social theories of spiritual and religious capital. In the chapters to follow, therefore, having in the case studies drawn extensively on insider perspectives, we will revisit these themes looking for resonances with data emanating from the case studies.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have considered the value of ethnographic techniques as a methodology to ascertain what lies behind the resourcing strategies of churches in Mozambique. Specifically, ethnography has been applied to researching three churches, taken as case studies, in order to gather the explanations of insiders as to how it is each group has come to resource their work. Having covered the relevance of ethnographic methodology and the component elements of ethnography, the chapter described methodological challenges faced during the research and how they were offset or overcome. A section then followed on reflexivity and the researcher in relation to both the context and the research question. There was a brief consideration of reference points by which to analyse and present insider-sourced data to scholarly communities beyond the research context.

Chapter 2:

The Mozambican economy and the development of the churches

In chapters three to five we will meet three evangelical Protestant[1] groups, each chosen as a means by which to examine attitudes and strategies among Christians in Mozambique for resourcing church life. In this chapter, in order to reflect on the case studies in context, we will consider some of the main trends within Mozambican politco-economic and ecclesiastical history. Why, we will consider, did national independence in 1975, and the administrative independence of many churches, not lead also to a greater measure of economic independence, in fact often intensifying reliance on foreign donors? With reference also to primary source material, we will consider ways in which newer church planting initiatives among foreign missionaries at the time of this research were using the same models as those who had gone before and thereby running the same risks of cultivating dependency among nationals.

The path of Mozambique to economic dependency

That Mozambicans in the third millennium experience the benefits and drawbacks of modern statehood, with both its geographical borders and economic particularities, is to a large degree a result of European interference during the 19th century (Berlin Conference of 1884-1885), deriving at that point from colonial strategy rather than the self-determination of Africans.[2]

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[1] Protestant: Given the Mozambican African context, the term Protestant is here used in a broad sense to distinguish churches from the Roman Catholic tradition and the classical Zionist AICs that have least been influence by European traditions. Furthermore, in conformity with Protestant models elsewhere, the term highlights the centrality of the use of the Bible in these groups. The churches represented in the case studies of this work may be further distinguished as 'evangelical': the MCL and ADS belong to Mozambique's Association of Evangelicals (*Associação Evangélica de Moçambique* - AEM); the IRM belongs both to the AEM and the Protestant grouping of the Christian Council of Mozambique (*Conselho Cristão de Moçambique*).

[2] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, pp. 341-343, 355.

By 1498, when the Portuguese arrived in what was to become Portuguese East Africa (PEA),[3] African Bantu-speaking groups had been migrating into the area for hundreds of years, setting-up communities in unoccupied areas, or displacing Pygmy and Khoisan (Bushmen) nomadic groups.[4] By around 1500, most groups in the region were organised into small societies.[5] Apart from geography, however, there was no unifying factor among these shifting ethnic clusters of the kind Portugal would later impose.[6]

For more than 300 years, Portuguese influence in the region was to wax and wane considerably. Although the Portuguese presence was to expand over that period this was largely manifested in the settlement of families of Portuguese settlers, rather than a comprehensive colonial administration. In the form of land leased by the colonial authority to settlers or their own officials, known as *prazos*,[7] power was delegated to familial groups who themselves enjoyed much autonomy from Portugal. Furthermore, many settlers intermarried with indigenous people, rendering Portuguese control of land more diffuse still. Additionally, colonial interest in Brazil and conflicts further north on the east coast of Africa served as distractions from Portuguese commitment to PEA.[8]

Influence from the commercial sector and the scramble for Africa

Towards the end of the 19th century, Indian commercial activity began to create a new infrastructure for trade and stimulate subsistent peasant economies to sell their goods to a wider market. The Indian community established stores at which imported goods were exchanged for local products, such as groundnuts, maize and cashew. [9]

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[3] An umbrella term grouping individual Portuguese colonies in the territory that is now Mozambique. 'Portuguese East Africa' is synonymous also with the term 'Portuguese Mozambique', sometimes here abbreviated simply to 'Mozambique'.

[4] James Ciment, Angola and Mozambique: Postcolonial Wars in Southern Africa (New York: Facts on File, 1997), p. 23.

[5] Allen Isaacman and Barbara Isaacman, *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982* (Colorado: West View Press, 1983), p.11.

[6] Harold D. Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Dept. of the Army, 1985)., p. 3.

[7] Large tracts of land leased to settlers, colonists and traders in PEA in order to exploit resources. *Prazos* operated like a semi-feudal system. Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* p. 217-230.

[8] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* p. 175-176, 217, 221-222.

[9] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* p. 318.

Located in Mozambique's ports, the French were also a stimulus for economic diversification as they developed coastal shipping and undertook building projects that represented the first private capital investment in Mozambique. For the first time, Africans who had hitherto belonged to isolated peasant communities were drawn into mainstream international commerce.[10] It was also during the 19th century that British-inspired free trade liberalism being to influence local economies, undermining the east African slave trade and providing 'legitimate' commerce as an alternative.[11]

The Berlin Convention

By the time of the Berlin Convention, therefore, Portugal was by no means the only influence in the region. Nor was Portugal the only nation desiring to provide necessary oversight and infrastructure for the new levels of production. During the 1884-1885 Convention, multiple challenges were raised in respect of Portugal's aims in Africa. These came principally from Germany and Britain.[12] As the Convention came to an end, however, Portuguese diplomats negotiated successfully with France and Germany, leading to qualified recognition of Portugal's 'Rose Coloured Map' and thereby settling the question of PEA's northern perimeter.[13] Negotiations between European powers concerning the geography of PEA were to follow those of the Berlin Convention, although Mozambique's own borders were settled by the Convention.[14]

Having settled the borders, the Portuguese then prioritised consolidation of interior rule. In the south this was attempted with national resources and military might. In January 1895, António Ennes, the new Portuguese high commissioner arrived in Mozambique. With a European army of 2,000 men armed with machine guns, Ennes began by first crushing the Tsonga chiefs, then attacking Gungunhana, the last king of Gaza, who was captured by the militarist, Mouzinho de Albuquerque.[15]

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[10] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, pp. 320-321.

[11] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, pp. 317-318, 323-326.

[12] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, p. 336.

[13] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, p. 341.

[14] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, pp. 378, 347-348, 355.

[15] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, pp. 375, 376.

Along with a hut tax on the African population, the pacification also achieved the economic objective of mobilizing a vast labour force for internal use and to serve the South African gold mines.[16] In 1901, and itself short of capital, the colonial government signed an agreement with the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) to secure for the colonial authorities thirteen shillings per Mozambican worker, plus six pence more for each month's service beyond the first twelve months contract. Additionally, the arrangement involved a deal between the South Africans and Portuguese on the terms of the salary paid for each African worker. Half of each worker's salary was to be paid first in gold to the colonial government. The Portuguese would then retain the gold and pay the workforce monetarily, but at a value not commensurate with the value of the gold.[17]

As a result of these migration waves, many men from PEA now came under Christian teaching in South Africa, be that of missionary societies working there, or of their Black African colleagues. This led to a pattern of influence whereby, early in the 20th century, converts returning to PEA would set up churches or schools in their homelands that were funded by their remittances and that of their colleagues.[18] Similar migration and church growth patterns continue to this day.[19]

The Salazar era

In 1932 António de Oliveira Salazar became the Prime Minister of Portugal, in 1933 overseeing its transition to an authoritarian republic. The outcome of his colonial policy was to entrench the Mozambican economy in a relationship of dependency with Portugal, and entirely align the activities Catholic Church in the colonies with the

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[16] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, pp. 381-382.

[17] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique* pp. 34-36.

[18] Patrick Harries, 'Christianity in Black and White: The Establishment of Protestant Churches in Southern Mozambique,' *Lusotopie* (1998): p. 331.

[19] In 2016 there were approximately 39,000 Mozambicans working in South African mines. Adrian Fey, 'Mozambican miners to be dismissed in South Africa,' Club of Mozambique (7 March 2016), accessed 3 July 2017, http://clubofmozambique.com/news/mozambican-miners-to-be-dismissed-in-south-africa/

objectives of state. His approach with PEA consisted of three interdependent propositions: (i) a rejection of local autonomy in favour of centralised authoritarian rule; (ii) that human and natural resources in Mozambique should be exploited more effectively for Portugal (as opposed to benefiting other foreign investors) and (iii) a reaffirmation of the colonial state in alliance with the Roman Catholic church as a means by which to 'civilise' Africans and bind them to the Portuguese state. Salazar's guiding principles constituted part of the Colonial Act of 1930.[20]

To this end, Portuguese peasants were encouraged to migrate to southern Mozambique to work plantations and, in the north, African peasants were compelled to produce cotton and rice.[21] In order to pay taxes imposed upon them, legislation passed in 1930 effectively compelled most African men to work for half of the year as contract labourers, be that for private firms or the state.[22] Under Salazar, only modest steps were taken to develop Mozambique internally. PEA continued to supply African labour for South African mines and increasingly the colony's economy was made dependent upon external relationships with Portugal and South Africa.[23] By 1945 more than one million Mozambicans were producing sufficient cotton to meet Portugal's demands.[24] The production of cotton was not matched by cotton processing which was, say Isaacman and Isaacman, a strategic policy to block the development of Mozambican industry. The consequences were great profits for Portugal, where cotton was processed, and an unbalanced and highly dependent economy in Mozambique.[25]

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[20] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.39.

[21] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p 43; Joseph C. McKenna, *Finding a Social Voice: The Church and Marxism in Africa* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1997), p.71

[22] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p. 41.

[23] McKenna, *Finding a Social Voice*, pp. 71-72.

[24] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p. 45.

[25] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, pp. 46, 48.

Although not the kind of 'dependency' that is the focus of this study,[26] the dynamics of the Portuguese relationship with its colony at this time reflect those of the economic 'dependency theory', that resources flow from an underdeveloped, poor, peripheral states to a core of wealthy nations.[27]

Resistance, liberation and donors

Organised resistance to Salazar's regime came first in Asia. Having won its own independence from the British in 1947, India sought then to release the Portuguese territory of Goa, forcibly annexing the territory in 1961. By the 1960s, disparate movements were forming also for liberation in Angola and Mozambique. In East Africa resistance came from groups of political exiles - Udenamo in Bulawayo, Unami in Malawi, Manu in Kenya and Tanzania. In June 1962, under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane, these groups merged into a single broad-based guerrilla movement, eventually working out of Dar es Salaam and known as Frelimo.[28]

During the first five years of the war, the economic assistance received by Frelimo was largely from African sources, and significantly from the Tanzanian government. Non-military aid came from America and other Western sources. As the war escalated, so did the need for arms. European and Asian communist countries began to provide scholarships, military training for officers, support through the UN, arms and funding.[29] In spite of costs associated with the war, the economic benefits of the colony meant that Portugal was determined to hold on to power. The potential for mineral exploitation had remained largely untapped. However, agricultural products, remittances from Mozambicans working in South African mines, and the port service and rail

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[26] Instead, for national aid dependency see: Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, 'Aid Dependency and Development: a Question of Ownership? A Critical View,' *Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos, Working paper*, (2008): p.1, 5, 13, accessed 24 August 2009, http://www.iese.ac.mz/lib/saber/ead_34.pdf For ecclesial dependency see: Adrian Hastings, *Mission and Ministry* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1971), p.14.

[27] Dependency theory was based initially on the Prebisch–Singer hypothesis, in reference to the case put by Hans Singer and Raúl Prebisch that primary-product-based economies are disadvantaged in relation to economies that process and manufacture. Resonating as it did with early Marxist writing on imperialism it was further developed from a Marxist perspective by Paul Baran. See Paul A. Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth*, (New York; London: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1968).

[28] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, pp. 517, 521.

[29] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, pp.50-51.

network industries used by South Africa and Southern Rhodesia remained attractive assets to Portugal.[30]

Ambiguous freedom – the path from colonial dependency to dependency in self-rule

In 1968 Marcello Caetano succeeded Salazar as Portugal's Prime Minister. Relatively moderate, he returned a measure of control over local affairs to the colonies.[31] Nonetheless, support for Frelimo was growing and its military position was improving at a time when Portuguese troops were divided across three colonial wars fought simultaneously in Africa. By 1974 the Portuguese had come to doubt their colonial policies. On the 25th of April 1974 Frelimo forces in Mozambique overthrew the colonial regime in a bloodless coup.[32]

The failure of organised opposition to Frelimo sparked an exodus of whites to Portugal, Brazil, South Africa and Rhodesia. By June 1975 Mozambique's white population had declined from approximately 200,000 to an estimated 40,000.[33] In order to address the managerial shortfall, personnel from Eastern Europe and Cuba were made welcome. To secure their own trade routes, South Africa sent personnel to run and maintain Mozambique's ports and railways. [34]

Mozambique found itself with few developmental options. For foreign exchange, the national economy was intricately tied to the mines of apartheid-era South Africa.[35] Western democracies had resisted the liberation of Mozambicans by their support of Portugal and South Africa. Relationships with the USA were low key, owing to the perception that through NATO America had assisted the Portuguese during the liberation war.[36] Mozambique was 'more or less forced' into the arms of the Eastern Bloc which

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[30] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, p. 52.

[31] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, p. 54.

[32] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, pp. 54-60.

[33] Abrahamsson and Nilsson, *Mozambique: The Troubled Transition*, pp. 54, 60.

[34] McKenna, *Finding a Social Voice*, p. 76.

[35] Stephen Williams, 'Mozambique: A History of Struggle,' *New African*, no. 532 (2013): p. 37

[36] McKenna, *Finding a Social Voice*, pp. 66, 236.

had provided the necessary military support for the liberation struggle.[37] Cuba assisted with education and helped to run sugar plantations; East Germans helped to run the coal mines, while Russians helped train Mozambique's armed forces.[38] Political independence had produced yet another form of dependency.

Between 1975 and 1985 the government experimented with socialist ideology and economics. Frelimo's development strategy gained support from the socialist bloc and in Western Europe through the Nordic countries and Italy. In 1977 Frelimo held their Third Party Congress, the first since national independence. The outcome was a formal declaration of adherence to Marxism-Leninism, modelled closely on the Soviet communist party.[39] Centralised decision-making was confirmed and the goal of the destruction of capitalism was stated, along with creating a material base for socialism.[40] Surplus produce no longer went to Portugal, and the cashew industry, Mozambique's main export, was impaired by the collapse of the collection system. Production goals were handicapped by slack work habits and walkouts by workers. In some instances expatriate Portuguese managers and technicians were still in post but often faced an African workforce that refused their leadership. During the first three years of independence, agricultural and industrial production dropped by about half.[41] The collectivization of state farms made for highly bureaucratized units and was very inefficient.[42]

Although having good relations with neighbouring Tanzania and Zambia, Mozambique was now ideologically opposed to the White-minority regimes of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa with whom relationships were now problematic.[43] Most

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[37] Abrahamsson and Nilsson, *Mozambique: The Troubled Transition.'* p. 7.

[38] McKenna, *Finding a Social Voice,* p. 76.

[39] Ruth First, *Black Gold: The Mozambican miner, proletarian and peasant* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1983), p. xxx.

[40] Merle L. Bowen, *The State against the Peasantry: Rural Struggles in Colonial and Postcolonial Mozambique* (Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia, 2000), pp. 54-56.

[41] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study,* p. 64.

[42] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study,* p. 65.

[43] McKenna, *Finding a Social Voice,* p. 66.

damaging for Mozambique's economy was the measure South Africa took in cutting the numbers of Mozambican mine workers. Prior to independence, these stood at about 120,000, worth $175 million, but by 1978 the numbers were reduced to under 40,000. This represented a loss of about one-third of Mozambique's total earnings.[44] In an age of independence, an economic model forged during colonisation now left Mozambique highly vulnerable. In 1980, president Samora Machel responded by moderating the ideological and economic dependence upon the Soviet Union and other communist countries in the hope of obtaining economic assistance from others in the West.[45] Even Western multi-national companies were encouraged, if they would work in line with the state's socialist objectives.[46]

Civil war and ecological disasters

In 1977, only two years following the war for independence, the Frelimo government met violent opposition from the Rhodesian (and later South African) funded Mozambique Resistance Movement, Renamo. Renamo's roots were as a group designed to undermine the Frelimo government and block the flow of weapons to the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) fighters, themselves based in Mozambique's border areas.[47] At first, Frelimo did not take Renamo resistance seriously. By the 1980s, however, the government was having to commit significant resources to the conflict.[48]

During 1981, Mozambique's central and southern provinces were hit by drought. It is estimated that 190,000 head of cattle were lost in the southern region alone. In desperation the population began to eat the seeds that would otherwise have been planted. Foreign donors provided new stocks, but relief agency workers reported that 600,000 people in the provinces of Gaza and Inhambane alone faced starvation.[49] Help

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[44] First, *Black Gold: The Mozambican miner*, p.189; Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, p. 66.

[45] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, p. 68-69; Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, p. 566.

[46] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, p. 132.

[47] Ciment, *Angola and Mozambique: Postcolonial Wars*, p. 68.

[48] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, pp.563-564.

[49] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, p. 136.

came to Mozambique through the UN, in order to offset economic losses that Mozambique had incurred in agreeing to impose sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Initially aid came in the form of grants and loans from the West, communist countries, other developing countries and international organizations. In 1979, the government reported receipt of $113 million. In September 1983 the USA provided $75 million of aid, made-up largely of commodities. A further $100 million was made available by international organizations, including the UNDP, other UN agencies and the African Development Bank.[50]

Bilateral aid came to Mozambique from countries in the European Economic Union, the Scandinavian countries, Japan, Brazil, India, Algeria, the Soviet Union, East European states, China, North Korea and Portugal. The value Mozambique was then receiving in aid totalled hundreds of millions of US dollars.[51] Mozambique's international debt was reported in 1984 to be $1.4 billion, not including that owed to communist countries. Interest payments alone represented a major challenge. [52]

Scandinavian countries continued to assist Mozambique with energy projects, agriculture, forestry, education, and telecommunications. France and Italy supplied the equivalent of $120 million for the construction of a power line to link the Cahora Bassa dam. French, Portuguese and Canadian credit assistance worth $200 million assisted the rehabilitation of the railway line between Nacala and the border with Malawi. Britain made interest free loans to Mozambique for the rehabilitation of transport networks, power plants and the sugar industry. The Netherlands assisted with aid for engineering and storage facilities to increase capacity at Beira port.[53]

By the early 1980s, dissatisfaction with Frelimo's policies among Mozambicans was widespread. Resistance from Renamo, that the government had earlier been able to ignore, was escalating. Frelimo's alliance with the Soviet Union was inadequate to

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[50] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, p. 138.

[51] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, pp. 138,179.

[52] McKenna, *Finding a Social Voice* , p. 77.

[53] Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study*, pp. 233, 234.

address the ruinous economic consequences of the war and famine of that time.[54] Having joined the African Development Bank in 1980, and having begun to court Western aid, in 1982 the government applied to join the IMF. It was accepted as a member during 1984. A priority was then to try to reschedule the country's debts, which were eighteen times the country's annual exports.[55]

In 1986 Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel and a number of his ministers were killed in a plane crash. Mozambique received great international sympathy as Machel was succeeded by Joaquim Chissano.[56] Changes to the economy came via a World Bank/IMF structural adjustment programme (SAP). With the SAP came cutbacks in social services and yet an increase in aid receipts.[57]

The growth of the aid sector, and the 'recolonisation' of Mozambique

The Frelimo – Renamo conflict was notable among African wars for having relatively little to do with ethnic loyalties.[58] As the cold war and apartheid came to an end, therefore, support for Renamo dried up. A ceasefire agreement was signed between Frelimo and Renamo in Rome on 15th October 1992.[59] Only upon achieving peace was the full extent of the fragility of Frelimo's governance visible. Extremely poor and brutalised by war, Mozambique was highly susceptible to foreign influence.[60] It was following the peace accord that a sequence of foreign aid interventions led to what Joseph Hanlon has referred to as the 'recolonisation' of Mozambique.[61]

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[54] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, pp. 571-572, 566.

[55] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, p.566.

[56] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, p. 569.

[57] James Pfeiffer, 'Commodity Fetichismo, the Holy Spirit, and the Turn to Pentecostal and African Independent Churches in Central Mozambique', *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, Vol. 29, Issue 3, (2005) p. 263.

[58] Ciment, *Angola and Mozambique: Postcolonial Wars*, p.17.

[59] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, p. 574.

[60] Paul Freston, 'The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God: a Brazilian church finds success in southern Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35, no. 1 (2005), p. 55.

[61] Joseph Hanlon, *Mozambique: Who Calls the Shots?* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), p. 3.

In 1992, a drought occurred that was more severe than any of the previous decades. Western aid agencies responded, but many chose to bypass the government. The 1990's were an economically harsh and politically ideological decade for the main Western donors. The Washington Consensus[62] was prominent, and the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and main donors were keen to promote rapid transitions to market economies for countries that, previously, had allied themselves with the Soviet Block. Some organizations stated explicitly that their objective was to change the policy of the Frelimo government. Frelimo struggled to maintain policy control and increasingly the US became influential in Mozambican affairs through its giving. Foreign aid for this period constituted 70 percent of the GNP. By this point, donors and agencies had kept the country afloat for nearly a decade.[63]

In 1994, Frelimo beat Renamo in Mozambique's first national elections, but exceedingly high levels of aid dependency meant that donors continued to retain significant influence. Foreign aid to Mozambique during 1994 amounted to around $1.2 billion. According to IMF figures, foreign aid supplied 48 percent of the government budget that year. Mozambique was now the world's eighth most aid- dependent country.[64]

In the period 1995-2005, the government and the donor community gradually reached a way of working in which the government's policy agenda was mostly dominated by the International Financial Institutions (IFI). According to Paolo de Renzio and Joseph Hanlon, this resulted in, a 'pathological equilibrium', in which political

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[62] The Washington Consensus laid down ten economic reforms for countries experiencing economic crisis, prescribed by Washington D.C.-based institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and the US Treasury Department.

[63] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, p.569; Joseph Hanlon, 'Strangling Mozambique: International Monetary Fund "stabilization" in the world's poorest country,' *Multinational Monitor* (Monday July 1, 1996), accessed 30 August 2010, http://www.allbusiness.com/specialty-businesses/581027-1.html ;

Paolo de Renzio and Joseph Hanlon, 'Contested Sovereignty in Mozambique: The Dilemmas of Aid Dependence,' *Managing Aid Dependency Project GEG Working Paper 2007/25*, (January 2007) Global Economic Governance Programe, p. 7, accessed 30 August 2010, www.globaleconomicgovernance.org/.../Derenzio%20and%20Hanlon_Mozambique%20paper%20rev%20120107.pdf.

[64] Denmark was also a key donor, along with the UK, Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands and the African Development Bank, who provided between USD $50 and $70 million per year: Renzio and Hanlon, 'Contested Sovereignty in Mozambique…', pp. 2,5,6.

stability was maintained but in which large-scale corruption went unchecked, and the neo-liberal economic policies of the IFIs and main donors were implemented uncritically. At a Consultative Group held in October 2001, donors pledged more aid than the government had itself requested.[65]

In the new millennium, now following the line prescribed for it by its donor nations, praise was heaped on Mozambique by these nations for being the 'world's fastest growing economy', an 'African success story', and 'an economic miracle'.[66] However, notes Lia Quartapelle, during the same period, the 'donors' darling' sank increasingly into dependency on aid. In 2008, the year field work began for this study, aid levels again reached those of 1992, the unprecedented and unique year of the peace agreement, and the year of the costly demobilization of the warring combatants. 'Foreign aid has,' Quartapelle claimed in 2011, 'been the predominant source of investment funds for the last 25 years…'.[67] The consequences of all this have gone beyond the merely economic, shaping also administrative aspirations and culture. 'What is striking…,' says Hanlon, 'is that the international community and the Mozambican elite seem to be in agreement that "development"…is something that someone else does – foreign investors, the "market" or the World Bank – and that the government should just stand back and wait. It is a curiously disempowered vision.'[68]

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[65] Hanlon, 'Strangling Mozambique'; Renzio and Hanlon, 'Contested Sovereignty', pp. 2,5,7.

[66] Aaron J. Reibel, 'An African success story: civil society and the "Mozambican miracle",' *Africana Journal*, (June 2010), accessed 14 February 2013, http://www.africanajournal.org/PDF/vol4no1/vol4no1_3_Aaron%20J.

[67] Lia Quartapelle, 'Mozambique: the challenge of fighting external dependence, between aid and Hydrocarbons,' *ISPI Analysis* no. 88 (2011): pp. 2-3, accessed 5 October 2016, http://www.ispionline.it/it/documents/Analysis_88_2011.pdf

[68] Hanlon, Joseph, 'Renewed Land Debate and the "Cargo Cult" in Mozambique,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30.3 (2004): p. 623.

The churches

As Brian Stanley has shown, the idea that missionary activity from the nations of European colonial powers is synonymous only with colonial objectives is simplistic and often overstated.[69] However, early activity among Portuguese Roman Catholics in PEA suggests an alliance that had everything to do with colonial domination. 'Church and state…' acknowledges Stanley, '…were as closely connected in Portugal's African colonies as they…[were]…in the Hispanic empires established in South America…[where the] Catholic Church had been almost completely subordinated to the power of the crown…'[70]

Missionary initiatives from Portugal worked within a structure called the *padroado* – enacted by a series of papal bulls and briefs, between 1452 and 1514. These gave the Portuguese crown power of appointment to all benefices in its possession overseas in return for financial support.[71] From the 15th century and until the 18th century, official missionary activity in Mozambique was limited to the Roman Catholic tradition and began a pattern of external funding that was ongoing at the time of this research.[72]

Not only was the Catholic Church involved in the export of slaves, but during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries both Dominicans and Jesuits began working their own estates which were referred to as *prazos.* The servicing of ecclesiastical estates was undertaken using the forced labour of Africans – be they tenants or slaves.[73] Notwithstanding these exploitative practices, that could not be replicated once independence had been achieved, funding for the Church continued to be sourced from Portugal. The religious monopoly and external support for the church meant it was also

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[69] Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Apollos: Leicester, 1990).

[70] Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, p. 21.

[71] Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa: from antiquity to the present*, (SPCK: London, 1995), p.54.

[72] Jan van Butselaar, *Africanos, Missionarios e Colonistas*…, p.7; 'Igreja Católica introduz dízimo mas os crentes contestam,' *Notícias Lusófonas*, 25 September 2007, accessed 16 September 2009, http://www.noticiaslusofonas.com/view.php?load=arcview&article=19286&catogory=news

[73] George O. Ndege, *Culture and Customs of Mozambique* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2007), p. 29.

subject to external control, thereby cultivating a form of dependency that was multidimensional.

Protestant Christianity prior to the Berlin Conference

Prior to the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), what all non-Catholic groups in PEA held in common was the need to operate in that religiopolitical context, that is, without the support or approval of the colonial administration.

The earliest transmission of the Protestant tradition was likely the work of Moravian missionaries, coming via South Africa in the mid-18th century.[74] The work of Dutch Reformed missionaries from Holland began as early as 1842. However, DRC missionaries were concerned for settler communities (in this case 'Boer'), and the negation of a licence by the colonial governor-general meant the work was short-lived.[75]

Ironically, one of the most significant factors in the growth of Christianity among Africans was to be the discovery, in 1867, of diamonds in South Africa, and the Portuguese colonial response of sending Africans to service South African industry. As we observed above, from that time thousands of Africans from PEA were soon travelling to Kimberley in order to work in mining. Others went to work on sugar plantations in Natal, or further south to the coastal ports, on the railways, or in farming.[76] As Patrick Harries has shown, while the arrangement was highly exploitative of Mozambican labour, for the migrants themselves, a new wage economy at times provided economic resources that benefited not only individual workers, but also the home communities from which they travelled.[77]

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[74] van Butselaar, *Africanos, Missionarios e Colonistas,* p. 15.

[75] Simão Chamango, *A Chegada do Evangelho em Moçambique: Dados Historicas,* 2nd edition (Maputo: Tipografia IPM,1994), p.16.

[76] Joan A. Millard, 'Factors Leading to the Formation of the Independent Methodist Church' in *Afro-Christianity at the grassroots: its dynamics and strategies*, ed. G.C. Oosthuizen et al., (New York: Brill, 1994): p.20

[77] Patrick Harries, *Work, culture, and identity: migrant laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860-1910,* (London: James Currey, 1994). p. 81.

Be it where they worked or in breaking their journeys in the towns of mission stations, labourers from PEA were exposed to the Christian message beyond PEA's borders. Notably, Lutherans, Dutch Reformed Calvinists, and the Free Church of the Canton de Vaud, Switzerland, all undertook evangelistic work with Africans from PEA as they migrated to or from South Africa.[78] Soon, there was to be a steady flow of mine labourers, returning to Mozambique for home-leave, bringing with them the Christian traditions to which they had been exposed in South Africa. Those Africans were later followed by European mission personnel who attempted to establish stations in the home regions of their new converts. The most prestigious, says Newitt, was the Suisse Romande Mission, which set up a station in 1875, followed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1879, and the American Methodist Episcopal Church in 1883.[79]

The sequence of church planting, initiated by migrant Africans and later then consolidated by foreign missionaries, goes some way to describing the development of numerous Protestant denominations. These include the Anglican Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Church of Christ in Mozambique,[80] the Baptist Union of Mozambique,[81] and also the subject of the first case study - the Reformed Church in Mozambique (*Igreja Reformada em Moçambique* **(**IRM)).[82]

In the case of the IRM, at least initially, migratory patterns due to mining seem less significant to the emergence of DRC Christianity in Mozambique.[83] Nonetheless, the influence of cross border activity to and from the British Central Africa Protectorate ((BCA), now the state of Malawi)[84] played a part. In 1902, six years prior to DRC mission stations being planted in PEA, DRC missionary Andrew George Murray came

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[78] Millard, 'Factors Leading to…,' p.20

[79] Newitt, *A History of Mozambique,* p. 436.

[80] Converts returning from Malawi (then Niasaland). Chamango, *A Chegada do Evangelho,* p. 32.

[81] Chamango, *A Chegada do Evangelho,* p. 16, 18, 28, 32, 42; Millard 'Factors Leading to…,' p. 20

[82] Chamango, *A Chegada do Evangelho,* p.16.

[83] The IRM was planted first in Tete Province in the northwest of Mozambique whereas labour for work in South African mines was drawn pincipally from the southern provinces.

[84] From 1889-1907 the 'British Central Africa Protectorate' (BCA) and from 1907- 1964 'Nyasaland'.

into contact with Ngonis from PEA where he was stationed at Mlanda, BCA, just two kilometres from the border. Ngoni family networks extended across the frontier and better access to work, education and health care, within the British protectorate, led to movement from one place to another. Not only would local members of Mlanda congregation become a Christian influence on family and friends in PEA, but also catechumens from PEA came to attend catechism-classes and sermons at the Mlanda mission station.[85] Early work among migrants, therefore, went some way to preparing the ground for DRC missionaries to plant mission stations in PEA.

By the 1950s, states Gouws, ministry among Africans migrating to and from South African mines had also become an important element of DRC missionary strategy. 'Mozambicans were reached with the gospel,' he says, '…through organised evangelism initiatives. Of these efforts the "Kampong" mission in South Africa, done mainly by the DRC of Transvaal and the DRC in Africa amongst the migrant workers at the mines, became the most familiar…[attended by] a big number from Mozambique…DRC churches decided to launch a special evangelism initiative to attend to the spiritual needs of these workers and very fruitful results followed.'[86] A similar pattern, also from the 1950s, was evident as evangelism among Mozambicans working in Rhodesian mines was established as a strategy of the DRC. In 1956 it was reported that the work was bearing fruit and converts from PEA were encouraged to use their home visits as an evangelistic witness to their family and friends.[87]

Church development following the Berlin Conference

As we have seen, both Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary activity preceded the Berlin Convention of 1884-1885. However, the Convention was significant as a catalyst for missionary activity of all traditions.[88] The General Act of the Berlin Convention required the Portuguese to accept Protestant mission activity, and the increased licence granted to Protestant missions led to unprecedented growth.

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[85] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 30-32.

[86] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p. 62.

[87] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p. 63.

[88] Chamango, *A Chegada do Evangelho…*, p.4; Nelson, *Mozambique: A Country Study,* p. 16.

Missionary work that led directly to the birth of the Dutch Reformed Church[89] among Africans in PEA can be traced to initial work in Malawi (then Nyasaland), which then led to work in PEA during 1908, when licence was granted by the Portuguese authorities to begin a mission.[90] We shall return to the development of the DRC in PEA in the next chapter.

Post-Berlin tensions

Although the terms of the General Act of the Berlin Convention obliged the Portuguese to tolerate Protestant mission activity, Protestant missionaries remained unwelcome. The colonial authorities viewed Protestant groups as agencies that cultivated political dissent - among both missionaries and Africans. Whether it was the hostility of the Portuguese that led to missionary subversion, or the subversion of missionaries that led to the hostility of the colonizer, the situation escalated and the contempt of Protestant missionaries towards the Portuguese was not well disguised.[91]

The extent to which each Protestant denomination saw the agency of Africans as part of their mission strategy varied, but the development of Africans played a significant part across all the churches. According to Van Butselaar, the growth of the Protestant churches in Mozambique came largely as a result of credibility gained in the use of local languages and the provision of good schooling by missionaries, who were themselves educated to a high standard.[92] The use of the Tsonga language by Swiss Presbyterians, for instance, says Harries, 'allowed disparate peoples, for the first time, to visualise themselves as a community.'[93] Directly or indirectly, the Protestant churches facilitated the politicisation of African people and, intentionally or otherwise, equipped

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[89] Since 1974 'Igreja Reformada em Moçambique'; Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, p. 34.

[90] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, p. 83.

[91] Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, pp. 187-189.

[92] van Butselaar, *Africanos, Missionarios e Colonistas*, p. 11.

[93] Patrick Harries, 'The Roots of Ethnicity: Discourse and the Politics of Language Construction in South-East Africa,' *African Affairs* 87.346 (1988): pp. 43-44.

them with the formal education they would later use to navigate and challenge colonial politics.[94]

Catholic responses

As we have noted, all traditions accelerated their church-planting efforts after the Berlin conference. In an attempt to stem the growth of the Protestant churches, the colonial authorities, Roman Catholic padres and local administrators frequently accused non-Catholic missionaries of dissent. Many Protestant missionaries were English speaking and frequently were seen as British spies whose aim it was to encourage Africans to reject the Portuguese.[95] In order to address increasing Protestant influence in Mozambique, the Portuguese declared welcome Roman Catholic missionaries from all nations. Catholic mission stations were then scattered over vast regions to pre-empt what were perceived as rival agencies.[96]

During the early 1920s, in a move comparable to their strategy in Angola,[97] the Portuguese state began forcibly closing schools established by Protestant groups, as well as mission stations, and expelling missionary personnel from Mozambique. The group we focus on in the next chapter, the DRC/IRM, was among those that fell foul of Protestant missionary constraints. By 1919 the DRC missionaries had opened four mission sites in PEA, but in 1922 Catholic pressure led to the closure of each, and DRC missionaries were obliged to leave PEA.[98]

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[94] The hostility held later by Frelimo, towards religion, claims Isichei, is best explained by the links between the Catholic Church and Portuguese colonialism. Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p.187,188, 189; Alda Romão Saúte, *O Intercâmbio entre os Moçambicanos e as Missões Cristãs e a educaçao em Moçambique, Promédia*, Maputo, 2005, pp. 144-146.

[95] van Butselaar, Africanos, Missionarios e Colonistas, p.11; William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *The third Portuguese empire, 1825-1975: A study in economic imperialism*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 110.

[96] van Butselaar, *Africanos, Missionarios e Colonistas*, p. 231.

[97] In 1921 in Angola the Portuguese prohibited the use of local languages in local schools, requiring missionary personel demonstrate proficiency in Portuguese for schools to operate. The result was the closure of over two hundred schools. Brian Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792-1992*, (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992), p. 340.

[98] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, p. 40-49

Non-Catholic traditions during the same period could not, of course, look to the colonial administration for funding. Many Protestant missionaries, therefore, would look to their agencies abroad for support. However, there were initiatives among Protestants to develop independent thinking and agency among Africans. During the 1930s the Swiss Mission (Presbyterian church) began to organize a special education programme for young people in the form of youth groups called *mintlawa*.[99] The main objective of these groups was to promote self-reliance, broaden knowledge, develop individual skills, promote Christian knowledge, and develop a new worldview. The informality of these groups meant they were able to function in an otherwise highly restrictive Portuguese system. This Presbyterian methodology was later also adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Mission.[100] According Macamo, the push for self-reliance among some Protestant churches did extend to the member support for local ministry.

> The Swiss Mission and then the American Board Churches…had a policy which emphasised the need to encourage communities to be self-reliant…This was understood in the terms that they should be able to pay for their minister that worked for them….They would not allow a parish to be set-up if the community could not show that it had the ability to financially support that…It went up to the 1948 when the Swiss disengaged…at least theoretically, by granting independence to the Mozambicans...'[101]

The AICs pre-independence

Harries describes unresolved tensions during the mid-1880s between Swiss missionaries and African Christians in PEA, leading then to the emergence of a church led by Yosefa Mahlamhala.[102] By the end of the 19th century, a number of African Instituted Churches (AIC's) were emerging in the colony. Like the mainline traditions, the emergence of independent churches in Mozambique was usually due to Mozambican returnee migrant workers planting branches of the groups they had become part of in South Africa. Indigenous forms of Christian community and expression resonated especially with Mozambican men who had been ferried away from their homeland

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[99] The singular form is '*ntlawa*', a Tsonga word for 'group'.

[100] Teresa Cruz e Silva, 'Identity and Political Consciousness in Southern Mozambique, 1930–1974: Two Presbyterian Biographies Contextualised,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24.1 (1998): p. 226

[101] Elísio Macamo, interview by author, conducted remotely using Skype video and sound computer application, 5 April 2011.

[102] Patrick Harries, 'Christianity in Black and White: The Establishment of Protestant Churches in Southern Mozambique,' *Lusotopie* (1998), pp. 319-322.

communities to work in the mines. 'Mazione'[103] churches, particularly, founded in the mines of South Africa, attracted Mozambicans to their Sunday schools, literacy classes and 'tea meetings'. Some migrants began their own church groups in South Africa, then taking them back to PEA with the economic support of other miners. Others returned to their villages of origin with the objective of setting up schools.[104] By the mid-1930s, it is reckoned, there were more than 380 such groups in PEA, with memberships running to hundreds of thousands.[105]

Independent churches did not always emanate directly from the mines. The formation of the *Igreja Luz Episcopal*, founded in 1918 by Muti Sikobele, was most probably the result of Sikobele, himself a worker in South Africa, having come into contact with South African independent church groups. Interaction with AICs is likely to have influenced his consequent decision to work for African independence within his local Methodist Episcopal Church in Inhambane.[106]

Significantly for this thesis, Sikobele stressed a self-supporting, self-governing, self-promoting ethos among Africans in the church at Inhambane. Although at first he gained the approval of white missionaries, by 1918 their suspicion regarding some of Sikobele's ideas led to tensions between the missionaries with some of the Africans. This resulted in the establishment of a group that was independent of the missionaries. Accordingly, the *Associacão Igreja Luso-Africana* (Association Luso African Church) was founded in 1937, in 1942 taking the name *Igreja Luz Africana*. (Church of African Light).[107] Similarly, a schism between Africans and missionaries of the Swiss Mission in Lourenco Marques led to the formation in 1921 of the *Igreja Luzo Africa*.[108]

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[103] 'Mazione' a term used both by insiders and observers in Mozambique to typify some AICs. Alfredsson and Linha , 'Where God lives…' p. 20.

[104] Harries, 'Christianity in Black and White…,' p.331.

[105] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p. 72.

[106] Alfredsson and Linha, 'Where God lives,' p. 18.

[107] Alfredsson and Linha, 'Where God lives,' p. 18.

[108] Alfredsson and Linha, 'Where God lives,' p. 18. The researcher does not know the significance of the 'z' in *Luzo* but suspects the word is intended to indicate 'Portuguese', therefore: 'Church of Portuguese Africa'.

Both contemporary accounts and later historical writing on independency in Mozambique for this era are scant. However, consistent with general patterns elsewhere in Southern Africa, it is a plausible generalisation that churches that splintered from European traditions (sometimes referred to as 'Ethiopian') were usually led by Mozambicans with more formal education, and centred around the rhetoric of political independence. By contrast, 'Mazione' AICs drew membership from the poorest of the poor and were in fact independent in all ways.[109]

Shifts in Church-State relations

With the rise of Salazar in Portugal, from 1928 a new era dawned which would reshape church-state relations in PEA. Whilst blocking Protestant schools in Mozambique, the state now entrusted the education of virtually all *indigenas* to the Catholic Church.[110]

This education strategy was formalized in 1940 in a Missionary Agreement or *'Concordo Missionário'* between the Vatican and the Portuguese government, which also reduced the control wielded by the Portuguese state over missionary activity. The Catholic Church was given the right to send non-Portuguese nationals to Portuguese colonies and granted substantial monetary grants to its missions. Now the way was open for Catholic missionaries from Italy, Spain and France, as well as Portugal. With the influx of missionaries from other countries, the Church expanded its involvement in primary schools and seminaries and extended its pastoral ministry from the Portuguese settler population to cater also for black Africans.[111]

By the 1960s, a new wave of Protestant missionaries was thinking in terms of the eventual independence of the churches they represented. In 1962, mission leaders in Switzerland recognised the financial independence of the Presbyterian Church of

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[109] Institute for Contextual Theology, *African Independent Churches speaking for ourselves,* (Braamfontein, ICT: Johannesburg, 1985), p.18-20.

[110] Isaacman and Isaacman, *Mozambique*, p.28-29.

[111] McKenna, *Finding a Social Voice*, p. 82.

Mozambique, then signing a convention that defined a relationship between the mission and the national church. The Swiss Mission elected its first African president in 1963. Shortly afterwards the United Methodists nominated their first Mozambican bishop. In 1970 the Swiss Mission formalised an agreement which gave full autonomy to the national Presbyterian Church.[112] Both power and property were now transferred increasingly to Protestant churches under African leadership.

By contrast, for the twenty-year period preceding national independence, the Catholic Church was receiving tax exemption on all properties, and on pensions for senior workers. The monopoly on formal education for Catholics meant also that, by 1955, 2,000 of the 2,040 'rudimentary' schools were operated under the Church's mandate. Three Mozambican dioceses were established. By the mid 1960s there were eight. Although the multiplication of dioceses implied more locally situated governance for the church, the Portuguese retained a large measure of control over the mission activity among Catholics.[113]

Tax exemptions and other financial privileges for employees of the Catholic Church meant that the Church continued to develop along lines it would not be able to replicate in an era of independence. Furthermore, the growth of the Catholic Church generally led also to an increase in foreign personnel who came to service the various responsibilities the Church had undertaken. Even as late as 1974, only 33 of the 509 Catholic priests in the country were African.[114]

National independence and the churches

Rossouw and Eugenio have identified two phases in the relations between the independent Mozambican state and all church traditions: the years from 1975 to 1982

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[112] Morier-Genoud 'Of God and Caesar,' pp. 10-11.

[113] The model of state funding for a church development particularly unlikely in Mozambique's case, post independence, as the first Frelimo government was hostile towards the churches in general, and especially towards the Catholic Church which had so collaborated with the coloniser prior to independence. Ndege, *Culture and Customs of Mozambique*, p. 30.

[114] Morier-Genoud 'Of God and Caesar,' pp.11, 33.

can be characterized as a period of state hostility towards the churches. From 1983 the state became increasingly tolerant and ultimately cooperative.[115]

Pre-independence, the freedom fighters perceived the Catholic Church as an ally of the Portuguese colonial establishment. According to a retrospective study of Portuguese secret police (PIDE) documents undertaken by Brandão, 20-21 percent of Catholic priests in the 1969-1974 period objectively 'disfavoured' collaboration with the Portuguese authorities.[116] Nonetheless, in 1975, the view of the Catholic bishop of Nampula, Manuel Viera Pinto was that the '…Church…actively collaborated with the colonial regime…because it willingly lent itself to the spreading of national Portuguese culture, because it showed itself openly on the side of the colonial rulers.'[117]

By contrast, revelations that many of the freedom fighters themselves had come from Protestant and Reformed churches, and marched to songs and tunes from Protestant hymnbooks, was initially to fuel the perception that non-Catholic Christian traditions were foreign agencies wanting to assist the national independence cause. Indeed many of Frelimo's founder members had begun study at Protestant seminaries, before moving to politics.[118] 'Eduardo Mondlane's[119] abilities to mobilize and organize, and his evident leadership charisma,' says Cruz e Silva, 'owed much to skills fostered by the Swiss Mission…[H]is life trajectory is a testimony to the manner in which the Swiss mission work had significant political implications and consequences, even if these were largely unintentional and indirect.[120]

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[115] Rossouw and Macamo, 'Church-State Relationship in Mozambique,' p. 537.

[116] Pedro Ramos Brandão, 'Igreja Católica e Estado Novo: Moçambique 1969/1974,' (Article) *Latitudes*, nº 27, September 2006: p. 88, accessed 6 July 2017, http://www.revues-plurielles.org/_uploads/pdf/17_27_16.pdf

[117] Quoted in Isichei, *A History of Christianity*, p. 322.

[118] Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' pp.14-16.

[119] The founding president of the Frelimo liberation movement.

[120] Teresa Cruz e Silva, 'The Influence of the Swiss Mission on Eduardo Mondlane (1930-1961),' *Journal of Religion in Africa* Xxviii, no. 2 (1998): pp. 187-188.

Mondlane, however, was assassinated prior to independence in 1969.[121] Whatever sympathies the movement may have shown under his leadership towards Protestants, at independence and in power, Frelimo's antagonism towards the Church went beyond settling scores with Roman Catholics. Guided by a developing Marxist philosophy, all Christian denominations were seen by Frelimo as unwelcome foreign anti-revolutionary agencies.[122] The minister of culture and education, Graça Simbini, informed reporters that no church would receive special favours, irrespective of pre-independence relationships. All 'superstition' – a term used to cover both Christianity and traditional African beliefs – was seen as contrary to the revolutionary aspirations of Frelimo.[123] Although notionally recognized, the new constitution did not define religious rights. The Churches were to suffer in a variety of ways as state actions against the church included detention of church personnel – both expatriate and Mozambican.[124] 'No one must go from village to village to make the people religious,' said Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, shortly after independence:

> We will not permit this. Only Frelimo must do this work of mobilizing. We are conscious of the battle in which we are going to engage, because some here already have a scheme of fixed thoughts, but the children must not be contaminated.[125]

In the view of Machel, at least, the economic dependency of the churches meant they were still susceptible to other forms of external control. In 1975 he stated: 'Presbyterians are linked to Switzerland. They think of Switzerland instead of thinking of Mozambique. The head is in Switzerland, the body in Mozambique. [In reference to Catholicism:] Now the head is in Rome, the body in Mozambique…Others are Methodists. They have their head in America, far [away], there in America and the body in Mozambique. The American thinks for the Mozambican, the Swiss thinks for the Mozambican. Why does the Mozambican not think for himself?'[126]

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[121] George Robert, 'The assassination of Eduardo Mondlane: FRELIMO, Tanzania, and the politics of exile in Dar es Salaam,' *Cold War History* Vol. 17, Iss. 1 (2017): p. 1.

[122] Adrian Hastings, *A History of African Christianity, 1950–1975* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 213.

[123] Regehr, 'Mozambique's church: a time of testing,': pp. 440-443.

[124] Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' p.26-27

[125] Quoted in Ernie Regehr, 'Mozambique's church: a time of testing,' *Christian Century*, 93 no. 16 (5 May 1976), p. 440.

[126] Translated by and quoted in Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' pp. 38-39

Progressively, between 1975 and 1979, the Frelimo government implemented Marxist policies, including an antagonistic posture towards the churches.[127] Instances of military personnel entering church services to halt baptism ceremonies were reported. In many cases, mission stations consisted of a single compound, or a single building had been used as both as a school and church meeting place. Announced one month after independence, the seizure of church schools by the government meant in many instances that congregations lost their places of worship.[128] During the late 1970s, the state blocked church bank accounts, claiming that money from Portugal belonged to Mozambicans. Foreign sponsorship was forbidden for a period, the government claiming that donations were being used for subversive activities.[129] Education and health – until then run largely by religious institutions - were nationalized under the supervision of armed soldiers. Finally, foreign Christian workers were given a week to decide to work within the new nationalized structures, or to repatriate.[130]

The independence of Mozambique from Portugal, of course, meant the end of the missionary *Concordat* between the Vatican and Portugal.[131] Catholics in Mozambique now had to attempt a degree of independence that the Protestants had developed over decades. 'USAREMO,' a newly formed union of priests was established, declaring from the outset that the future of the Catholic Church rested in the Africanisation of both the liturgy and the hierarchy.[132] Only now was the national church able to implement the liturgical and structural changes mandated at Vatican II between 1962 and 1965.[133] Africans were nominated to posts of responsibility throughout the Church at lower levels. Meanwhile, unease with and opposition to the new political situation meant that

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[127] Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' p.18, 28

[128] Regehr, 'Mozambique's church: a time of testing,': pp. 440-443.

[129] McKenna, 'Chapter 5: Marxism and the Church in Mozambique,' p. 85.

[130] Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' p.29

[131] Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' p.33-34

[132] McKenna 'Chapter 5: Marxism and the Church in Mozambique,' p. 71

[133] John Perry, 'Catholic Peacemaking: A History and Analysis with Special Emphasis on the Community of Sant'Egidio' in *Peace On Earth: The Role of Religion in Peace and Conflict Studies*, eds. Thomas Matyok, Maureen Flaherty, Hamdesa Tuso, Jessica Senehi, and Sean Byrne (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2013), p. 76.

900 sisters and 300 fathers, most of whom were Portuguese, left the country within the first two years of independence.[134] The appointment of Africans to the leadership of the Protestant churches also became more widespread. Most foreign missionaries were repatriated and more mainline churches assumed national administrative independence.[135] Among them was the DRC, which in 1975 registered officially as the *Igreja Reformada em Moçambique* (IRM) .[136]

How the indigenisation of the churches led to new forms of economic dependency

Political independence for the churches, however, did not equal self-reliance. Generally speaking, where the administrative oversight of foreigners receded, it was replaced instead by a new relationship of foreign sponsorship from abroad. In fact, the retreat of denominational missionaries from the scene led to a freedom for the national churches to source funds from new international sponsors.[137]

The Protestant grouping of the Christian Council of Mozambique (*Conselho Cristão de Moçambique* - CCM) had existed since the 1940s. However, it was upon national and ecclesial independence, and under the pressure of a difficult relationship with Frelimo, that ten Protestant groups under the CCM umbrella began in earnest to collaborate and represent their interests to the government. Collectively the CCM adopted a policy of cooperation with the state. In the name of national reconstruction, and supported by donors in Switzerland, the USA, Sweden and South Africa, much humanitarian work, commissioned by Frelimo, was taken on by the churches.[138]

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[134] USAREMO: *União dos Sacerdotes e Religiosas de Moçambique*. Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' pp.33-34

[135] Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' p. 37

[136] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp. 80-82, 85.

[137] Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' p. 37

[138] Julio Andre Vilanculos, 'The Role Played by Church and State in the Democratisation Process in Mozambique, 1975-2004,' PhD diss., University of Pretoria: South Africa, 2013. p. 91, accessed 7 July 2017, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global, https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/docview/1711626768?accountid=10673 ; Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' pp. 38-39.

It is highly significant for the churches that, at the time many of them were to also gain administrative independence from foreign missions, a tolerance of their activities by the state became contingent on their ability to deliver aid. By the 1980's, due to the civil war and economic crisis, the state provision of social services was deteriorating. All the major churches, by contrast, were able to source the kind of support from abroad that the state could not deliver.[139] As a result, the Government became more appreciative of the contribution the churches were making in areas that would otherwise be their responsibility.[140]

By 1982, the need of the state for the churches, and criticism from Western donor nations of religious persecution in Mozambique by the state, led to a shift in policy.[141] The government's attitude softened also towards the involvement of foreign church workers, for instance in teaching and the health professions. Foreign financial assistance channelled directly to churches was also again permitted.[142]

In 1986 Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, died in an airplane crash and was succeeded by Joachim Chissano. Chissano entered post to be confronted with a negative balance of payments. His international socialist allies were facing their own economic crises and so were poorly placed to assist. Instead, Chissano turned to Western nations and the Middle East. With the assistance they were to provide came various conditions, including an improved treatment of religious bodies by the state.[143] The church-state relationship that developed from this time was markedly different, so much so that some in the churches were to raise concerns that the prophetic call of the Church towards the state might be lost altogether.[144]

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[139] Rossouw and Macamo, 'Church-State Relationship in Mozambique,' pp. 541-542.

[140] Rossouw and Macamo, 'Church-State Relationship in Mozambique,' pp. 539-540.

[141] Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' pp.57-58.

[142] McKenna, *Finding a Social Voice*, p. 95.

[143] Rossouw and Macamo, 'Church-State Relationship in Mozambique,' p. 543.

[144] Rossouw and Macamo, 'Church-State Relationship in Mozambique,' p. 544.

As Teresa Cruz e Silva has shown, independent thinking and, in some cases, church planting, had been the hallmark of some Protestant groups. Ironically, national independence, followed by a series of ecological disasters, was to frustrate progress made in those areas. Speaking of the Presbyterian church, as well as other Protestant groups, Macamo says,

> after independence…The economic context was very difficult to be able to maintain its autonomy. So…[the Presbyterians] became more and more dependent on assistance from Switzerland. You know, with the humanitarian crisis we had, with the war and natural disasters brought to Mozambique emergency assistance. And most of those organisations doing that with Church organisations had that kind of ideological orientation. They saw the churches in Mozambique as the main vehicle for their assistance, and that changed the self-perception of churches in Mozambique.
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> In the 1980's, particularly, more and more churches began to adopt an attitude…seeing themselves as vehicles of development and emergency assistance, which then also funded their own activities…They are victims of their own importance and size…
>
> These agencies chose the churches as honest committed people. But, what they did at the same time was to send-out the message that, 'You can get money from us to do good things and that's okay. People are there to be assisted. It's okay if people are poor. We are here to help them.'
>
> The message [sent to Africans by the aid industry] is that your poverty is fine – you are victims of circumstances, and we are here to help. They created horizons for people. The churches came to think, 'Oh, so we don't have to get our members to support us, because we can get all the money that we need for our work from abroad.'[145]

The pattern is not unique to Mozambique. As Gifford notes, the churches of sub-Saharan Africa have generally been seen by foreign donors as strategically placed channels for the distribution of resources for their aid and development projects. Such churches, he says, often undergo an 'NGO-isation', whereby funding for development activities brings new priorities for churches.[146]

AICs in an era of national independence

It would not be appropriate to group small, locally founded, independent, churches like the MCL and ADS alongside either the Catholic Church, or the big

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[145] Elísio Macamo, interview by author, conducted remotely using Skype video and sound computer application, 5 April 2011.

[146] Paul Gifford, *Christianity, Development and Modernity in African* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2015). pp. 94, 95, 97, 102, 103.

mainline Protestant churches with European roots. Nor, however, can they be placed simply alongside classical AICs.[147] They are churches that have emerged independently, refer to themselves as evangelical, but bear a resemblance to the bigger international Protestant groups in the prominent use of the Bible.

Unsatisfactory as it would be to categorise these groups as AICs, it is nonetheless to the AICs we now turn for the following two reasons: 1. in general terms the AICs are an important part of the church scene in Mozambique and a broad understanding of the ecclesiastical context requires also some familiarity with their development; 2. while the independent evangelical groups are not classical AICs, they do share a certain developmental trajectory.[148] Given the paucity of material relating to independent evangelical groups in particular, consideration of the AICs goes some way to providing a broader context for the MCL and ADS in the case studies of Chapters 4 and 5.

Prior to national independence in 1975, Alfredsson estimates that there were in the region of 18 to 300 AICs in Mozambique. Of those, he identifies thirteen as being Ethiopian, the rest, presumably, being groups that emerged independently of European church traditions, often referred to as 'Mazione'.[149]

With reference to the 'Maziones',[150] most commentators identify the latter years of the 20th century as the key growth period for the AIC's.[151] Census data from 1997

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[147] Neither the MCL nor ADS would self-identify as 'mazione'. Nor have they not sought especially to Africanise their worship or theology.

[148] The ADS, for instance, emerged from a 'mazione' group. By the time of this research ADS leaders distanced their church from that background, but resonances were visible still and the shared history highly relevant. Similarly, some MCL congregations reflect well the dynamic, known to many AICs, whereby male members work in South African mines, but nonetheless support a congregation in Mozambique financially. There are parallels also in the way many AICs emerge without trained leadership and the experience of the MCL, whose founder also received no formal training.

[149] Alfredsson and Calisto, 'Where God lives,' p.19.

[150] 'Mazione' a term used both by insiders and observers in Mozambique to typify some AICs. Alfredsson and Linha , 'Where God lives…' p. 20. For discussion of AIC terminology see Introduction, section: 'Locating the churches', pages 5-8.

[151] Alfredsson and Linha, 'Where God lives. Introduction to a Study of the Independent Protestant Churches in the Maputo Area,' p. 20, 46; James Pfeiffer, 'African Independent Churches in Mozambique: Healing the Afflictions of Inequality,' *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 16(2), (2002): p.176.

suggested that Roman Catholic affiliation represented about 24 percent of the population. Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and other Protestants made-up only 8 percent. In the same period, those listed as Zionist Christian represented affiliation of just over 17 percent, collectively making them the second largest Christian group.[152]

Zionist churches were to proliferate especially in the aftermath of the civil war - during the 1990's, and into the new millennium. [153] Analytical reasons given for this tend to centre around broader patterns of religious development in Africa. In Mozambique the growth stems also from a loosening of governmental regulations on religious expression to allow movement and proselytism.[154]

A further reason for the growth of the AICs in Mozambique would seem also to explain the case of the ADS emergence in Magoanine with its multi ethnic settlement in that peri-urban area in 1992:[155] Urbanisation during the 1990s is also offered as an explanatory factor, leading often to migrant peoples' search for a substitutionary family or clan that is well catered for in these community-orientated churches.[156] .

Characterized by a strong sense of commitment and community, in contexts of dislocation brought about by labour migration, they have thrived as they addressed the issues faced by Africans. The place of healing, for instance, has been paramount to these communities, and remains so today. Mozambicans responded in droves to churches that acknowledged and addressed their members anxieties over sorcery, bad luck, family disharmony, poverty or illness, in ways that were not characteristic of the Catholic and mainline churches.[157]

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[152] Michael Klitsch, 'In Mozambique, Social Diversity within Church Congregations Encourages Contraceptive Use,' *International Family Planning Perspectives* 28, no. 2 (2002): pp. 126-127

[153] James Pfeiffer, 'Commodity Fetichismo, the Holy Spirit, and the Turn to Pentecostal and African Independent Churches in Central Mozambique,' *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, Vol. 29, Issue 3, (2005): pp. 255, 256.

[154] Pfeiffer, 'Commodity Fetichismo…' p.263.

[155] See Chapter 5, section 'Magoanine', pages 169-171.

[156] Pfeiffer, 'Commodity Fetichismo…' p.263.

[157] Pfeiffer, 'Commodity Fetichismo,' p. 256.

The self-funding of these churches was assumed from the outset. Zionists also took responsibility for their evangelism and their governance.[158] The manner of giving in Zionist churches is seen generally by members as representing support for the membership as a whole, and often talked about as a form of safety-net distribution for members.[159] The continuity of this resourcefulness has been perpetuated as new recruits are counselled in faithfulness, and guided with regard to activism on behalf of the church.[160]

Another factor also modelled within the MCL and ADS[161] is flexibility for those in leadership to take up paid work that is external to their role in the church. Typically, AIC leaders may benefit from the giving of members, be that monetarily, or giving in kind such as a gift of vegetables cultivated on a member's *machamba*. The diversification of income sources for AIC leaders, however, including paid work for another employer, means they are not dependent on monetary contributions from the members, and that tithes and offerings may instead be employed for projects of the church, or used simply to cover the pastor's expenses. [162]

Among Zionist groups that Pfeiffer studied in Mozambique early in the present century, he noted a concern to involve men, encouraging them in their domestic and marital responsibilities, using the wages to support their families and avoiding extra-marital sexual relationships. In terms of church economies, he noted, members were generally encouraged to tithe, but that those without funds were not barred from participation.[163] Whilst it is generally true that self-funded work among independent churches does not carry the prestige of the major denominational programmes, it would

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[158] Allan Anderson, 'Pluriformity and Contextuality in African Initiated Churches,' Paper read at Conference on Christianity in the African Diaspora, University of Leeds, September 1997, accessed 7 October 2017, http://artsweb.bham.ac.uk/aanderson/Publications/pluriformity_and_contextuality_i.htm

[159] The qualities demonstrated also by the MCL at Manjacaze. See Chapter 4, pages 150-151.

[160] Pfeiffer, 'Commodity,' pp. 274-277.

[161] See Chapters 4 and 5.

[162] Pfeiffer, 'Commodity Fetichismo,' p. 275.

[163] Pfeiffer, 'African Independent Churches ,' p.184

be inaccurate to describe these groups as merely subsisting. Alfredsson describes field research undertaken with independent groups in Maputo province whose outreach include a centre for street children, a centre for older people, and a training school for pastors.

The church scene at the time of this research

Although not the focus of this study, preliminary work was undertaken to ascertain the broader scene in which the case studies that follow are set. Not only, it seemed, had new forms of economic dependence emerged among the older churches, following the national peace accord of 1992, but new church groups from abroad were also establishing churches along the same lines.

For the Roman Catholics, the voluntary giving of African members had never been seen as a foundational resource. By national independence, and the corresponding de-linking of church and state, the pattern had long been set in which national members did not perceive the upkeep of the church as their responsibility. The debate in 2007 suggests many members still held that view. Among leaders also there was the view that Mozambique's economic challenges necessitated external support. 'We have people that still won't accept it [that nationals can support their own churches],' explained a Brazilian Roman Catholic missionary priest who was working in Maputo Province.

> Some are members of the priesthood…Mostly from Europe – from Italy, Portugal. Places where they can raise finances, saying: 'The people here are suffering so much. We are asking you to tithe for these people that suffer.'
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> 'We will ask people in our own countries,' they say, 'friends, neighbours, congregations that will help.' And so they avoid the pastoral responsibility to raise funds locally. Maybe they think it will be too much work, conscientising [local] people. But they treat people [nationals] like children. And children become accustomed to receiving.[164]

As we have observed, historically there were initiatives among Methodists and Presbyterians to promote the independence of their churches and to plant self-reliant congregations. However, Cruz e Silva, who has written most on the self-reliant ideology

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[164] José Geraldo da Silva, (Brazilian missionary padre of the Parish of São João Bosco, Bairro Bagamoyo, Maputo Province, and member of the Pastoral Commission of Tithing *(Commissão de Pastoral do Dízimo)*, interview by author (undertaken at CARITAS buildings – No. 777 Avenida Amilca Cabral) Maputo, 8 September 2010.

of those churches, doubts that economic self-support was in fact achieved either pre- or post-independence.

> …[I]f you look to the Presbyterian Church, even during the colonial period when the were declared independent, and even after the independence of Mozambique…they were dependent on the Swiss...They have a tradition of doing projects of development to help people not to be not dependent...So why they [the Presbyterian church] don't do for themselves?[165]

Writing in 2012, Felicidade Chirinda claimed that the Presbyterian administrative autonomy was still a 'heavy burden', rendering the church in Mozambique 'financially weak and dependent' on the mother church in Switzerland.[166]

Historically, the AICs in Mozambique represented an exception to the patterns of dependency found among other churches. However, what Pobee says of the AICs in Africa generally is pertinent to the Mozambican context, and also incorporating the smaller evangelical groups in this study: '…Since [the AICs] have no missionary "godfathers" to turn to, they must take responsibility for the entire life, including the financial needs, of their churches…[However] the temptation for AICs to look outside for financial support must be carefully assessed [so]…authentic interdependence may be discovered.'[167]

By 2010, leaders from among Mozambican AICs had become attracted to the external funding they observed as available to mainline churches. In 2010, and speaking as general secretary of the CCM, Marcos Macamo related:

> I am in the middle of this. All the years I have been here. They [the Zionists] have come and have been banging on the door…Many of them asked for help with their initiatives…They watch the television and see us carrying out our very big social projects.

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[165] Teresa Cruz e Silva, interview by author, (undertaken in at Cruz e Silva's office at the African Studies Department of Eduardo Mondlane University) Maputo, 21 June 2010.

[166] Teresa Cruz e Silva, 'Identity and Political Consciousness in Southern Mozambique, 1930–1974: Two Presbyterian Biographies Contextualised,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24, no. 1 (1998): p. 236; Felicidade Naúme Chirinda, 'Autonomy of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (IPM): Pastoral concern for liberation,' (PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2012), p.xii.

[167] John S. Pobee and Gabriel Ositelu II, *African Initiatives in Christianity* (Geneva:WCC Publications, 1998), p.55.

> They feel this is a good thing. 'We have to be part of this…'…There are already Zionists that are wanting to write [development] projects to submit to donors. But they don't have a channel.
>
> When they look at the Christian Council they see a channel…[T]hey look at the Christian Council and think, 'One day we would like to have this'.

Macamo himself is noted for having been most receptive among the mainline leaders towards AICs, although he also recognises a danger in that relationship for the independence of those churches. '[The AICs]… are managing in their own way. [With us they could gain]…systematisation. The danger that exists [for them]…is to lose the origins, the vision, and to become instrumentalised. To stop originating, to stop seeing God in your own culture, to lose the love and effectiveness, the sense of community, the communion they have. Because of [pursuing] resources.'

One American group, which did not wish to be identified in this thesis, began work in Mozambique during 2007. Church plants of that church, globally, are perceived by their central administration, in Louisiana, merely as 'campuses' of the mother church. In Mozambique, this group had named the church building, based in a suburb of Maputo, after a North American policeman. Certain concessions were made in terms of local song and dance to make up part of ecclesial liturgy, but significant components of each service were sourced abroad and designed with US congregations in mind. '[I]t's not just a church plant,' explained the missionary and pastor from America:

> …[I]t's just an offsite service of the main one [i.e. in the USA]. We are not self-sustaining…Our operations budget for the church here comes from the head-quarters [in the US]…I call the shots on the ground. [Using Skype] I go into the campus pastors meetings [in the USA] that we do monthly. [In what I teach, here] I follow the same teaching series…We are given the topics…I'm not going to use much American football analogies, [but] I get the principle that is trying to be taught through that series and apply it here to Mozambique.[168]

The campus model of missionary church plants derives from another trend from the United States known as church 'franchising'.[169] In its North American context, franchising sees popular church 'brands' transmitting components of their services via

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[168] Interviewee asked to remain anonymous, interviewed by researcher (undertaken at Café, 'Nautilus', Whitbank Road, Matola.) Maputo, 11 October 2010.

video links to multi-site satellite churches. Various other aspects of business practice are usually also incorporated in the administration from one site to another.[170]

The same interviewee went on to explain the rationale of his sending organisation's charitable giving through its church plants abroad. One project from America was to fund the purchase of charcoal for national church members then to distribute to homes locally, irrespective of the wealth or poverty of the occupants. '[O]f course,' he explained,

> we [also] honour those in the church who come to help and serve...I know that they are poor. I have seen their houses...If we are going to do a charcoal give-away, as we do sometimes: Okay – 'Let's buy enough charcoal to give away to 200 or 300 families,' but then also, 'Before we leave to go hand-out these charcoals - get your own little bag of charcoal.'[171]

The interviewee was asked how poorer church members had received the instruction from a foreign missionary to deliver coal to homes in the neighbourhood that would also include occupants perceived locally as being wealthy.

> We get a little bit of resistance there – 'Oh! This house doesn't need it!' But we are not giving it away because they need it. We just want to serve them. We just want to show them God's love. A rich person needs God's love just as much as a poor person. You know?[172]

As Freston has shown, the Lusophone connection with Brazil has also led to a highly significant south-to-south influx of missionary activity in Mozambique, much of it prone to the same dependency-creating patterns.[173] The emergence of Brazilian churches in Mozambique has taken place in the context of increased investment from both the churches and the aid sectors, as well as the powerful cultural influence of the Brazilian media. In 2010 Brazil's aid programme through contributions to international

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[170] For US church franchises see: Bob Smietana, 'High-tech Circuit Riders: Satellite Churches Are Discovering a New Way to Grow the Body of Christ,' *Christianity Today* 49, no. 9 (2005): p.60; Charles Zech, 'Understanding Denominational Structures: Churches as Franchise Organizations,' *International Journal of the Economics of Business* 10, no. 3 (2003): pp. 323-35.

[171] Anonymous interview, Maputo, 11 October 2010.

[172] Anonymous interview, Maputo, 11 October 2010.

[173] Paul Freston, 'The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God: A Brazilian Church Finds Success in Southern Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35.1 (2005): p. 36.

organisations and technical projects was estimated to be worth $923 million. Mozambique was the single largest recipient country.[174]

Africa receives about twenty percent of Brazilian missionaries, with Portuguese-speaking countries leading the way. Brazilians, states Freston, 'have wanted to believe that their cultural and racial mix equipped them perfectly for cross-cultural engagement.' In his analysis, however, quicker engagement has led also to strategic errors. 'Precisely where things were assumed to be easiest, in…Portuguese-speaking Africa, the mistakes…have been greatest…'[175]

Freston's analysis is borne out by this study. Interviews were undertaken with two representatives of a Brazilian charismatic Wesleyan Methodist group, the Igreja Metodista Wesleyana (IMW), that had undertaken sizable investment in Nacala, Nampula Province, in the construction of schools, modern materials church buildings and a theological college.[176] The scope of these initiatives was such that it is likely to render them dependent on ongoing support from abroad.[177] This kind of charity goes well beyond that which sets a national church on its own developmental path and, as history would indicate, cultivates churches that thereafter have an attitude and expectation that support comes from without.

Albeit stemming from south-to-south missionary activity, the case of the IMW is similar to the aforementioned North American group. As Freston notes, 'ecclesiastical

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[174] Adrian Frey, 'Brazil plans second generation of investments in Mozambique,' *Club of Mozambique*, accessed 15 March 2017, http://clubofmozambique.com/news/brazil-plans-second-generation-of-investments-in-mozambique/ ; Christopher Vourlias, 'TV Brasil Initiative Speaks to Africa,' *Variety* 419.3 (2010): p. 12; Giuliano Russo, Lícia De Oliveira, Alex Shankland, and Tânia Sitoe, 'On the Margins of Aid Orthodoxy: The Brazil-Mozambique Collaboration to Produce Essential Medicines in Africa,' *Globalization and Health* 10 (2014): p.70.

[175] Freston, 'The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God…' p. 36.

[176] Film footage and slides available (featuring IMW projects in Mozambique from 12 min's 40 seconds in to film. Most ambitious building projects at 16 min's (Mozambique clip ends at 17:29)) at: 'Avanço Missionário da Igreja Metodista Wesleyana,' accessed 10 February 2017, http://mais.uol.com.br/view/4r19461mua6l/avanco-missionario-da-igreja-metodista-wesleyana-04023568C8813346?types=A& See also interview in Appendix 1, pages 254-262

[177] This claim made on the basis that the researcher had not seen comparable developments attempted by churches that were funded locally. Comparable projects elsewhere were undertaken with the support by the DRC for the IRM or Swiss churches for the Presbyterians, respectively, and had remained dependent on external support or fallen into disrepair.

transplants' from Brazil also have become and popular missionary method, whereby church plant branches of their denominations around the globe, utilising the same techniques developed first on home soil.[178]

Both cases resonate somewhat with an idea used by John Drane, himself concerned with churches in the UK. Drane use the term coined by sociologist George Ritzer, that is, the 'McDonaldization' of the Church. Among other applications, Drane's use incorporates a process whereby one church is designed around the supposed success of another, in order to imitate that success. However, he argues, what is good and culturally appropriate in one place is likely to be neither more or less than that. Social contexts are diverse, he says, and the Christian message needs to be contextualised for each.[179]

Conclusion

To a large degree, the economies of the churches in PEA prior to independence are explicable in terms of the relationships each had with agencies abroad, namely the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church with the Portuguese state, and the relationship of Protestant groups with denominational links in Europe and North America. The political situation was such that Catholics and Protestants perceived one another as threats. Sponsorship from abroad was, therefore, seen positively by missionaries as a means by which to develop and consolidate the establishment of the groups they represented in a competitive and sometimes hostile environment.

It should be noted, however, that due to initiatives among Presbyterians and Methodists during the 1930s and 1940s,[180] as well as the emergence of AICs, components of independent ecclesiology were also a feature of national indigenous Christianity during this era. On balance, however, CCM General Secretary Marcos

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[178] Freston, 'The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God,' pp.35-36. For *Igreja Metodista Wesleyana* (IMW), see Chapter 2, page 83.

[179] John William Drane, *The McDonaldization of the Church: Spirituality, Creativity, and the Future of the Church* (London: Darton Longman & Todd, 2000), pp. 28, 44-45.

[180] Cruz e Silva, 'Identity and Political Consciousness,' p. 226

Macamo believes the model followed by mainline missionaries did little to prepare the churches for independence:

> The Christian Council, began with [missionaries of] the historical churches. They had their stuff…they paid…The Swiss Mission, the Episcopal Mission from America, from England. They supported their missionaries with housing, with schooling for their children, with everything.
>
> After they left, this strength did not transmit to nationals….To sustain their own churches…their mission. The missionaries had given, and the local churches had been the recipients. Recipients of orders, of instructions…of training, theology, of doctrine and everything…
>
> The leadership that exists today is not very strong, technically. It's this that weakens their churches. Because the leadership has to have a vision, where to obtain funding…how to manage funds, how to make funds locally. The leadership needs a vision for local sustainability. Not only depending…[181]

Arão Litsure, then General Secretary of the Mozambican Synod of the United Congregational Church in Southern Africa (UCCSA),[182] describes a similar process. Speaking first of the Protestants, generally, and then his own denomination he recalled:

> [From the beginning of the 19th century, t]he missionaries, many from England and America, arrived in Mozambique and began evangelising. Logically, at that time, it was an initiative of the Church and they [the churches] were totally dependent. The nationals were dependent…[for their] ideals, their organisational structure...on the missionaries.
>
> [Then t]he missionaries abandoned...or simply finished. Their mandate finished and they returned. They maintained financial links with the churches that emerged in Mozambique. And so, the churches here accommodated that. Clearly, it was a lot easier than making collections...Than taking offerings. Some churches learned how to make offerings with enthusiasm, but others found it difficult to make their contribution, and from that time remained dependent. Most of these churches until today…
>
> The Church in Mozambique...It acted like a continuation of things that were being done by the missionaries...Either structurally, or in terms of the services and many other things. So they just kept and continued what they [missionaries] did…The question is interesting, because if the structure is heavy...To be supported internally, there is really a need for sort of adapting to the structures that the Church here can afford.[183]

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[181] Marcos Macamo, interview by author, (undertaken in at Macamo's CCM office, Rua Mtomoni nº57, Bairro Polana, Maputo, Mozambique) Maputo, 21 January 2010.

[182] Litsure was also formerly President of the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM) and formerly President of the National Elections Commission.

[183] Arão Litsure, General Secretary of the Mozambican Synod of the United Congregational Church in Southern Africa (UCCSA), former President of the Christian Council of Mozambique (CCM) and former President of the National Elections Commission, interview by author, (undertaken at the Hotel Cardoso, Maputo city), 27 January 2010.

The economic dependency of the churches following national and ecclesial administrative independence is well explained both in terms of a continuity in international funding patterns, and also the emergence of new relational dynamics.

As the Frelimo government drew increasingly on antireligious socialist ideology, freedoms among all churches were increasingly curtailed. In as much as the government was willing to work with the churches during the first decade of independence, they were obliged, through the CCM, to serve as a developmental arm of the state.[184]

Even as the grip of the state on the church began to loosen in 1986,[185] frequent ecological crises meant the churches remained attractive as cooperants with the international aid sector. Church leaders were to oversee big budgets that numerically would render the giving of national Christians insignificant. It seems likely that these developments would have demotivated national Christians from giving to the church and encouraged the perception that resources for both church and development are something that arrive on a plane.

Following the Peace Accord of 1992, the historical churches not only maintained their position as arms of foreign aid but the country became attractive to newer churches from both north and south America that were looking to expand globally.

In some cases these groups have given little if any thought to the consequences of establishing churches along similar funding models to those that went before. The consequences have been rapid in terms of stabilising a physical infrastructure, but represent also an ecclesial model that will likely only be sustainable from abroad, and again a national leadership that is ill-prepared to lead independent churches. Furthermore, the mother churches behind some of these new plants have been too keen to the emulate methods, church culture and ecclesiology as they are found in their

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[184] By 1980, the CCM's participation with Frelimo extended to the provision of transport in support of a government policy to group segments of the population into centralized planned settlements, or 'villagisation'. Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar,' pp. 38-39.

[185] Rossouw and Macamo, 'Church-State Relationship in Mozambique,' p. 537.

sending countries. One consequence is that, beyond economic dependency, the relevance of such churches to their new context has been compromised.

Given this general context of dependency, any group or congregation that attempts to support itself locally is all the more of interest. In the chapters that follow, we examine in more detail the developmental trajectories of three specific Protestant churches in terms of the attitudes of their members to these very issues.

Chapter 3: The Igreja Reformada em Moçambique

'Dependence does not train for independence, slavery does not educate men for freedom.'[1]

Estimates for the membership of the *Igreja Reformada em Moçambique* **(**IRM) range between 70,000[2] and 80,000.[3] The church nationally is overseen by three regional synods. This chapter focuses on the Maputo city congregation of the southern synod, or *'Sinodo Novo'*, which was chosen for study as a congregation dependent for its upkeep and projects on the economic resources of external donors. Membership within the southern synod is estimated at between 1,250 and 1,400 members distributed among congregations in Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces.[4] In order to provide a broader context in which to set the Maputo congregation, work was additionally undertaken with the IRM at Machava and Xai Xai, also within the jurisdiction of the southern synod, which are located in Maputo and Gaza provinces, respectively. (See maps, pages xiv and 10). Thirdly, reference is made to Hefsiba, the tertiary institution used by all IRM synods for the training of ordinands. Hefsiba is located at Ulongué, a town in Angónia District, Tete Province, and covered by the IRM Mphatso Synod.

Having introduced each congregation, drawing on literature research, participation observation and ethnographic interviews, the chapter examines the dependency and agency of the IRM from the perspective of those involved, that is, the

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[1] Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1962), p.125.

[2] 'The History of the Reformed Church in Mozambique (IRM)' Hefsiba, accessed 3 December 2014, http://www.hefsiba.org/History.aspx

[3] 'IRM, Igreja Reformada em Mocambique,' Witness Ministry, accessed 3 December 2015, http://www.kga.org.za/english/irm-igreja-reformada-em-mocambique/

[4] Willie Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power: A History of The Igreja Reformada em Moçambique 1908-2004* (Mossel Bay, South Africa: Mosprint, 2005), p.232.

Mozambican members themselves and the foreign missionaries linked with the IRM. Noting that the situation of dependency was deplored by both parties, a contrast is nonetheless highlighted between the explanations of each group as to the causes. Most noteworthy is that while both decry the symptoms of dependency, Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) missionaries highlight the passivity of nationals as causative and, typically, national members see the root causes as being the strategy and activities of DRC missionaries.

In order to reflect on the significance of the IRM in a broader context, reference is made to theory concerning the economic dependency of other churches in the developing world. For instance, with parallels in the findings of Robert Reese in Zimbabwe[5], the structural inheritance of the IRM bequeathed by its founding missionaries is highlighted as an explanatory factor for the ongoing dependence of the IRM on the DRC in South Africa. Further insight is drawn from primary source interview material with Elísio Macamo, a Mozambican developmental sociologist and Assistant Professor of African Studies at the University of Basel.[6]

The chapter concludes that alongside the ecclesial structural inheritance bequeathed by South Africa missionaries, the mismatch between the attitudes of missionaries to the IRM and the views of church leader/member views helps to explain the perpetuation of dependency as a characteristic of the IRM.

Background to the IRM

Early in the 20th century the South African Dutch Reformed (DRC) missionary Andrew Murray began pioneer missionary work in Mozambique. In 1909 he established the Mphatso mission station in Tete Province to the northwest of Mozambique, near the Malawian border.[7] By 1919 four mission sites had been established in the region.

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[5] Reese is concerned with the dependency of the Zimbabwean Christian Fellowship of which he was part and the Baptist Convention of Zimbabwe. Robert Reese, *Roots and Remedies of the Dependency Syndrome in World Missions* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2001), p. 65-90.

[6] 'People, Elísio Macamo' University of Basel, accessed 2 September 2016, https://zasb.unibas.ch/about/people/macamo/

[7] Simão Chamango, *A Chegada do Evangelho em Moçambique: Dados Historicas*, 2nd edition (Maputo: Tipografia IPM, 1994), p. 16.

However, in 1922, an alliance between the Roman Catholic Church and Portuguese colonial authorities led to pressure against Protestant missions generally and Reformed missionary initiatives in particular. All DRC mission stations were closed that year, with foreign missionary personnel leaving PEA altogether.[8] Significantly, it was from this time and in the absence of foreign Reformed missionaries that a form of independent agency was cultivated among national believers that stands in contrast to the IRM at the time of this research. Church members were reduced to holding informal meetings, typically under trees, with some making occasional trips into Malawi where there were ordained leaders to facilitate catechism classes, baptisms, and communion services. Such activities as could be continued without ordained oversight were led by Mozambicans in country.[9]

In 1967 an Executive Committee of Nine was appointed by DRC Christians in Mozambique. The committee consisted of Mozambicans who were formerly part of congregations in Malawi and was sent to build up the church and open new ministry fields.[10] Membership grew steadily, in large part due to the evangelistic efforts of Mozambicans and economic support from Mozambican migrant workers in neighbouring countries.[11] Such was the commitment of these isolated Christians, writes IRM historian Willie Gouws, that '…under difficult circumstances [they] not only survived, they multiplied by tenfold their own numbers in the fifty years from 1922 until 1972.'[12]

In 1972 South African Dutch Reformed missionary personnel were again able to enter Mozambique. Primarily they occupied sites in the northwest where they could minister to already existing but hitherto isolated congregations. That same year the first Black Reformed missionary, Pedro Tembe, arrived from South Africa to begin work in the southern Province of Gaza, and then later Maputo Province. From 1972 until national independence in 1975, missionary involvement from South Africa returned as a feature

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[8] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 40-49

[9] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p. 59

[10] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p. 72.

[11] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 62-63.

[12] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p. 60

of Reformed church life in Mozambique. In 1975 the DRC was officially recognised leading to the registration of the *Igreja Reformada em Moçambique* (IRM) with the Ministry of Religion.[13]

In June of the same year, however, Mozambique won its independence and again the borders were closed to foreign missionaries. Increasingly, the new Frelimo government undertook Marxist policies, including an antagonistic posture towards the churches. This, coupled with a civil war from 1977, meant disruption for the churches in Mozambique. Nonetheless, with support from South African missionaries, two Mozambican IRM elders, David Chikakuda and Fanuel Kasamba, were sent to undertake theological study at Justo Mwale Theological College in Zambia.[14] By 1982, under the leadership of Pieter Botha, a South African missionary then working in Malawi, they were serving the IRM in Mozambique.[15]

By 1986 the government's attitude towards the churches softened. Pieter Botha and his wife Jeanette entered then as the first White full-time missionaries to serve the IRM. From this point the involvement of the DRC in South Africa with IRM in Mozambique was to increase.[16] The DRC took up much financial responsibility for the work, southern Mozambique being especially resourced by the Eastern Transvaal office.[17] Foreign missionaries also now entered to serve the IRM in Beira, Tete and the town of Vila Ulónguè. In 1990, and under South African missionary leadership, a Christian health organisation ACRIS[18] was established as a collaborative project between the Assemblies of God in Mozambique (AOG) and IRM missionaries. Many

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[13] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp. 80-82, 85.

[14] The choice of college was due to the use there of both English and Chichewa. At that time most IRM members in Angonia were not fluent in the use of Portuguese.

[15] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp. 86-89, 92, 97.

[16] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp.108, 119.

[17] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp. 107-108.

[18] ACRIS – 'Acçâo Cristá Interdenominacional de Saude', in English 'Interdenominational Christian Action for Health'.

DRC missionaries of that time also were trained health workers and were active in sourcing medical supplies from abroad.[19]

The Mozambican Peace Accord was signed in 1992, thereby ending the civil war that had raged since 1977. The new stability opened the way not only for a further influx of career missionaries, but the IRM was now also to play host to a steady flow of short-term 'outreach teams' from South Africa that came to build churches and undertake evangelism.[20] In 1993 more Dutch Reformed South African missionaries arrived in the south of the country in order to establish the Trichardt School for Christian Education.[21] In 1994, also under the leadership of South African missionaries, the Hefsiba Bible School was established at Vila Ulongué, Tete Province, becoming a the theological seminary of the IRM the following year. Gouws describes construction work at Hefsiba carried out by members of the DRC from South Africa:

> In June 1993, DRC congregations of Worcester got involved …The team arrived with six mini-buses and two trucks to transport the sixty plus people, building material, food and extras to do the building and evangelism. The team stood under the leadership of a very capable administrator, Natalie Roelofse, who in the end led six teams to Mozambique, all of them very big teams. They also sent two professional people ahead to prepare the ground work. First Mr. Andries de Wet came for carpentry, and later Mr. Piet du Plessis, who became full-time builder at Ulongue in 1996, arrived to prepare the foundations.[22]

As IRM ministries proliferated, so did the scope for external funding. As well as core support from the DRC in South Africa, IRM projects and institutions were to receive personnel and/or monetary support from a range of other donors including Hilfe für Brüder International from Germany; Gereformeerde Zendingsbond from the Netherlands; and the Christian Reformed Church of North America.[23] In 1996 the

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[19] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p. 119.

[20] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 111,175.

[21] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p. 173.

The Trichardt School does not have its own website but some information is available at: 'School profile detail,' Global TCK Care & Education, accessed 24 August 2016, http://www.iched.org/cms/scripts/page.php?item_id=school_profile_detail&var_school_name=Trichardt+School+for+Christian+Education+Mozambiqu&var_area=AFRICA&var_country=Mozambique&uid=g5gfhe7436 ;

There is a short item also on Wikipedia: 'Trichardt School for Christian Education,' Wikipedia, accessed 24 August 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trichardt_School_for_Christian_Education

[22] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 165-166, 178.

[23] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.200.

southern synod was formed, taking on responsibility for the IRM in Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces.[24]

IRM in Maputo city

The Maputo city congregation developed first in the late 1990s under the leadership of Peter Botha, the aforementioned South African DRC missionary. Upon Botha's death in 1999 another DRC South African missionary, Willie Gouws, took over leadership. In 2001 Gouws handed over to Paulo Armindo Vijarona, the congregation's first national leader.[25]

The Maputo city congregation meets in a school building in the *bairro* of Coop,[26] a short walk north from the city centre and within the Maputo municipal administrative division of KaMpfumo. The church building is rented by Trichardt School for Christian Education from the sports club Estrela Vermelha. The school itself takes its legal status in Mozambique as a project of the IRM.[27] At the time of this research, in 2010, the school was led and largely staffed by South African missionaries.

Due to the special relationship between the school and the IRM, at no cost to the local church, the southern synod, or the IRM generally, the school loaned the facilities it rented from the sports club to the church for weekday and Sunday meetings.. Furthermore, the church operated without costs for electricity, water, or security guards, all of which were absorbed by the school. 'We are a "virtual church"' joked one IRM member in describing the set up.[28] For its main meetings the church uses the assembly hall of the school, which comfortably seats 200 people.

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[24] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp. 192-193.

[25] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, p. 221.

[26] A residential area of uniform housing developed for Portuguese settlers during the 1950s and 60s.

[27] The IRM took on responsibility for the school during 1993-1994 at which time a number of DRC missionaries came from South Africa to take up post at the school, including the posts of General Director, Academic Director and Administrative Director. Previously the private school had been a project of two South Africans desirous to provide education for the children of English-speaking embassy staff. Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, p. 137, 173.

[28] Luís José Brás, interview by author, (undertaken in classroom of Trichardt School for Christian Education, Mozambique, COOP) Maputo, 5 September 2010.

The building compound and sports fields where the church is situated neighbours other capital city locations such as the Catholic Church Nossa Senhora das Vitórias; Mercado Janete, a large municipal fruit and vegetables market, and the military base which gives the name to the road on which the compound is situated, (Rua) Base N'Tchinga.

Congregational demographics

Housing in *bairro* COOP consists largely of concrete 1950s colonial-era buildings and is mostly occupied by middle-class Mozambican nationals. Notable exceptions include a housing area to the north-east, off the far end of Rua da Base N'Tchinga, where some foreign nationals reside. Typically, those are homes rented for the use of expatriate employees of smaller NGOs in Mozambique.[29] Another exception is housin*g* across the road from where the church meets and extending east along the road Avenida Kwame Nkrumah. This zone was once occupied only by military personnel and their families but subsequently has been occupied by less well-off nationals of various backgrounds. Colloquially, it is sometimes referred to as 'Little Columbia' (*Columbia Pequeno*) in reference to the sale there of illicit drugs.

The character of the zone in which the church meets, however, are less pertinent than for the other churches in this study, due to a smaller proportion of IRM members living locally. At the time of this research, for a typical Sunday service, the city church drew a congregation of about approximately seventy. Approximately two-thirds of that number travelled to the neighbourhood in order to attend church activities. Only three families attended the church from the poorer block across the road, 'Little Colombia'. Those living an intermediate distance (approximately a mile away or further) included some from the housing apartment blocks in Maxaquene C. Others travelled to church from various locations in and around the city centre. Yet others, some of whom had joined the IRM as city dwellers, had subsequently moved to locations outside Maputo.[30]

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[29] The researcher lived in this area from 2005-2007, having first lived (2002-2004) in Malahagalene A, a five to ten minute walk from the church. From 2008-2010 the researcher lived across the other side of the city in the extreme southern tip of Polana Cimento.

[30] Typically, younger adults with the means to build a home of their own move to zones outside the city where land for building is more readily available and less expensive. Among those, Machava and suburbs of Matola were popular.

A group of four White South African missionary families and one White South African lady also attended the church at this time, some of whom travelled from houses in Machava that are located in an IRM compound there.

A typical week's participation for city members at this time consisted of attending a Sunday morning service held in the school assembly hall and, for a group of fifteen to twenty individuals, a Wednesday evening prayer meeting held in a classroom of the school. During part of a regular Sunday service, children's Sunday school classes were held elsewhere in the compound in classrooms of the school. Over the period of this research the children's Sunday school was either led by IRM nationals working for a project called APEC,[31] or by foreign missionaries[32] who had become frustrated with what they believed was a poorly organised children's programme. The congregation would come together at other times for special evangelistic events, celebrations or other social events.

For younger adults in the city, belonging to the IRM as a denomination appeared less important than belonging to that congregation in particular. Fellowship was enjoyed with Christians of other Protestant denominations with a presence in the city, perhaps more readily than as part of IRM activities taking place elsewhere outside the city. For elder members, however, aged forty years and upwards, activities such as celebratory services at the main church in Machava held a special importance. Some older women at the city congregation also recollected fondly their use of a uniform, used elsewhere within the IRM but not at the city church.[33] Especially, these were from families who had grown up in Angónia, Tete Province, near the border with Malawi,[34] many of whom

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[31] APEC - the *Aliança Pró Evangelização das Crianças.* In the US CEF, the Child Evangelism Fellowship 'Reaching children worldwide,' CEF, accessed 25 August 2016, https://www.cefonline.com/

[32] For approximately two years, circa 2008-2009, the city church was attended by a North American missionary couple (working independently of any missionary society) who for one year's duration led the children's Sunday school programme.

[33] Typically uniforms were made up of matching cloth incorporating a *capalana* (sarong) and head covering. These are distinct from the use of uniforms used by *Mazione* (Zionist) groups in Mozambique which, typically, are in the form of robes (often white and/or green and featuring a large cross emblem).

[34] Typically, having lived in Ulongué, Angónia District and having become familiar with the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Malawi.

had also been displaced into Malawi during the civil war. Accordingly, they had a broader view of what the IRM represented nationally.

Typically, those with a background in Angónia used the Chichewa language at home and represented the most homogenous group within the church. However, even among these there was some interethnic marriage, for instance one household where the husband was from Angonia and the wife was from the south and ethnically Changaan. Generally speaking, as with other churches in the city, the IRM was an ethnic mix. Some members were the offspring of local people and others were from families that had migrated to Maputo. As a consequence, only Portuguese would serve the congregation for communications purposes. Notwithstanding a few songs in Changana, Portuguese was used for all aspects of church life and liturgy.

During the researcher's involvement with the city church, from 2003 to 2010, from time to time, there were also in membership missionaries from South Africa, Germany, Brazil, North America and Britain. The main foreign White component of the congregation, who were in membership throughout the period of the research (some of whom were involved since the congregation was formed), were four South African missionary families and one South African lady. Including the children of these families, this group made up nearly 20 percent of the total congregation. Some of these families lived in the Machava compound of the IRM, but chose not to attend the IRM church there due to their lack of familiarity with the use of Changana, which was used at Machava Sunday services. Nor were all of these DRC missionaries fluent in Portuguese, the language spoken at the Maputo IRM, but they felt the service was more accessible to them, perhaps due in part to the presence of other South Africans.

As Cruz e Silva notes regarding Mozambique, it is typically the Christian-educated elite that are a product of the Protestant missionary-founded churches.[35] Similarly, as Agadjanian notes, the middle class and those who received a formal education are more widely represented numerically among Roman Catholic and Protestant churches than within the smaller independent groups. Those with access to

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[35] Teresa Cruz e Silva, 'Evangelicals and democracy in Mozambique,' in *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa*, ed. Terence Ranger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 169.

state apparatus[36] and access to health care are also more likely to be found within these traditions.[37] Consistent with that idea, the IRM city congregation generally represented more wealth than did congregations belonging to the other case studies in this research.

At one basic level this wealth is evidenced by the fact that the facility used by the IRM included a car park and that, among nationals as well as missionaries, there were those who used their cars to attend church. In education, also, Cruz e Silva's comments are borne out: approximately one third of the younger adults were in higher education. In some cases they had first been students at Trichardt School where the church met. Some IRM members had gone on from Trichardt to study in South Africa, while others were pursuing higher education at the University Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo.[38] Of the congregation members who were students, some would fit in part-time work around their studies. Most enjoyed the economic freedoms associated with living in the family home.

Among the less well-off IRM members, a small number included those involved in simple informal small businesses, the like of which were more typical of the other case studies of this research.[39] More common, however, was formal salaried employment of the following kinds: one member was an administrator in a national bank; another at management level with the energy company Sasol, and then later of a logistics company Indico; another worked in administration for the UNDP; another was an accountant with a project of an NGO, SOS at Laulane.[40]

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[36] For instance in having a registered property or address that would be necessary for some state bureaucratic processes.

[37] Victor Agadjanian, 'Religious Denomination, Religious Involvement, and Modern Contraceptive Use in Southern Mozambique', *Studies in Family Planning*, 44, 3, (Blackwell Publishing Ltd., July 2001), p. 261

[38] One individual went on in 2011 to study in Australia and another individual was offered a bursary to study for a Masters degree at Oxford.

[39] For instance, one female member sold cloth and one male member sold phone credit and ran a street side phone kiosk.

[40] SOS Children's Village in Laulane suburb. 'Aldeias de Criança SOS Moçambique,' SOS, accessed 24 August 2016, http://www.soscvs.org.mz/

In terms of social capital[41] it may be noted, a number of national members were in employment that stemmed in part from their membership of the church and personal relationships with missionaries there. The director of Trichardt School at that time was a missionary from South Africa and was a member at the IRM city church. One national member was a science teacher, another an accountant at Trichardt. Six individuals worked with a street boys project Masana,[42] itself funded from Germany, but in Mozambique under invitation of the IRM. This was a relationship facilitated by a German missionary who had been an IRM city member. Two members worked with a child evangelism project called APEC, North American in origin but established and partly funded by a South African DRC missionary who was also a city church member. One young man was schooled first at Trichardt and then studied for a degree in South Africa. Eventually, this individual came to work as an administrator of Trichardt School.

In this sense, therefore, personally, and in their domestic economies, some national members were beneficiaries of social capital that derived from membership of the IRM city congregation. As du Toit et al demonstrate, however, not all socio-cultural norms underlined by group belonging are necessarily beneficial. From their study of poverty in South Africa's Eastern Cape, they demonstrate, practices, networks, systems and processes of group belonging also may lock an individual into forms of poverty.[43] In the case of the IRM in Maputo city, the issue is less the impoverishment of members on an individual basis, who are generally better off economically for their association with South African Christians, and instead the weakening of agency and initiative among national Christians. In the first place, the sustainability of the local church depends to a large extent on the gift of foreign missionaries and, secondly, the capacity of some nationals to give to the church derives also from missionaries. The benefits of social capital deriving from the IRM as a whole, therefore, especially with its association with the DRC, are ambiguous offsetting the need for local resourcefulness, mutuality between

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[41] Discussion of social capital in Chapter 2, pages 18-20.

[42] 'Reaching street children, rebuilding families,' Masana, accessed 24 August 2016, http://masana.org/ 'Masana': project name, literally changana word meaning 'the pleasant heat of the sun'.

[43] Andries du Toit, Andrew Skuse and Thomas Cousins, 'The Political Economy of Social Capital: Chronic Poverty, Remoteness and Gender in the Rural Eastern Cape,' *Social Identities* Vol. 13 , Iss. 4, 2007: pp. 521-540.

nationals. As such, religious capital - the investment of individual members into their faith group - was offset by what may be temporary[44] benefits of a capital deriving from broader social networks.

IRM Machava

In contrast to the borrowed facilities of the city church, the headquarters of the IRM southern synod, along with a local church building, are located at an IRM-owned compound in Machava, a district suburb of Maputo which is a forty-minute to one-hour drive northeast of the capital. The church is led by a Mozambican national, Juvenal António Cuna. As well as a large church building, inaugurated in 1995, the Machava site incorporates IRM administrative offices, a health post, a guest house, as well as numerous houses. The houses are occupied mostly by South African teachers at the Trichardt School or other South African personnel involved in maintenance work at the compound. One house is reserved for the pastor of the Machava church.

Although now owned by the national church, the construction of the compound was undertaken by South Africans and financed by a businessman from Pietersburg. The health post and guest house were built by Dutch Reformed congregations from Kempton Park, Gauteng Province.[45] The main meeting area of the church is cathedral-like in size, cruciform in plan, and can seat in the region of 450 people. Approximately 200 people attend on a normal Sunday.

IRM Xai Xai

A third congregation to which this thesis refers is located in a suburb of the small city of Xai Xai on the Mozambican coast in the province of Gaza. There a Mozambican national António Eugénio Langa leads what was, at the time of this research, the newest congregation of the IRM, having established the regular Sunday service in 2006. Initially, the church met in Langa's rented home. In marked contrast to the pattern we see in both Maputo and Machava, over the next two years Langa led the local

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[44] At the time of this research some South Africans were disengaging from IRM involvement and the Trichardt school. This situation was itself prompted by funding controversies between the school and the southern synod of the IRM.

[45] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 157, 158.

congregation in part financing and then physically building their own church. From an initial group of around ten people, by 2010 the church had in the region of seventy people in regular attendance.[46]

Researching the IRM

The researcher was a member of the IRM Maputo city church from 2003 until 2010, serving three years as an elder during that time and working directly with that congregation as a missionary from 2005 to 2007. Familiarity with the city congregation on the part of the researcher meant it was easily identifiable as a congregation that drew on various types of input from foreigners and especially was supported economically by South Africans from the DRC. Furthermore, the relationship of the researcher with this group meant access for research purposes was readily secured. Systematic research was undertaken there among congregation members, church leaders, and other close observers such as missionaries linked to the IRM.

The researcher's involvement with the IRM generally also meant relationships were established with leaders at various other locations[47] within the southern synod. It was possible, therefore, to ascertain something of the character and developmental history of other IRM churches, such as those at Machava and Xai Xai, before visiting them and undertaking interviews there.

Literature research

The IRM is unique among the case studies that follow in that some textual data is available, produced on the web and print-published.[48] As the IRM's only biographer in

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[46] The researcher knew Pastor Langa from his earlier involvement (as a regular member and youth leader) at Machava IRM, also then visiting him during ordination training at Hefsiba, Tete Province. The researcher began visits to the nascent Xai Xai plant in 2006.

[47] Prior to the research period the researcher had already established relationships with the leaders at Chizavane; Magude; Laulane; Machava; Xai Xai, and had made visits to those churches.

[48] In print see: Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, and Simão Chamango, *A Chegada do Evangelho em Moçambique: Dados Historicas*, 2nd edition, (Maputo: Tipografia IPM, 1994), pp.16-17. Web pages: 'The History of the Reformed Church in Mozambique (IRM),' Hefsiba Institute for Christian Higher Education, accessed 3 December 2014, http://www.hefsiba.org/History.aspx ; 'Reformed Church in Mozambique,' Wikipedia, accessed 2 September 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reformed_Church_in_Mozambique

print, former DRC missionary to Mozambique, Willie Gouws, acknowledges little is recorded for the period 1922 -1972.'[49] '[U]ntil now,' he says, 'a more complete compilation of historical events [subsequent to 1922], including recent developments, has been lacking.[50]

In his work, *Not by Might, Nor by Power: A History of The Igreja Reformada em Moçambique 1908-2004,*[51] Gouws translates into English substantive portions of archive material, hitherto only available in Afrikaans.[52] Furthermore, Gouws' personal archive and relationships with former DRC missionaries to Mozambique meant he was well placed to peruse privately held documents. 'Material was…not centrally archived,' he says,

> …apart from individual efforts by Revs P Botha, M Taute, D Murray and myself…[Formerly, some material had been]…archived at Pretoria, but could not be identified satisfactorily at the new premises at Stellenbosch…N]o such facility or policy currently exists within the IRM, concerning archivation of important ecclesiastical documents.[53]

Gouws' translation and extensive quoting of primary sources (including newsletters, minutes, reports and letters) has therefore been an important resource in the work that follows here.

The general paucity of written sources has meant conclusions for this research based on the few that exist would have been inadequate. Gouws' work has remained useful, however, in a number of ways. Firstly, for the purposes of obtaining first-hand interview material, circumstances and events raised by Gouws' writing served as a good entry point from which to raise issues with missionaries and IRM nationals. Secondly, Gouws himself offers a certain amount of analysis concerning the dependency of the IRM and its historical background. While not merely subsuming Gouws' conclusions

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[49] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.27.

[50] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.17.

[51] (Mossel Bay, South Africa: Mosprint, 2005).

[52] Rendered in Afrikaans medium these documents were inaccessible to this researcher. Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.17.

[53] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.24-25.

into this work, the researcher has found it useful to raise with interviewees the issues Gouws himself raises, as a means by which to explore them further.

Dependency within the IRM

Although the researcher was familiar with other IRM churches,[54] systematic research in this study was limited to the southern synod, and specifically to the Maputo, Machava and Xai Xai congregations. From first-hand research, therefore, it is only possible to comment on dependency and congregational attitudes to the resourcing of the church found at those locations. However, it is noteworthy that interviewees generally believed the dependency at two of those three IRM locations reflected the norm across the southern synod, or indeed nationally.

According to Patrick Kalilombe[55] it was inevitable that foreign missionaries would at first draw on economic support from home in order to establish new work. They were, he says, to 'preach the gospel to people who had not yet heard it, to set up structures for church life and mission in the area.'[56] It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that during the pioneer missionary years of the DRC in Mozambique in the early twentieth century, South Africans also took on responsibility for these aspects of church planting. Decades later, however, and long after the IRM's administrative independence from the DRC (from 1978), support from the DRC was still proliferating. As late as the 1990s it included funding for whole or part of national pastors' salaries;[57] the setting up of a training institution[58] and for bibles and Christian media.[59]

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[54] For instance having made visits to Chizavane and Magude in Gaza Province, and Laulane in Maputo Province.

[55] Roman Catholic theologian and former bishop of Lilongwe, Malawi.

[56] Patrick A. Kalilombe, 'The African Local Churches and the World-wide Roman Catholic Communion,' in *Doing Theology at the Grassroots: Theological Essays from Malawi* (Gweru: Mambo Press, 1999), p. 30.

[57] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 168, 190.

[58] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.127.

[59]Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp.127-128.

Attitudes to dependency among missionaries

Among the DRC missionaries at the Maputo IRM, three either spoke candidly themselves about their monetary assistance of the church (beyond regular Sunday giving) or were otherwise known to have made special contributions for IRM projects.[60] Furthermore, their support for certain individuals or Mozambican families at the city church was known generally and confirmed by the pastor, Vijarona.

At the time the research was undertaken, Jeanette Botha was the longest-serving missionary from the DRC to the IRM, having worked in Mozambique since 1986.[61] In addressing how funding from South Africa was organised for the IRM, she remarked:

> At first [1908-1922] the work was from the Transvaal Synod, and it came…[via missionary work in] Malawi…[which] was funded by the Cape Province…The work in Mozambique was funded from the Transvaal…They always tried to split it, so that one [South African] province would be involved in one part of the church, and another in another part of the church…
>
> [I]t's still like this, the Transvaal is working…here [with the] *Synodo Novo*…You have the Eastern Transvaal Synod, and the Northern Transvaal Synod, and both of them are contributing on a yearly basis…it comes to about…50,000 Rand[62] per year…[T]he southern synod of Transvaal…give on an ad-hoc basis…The Transvaal Eastern Synod is also contributing half the salary of one of the teaching staff at Hefsiba.[63]
>
> Now the other thing they receive from South Africa [interviewee names late husband] Peter started this: …[DRC c]ongregations were very interested to come and work in Mozambique right from the beginning. So June holidays, for example, that's a very popular thing. They bring in a team…[T]hey were interested in doing outreaches…[W]e would organise it, [that] they get linked with a church. That sort of thing went on for a long time. It still continues in some congregations. And they also contribute to the pastor's salaries, and they come in and do things like building a church, or a pastor's house, or some centre, or a clinic….[64]

In exploring the views of DRC missionaries towards the dependency of the IRM two areas of internally conflicted thinking were prominent. Firstly, there was an inability

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[60] For instance paying for the young people of the city IRM to travel across the bay of Maputo, make house to house evangelistic visits in an area called Catembe, and then eat lunch together.

[61] Jeanette Botha, interview by author (undertaken at her home in Polana Cimento) Maputo, 16 March 2010.

[62] In 2010, approximately 4900 UK pounds.

[63] Jeanette Botha, interview by author, Maputo, 16 March 2010.

[64] Jeanette Botha, interview by author, Maputo, 16 March 2010.

or reluctance to see a relationship between the enthusiasm of South Africans to give monetarily, and the dependency of the IRM about which they spoke pejoratively. Secondly, there was an inconsistency in what were deemed appropriate strategies for the development of churches in their homeland, South Africa, compared with Mozambique, which they considered to be a field of missionary activity.

Missionaries tended to be highly positive about all DRC – IRM collaboration, which they believed was healthy for both the spiritual development of DRC and the strategic growth of the IRM.[65] In reference to the flow of teams visiting IRM locations from South Africa, Botha stated:

> [T]hey usually pay everything that they come and do. If they build something, they organise their funding and they get money…But then, they also they have their relationship with the [Mozambican] pastor, normally…[T]hey contribute to his salary.
>
> …It's good for the Church in South Africa, and it's good for the Church here. And...it makes a congregation in South Africa alive and active, and involved in missions. And it makes a big difference to their own spiritual life.[66]

Gouws, himself a former missionary with the IRM, describes in glowing terms how:

> From 1996 there was an immense increase in outreach teams to the centre of Mozambique and DRC congregations from the Gauteng province in SA, especially from Johannesburg and surroundings which became most dedicated supporters of the IRM work in Sofala and Manica. Congregations like DRC Roodekrans and Whiteriver (Beira and Northwards), Krugersdorp (Manica) and Kloofendal (Buzi) became the champions in their fields of outreach and through them, involved others.[67]

The second inconsistency regarding the differential between funding strategies of churches at home and abroad, is illustrated well by a response Botha gave when asked to reflect on the self-reliance of Zionist AICs back in South Africa. As a conservative Reformed missionary Botha's positivity concerning these groups was perhaps surprising:

> [The Zionists]…are [a] mighty church in South Africa…I think its quite different…[E]ach one starts his own Zionist church, which is wonderful about them. In South Africa they really stick together. They really help each

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[65] An exception were the views of one missionary couple, in membership at the city church and working at Trichardt School, who would berate their compatriots about insufficiently discriminate giving to Mozambicans and the IRM which they argued perpetuated the situation of national dependency.

[66] Jeanette Botha, interview by author, Maputo, 16 March 2010.

[67] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp.219-220.

> other…[T]hey are really reliable, trustworthy people…[T]hey come together and they support each other, which is good.[68]

The researcher had belonged to the same fellowship as Botha for seven years. It was not however until a structured line of questioning was introduced in conversation that these values concerning the church outside Mozambique became apparent. In contrast to the expectation that it was appropriate for churches in South Africa to support themselves, DRC missionaries tended to regard the Mozambicans with pity, often intervening in the life of the church and that of individuals to give monetary assistance.[69]

Schwartz has argued that the attitudes assumed by missionaries in the countries to which they are sent, stem from the way they are motivated in their home countries. He writes with reference to North American missionaries, though his critique describes well the plight of DRC missionaries in Mozambique:

> One of the assumptions is missionary candidates are being recruited to go out to do something significant among the world's poor, needy and un-evangelized people. The emphasis…on doing [is] something…I believe often results in the development of the dependency syndrome…As a result of this doing [-mentality, missionaries] often create projects, programs and institutions, which cannot be carried on or reproduced by those they are trying to help. Sometimes those who create this outside-induced dependency carve out a future for themselves from which they cannot seem to be extricated, if indeed they want to be extricated. If they don't really want to be extricated, a conspiracy develops which thrives on the need to be needed on the part of the outsiders. The need to be needed is a very powerful force.[70]

In general terms, however, both Gouws' account and the views of missionaries during this research suggest that members of the DRC regard the dependency of the IRM as explicable not in relation to the giving strategies of the DRC and DRC missionaries,

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[68] Jeanette Botha, interview by author, Maputo, 16 March 2010.

[69] This dynamic is symbolised well by behaviour sometimes observed at the Lebombo/Ressano Garcia border, between South Africa and Mozambique. Occasionally, whilst travelling on public transport from South Africa to Mozambique the researcher overheard exasperated Mozambicans and Black South Africans decrying the inconsistency in behaviour of White South Africans upon entering Mozambique. This may occur immediately having crossed the border, as some South Africans are then willing to give money to those begging along the street. This same largesse, the critics claim, would unlikely be shown towards those begging in South Africa. In as much this accusation is representative of some South Africans travelling elsewhere in Africa, from the personal observation of the researcher, it may pertain to a perception that the nation states north of the South African border are perceived as 'real Africa' – places inviting adventure and home to populations 'worthy' of charity.

[70] Glenn Schwartz, 'How Missionary Attitudes Can Create Dependency,' *Mission Frontiers* (May/June 1998), accessed 17 September 2016, http://www.missionfrontiers.org/issue/article/how-missionary-attitudes-can-create-dependency

but instead by reference to the attitudes of Mozambican Christians. 'In their minds,' states Gouws, 'the IRM leaders must prepare themselves to eventually be free of help from the outside and get rid of a dependency mentality…'[71] 'In almost all IRM congregations tithing is weak' he claims, '…leading to poor finances.' There has been, he continues, 'a lack of initiative from members' to rectify the situation.[72]

Notwithstanding her advocacy of DRC funding to date, Botha, like Gouws, expressed the view that the current funding dynamic to the IRM is one requiring change. The problem was due, she believed, to the attitudes IRM members had taken to the charity they received:

> …I think they started developing psychological [incomplete sentence]...You know – 'You must get help'? And that's another bad point…They have this type of...attitude, that those who have lots can give.[73]

IRM leaders and members were themselves in general agreement with such outsiders' opinions about a culture of dependency within the church and, in the views of some interviewees, the Mozambican nation as a whole. However, they were much more likely than were the DRC interviewees to identify the strategy and outlook of foreign missionaries in their involvement as having prepared the way for the current situation.

Attitudes to dependency among nationals

As DRC missionaries were inclined to identify Mozambicans as being responsible for dependency in the IRM, conversely, national interviewees tended to blame the missionaries: 'God has created everyone,' explained Anna Chikakuda, a city church member,

> [but] when they saw the Whites, they [Mozambican recipients of aid] would think that the Whites have got everything to help them. This is not good, because everyone in the house of God is supposed to do something…It looks like, at first, when the foreigners came they made a mistake. In Machava [IRM], at first, they used to just give, [but] later on they discovered that it was

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[71] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp. 269-270.

[72] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp. 257-258, 269-270.

[73] Jeanette Botha, interview by author (undertaken at her home in Polana Cimento) Maputo, 16 March 2010.

> not good. And now, its difficult to change completely…The first Whites they made a mistake.[74]

'...[T]he South Africans used to come,' explained Donaciano Laiton Phiri, a deacon at the Maputo congregation,

> they used to motivate the people by distributing food...Giving something like that…It means that people are going to church not with the same interest as they were supposed to come…What made them to be members of that church? Because of the maize [given to them]? Because of the *capalanas* [sarongs]? Because of the T-shirts? Because of what...? That may be a very small issue, but it has consequences in terms of the participation of the members. In terms of the agenda set…For me, this is a very important issue.[75]

Juvenal Cuna, the pastor of the IRM at Machava, believed the long-term effects of foreign support meant that, even in 2010, he was still experiencing a reluctance among national members to give to the church:

> When we accepted that [help] we understood something that perhaps someone else could not understand…[S]omething ingrained in your way of thinking that is not easy to remove…If [now, as a church leader] I start talking about tithes and offerings, the Christians will say 'This one [leader] here…No! We don't like his message!' Do you see?
>
> …[O]ur Reformed Church, here: South Africa is near isn't it? We see these things happening, always [South Africans b]ringing something]. And so today, for someone [a leader] to say: 'They didn't bring anything.'…They think the person telling them that is an obstacle because the things did not arrive. 'Maybe Europeans will help us [instead]?'[76]

The weakening and alienation of the IRM leadership in the eyes of its membership are reminiscent of Henry Venn's concerns over the consequences of a failure to give African church leaders the freedom to lead. '[T]he native pastor is the representative of the foreign Missionary and the life of the congregation depends upon the action of the…[missionary agency],' he was to state.[77] The mutual blame between missionaries to the IRM and nationals is also striking, and points towards the ongoing

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[74] Anna Elitone Njoloma Chikakuda, interview by author (undertaken in classroom of Trichardt School for Christian Education, Mozambique, COOP), Maputo, 12 September 2010.

[75] Donaciano Laiton Phiri, interview by author (undertaken in classroom of Trichardt School for Christian Education, Mozambique, COOP), Maputo, 21 November 2010.

[76] Juvenal António Cuna, interview by author, Machava, 12 April 2010.

[77] Quoted in C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy*, (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 22-23.

nature of the problem. The organizational consultant, Marilyn Paul, makes the following relevant comment about a common feature of organizational dynamics:

> Where there is blame, there is no learning…the desire to understand the whole system diminishes…[and people]…naturally cover up their errors and hide their real concerns…When we blame, we often believe that other people have bad intentions or lack ability. We tend to excuse our own actions, however, because we know firsthand the challenges we face. The qualities of blame are judgment, anger, fear, punishment, and self-righteousness… People often grab onto the most obvious, short-term fix rather than search for the fundamental source of the problem….Blame is a fix that actually diverts the blamers' attention away from long-term interpersonal or structural solutions to problems…Blaming can also be addictive, because it makes us feel powerful and keeps us from having to examine our own role in a situation.[78]

It is in the nature of dependency relationships for the donor to blame the recipient and vice-versa. At present, it would seem, although both are critical of dependency, both the missionaries and IRM leaders feel there is no alternative now to their dependency relationship, and so no alternative to pursuing their current strategies. As such neither is willing to field criticism of the methods they currently employ.

Some interviewees, however, were more nuanced in their responses than to lay all culpability with the missionaries. 'I think this [dependency] also came with the political situation,' reflected an IRM member in his 50s,[79] 'whereby the government itself has been depending on other countries for resources, for help and so-on…

> The church has also moved in the same lines. There has also been a belief that White people have money. And many people have grown up with that mentality. So they have always looked to the outside for help.

An interview was undertaken with a former member of the Maputo city IRM congregation who had left the IRM, only weeks prior to interview, to become part of an Assemblies of God (AOG) church. The reason he gave for leaving was frustration at what he perceived to be a lack of motivation among IRM members, generally. Having talked about national dependency, he stated: '…there is that mentality in everything [in

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[78] Marilyn Paul, 'Moving from blame to accountability,' *Systems Thinker* (2016), accessed 13 May 2017, https://thesystemsthinker.com/moving-from-blame-to-accountability/

[79] Joe Chikakuda, interview by author (undertaken in classroom of Trichardt School for Christian Education, Mozambique, COOP), Maputo, 29 August 2010.

Mozambique], that for you to develop you have to force the foreigner to bring money for you'.[80] He went on to say:

> And this is in politics, in economics, and we will even find it in the very Church, where people think it might be different…[T]he Reformed Church…receive[s] funds from South Africa. Principally that is from white people: the Afrikaners in the Reformed Church of South Africa…[W]e have also in the city congregation a group of missionaries…And so these, when they give their offerings and tithes, they sustain the church in the city.
>
> And so, this [city] church functions…But they don't even have their own church building. The church has to meet in a [borrowed] space of the [South African] school…So us, if we lost that space at the school to meet, that church doesn't have anywhere to meet…[81]

According to the Maputo city church's pastor, Vijarona, the social vision of the churches to reach out to those in need, renders them most at risk from unhealthy relationships with donors:

> This culture of dependency [in the state] is also in the Church. Perhaps a lot more so…because the Church works in the social area. And so, most of the donors like a lot [/attach themselves to] that community. And so its through the Church they send their help…[82]

Speaking for the IRM, Vijarona continued:

> It was during the time of the [civil] war that we received a lot of help. Help with food, help with clothing. And so the people that entered [the church] hoping to receive something. And so…We preached the Word but some of them didn't understand. They were always looking to the foreigners so that they could receive something…The eyes of the Mozambicans were set: 'The missionaries are here, someone is going to bring some help.'[83]

Inherited structures

There are at least two ways in ways in which the IRM may be characterised as a classic dependency case as described by others focusing on church dependency

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[80] The interviewee may in any case have made the general point about dependency on outsiders. The reference to 'forcing' foreigners, however, may have been made due to the recent decision of the IRM southern synod to pursue the South African school (the legal status for which came from the IRM) for funding it hoped to siphon towards the synod.

[81] Hipólito António Munguambe, interview by author (conducted at home of researcher, Polana Cimento), Maputo, 30 September 2010.

[82] Paulo Armindo Vijarona, interview by author, Maputo, 10 August 2010.

[83] Paulo Armindo Vijarona, interview by author, Maputo, 10 August 2010.

globally.[84] One, as we have seen, is that the monetary giving of foreign donors has been concomitant with the disinclination of national church members to give to the church. The second pertains to the way the church was set up. That is to say, due to missionary involvement at the church's inception, certain physical assets, administrative procedures and social projects were presupposed for the new church by outsiders who had the budgets to furnish them. So much so that, after being granted their independence, without the foreign support enjoyed by their missionary forebears, national leaders now struggle to maintain the church, let alone plan for its growth.

According to Schwartz, many situations of dependency in African churches pertain to a structural inheritance bequeathed by foreign missionaries to the national church leaders who were to succeed them. Very often, he notes, missionaries themselves could not resource the scale of project(s) they were to establish without the support of one or several foreign donors. Nonetheless, missionaries from more affluent backgrounds developed structures in the developing world that resembled those they were accustomed to, irrespective of the economic situations in which the new churches were planted.[85] As such, in reality, they were 'unfit for export'.[86] Accordingly, big buildings, high maintenance projects, health centres, large leadership councils, all requiring transport to function or meet, became a part of the church set-up in the new churches.[87] Robert Reece identifies these patterns as belonging especially to European missionary practice during the colonial era of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which fed dependency by importing foreign institutions, ideas, and funding, which indigenous people could not control, but soon could not live without. He goes on to argue, however, that these strategies have not been restricted to colonial Europeans, himself citing similar church planting methods among North American missionaries in

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[84] See Glenn Schwartz, concerned with the developing world generally in *When Charity Destroys Dignity;* Robert Reese, concerned with the Zimbawean Christian Fellowship and the Baptist Convention of Zimbabwe in *Roots and Remedies of the Dependency Syndrome;* Steve Saint who is concerned with the Waodani Indians (formerly known as Aucas) in Ecuador: Steve Saint, *The Great Omission: Fulfilling Christ's Commission Completely* (Seattle, YWAM publishing, 2001).

[85] Schwartz, *When Charity Destroys Dignity,* pp. 8, 11.

[86] A term used by Max Warren, 'The Church of England as by Law established – Unfit For Export?' in L.S. Hunter (ed), *The English Church: A New look* (London: Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 17.

[87] Schwartz, *When Charity Destroys Dignity,* pp. 8, 11.

Zimbabwe.[88] Reece is correct in widening the inference of dependency-cultivating strategies beyond the colonial era. As we have already observed in this case study, a group of Christians from one (albeit more wealthy) African state has followed much the same model in a neighbouring African state. Furthermore, as we observed in chapter 2, other Global South to Global South missionary initiatives have also been built on structures of dependency. Notably Brazilian missionaries too have pursued ecclesial models that, should they attempt to lead them in the future, Mozambican Christians will need substantive support to maintain.

In the case of the structures introduced by the IRM, Gouws himself acknowledges that, during the 1990s, DRC missionaries were criticised even within South Africa for the character and scope of their involvement with the Mozambican church. Specifically, as a church building was constructed with South African funding in Vila Ulongué, Tete Province, a 'complaint…came from some South African mission circles, namely that the DRC shouldn't get involved again with the physical development of a mission-field to the extent of constructing large buildings that would later just need maintenance and increase dependency.'[89]

The question of scale is also key in explaining a mismatch between what DRC missionaries and national Christians deem appropriate for the development of the IRM. It seems likely all parties would agree on the character and elements necessary for a balance of church life and ministry. With a shared Reformed evangelical heritage, both the DRC and IRM value bible teaching, evangelism and a component social action. Although not comparable to the level of mutual community support apparent in the ADS and MCL, there was evidence during the time of this research of simple, practical outreach from the IRM to people facing certain challenges in their lives. Typically this would incorporate visits and prayer for the sick, widows and widowers. Usually at the pastor's discretion, and often at the pastor's personal expense, support in some instances could extend also to gifts of food, or monetary support for transport for someone needing to visit a hospital. The church at Xai Xai demonstrated a social concern in its objective to

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[88] Reese, *Roots and Remedies,* pp. 2-3.

[89] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.152.

develop pre-school care for children in the community, and also to provide a community computer training facility.[90]

It was, however, where foreign missionaries became involved that the scale of projects amplified beyond the scale IRM leaders would have designed for themselves. Notionally, of course, as a national church that had gained its political independence in 1975, the national leadership could refuse to adopt the larger programmes designed by their donors. In practice, however, missionary influences remained potent and would often override the ambivalence or even objections of local leaders. This tendency can be seen in projects such as ACRIS,[91] a medical and health service set up in the early 1990s by South African missionaries, notionally interdenominational, but run largely through the IRM.[92] Early on during ACRIS's development the views of foreign medical volunteers to the project were to diverge from the views of IRM national leaders. The latter soon became concerned over the appointment by the former of non-Christians as 'village health agents'. Nonetheless, under the leadership of missionaries, IRM involvement in ACRIS continued to expand. Within the southern synod the same tendency can be seen in the presence of a large health post as part of the IRM building complex at Machava, itself funded from South Africa and part built by teams of South Africans.[93] From the early 1990s, medical work under the IRM was set up in Chibuto and Chokwe, Gaza Province. This work received a less than enthusiastic response from the IRM leadership and was not well integrated into IRM structures. South African missionaries were later to criticise IRM leaders for not having accommodated this strand of service adequately into IRM ministry.[94]

Even if the IRM leadership were enthusiastic for the social projects of the DRC in Mozambique, local precedents indicate they would be unlikely to be able to sustain them independently. Although himself in favour of missionary medical work in PEA,

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[90] For IRM wholistic vision for mission see Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp.170-171.

[91] ACRIS – 'Acção Cristá Interdenominacional de Saude', in English 'Interdenominational Christian Action for Health'.

[92] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.170.

[93] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 157, 158.

[94] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.171.

this was a point highlighted by mission historian, Eduardo Moreira, back in 1936. In reference to the work of Protestant missions generally he noted, '[t]he development of medical mission work is largely dependent on the home Churches to which missions belong. The upkeep of medical missions is costly…'[95]

The DRC-IRM pattern of unsustainably high cost projects has precedents also in neighbouring Zimbabwe. Writing about the Baptist Convention of Zimbabwe (BCZ) from the 1950s, Robert Reese describes there a proliferation of monetary support for pastors, school teachers and buildings which were all funded from the USA. Within little more than a decade the Baptists established a school, hospital, seminary, publishing house and constructed many church buildings. By 1960, however, the mission had changed tack. Over a ten-year period, it was decided, they would adopt a strategy of the progressively reducing salaries for nationals, in the hope that by the end of the decade the national church would have assumed full responsibility. Great relational upset was to follow, however, and where one form of support was withdrawn, an alternative subsidy would usually be forthcoming from the same source.[96] As we see below, in 1996 the DRC were to attempt a similar strategy with the IRM for the purposes of promoting self-reliance.

In Maputo city itself, the taking on by the IRM of responsibility for the South African School, Trichardt, was a further structural burden that would neither have been proposed nor made possible were it not for South African involvement with the national church.[97] The IRM link with the child evangelism project, APEC, faced a similar situation. The project was introduced to the IRM by a South African missionary who also sourced most of the funding either from South Africa or from South African contacts doing business in Mozambique.[98] In Maputo, however, the intention had been that the national leaders of APEC, themselves IRM city members, would go on then to raise funds themselves from Mozambican Christian businessmen. This had not occurred

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[95] Eduardo Moreira, *Portuguese East Africa: a study of its religious needs, London* (World Dominion Press, 1936). p. 55

[96] Reese, *Roots and Remedies,* pp. 66, 67, 68-75.

[97] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p.173.

[98] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p. 155.

and, as a consequence, APEC in Maputo continued to look to South African missionary contacts for the project's sustainability.

Masana, a street boys project, is also a case in point. Although owing its legal status in Mozambique to the IRM, and in spite of the fact that several IRM city congregants earned their living there, the church has resisted attempts by the project's local sponsors to take on financial responsibility. The pastor of the city congregation went further, in conversation with the researcher explaining, 'If the donors pull out, the project will close, because we can't afford to run it. From the beginning I told that to…[names missionary who facilitated link with IRM]'[99]

IRM leaders are already conscious they have an uphill struggle in persuading national Christians they are responsible to resource the national church. That their job has been made more difficult by the structure they inherited from their missionary forebears is deeply felt: 'What I can say is that this [structure] was imported,' reflects Cuna, the pastor at Machava.

> And, as we [Mozambicans] didn't know any different. As leaders today, we tried to copy what we saw. I am failing today because of the errors of my fathers...the leaders who went before me…They brought a structure, and we received it…
>
> I don't think they [the missionaries] did that purposefully. Their concern [was the gospel] not the structure. But they also didn't have an idea about how the structure was going to be, because we didn't have anyone ready to be a leader in Mozambique…
>
> I feel this inside me. I am a leader, but see certain ways of doing things that…I know local Christians will not be willing to support.[100]

John Gatu, former General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa and the key figure in the 1970s 'moratorium' debate, recalls a similar situation in Kenya during the 1960s,

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[99] From informal conversation with researcher *circa* 2007. At that time the Masana's principle donors were German. Subsequently partnership funding has been channelled though the US based organisation Abba's Ambassadors.

'People we support, Masana Mozambique,' Abba's Ambassadors, accessed 26 August 2016, http://www.abbasambassadors.org/people-we-support-2.html

[100] Juvenal António Cuna, interview by author (undertaken at his home in Machava), Maputo, 12 April 2010.

> I took over from a missionary General Secretary [of the Presbyterian Church in Kenya]…We worked together for three years, and I took over as General Secretary in 1964…By about 1969, about the time I was finishing my first term…I felt disillusioned, the things I was seeing, the issues I was facing…I was trying to sort of compete with what my predecessor was doing. I wanted to satisfy my people that I was as good as a foreign missionary and therefore, probably, only repeating the things he was doing…[It was a] very real burden carried by the churches in the Third World…that they were beginning only to duplicate what the missionaries were doing. Keeping the patterns but…no changes or relevance to the local situation.'[101]

'If those who had legal ownership of the church [DRC missionaries] moved away' reflected Phiri, a deacon in the Maputo church, '...definitely, the sustainability of the church comes into question.'[102] Even Gouws, in 2005 considering the potential of the IRM for resourcing its projects admitted, 'A definite strain on the ability [of the church]…will be the financial and administrative weight of the huge infrastructure it has acquired…'

Strategies for independence in the IRM

We have so far considered the divergent perspectives of DRC missionaries and Mozambican IRM members concerning the dependency of the IRM. Secondly, we considered ways in which the IRM has become 'locked into' economic dependency by nature of the structures and projects the church inherited from the DRC. As we have observed, DRC missionaries and IRM members alike recognise the dependency of the IRM and talk about it in pejorative terms. Before finally drawing some conclusions, therefore, as to the IRM's situation, it will be helpful to consider the ways that, potentially, the IRM might move towards resourcing itself into the future. We will reflect on one initiative from the DRC and another from within the IRM.

In 1995, the DRC in South Africa drew up a proposal, designed for implementation from 1996, to reduce progressively its centralised support for IRM leaders' salaries on a year-on-year basis.[103] According to Gouws, as well as being

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[101] John Gatu, former General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA), interview by author (undertaken at Westminster College), Cambridge, 23 April 2008. A dynamic addressed also in John G. Gatu *Joyfully Christian, Truly African* (Nairobi: Acton, 2006), pp. 114-115, 132-135.

[102] Donaciano Laiton Phiri, interview by author, Maputo, 21 November 2010.

[103] Jeanette Botha, interview by author, Maputo, 16 March 2010.

designed to encourage the self-support for the IRM, this move was necessitated by economic decline in South Africa and a '… negative reaction by some DRC members towards missions into the interior of Africa.'[104] The proposed cutback on subsidies, at least within the southern synod, did not occur. Instead DRC donorship was reconfigured by linking each IRM pastor to an individual DRC congregation in South Africa. Gouws himself concedes that the move was detrimental to the financial autonomy of the national church.[105]

The strategy to promote self-support, initiated unilaterally by a donor's withdrawal, reflects both that outlined above by Reece, concerning the Baptist Convention of Zimbabwe, and a general pattern discussed by Schwartz. One-sided plans he believes, initiated by missionaries or other donors, are seldom successful in cultivating ownership in a hitherto recipient community.

> In this scenario outsiders become aware of the dependency they created and then introduce something like a ten-year plan so that over a period of time outside subsidy is reduced and eventually cut off. The assumption is that local resources will be found to replace the foreign funding. The reason that this often fails is that, while the shift may take place in the minds of the outsiders, it does not necessarily take place in the minds of the local church leaders and their congregations.[106]

According to Schwartz, in the rare instances where unilateral action on the part of donors leads to self-reliance, it stems from a similarly unilateral response from the former recipients. Typically, the local church will tire of the progressive reductions in sponsorship, then take 'psychological ownership' (Schwartz's term) of their own situation. Thereafter, they may discard the external plan of their donors, preferring instead the immediate and local resourcing of the church by its members.[107]

In general terms, the IRM leadership has not responded positively to South African calls for them to take responsibility for work that has been established in the IRM's name. In fact, as already discussed, in 2007 and subsequently, the southern synod

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[104] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp. 219-220.

[105] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, pp. 192, 219-220.

[106] Schwartz, *When Charity Destroys Dignity*, p. 233.

[107] Schwartz, *When Charity Destroys Dignity*, p. 233

adopted a proactive but somewhat less self-supporting strategy of visiting in-country partners with a view to negotiating funds from their respective channels of support. Furthermore, during the period of this research, the southern synod informed the leadership of the South African School in Maputo that a percentage of school income should be set aside for subsidising the IRM. The leverage applied by the synod in this approach was the legal status the school enjoyed in Mozambique under the umbrella of the Church.[108]

In contrast to the approach of the southern synod, however, is the apparently exceptional case of the local church at Xai Xai which at the time of this research was the IRM's newest congregation. Like other churches within the IRM, financial support from South Africa to the Xai Xai church played an important role in its development. The South African DRC, for instance, supported the pastor himself, António Langa, including funding the purchase of a vehicle for his use. There have also, however, been significant differences between Langa's strategy for the growth of the church, and those played out in Maputo and Machava.

The set-up at Xai Xai differs from Maputo and Machava in having been led by a national Mozambican from the outset without prior missionary involvement. As he was posted to Xai Xai by the southern synod, Langa himself chose not to convert a previously existing IRM prayer house in the northern part of the town into a church. To have done so, he believed, would have constrained his own vision for ministry in the area. Most of the prayer house membership would have been Langa's senior in age and, he believes, too steeped in the way things had been done within the IRM. As such, he felt it would preferable to begin a new work in the southern part of the town.[109] Langa's pessimism concerning IRM prayer houses is supported in a comment by Gouws. 'For all the [missionary] effort…over 30 years,' he says '…certain prayer houses have had no or insignificant rise in membership numbers over five to ten years, even with the help of

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[108] The researcher gleaned this information from both a national IRM leader (who served on the synod) and a senior leader at the South African school. This request was one of a number made to foreign workers, at the time serving with the IRM, including that made to the researcher in 2007 that funding should be sourced from the UK.

[109] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, (undertaken in an apartment block in Maxaquene C, where he was staying while visiting Maputo from Xai Xai), 21 January, 2010.

outreach teams [from South Africa] and after being donated new church buildings [by DRC donors].'[110]

Langa was not unique among IRM leaders in believing Mozambican Christians had the wherewithal to resource their own churches. He was conspicuous, however, for attempting to implement a strategy to mobilise a congregation for its own development.[111] Reflecting on the objectives and the progress of his church he said:

> My vision, together with my wife, is to establish a church that is self-reliant...Independent financially…We are not going to say 'Oh! we are on a different [lower] level, we can't do that.'…We are capable.
>
> [The objective has been a]…church with the capacity to take-up its responsibilities without waiting for someone out of the area of operation, out of the province, or out of the country, to take the initiative…It is happening in various ways.[112]

Having planted the congregation at Xai Xai in 2006, it was soon to grow out of its original meeting place in Langa's living room. The church looked for a plot of land and began to raise money, with giving earmarked for construction.

> The first amount of money where we built, for the land it was 8,000 [meticais (then approx.170 UK pounds)], and it was money of the local congregation…But we have a system for contribution to the construction fund. It didn't have anything to do with offerings or tithing…For a married couple it was of fifty meticais each month, and for a single person twenty-five meticais. And this was especially for construction. And it worked. Because from that, in ten months, we managed to build and become established.[113]

Langa acknowledges that what was achieved involved funds from both the IRM synod and the DRC in South Africa. That the funds of his congregation were freed-up to contribute to a building project was in part due to Langa's salary being covered from other sources:

> During the first year [2006] I said to them, 'I am going to accept that during the first year you are not going to pay me anything. I will be self-reliant in terms of my salary [paid through the IRM centrally and from DRC donations] , but this on the condition...that we are in the process of building. But you

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[110] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power*, p. 232

[111] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

[112] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

[113] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

> should be aware that as soon as we finish, I am going to require that [local responsibility is taken for the pastor's salary].' [114]

In the period 2006 – 2007 the Xai Xai congregation contributed in the region of 1,250 meticais per month (then approximately twenty-seven UK pounds) freeing up the remaining giving for the building project. Even by the time of interview in 2010, Langa acknowledged his vision for a self-reliant Christian community was not complete. He was, however, committed to the route he had taken:

> What I can say is that since I was…[in Xai Xai], I think after three months, we established some kind of contributions…Since then, they have always paid me...a salary that, until now, I am not satisfied. The plan was to manage 50 percent, but it's about 12 or 13 percent. So, we continue.[115]

For Langa, making the case at Xai Xai for self-support has involved communicating his vision to his congregation and teaching on stewardship:

> We had a meeting to tell the church that the plan is that the church takes responsibility, completely…The circumstances are humble....But, we are in a process of establishing ourselves in many areas.
>
> I always ask them, 'What did you do?...What are you doing?' etcetera etcetera. We finished the walls of the church in December...The front. Part of that money for building that wall was from the locality. We didn't stop, we did our part.
>
> …[W]e didn't emphasise the 'tithe' [i.e. the maths of giving], but we emphasised giving with joy. So the people don't give by tithing, but for the functioning of the church…For all the work of the church. So people give well beyond what they have to in terms of ten percent...[116]

Although the local giving for Langa's salary stuck at just over 12 percent, he was encouraged that other operational costs were being covered:

> There are other expenses: gas, water, electricity...my telephone for the work of the Church...My petrol for the work of the church…The expenses of the church are paid by the local congregation.[117]

Despite the aim to resource the work of the church at Xai Xai locally, the congregation has not shied away from social initiatives, having developed work with orphans and widows; a pre-school, and offering computer lessons in their community.

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[114] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

[115] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

[116] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

[117] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

Money-making initiatives also include and a small corner shop and plans to purchase a minibus to rent.

Significantly for projects that are resourced locally, and in contrast to those of other churches funded from abroad, Langa has sought to create networks with local people with different needs:

> [I]t is an initiative of the local congregation. We saw that, in our area, there are many orphaned children. There is an orphanage in Xai Xai, but in our community we have old people with no one looking-out for them, and we also have children who don't have anyone looking-out for them. So we did what we could… For this project we have we have 2,000 meticais, monthly, that comes-out from the local fund for [this]…
>
> We have a commercial post [corner store]. It's still very simple. We can't exalt it but it is something we can manage to do.
>
> What we want now is to have a project that will raise money for us. We have a project that already began for a pre-school/nursery. It's already been running for one year. Officially, it's not yet running because we didn't have some basic things for the government to register it…For now, we are just helping children of the church…But it's a project that has objectives: first, to help the community. But also to make money. We hope, at least, it will make 20,000 [meticais] a month...[118]

As we have noted, one strategic advantage pursued by Langa for congregational for self-reliance was to plant a new IRM site, rather than take up ministry at the established IRM prayer house in Xai Xai. Beginning with a group of people who were unfamiliar with well-worn foreign funding strategies of the IRM meant he was not confronted with a set of expectations from church members. At the point of their emergence, the advantage of a 'fresh start' goes some way also to explaining the self-support of the case studies that follow in chapters 4 and 5. The MCL and ADS also began as single congregations without a precedent for external support, so most likely found further development on that basis presented less of a challenge than for congregations of denominations where external sponsorship the norm. The fact that younger churches in Mozambique, without external networks of support, managed to fund their own projects is one identified by Litsure: '[A]side from the denominational churches, there are other churches...Pentecostals, evangelicals...These terms are doubtful because some denominational churches are [also] evangelical. But there is a movement that is of a type we call evangelical, and other churches that emerged recently.

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[118] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

Paradoxically, they are more self-reliant than the denominational churches because they grew aside from the missionary context…We see them building their buildings with their own resources.'[119]

However, even given a fresh start, all church groups in Mozambique are operating in a national context where, as so many interviewees highlighted, dependency has permeated many aspects of life beyond the churches. Even individuals joining a newly formed congregation may yet be aware of other church groups that enjoy sponsorship from abroad. They too may have developed *a priori* expectations as to how all national institutions should fund themselves before they take up church membership. It remains no small feat, therefore, for the IRM in Xai Xai, or any other group in Mozambique, to mobilise its membership for its own upkeep and outreach.

The strategic role of leadership in a self-supporting congregation

In analysing the direction the church has taken at Xai Xai, a great deal is attributable to its founding leader. Langa himself is large both physically and in personality; he is energetic, animated and personable. It is easy to imagine he could harness community support for any of a range of projects. In analysing what has been achieved at Xai Xai, however, the pertinent question is how and why, having spent years within the IRM, Langa chose to promote the values and strategies of self-support to the nascent congregation at Xai Xai.

There are several sets of experiences in Langa's background that, whilst not unique, have combined to form his vision for how church life is best resourced. One pertains to childhood experiences and the necessity of working to provide. Another, an example from church life, is representative of many donor-recipient situations and stems from controversy surrounding money given to the IRM from the DRC in South Africa.

'After I was born,' explained Langa, 'my father abandoned my mother. I was only two months old.'

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[119] Arão Litsure, interview by author, (undertaken at the Hotel Cardoso, Maputo city), 27 January 2010.

> My mother struggled a lot to send me to school…I remember how it was to sleep. We were eight people in one room, four metres square....To study, it was difficult.
>
> In [19]'93, I decided to do what I could to help during the day and to study at night. I saw I had to help our mother and I had to do something to help myself.
>
> [Around that time, aged 15/16] I spoke to the pastor of the church...We were four brothers and two friends. It all began with a trip to South Africa. We wanted to go as a group from the church to make the trip. We didn't have passports. We didn't have anything. Someone said, 'I will pay for the rest, but you have to obtain your passport [a task involving some expense and much perseverance through a bureaucratic system].'
>
> We had a *banca* [roadside stall] there. I decided, 'No. I am going to work. It's worthwhile for something that is mine.' After raising the money for the passport, I felt, 'No. I have worked myself. I am going to have my own ideas. I am going to decide what I have to do.'[120]

Langa continued to work, eventually moving into construction. Between 1995 and 1996 he moved to a building project in Zambezia, then back to Maputo. In the coming years his work took him to Gaza Province, first to Chibuto, and then to Chizavane, where he worked on the construction of a holiday resort.[121] Eventually Langa was to lead a team of twelve in the construction of eight residential properties in Maputo. This final project brought together building skills, planning and leadership, all strengths he would come to use in the set up phase at Xai Xai, as he began to motivate and lead congregation members in the hands-on construction of a church building.

The rewards from paid work that Langa came to value were of improved familial circumstances, but also a sense of personal agency.

> If you begin early, owning your own money, you can have your own ideas. It transformed our lives, from one room…to a house with three bedrooms.
>
> Our lives changed. I saw that when you depend on someone else you are not going anywhere. You will be where someone else wants you to be. When you depend on God and you do something yourself you will go where God wants you to be. So, if you have ideas, you can put them into practice.[122]

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[120] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

[121] This work observed by researcher and verified in consultation with proprietor. See resort Nascer do Sol, accessed 19 July 2017, http://www.nascerdosollodge.com/

[122] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

Langa recognised that his personal values for domestic and ecclesiastical life stand in sharp contrast to those he has seen modelled within the IRM:

> … I didn't [learn self reliance] in the church…I have been in the IRM since 1988...Maybe someone will one day read this book [in reference to this thesis], and be offended…Sincerely, I hope not, but our church for many years has stayed dependent…If a person wants to change, the church has to reach out to them, designing a project. A strategy. When everybody knows what you are doing is not working you have to try something.[123]

In reference to Machava church, where he spent most time as a young person and then as a youth leader, Langa describes a steady flow of visits from South African DRC teams:

> We always had people coming. Different projects, events etcetera etcetera. But for most part they didn't consult with the local church. Do you see?...And so, it's from that perspective that I said, really – 'no!'.
>
> There is this idea that people from abroad have more than we do. Speaking sincerely, it's illogical. It's a lie….The country is now more than 30-years-old and dependent on foreign help. Everyone knows this...We do have the capacity to produce...to be self-reliant.[124]

Guardedly, Langa acknowledged his ambivalence concerning outsider funding was born from a personal experience:

> There are circumstances that I won't mention for ethical reasons…That a person can help and then abuse. That makes me very cross. When someone loses respect for me, because he helped in certain circumstances. This makes a revolt inside of me. I said to myself, 'I know it is not this that God wants for me.'
>
> …There are people who use money to manipulate...to control. There are churches here in Mozambique that are not functioning within their context. They are functioning in a way that someone in some other place likes them to, because someone in some other place is paying for them…It is a type of slavery.
>
> The Church needs to do a work at the base, to show people, 'No, we can do the things that need to happen. We…the very same.' It is God who will give us our abilities and our limitations. He will open the doors for growth. But, the initiative has to be ours.[125]

Langa is in no way isolationist. His education as a young person was supported by a friend, and he knows his training as a pastor was only possible due to the role played by the DRC and DRC missionaries.

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[123] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

[124] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

[125] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

> The a church [elsewhere] is not wrong for wanting to assist another church. The important thing is that there is not a fixed idea that only foreign churches assist Mozambique. Mozambicans can also help other churches. There is only One church…But if there is going to be cooperation, this partnership and cooperation cannot consist only of money. In all areas: spiritually, emotionally, sociologically...[B]ut external help can't be seen as basis for self-sustainability…[T]he bible is clear. The hand that is blessed is the one that gives…From his perspective, we are not made just to receive, we should also be a channel of blessings for other people.[126]

Beyond a personal work ethic and sense of agency, Langa's experience of IRM dependency elsewhere is likely to have shaped his approach to church planting. His childhood church, where he later became youth minister, was that of Machava. Not only would he there have witnessed immense investment from DRC, in building construction and projects, but in some instances he would have witnessed the controversy that so often follows the management of donor funding.

Prior to the period of this research, *circa* 2003, a controversy emerged at Machava following a gift from a South African church that had been earmarked for the use of the young people of Machava church. The monetary gift itself was first intercepted by the elders of the church who announced then that, although identified for the use of the young people, the eldership would be administering the fund. Controversy then followed as leaders among the young people contested this interpretation of the donor's wishes. Relationally there was considerable fall out at Machava and on-going problems between leaders.[127] From both personal experience and what he has observed in the church, Langa knows gifts from external donors can result in unintended negative consequences.

Conclusion

With specific reference to the DRC from South Africa, this chapter has described a type of missionary engagement that, long after national and denominational independence, has served to prolong dependency within the IRM. For the most part, missionaries did not demonstrate a trust in the emerging church leadership that would be

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[126] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January, 2010.

[127] Paulo Armindo Vijarona and Juvenal António Cuna, from informal conversation with researcher *circa* 2004.

necessary to facilitate real independence. DRC missionaries acted out of a 'can do' attitude that was not to be impeded by either ambivalence or opposition among national church leaders. Workers from South Africa came ready to apply relatively abundant wealth to solutions they had designed, to what they perceived were local problems and so priorities for action.[128] The result structurally has been a church that is too much a replica of the DRC in South Africa and one that can only be sustained with South African resources. As such, with reference to an idea of Henry Venn, the missionaries themselves became a 'permanently necessary scaffolding'.[129]

Furthermore, missionaries working in-country with the IRM tended to view all interest from South Africa – whether through teams of young people making trips to Mozambique, or the channeling of funds to their IRM colleagues – only in a positive light. 'The vast amounts of help via teams and other sources was a blessing to the IRM in a very needy time,'[130] says Gouws. As to why the IRM is dependent, this was explicable to missionaries in the attitudes of Mozambicans who, they believed, were content in their dependency, '…IRM leaders must prepare themselves to eventually be free of the help from outside and get rid of a dependency mentality…[They]…still give a mediocre contribution to the church…demonstrat[ing] a serious spiritual disorder amongst members and leaders alike.'[131]

By contrast, although grateful for the sacrifices made by missionaries from the DRC, IRM leaders expressed misgivings as to the methods employed. Due to the way resources were channeled through the church, national interviewees claimed, the IRM had become attractive to members whose motive for participation was the procurement of resources that were made available by missionaries. All this made for a church ill prepared to take on responsibility for its own work.

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[128] Reese, *Roots and Remedies of the Dependency Syndrome,* pp. 3, 117.

[129] Louise Pirouet, *Black Evangelists: The Spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891-1914* (London: Rex Collings), 1978, p. 192-193.

[130] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* p. 270

[131] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 257-258.

In fact, both cases are convincing. As we have seen, at many levels of Mozambican life, including the political realm, a dependency mindset is prevalent and, generally speaking, nationals do not contest this. By the same token, DRC strategies are comparable with those of other agencies in the developing world that have led to a dependency mindset among national Christians. Too often DRC personnel have observed characteristics among Mozambican church communities that, in the understanding of the missionaries, equated with victimhood. The interventions that followed served to infantilize the churches to the detriment of their own developmental course. '[T]reat us like men, and we will behave like men…' an African merchant is reported to have said to Henry Venn, 'treat us as children and we shall behave like children.'[132]

From a European perspective, in an era when ecclesiastical 'partnerships' are supposed to have superseded the pioneer missionary work of the colonial era, it is tempting to see the missionary strategies of the DRC as anachronistic. However, in much the same way as it has been recognised that the coming of national independence for African nations did not spell the end of external influence and control,[133] the same may be said for the churches on the continent. As Reese notes, at the end of formal colonial rule and the emergence of politically independent African states, European missions began also to withdraw from pioneer mission activities. However, he says, North American groups often took up those same models in the Europeans' wake.[134] Political independence came later to Mozambique than to most African nations, and even then it was not until the Peace Accord in 1992 that foreign church groups experienced the freedom they have today to establish their work. Nonetheless, the dynamic highlighted by Reese with reference to American mission agencies describes well ongoing missionary methods in Mozambique from a range of sources. Firstly, those models

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[132] Quoted in Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-governing Church,* p. 38.

[133] Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (London: Nelson, 1965).

[134] Reese, *Roots and Remedies of the Dependency Syndrome,* pp. 65-66.

characterise well the work of the DRC described in this research.[135] Secondly, North American organisations in Mozambique have also pursued these same church-planting models.[136] Thirdly, there are church groups from other Global South nations, such as Brazil,[137] approaching their own church planting along similar lines. Considered from a global perspective, and more so when encompassing the dynamics of Global South to Global South mission, what we have observed in the IRM is very much a live issue for the churches in Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa.[138]

Both the national and ecclesial context, therefore, represent an uphill struggle for leaders and congregations in Mozambique wanting to develop their own agency and support themselves. For the IRM to achieve that, however, the work will need to begin at a local level and ideally in its relationship to the DRC, with whom its dependency is perpetuated. However, neither party, it would seem, is willing to take ownership of the problem.

On the basis of this research the reasons for the current state of affairs are multiple and involve both parties. Whether in the economic or relational sphere, the reasons for dependency are often shared between two parties, and the alternative is so disturbing that the status quo seems preferable to both. Within this case study the mutuality of dependency has been reflected also by the donor's need of the IRM as a recipient of resources. It is precisely because the expression of Christian faith for the DRC involves giving to those they perceive to be in need that to relinquish that relational dynamic would be costly. If all the giving is not in fact fundamental to the mission of the

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[135] Although the DRCs involvement in PEA began early in the twentieth century, and in some ways has always been paternalistic in character, since the Peace Accord, new models of paternalism have emerged. Since 1992 short term mission teams from individual South African DRC congregations have enjoyed greater freedom to travel north, to undertake work in Mozambique, and to take on sponsorship of individual congregations in Mozambique.

[136] The main source for information on this church asked that the name of his sending church would be withheld. It may be characterized however as referring to mission stations as 'campuses' of the mother church in the USA, and has invested a great deal from America in its infrastructure and charitable giving.

[137] See missionary activity posts on Igreja Evangélica Metodista Wesleyana em Moçambique Facebook page, accessed 17 September 2016, https://pt-br.facebook.com/IEMWMocambique/

[138] Reese, for instance, describes the situation in Zimbabwe: Reese, *Roots and Remedies of the Dependency Syndrome*.

DRC, what would that say about their activities to date, perhaps even raising question about the methodology of those who have been highly esteemed in DRC missionary circles?

Progress, however, need not be acrimonious. As we have seen, IRM leaders acknowledge that the intentions of the missionaries have been good, even if the outcomes have been harmful. If both groups were to acknowledge their respective roles, a way forward could conceivably be found. Singularly, however, the most important action would be that of the national leadership, and this is for two reasons: firstly, even if the DRC missionaries remain unwilling to accept their part, what the case in Xai Xai shows is that local churches could yet make progress in supporting themselves. The converse, however, is not the case: if the DRC were to accept responsibility, but the IRM leadership remained reluctant to acknowledge to the part it has played, the likely outcome would be resentment on the part of the IRM leadership and a lack of direction for the national church.[139] Secondly, if the DRC were willing to accept its responsibility, and scale down paternalistic interventions, for the independence of the IRM, it would still remain a prerequisite that the national leadership have a vision to encourage and harness the agency of local Christians. Without that, the likelihood would be simply a diversification in the procurement of funds. The DRC is the IRM's principal sponsor, but there are others to whom the church could turn were the leadership unconvinced by the value of self-support.[140]

For local Christians, a key motivational factor in any move toward self-reliance would be that the activities they are expected to support financially would be ones that either they have designed themselves, or that their leadership highlighted as being

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[139] As we saw, the DRC intervention to reduce funding to the IRM back in 1996 was undermined by yet other channels of funding from the church in South Africa and the appetite/dependency of the IRM for such support. By contrast, the unilateral action of the IRM congregation in Xai Xai seems to have gone some way to developing there a congregation who feel like stakeholders in the growth of their church.

[140] See above for discussion of Masana see 'Reaching street children, rebuilding families,' Masana, accessed 24 August 2016, http://masana.org/ Many individuals and individual DRC congregations have committed to the support of the IRM. Other groups that have supplied funds or workers for IRM projects have included from Germany, Hilfe für Brüder International; from Holland, Gereformeerde Zendingsbond and, via the Christian Reformed World Relief Committee, support from the Christian Reformed Church of North America. Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power* p. 200.

priorities. This, says Schwartz, is the way a church takes on 'psychological ownership'. 'It's not just turning over the paperwork,' he says,

> that's *legal* ownership. It's also not just filling the positions with local people; that's *functional* ownership. There is a third type which I call *psychological* ownership. This occurs when local people say, 'This is our church, we are going to make our own decisions and support it with our own resources![141]

It is noteworthy that, in at least one case, dissatisfaction with the dependency syndrome led to an IRM leader, Langa at Xai Xai, attempting to offset what he experienced elsewhere in the church by pushing local ownership within his congregation. This has met with a degree of success in terms of self-support and, arguably, may represent much more in terms of what can be built in the future in terms of 'psychological ownership'.

The account of Langa at Xai Xai was revealing in a number of ways. As well as being somewhat countercultural within the context of the IRM, the social work and projects of the church there were unique. Principally, this pertained to their simplicity and relevance. Among other reasons, the fact that local Christians were sustaining these projects meant they were humble in scope, but also especially well thought out for the local context.

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[141] Schwartz, *When Charity Destroys Dignity*, p.12.

Chapter 4: The Ministério Centro de Louvor

The Ministério Centro de Louvor (MCL) is one of two church groups, among three case studies, chosen for their background of having emerged independently of external sponsorship. The focus of this chapter is an MCL congregation in Manjacaze, Gaza Province. For comparative analysis, reference is also made to two further sites of the MCL, at Chokwe (Gaza Province) and Matola (Maputo Province), which reflect a different pattern. (See map on page 10.)

Nationally, the MCL claim a membership of 3,500 members. Approximately two-thirds of that figure is accounted for among twenty-seven churches in the southern provinces of Maputo and Gaza where fieldwork for this study took place.[1] As with many Christian groups and denominations, the predominance of the MCL within the south may be explained by the return of migratory workers who had been exposed to Christian teaching while working in South Africa or Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the dominant position of Islam in some northern provinces has hindered church growth there.[2] Notwithstanding, there are also thirteen MCL churches located in the provinces of Manica, Nampula, Niassa, Sofala and Tete.[3]

While some funds flow from MCL sites nationwide towards the centre (the adminstrative headquaters in Machava), each congregation of the MCL is responsible economically for its own upkeep. Locally resourced life and mission within the

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[1] Statistics for MCL membership are ascertained at regional conferences. The data in this research stems from a conference that took place in April 2010. Francisco David Zimba, interview by author, MCL headquarters, Machava, Mozambique, 19 May 2010.

[2] Gerhard Seibert '"But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal": Zion Churches in Mozambique since the early 20th Century,' *Le Fait Missionnaire. Social Sciences & Missions*. n.º 17, (December 2005): pp. 126.

[3] Statistics for MCL membership are ascertained at regional conferences. The data in this research stems from a conference that took place in April 2010. Francisco David Zimba, interview by author, MCL headquarters, Machava, Mozambique, 19 May 2010.

church is considered with reference to a congregation at Manjacaze,[4] a rural town in Gaza Province. The Manjacaze congregation was one the researcher had opportunity to visit first in a professional capacity,[5] observing there a motivated congregation that was engaged in a number of home-grown projects for service in the church and the local community. Given the economic challenges of a location such as Manjacaze (detailed below) we consider what factors exist, both circumstantial and organizational, to enable the congregation's attempt to resource the work of their church.

As a network of churches, however, there is diversity within the MCL, with different views and experiences of funding strategies in various locations. As we shall see, this can be explained by the challenging circumstances, nationally, affecting communications and administration of the church over the period the MCL emerged and developed. In order to reflect on the significance of the MCL in a broader context, reference is made also to academic theory pertaining to classical AICs in southern Africa,[6] religious and spiritual capital, and aid and development undertaken through the churches of the developing world.

The chapter goes on to suggest that although the MCL emerged independently, the resourceful character and quality of the community at Manjacaze is born not from a denomination-wide ideology or strategy. Rather, it can be explained by:

1.) the vision, enthusiasm and agency of the local pastor,

2.) among members, a transformative experience of religious conversion, itself leading to -

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[4] Sometimes spelt Mandlakaze / Mandlakazi / Mandlha–inkaze.

[5] The researcher also visited MCL Manjacaze as a team member of One Challenge, a US based mission organisation which in Mozambique then provided training conferences for local church leaders. MCL leaders were usually well represented at OC conferences and the Manjacaze church would sometimes act as host.

[6] The MCL is not here presented as a classical AIC. Reference to AICs is for comparative purposes for where their developmental patterns parallel / differ from the MCL. For discussion of AICs see Introduction, section 'Locating the churches', pages 5-8.

3.) improved domestic economies, and

4.) a mutuality of members bound together in practical support of one another at the geographical and economic margins of society.

Further analysis is then made in reference to the congregations at Chokwe and Machava. The absence of group-wide funding policy is noted, with local pastors diverging as to the strategic value of sponsorship from abroad. Both the local situation of the churches and the previous experience of leaders with external donors are shown to be factors in determining the attitudes of leaders today.

Researching within the MCL

The researcher first met the MCL founder Francisco David Zimba in August 2000, as part of an exploratory visit to Mozambique undertaken with a view to future professional work with churches in Mozambique. As part of a number of meetings, including visits to the Conselho Cristão de Moçambique (CCM) and the Associação Evangélica de Moçambique (AEM), the researcher met Zimba at the AEM offices to ask questions about the church scene generally.[7] From 2002, the researcher, who was by then living and working in Mozambique, maintained a general awareness of the MCL through the AEM link.[8]

The MCL was first posited as a component of this study in 2008, at which time the researcher undertook work with the Mozambique field team of a US-based mission organisation, One Challenge (OC).[9] At that time a meeting was held with Barbosa Oliveira, a Brazilian national and OC leader in Mozambique. Oliveira had worked alongside Mozambican churches since 1989, largely in the provision of training seminars for national leaders that included participation from the MCL. The understanding

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[7] Initial contact with Zimba was made through Julienne Munyaneza from the London office of the World Association for Christian Communication who, from an earlier visit she had made, commended him to the researcher as a source of insight and counsel on the evangelical church scene in Mozambique.

[8] From 2003 until 2010 the researcher was a member of the Igreja Reformada em Mozambique (IRM), which is also a AEM member church.

[9] OC's international headquarters are in Colorado Springs, USA. One Challenge. 'One Challenge…Transforming Nations Together.' Accessed 25 January 2016, http://www.onechallenge.org/

between OC and the churches involved was that OC would provide the training component of seminars, while the communication, hosting and supply of other provisions for events fell to groups of Mozambican church leaders, themselves usually networked through the AEM. From his long personal acquaintance with the founder, Oliveira was able to comment on the historical trajectory of MCL, noting that due to the way the church had emerged, the early years had necessitated self-reliance. Oliveira suggested to the researcher, therefore, that study within the MCL could be a good source of data to this project.

Preliminary research, therefore, was undertaken in the context of involvement with OC, as the researcher came to observe MCL leaders and members at seminars held locally to or at their churches.[10] Subsequent research included participation at MCL Sunday services,[11] and special visits made at the researcher's request. These visits helped to inform subsequent interviews with MCL members, leaders, and close observers of the church. From this basis a focus was developed on the church at Manjacaze while also maintaining links at Chokwe and Machava.

The background of the MCL

To the researcher's knowledge, the only published references to the MCL are to be found in publications of the British charity Tearfund,[12] and two volumes of a Valid International's[13] report on the work of DEC[14] members following Mozambique's floods

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[10] To meet MCL leadership with a view to organizing training events.

[11] Including preaching invitations from MCL leadership to the researcher.

[12] For Tearfund references concerning relief work undertaken through the MCL Chokwe see Rachel Roach, 2005 Report *Dried up, drowned out, Voices from the developing World on a changing climate.* pp.8-19 (Middlesex: Tearfund), accessed 11 February 2016, http://issuu.com/tearfund/docs/driedupdrownedout2005/1?e=0

[13] Among other objectives, Valid International conduct research on and evaluation of humanitarian aid programmes. 'What we do: Humanitarian Evaluations,' Valid International, accessed 23 June 2016, http://www.validinternational.org/what-we-do/humanitarian-evaluations/

[14] The DEC (Disasters Emergency Committee) serves to coordinate and represent 13 of the larger UK based aid agencies who together raise money at times of humanitarian crisis in developing nations.

'About DEC,' Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC), accessed 23 June 2016, http://www.dec.org.uk/

in the year 2000.[15] In order to tell the church's story, therefore, it has been necessary to draw together, compare and contrast the researcher's participation-observation with that group, alongside specially arranged interviews with leaders, members and other long-term associates. The historical background that follows was gleaned largely from the founder, Francisco David Zimba, from Casimiro Mazuze,[16] who is a long-serving MCL pastor at Chokwe, and from the aforementioned OC missionary, Barbosa Oliveira.

Until 1986, recalls Zimba, the group that ultimately became the first MCL congregation was a non-denominational home-based bible study. From that time, under Zimba's leadership, the group began to organize itself and behave in a manner Zimba now refers to as a 'charismatic evangelical Church'. In 1989, the MCL became recognized as a church by the Ministry of Religion.[17]

It is possible that the founder's early church background shaped his presuppositions about the place there was for Mozambican nationals to lead churches independently. As a child, Zimba attended the African-led *Igreja Luz Episcopal* (ILE)[18] where his father was an evangelist. Cited by Gerhard Seibert as among Mozambique's earliest 'Ethiopian' AICs,[19] the ILE was established by Muti Munene Sikobele in 1918, following a schism with North American Methodist missionaries over issues of the autonomy of Africans and what represented appropriate use of church funds of the

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[15] See two volume report – John Cosgrave et al, Valid International and ANSA Report: *Independent Evaluation of Expenditure of DEC Mozambique Floods Appeal Funds March 2000 – December 2000,* Volume One, Main Report (London: Disasters Emergency Committee, July 2001), accessed 23 June 2016, www.alnap.org/pool/files/erd-2999-full.pdf ; Also John Cosgrave et al, Valid International and ANSA Report*: Independent Evaluation of Expenditure of DEC Mozambique Floods Appeal Funds March 2000 – December 2000,* Volume Two, Appendices (London: Disasters Emergency Committee, July 2001), accessed 23 June 2016, http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Volume%20Two%20Complete.pdf

[16] A pseudonym is here used at request of the interviewee: Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[17] Francisco David Zimba, interview by author, MCL headquarters, Machava, Mozambique, 19 May, 2010.

[18] For *Igreja Luz Episcopal,* which has also been known under other names since its inception, see: Teresa Cruz e Silva, 'Sikobele, Muti Munene', in *Dictionary of African Biography Vol. 4* eds, Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 380, 381.

[19] Gerhard Seibert, '"But the Manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal,": Zion Churches in Mozambique since the early 20th Century,' *Le Fait Missionnaire* 17, no. 1 (2005): p. 128.

Methodist church in Mozambique. Zimba himself does not identify this period as formative to his churchmanship today. However, it is reasonable to assume that his early experience of a church could have nurtured an optimism concerning the agency and right for African Christians to lead the churches of which they are part.

More important in Zimba's view was the appetite for Christian service he developed stemming from a personal conversion experience in 1984. That year he attended a 'campaign of evangelisation' led by the South African evangelist Peter Pretorius.[20] Pretorius' charismatic spirituality resonated with Zimba's questions at that time and also came to shape the outlook of the MCL. 'He prayed for the sick,' recalls Zimba, 'I hadn't seen anything like it. There was a colleague who worked with me who had a problem with her eyesight. She was cured. I was impressed. It would be better to accept Christ, I thought, and I returned [to faith]. I accepted. I converted.'[21]

Notwithstanding a shift in strategy, from city-based evangelism to evangelism in rural areas, it is possible that videos taken more recently give an indication of the character, tone and content of Pretorius' teaching at the time of Zimba's coversion.[22] Footage on the video-sharing website Youtube would suggest Pretorius takes a traditional evangelical line in terms of repentance and forgiveness of sin, a repeated emphasis on the grace God, as opposed to 'good works' of the believer. Pretorius makes much of resisting 'doubt' and believing that Jesus is desirous to work in the life of the supplicant believer.[23] Pretorius often prays for the physical healing of individuals as would be typical among charismatic churches globally. His use of the term 'miracles' is

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[20] Peter Pretorius: a South African evangelist and philanthropist, founder of Jesus Alive (in 1982), an international evangelistic and discipleship organisation, and of Joint Aid Management (JAM). JAM (earlier known as Food for Africa) has worked extensively in Mozambique since 1984. For Jesus Alive see 'Jesus Alive: Gospel Outreach with Peter Pretorius', accessed on 26 January, 2016, http://www.jesusalivego.org/ For JAM see: 'JAM International: Helping Africa Help Itself, ' accessed on 26 January, 2016, http://jamint.com/

[21] Francisco David Zimba, interview by author, MCL headquarters, Machava, Mozambique, 19 May 2010.

[22] For open air crusade see: 'Taking the Gospel to Africa with JAGO's Founder Peter Pretorius and Pastor Anthony Greco – Int' Youtube, accessed 20 July 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YhjFy228GdQ

[23] See 'Pastor Peter Pretorius' Youtube, accessed 20 July 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a1N0yUHUzS8

usually also made with reference to physical healing and given in the context of teaching about spiritual salvation.[24] The teaching of wealth or material prosperity as part of discipleship does not seem to feature, although concern to share the Christian message among the poor does. As a visiting preacher, such teaching is delivered usually in large church buildings or open sites prepared with a stage by Pretorius' team.[25]

Zimba's experience of Pretorius' crusade was seminal, both personally and subsequently for the doctrinal character of MCL. Zimba sought immediately to join a church with a similar spiritual emphasis to the one he had experienced at that meeting. Frustrated in that objective, he began to consider establishing a church from a home-based Bible study he had become involved with in the *bairro* [zone] of Maxaquene B, in Maputo. 'I hadn't gone to a Bible school,' admits Zimba, 'It was very difficult, but I accepted the idea of starting a church with 6 people… "What am I going to teach?" I used to ask my colleague. "You will teach what you have seen in the crusade," he would tell me.'[26]

From the Gospel of John, Zimba became fascinated with the idea that a Christian person could ask for something in the name of Jesus and expect to receive it.[27] This he interpreted in terms of church growth:

> In the other churches I didn't get this teaching. I saw this passage and told the others, 'Our problem is that we never ask anything of Jesus. We have to learn to ask....' So the people saw that, and we began to see lots of people joining us…We were doing practical things: 'Look we are going to ask for us to be a church. Let's pray for 40 people here,' we said. After 9 months [1987], we were 52 people. So we said, 'Look, we have more things to say and teach. Let's pray for our brother in Xai-Xai [Gaza Province]'…We had already begun another branch in Xai-Xai, and another branch in Nampula.[28]

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[24] Pretorius audio on 'miracles' (teaching begins 4 minutes, 50 seconds): 'FIRST SUNDAY: Peter Pretorius - God of Miracles' Podcastchart, accessed 20 July 2017, http://www.podcastchart.com/podcasts/destiny-church-glasgow/episodes/first-sunday-peter-pretorius-god-of-miracles

[25] For open air crusade see: 'Taking the Gospel to Africa with JAGO's Founder Peter Pretorius and Pastor Anthony Greco – Int' Youtube, accessed 20 July 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YhjFy228GdQ

[26] Francisco David Zimba, interview by author, MCL headquarters, Machava, Mozambique, 19 May 2010.

[27] See John 14:14.

[28] Francisco David Zimba, interview by author, MCL headquarters, Machava, Mozambique, 19 May 2010.

Church tradition and structure of the MCL

Today the MCL refer to themselves as evangelical and are members of the *Associação Evangélica de Moçambique.* However, a number of their pastors identify personal conversion experiences under the ministry of Pentecostal churches as important to Christian discipleship as they understand it today.[29] In reference to the MCL's emergence as a church in the late 1980s the Chokwe pastor Casimiro Mazuze[30] described the group as follows:

> In principle we didn't know if we were evangelical or what. But we collaborated a lot with some theologians that were at the Assembly of God. And part of that collaboration was that the [AOG] teachers came to teach those [MCL] people who held the Bible studies...They came to our group to help with some disciplines.
>
> That's also how I learned theology at that time...Where I learned what's what. We learned theology [from them] over more than five years. [Today t]hough, through contacts we have made since…the influence of South African friends, I believe we are 'charismatic'…I'd say we are charismatic.[31]

Organisationally, the church is highly decentralised, with such structures as there are emanating more from habits and patterns developed around evangelistic objectives. 'The church was founded with six people who chose to sit and study the Bible' recalls Mazuze:

> That grew to about 60 or 70 people. Later, the church began to explode, when the church adopted some basic teachings.
>
> As a small church we began with the way of thinking that we need to grow… We held seminars for us to learn how to make a big church. It was an ambition almost, looking at our church, how we could be like the Assembly of God and the others there…

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[29] The Pastor at Manjacaze describes his conversion as having taken place at an Assembly of God church and the pastor of Chokwe at a Full Gospel Church.

[30] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[31] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

During the late 1980s/early 1990s the church began to formalise the way it would approach church growth with the production of some simplified training materials for use by its evangelists.[32] 'When we talk about salvation,' explains Mazuze,

> you could use a big book that takes a long time to teach. But we concentrated this into one page, only. Speaking about salvation on one page. Each verse written there was numbered. There were ten numbers. And for each of the ten numbers people had to memorize them….You have to have these texts memorized…People found this to be very easy and they learned.'[33]

Working its way through ten sets of biblical texts, the training of evangelists was of three months duration and conducted part time.

Although the researcher did not witness the use of the aforementioned sheets with bible texts, an emphasis on simplicity in teaching, be that in sermons or bible studies, was apparent. The value of this approach, claim MCL leaders, has consisted in attracting new converts among people with lower levels of education. Not only was simplified teaching accessible to new leaders but, in being easily digestible was also easy for a new convert to transmit to others. 'The basic teachings were what motivated the people,' recalls Mazuze:

> After learning they had to go and teach others. In that way the church soon had about 260 evangelists. After they learned those things they were ready to participate as workers and to teach others…We have pastors[34] that we consecrated that never went to school, but when you get to talking to them about the Bible they have managed to memorize Bible verses. They could remember better than a person who has trained. They could recall verses about salvation, about faith. They knew all those verses and could explain them.
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> And so they motivated people that they could begin with another person, or two people, and this caught on. It caught on and led to congregations being established in Maputo, in almost all the *bairros* [zones]. Later also in the province of Gaza where [now] we have many locations.[35]

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[32] For the MCL the term 'evangelist' implies an unpaid person who has gone through the simple systematic teaching of the church and works to assist established congregations or new church plants in the conversion of new members.

[33] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[34] There is a not a hard and fast rule about 'pastors' (in the MCL) requiring theological study. The founder himself did not train in a theological college. Typically however, pastors (often those who formerly had been 'evangelists') will have undertaken some kind of (part-time) training provided by a group external to the MCL. For example, this could be with the Escola Bíblica da Assembléia de Deus in Maputo. For that facility see 'Training Leaders, Mozambique-Maputo: Escola Bíblica da Assembléia de Deus,' Global Ed, accessed on 20 March, 2016, http://paocglobaled.celect.org/mozambique-maputo

[35] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12th May 2010.

Loose administration

Oliveira describes the disparate congregations as being loosely administered from the MCL in Maputo, with each displaying variance in terms of the resourcing of church buildings and general expenses:

> They built their central church [Maputo Province], but they were not helping others...You know, each congregation was responsible to build their own. The thing that Centro do Louvor did is to help individual church planters…They were the people trained by the main pastor. In that case Zimba.
>
> In the north what happened is northern people came down [south to Maputo, for work]. Those people came to Christ here, and they went back to the north. You know, automatically, they became responsible for raising people in Christ, preaching or whatever.

At the time of the research, communication between churches was mostly conducted by mobile phone. In the south, further administration took place face to face as pastors from the provinces visited Maputo or met one another at regional conferences. In general terms, however, there was a sense among leaders that the expansion of the MCL had run beyond what could be administered in this way. 'We are doing well in Maputo and Gaza,' said Mazuze,

> but in other provinces things are not running well. And this is down to lack of funds to visit them [local churches]. Two or three years can go by without us making a visit. We just telephone, we send [text] messages, but things get out of control…We have churches in Niassa; we have them in Nampula; we have them in Tete, and we them have in Beira [Sofala Province]. [But t]hey are all isolated because we didn't manage to visit. It's the same in terms of paying for them to participate in the work [leadership training seminars] we have here. We don't manage it.[36]

According to Oliveira, this occurred due to the evangelistic focus of the early days, at the expense of administrative disciplines.

> It was more the specific pastor in the area that caught the vision…Zimba got very occupied with training church planters and the business of his own [local] church…So he is more lax on that stuff [nationally].

Perhaps due to a lack of organisational structures, but also to circumstantial factors, clerical administration was not widely practised in the MCL. The MCL church building at Manjacaze, for instance, was constructed of cane walls with a sand floor,

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[36] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

offering neither the security nor conditions conducive to formal record keeping.[37] The pastor's home was similar in construction to the homes of members locally. A number of pastors in rural settings (of various denominations) expressed to the researcher the fallacy of opening a bank account on behalf of their congregations. It was felt the bureaucratic demands of banks, in setting up an account, and the fees incurred to maintain them made the proposition unattractive especially given the small monetary values likely to be deposited. Therefore, such record keeping as existed, pertained largely to the local congregations and in relation to work undertaken with an external body, rather than for the administration of the MCL as a whole.

The upkeep of MCL leadership

The giving of MCL congregations was divided between (a) the building/maintenance of the local church, b.) the upkeep of the local pastor and c.) funding that was sent from the provinces to the headquarters in Machava. 'All the churches in the province of Gaza,' explains Mazuze, 'they bring [a tithe] here [to Chokwe church]…Then, the province of Gaza sends a tithe of ten percent to the headquarters. We work more-or-less like that.'[38]

Theoretically, the centralised funding allowed support from provincial and national headquarters for the training of evangelists and other leaders, seed funds for church planting and construction of buildings among newer congregations. In practice, however, research participants in Gaza indicated that giving to a church in a rural situation would typically be 300 - 500 meticais a month (60-100 UK pounds), and thereby insufficient to make a significant contribution in any direction.

Typically, even within those financial constraints, pastors beginning new work setting could expect to receive a bicycle for ministry use and forty dollars a month as support from the headquarters in Machava. Nonetheless, the main responsibility for the upkeep of each leader lay with the individual, usually by means of income from other

[37] The church was also without utilities such as electricity.

[38] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

paid work, a small business,[39] or small-scale farming (subsistence or market). Of those consulted in this research, the pattern for upkeep was generally a combination of local church giving combined with a small business project. 'I myself have a camera,' explained Mazuze, the pastor at Chokwe.

> So if there is an event, like a wedding, I go to do that. It's a way to sustain myself personally…We don't have anything big but we are sustained…Some pastors rear pigs for their personal sustenance…
>
> If it is an agricultural area the pastor should do something with an allotment to sustain himself personally. And the Christians can help the pastor by bringing things from their allotments to sustain him.

Manjacaze district

The MCL church building in Manjacaze is located in the administrative division of Bairro Alto. With an estimated population of only 6,830 inhabitants over 78 km², the small municipality of Manjacaze itself faced challenges of access to resources that were perhaps the most extreme among all cases in this research.[40] That is to say, the living conditions of most inhabitants were very simple, and Manjacaze's geographical isolation represented a further barrier to resources enjoyed elsewhere in the country. Not only is Manjacaze a 300km (186 miles) drive from the nation's capital, but a time-consuming section of the journey takes the traveller off the NI main national artery road onto a poorly maintained and wearisome dirt track. Until 2015, when the road was asphalted, travel to the town necessitated either the use of a four-wheel-drive vehicle and/or occasionally the willingness to get out and push one's means of transport from deep mud.[41]

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[39] This may include the pastor's wife running a *'banca'* (roadside stall) selling *'capalanas'* (African print sarong) or second hand clothing. A pastor may raise chickens or run a hair cutting kiosk. Similarly, road side photography booths are popular and most would also cultivate a vegetable plot (*'machamba'*).

[40] Colaborative report of the Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento e Democracia (AMODE), Centro de Integridade Pública (CIP), Grupo Moçambicano da Dívida (GMD) e Liga dos Direitos Humanos (LDH) 'Centro de Integridade Pública, Aspectos Críticos da Governação Local em Moçambique: um olhar sobre 6 distritos e 3 autarquias,' 2009. p.46, accessed 16 June 2016, http://www.cip.org.mz/cipdoc%5C32_Aspectos%20Criticos%20da%20Governacao%20Local%20em%20Moambique.pdf

[41] A situation addressed in 2015 when the road from the N1 was asphalted. Virgílio Bambo, 'Finalmente asfaltada estrada de Manlakaze,' *Notícias Online*, 16 March 2015, accessed 16 June 2016, http://www.jornalnoticias.co.mz/index.php/provincia-em-foco/33173-gaza-finalmente-asfaltada-estrada-de-mandlakaze

Respondents among those in this research perceived that as inhabitants of the area they are isolated, often referring to themselves as 'forgotten' by both the government and the aid sector. This is not entirely the case, as some agencies do work locally.[42] However, a number of observers have pointed to a concentration generally in Mozambique of development organisations along the main artery routes at the expense of rural areas such as Manjacaze. At times the criticism has been made also that resources for aid and development are retained in the capital, Maputo, with insufficient help allocated to agricultural development to the poor in rural situations.[43]

The MCL congregation at Bairro Alto reflects the area generally, consisting largely of ethnic Shangaan people whose livelihoods revolve around subsistence farming of cattle, goats, chickens, pigs and the cultivation of vegetables.[44] One factor behind local poverty in the area is a dependency on a weak natural resource base. A constant frustration expressed by local people is the sandy and dry quality of the soil that limits the potential for agricultural development. Unpredictable climatic variations over the two notional agricultural seasons serve also to undermine food security.[45] In 2001, a similarly unpredictable trade climate was to see the dissolution of the town's main industry when a large cashew nut processing plant was closed. Ironically, this was a consequence of World Bank free trade stipulations designed to assist the nation's development in making

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[42] Some work among aid and development groups is project-based and transient. Among those with a permanent presence is the evangelical Christian humanitarian aid organisation, World Vision, who have both an office and project involvement. For example see: 'Hundreds of children benefit from charity Christmas supported by World Vision' World Vision Mozambique, accessed 16 June 2016, http://www.wvi.org/mozambique/article/hundreds-children-benefit-charity-christmas-supported-world-vision

[43] Benedito Cunguara and Joseph Hanlon 'Whose Wealth Is It Anyway? Mozambique's Outstanding Economic Growth with Worsening Rural Poverty,' *Development and Change* 43(3) (2012): pp. 623–647.

[44] See collaborative report of the Província de Gaza Governo do distrito de Mandlakaze, com assistência técnica do PNUD [UNDP] e FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations], 'Plano Estratético de desenvolvimento: Junto pelo desenvolvimento do Distrito, 2008,' p.10, accessed 16 June 2016, https://issuu.com/artpublications/docs/pedd_mandlakazi_com_del_revisto_06_04_12

[45] For general demographic information on Manjacaze see Henny Osbahr, Chasca Twyman, W. Neil Adger, David S.G. Thomas, 'Effective livelihood adaptation to climate change disturbance: Scale dimensions of practice in Mozambique,' *Geoforum*, Volume 39, Issue 6, (November 2008): pp.1953,1954, accessed 25 April 2017, http://libcatalog.cimmyt.org/download/reprints/96882.pdf

a transition from state-planned to a liberal economy.[46] Some processing was again established in the town in 2006, although not representing the scale of employment offered previously.[47]

In common with Gaza Province generally, Manjacaze has well established ties to South African mines through the migration of male mine workers. A positive consequence of this is the availability of salaried income for some families in the town. However, also linked with migration patterns to the mines of South Africa is gender imbalance (more women than men),[48] disruption to family life, and a prevalence of sexually related diseases that proliferate along the migrant corridor.[49] Alongside HIV/AIDS, malnutrition and malaria in many households also make for a depleted workforce, child- headed homes, and many instances of extreme poverty. For many there is no consistent, secure access to education, health care, electricity or safe water.[50]

The church at Manjacaze

By car, the journey from Manjcaze centre to Bairro Alto takes approximately fifteen minutes. At the time of this research, the route was mostly dirt track, underlining further the general impression of isolation. The church building was of traditional materials (a wood and cane structure) with a corrugated zinc roof. The land of the church was not fenced off and so not clearly distinct from community housing, which was also of traditional materials. Some homes, however, were fenced with interwoven thorn bushes. All the land in the district has a sandy quality, including the the church grounds and interior. There was however a raised area at one end of the

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[46] Mike Donkin, 'Mozambique mourns its cashew industry,' BBC News Website, Last updated 9 November 2001, accessed 16th June 2016, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/business/1647425.stm ; David Loyn, 'Mozambique's lost cashew nut industry,' BBC News Website, Last updated 4 Sept 2003, accessed on 16th June 2016, http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/3082316.stm

[47] 'Madecaju, Lda. Company profile' Gmdu.net, accessed 16 June 2016, https://www.gmdu.net/corp-800037.html

[48] The female population makes up 57 percent: Província de Gaza Governo…'Plano Estratético de desenvolvimento…' p.8.

[49] Jonathan Crush, Migration-Induced HIV and AIDS in Rural Mozambique and Swaziland (Cape Town,: Idasa, 2010). p.13

[50] Província de Gaza Governo…'Plano Estratético de desenvolvimento…' pp. 11, 12, 14, 30, 33.

building, consisting of breeze blocks with a cement overlay that was used as a platform for preaching and leading church services. Outside at one end, and belonging to the church, featured a small children's area with some wooden play apparatus. Next to that stood a stack of breeze blocks that were being collected with a view to constructing a new church building.

Since its inception in 2002 the church had been led by Pastor Ricardo Manhique. Manhique's simple home (also of traditional materials) was shared with his wife, Luisa Cuinica Manhique, and their two small children, a five minute walk from the church building. As well as overseeing outreach initiatives of the church in the locality Manhique's involvement involved oversight of a Sunday morning sevice, a Tuesday evening prayer meeting, a further prayer meeting on Thursdays prior to which attendees were encouraged to fast.

The members were approximately seventy in number. As within Manjacaze generally, women at the MCL had a greater numerical visibility.[51] Young adults also were underrepresented. This imbalance was probably due to the migration of men to South African mines, the greater impact of HIV/AIDS among younger people,[52] as well as a desire among young people to leave the town in order to secure paid work.[53] Manhique himself cites migratory patterns as the explanation.[54]

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[51] For demographic imbalance data see report of the província de Gaza Governo do distrito de Mandlakaze, com assistência técnica do PNUD [UNDP] e FAO [Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations], *Plano Estratético de desenvolvimento: Junto pelo desenvolvimento do Distrito*, 2008, p.8. accessed 16 June 2016, https://issuu.com/artpublications/docs/pedd_mandlakazi_com_del_revisto_06_04_12

[52] In 2007, the prevalence of HIV infection among adults in Mozambique ages fifteen to fourty-nine was estimated to be 16.1 percent compared to 12.5 percent among adults generally. U.S. President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief '2007 Country Profile: Mozambique,' accessed 16 June 2016, https://2006-2009.pepfar.gov/press/101535.htm

[53] For desire among young people to leave Manjacaze see Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, ADAPTIVE: Adaptations to climate change amongst natural resource-dependant societies in the developing world, across the Southern African climate gradient, November 2005, David Thomas, Henny Osbahr, Chasca Twyman, Neil Adger and Bruce Hewitson, p. 24, accessed 16 June 2016, http://www.tyndall.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Thomas,%20D.,%20Osbahr,%20H.,%20Twyman,%20C.,%20Adger,%20W.%20N.%20and%20Hewitson,%20B.,%20(2005)%20ADAPTIVE%20-%20Adaptations%20to%20climate%20change%20amongst%20natural%20resource-dependant%20societies%20in%20the%20developing%20world%20(tr35).pdf

[54] Ricardo Manhique (MCL pastor at Manjacaze), interview by author at MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 29 March 2010.

Manhique's decision to plant a church in Bairro Alto came about as a result of having first observed the remnant of earlier work elsewhere in Manjacaze. His MCL predecessor died, leaving a congregation that, in Manhique's view, remained very much involved with traditional religion in its use of traditional healers (*curandeiros*) and/or sorcerers (*feitceiros*). 'So I had to come and start afresh in the zone here,' he explains.[55]

Like Zimba, the MCL founder, Manhique cites a conversion experience as pivotal in both the development of both his personal faith and his understanding of the function of church leadership. As he grew up in Chokwe, Gaza Province, Manhique's family background was Roman Catholic. In 1988 he migrated to South Africa to take up construction work. It was there in 1990 he attended an Assemblies of God (AOG) meeting where he says he '…ended-up hearing the Word' and responded to an invitation to a faith commitment: 'They asked people who would like to receive Jesus to raise a hand'. As in other nations where the Catholic Church formerly enjoyed hegemony, the transference from Catholicism to evangelicalism and/or Pentecostal Christianity in Mozambique is well established.[56] Although a Pentecostal missionary presence in Mozambique began much earlier,[57] with the newfound religious freedoms, Pentecostal and evangelical churches grew rapidly from 1990s.[58] As David Martin notes regarding Pentecostalism in Africa, motivation, entrepreneurship and personal life skills have all been features of its development. Pentecostal lineage, he claims, can be characterised by personal release, voluntarism, participation, personal work discipline and social and geographical mobility.[59] The conclusion of South Africa's Centre for Development and Enterprise regarding the character of Pentecostalism in that country reflect to some extent the character of the MCL. Drawing on the work of sociologists of religion they

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[55] Ricardo Manhique (MCL pastor at Manjacaze), interview by author at MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 29 March 2010.

[56] Thomas P. Rausch, 'Catholics and Pentecostals: Troubled History, New Initiatives,' *Theological Studies* 71:4 (December 2010): pp. 930, 935.

[57] David J. Garrard in *The New International Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, revised and expanded edition. ed. Stanley M. Burgess; assoc. ed. Eduard M. van der Maas (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2002), p. 180.

[58] Victor Agadjanian, 'Religious Denomination, Religious Involvement, and Modern Contraceptive Use in Southern Mozambique,' *Studies in family planning* 44.3 (2013): p.3.

[59] David Martin, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p.152.

note the presence within Pentecostalism of a cluster of attitudes and habits empowered by intense spirituality launched by a rebirth experience, itself something often described by MCL members. Similarly, like the MCL, the report also notes the importance of individual initiative among leaders and members.[60]

In 1991, upon his return to Gaza, Manhique looked first for an AOG church, though he describes their representation locally as 'very weak'. By this time, his father had become involved with the MCL: 'I went to see, and saw the pastor there preached the truth'. Then in his early 20s, Manhique also became involved with the MCL, eventually becoming president of the young people's group.

The spirit Manique showed in being willing to look for paid work in South Africa was matched by his entrepreneurial attitude upon returning to Mozambique. By 1992 he had set up a barber shack and a sideline in photography. The self-propagating outlook of the MCL at this time was a comfortable fit with his own zeal for evangelism. It was upon the recommendation of a client visiting his roadside stand that he decided to sign up for a three-year Bible course which was run by the AOG but open to all churches. Whilst in training, Manhique continued to work with the MCL holding crusades throughout the country:

> I was still the president of the young people's group. I was also a member of the ministry team. We didn't go to Cabo Delgado and Niassa, but we visited all the other provinces.
>
> We arrived in districts like this one, mounted our equipment, and began to play [our music]. The people would gather and we would preach. Afterwards, we would divide the people according to which zone they were from [in order to establish congregations].[61]

Manhique himself believes his combined experiences of evangelism and administering small commercial projects helped to prepare him for the kind of leadership role he then undertook with the MCL: 'Between 98 and 99 I went to an area called Jonace [Niassa Province]. A mission was opened there, and I was there as a pastor in a

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[60] Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE), Under the Radar: Pentecostalism in South Africa and its Potential Social and Economic Role, Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise, Ann Bertnstein, In Depth no 7, 2008. p. 9, 34. accessed 27 April 2017, http://www.cde.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Under%20the%20radar%20-%20Pentecostalism%20in%20SA.pdf.

[61] Ricardo Manhique (MCL pastor at Manjacaze), interview by author at MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 29 March 2010.

church that already existed. I also taught theology, which was part of the project. This mission had projects with allotments and animals. I was in charge of this area.'[62]

MCL membership at Manjacze

The background of local church members varies between those with little experience of church prior to their MCL involvement, and those who have joined from other church traditions. The vocabulary used by members to describe their current allegiance however was similar, often making reference to 'the Word (of God)' that was preached to them. Most described a conversion experience as part of their decision to participate with the MCL. In reference to having left local tradition one interviewee remarked: '[W]e are blessed because before, to remove sin, we would need a sheep or goat, the blood for us to bathe in. But these days we know we have a lamb. We have a final lamb, Jesus Christ.'[63] 'My family that are in the Catholic Church,' explained one interviewee 'they already know that that I am in the hands of God. Even when they do their masses, they know not to call me.'[64]

Be it from traditional religion or the church backgrounds of other family members, the break with the past among MCL members is reminiscent of the phenomenon described by social anthropologist Joel Robbins. Robbins talks in terms of a 'rupture' – a radical change, taking place around the conversion of Christian individuals, and the need thereby to leave something behind. In reference to case studies in Latin America and Africa particularly, he notes some forms of Christianity call not only for personal transformation, but also a disassociation of the believer from local culture that can amount to a disavowal of the other prominent beliefs and values held by family, friends and associates. Although the rupture described by Robbins happens first at an ideological level, pertinently for this study, it then appears often at the level of action, including economic behaviour. Christian doctrine, he notes, can function both to inspire and authorise individuals in otherwise corporate cultures to act counter-culturally,

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[62] Ricardo Manhique (MCL pastor at Manjacaze), interview by author at MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 29 March 2010.

[63] Leopoldina Rafael Wale (MCL member at Manjacaze), interview by author at the MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 31 March 2010.

[64] Laura Luis Nhadzombo (MCL member at Manjacaze), interview by author at MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 31 March 2010.

offsetting other widespread cultural/familial influences.[65] Although critical of the influences brought to bear by groups such as Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (UCKG), Linda van de Kamp also acknowledges that the conversion experience among Mozambican evangelical women often leads also to a personal disengagement from resource consuming ancestor customs and a growth in self-responsibility. She quotes interviewees who, upon conversion, describe having left a variety of backgrounds ranging from appeasement of oppressive ancestral spirits to addressing challenges faced by alcoholism. Each of these people, according to their presenting issue, had broken away from a micro socio-economic structure that had hitherto impinged on their finances.[66] Since the 1980s, notes Deena Freeman, developmentalists have paid more attention to the relationship between individual and societal changes. Scholars have come to the realisation, she says, that human beings do not make life decisions merely on economic criteria, but that non-material factors, such as beliefs, values and morality themselves lay the foundations for subsequent economic behaviour.[67]

Typically in Mozambique, with minimal support from the state for social services, the extended family serves as an important network of support for its members. It is likely that submission to other authorities, such as the church, is to run the risk of familial disapproval, or in some cases a degree of rejection.[68] However, according to interviewees, the benefits of following the teaching of the MCL went beyond spiritual wellbeing to include improved economic wellbeing in their home situations. '[Visiting traditional healers]…was an expense for me, because I did not know how I was going to get the money to buy an animal,' explained one interviewee. 'But now I am in the hands

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[65] Joel Robbins, 'Transcendence and the Anthropology of Christianity: Language, Change, and Individualism,' (Edward Westermarck Memorial Lecture),' *Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society*, 37, 2 (2012): pp. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13.

[66] Linda Van De Kamp, 'Afro-Brazilian Pentecostal Re-formations of Relationships Across Two Generations of Mozambican Women,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42, no. 4 (2012): pp. 434, 445, 446, 447.

[67] Dena Freeman, 'Pentecostalism and economic development in Sub-Saharan Africa,' in Emma Tomalin, (ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Religions and Global Development* (Abingdon,: Routledge, 2015), p.114

[68] Although MCL members did not describe this dynamic it is commonly the testimony of evangelical Christians in Mozambique that familial antagonism follows acts of Christian commitment which require the abandonment of traditional religious practices.

of God. Now I don't have a debt, and I'm not going to use money on animals...'[69] 'We had to take that money to conduct a mass to remember our ancestors,' said another. 'But these days we are grateful because we are in the hands of God and living well with our children. And when I am ill...I get ill because I am human. And so there are times I will be ill, but I know that it will pass.'[70]

Social, religious and spiritual capital

The research objective for considering the MCL at Manjacaze pertained to that congregation's characteristics of self-reliance, and the views of insiders as to how that was achieved. However, the parlance of MCL members during interviews often resonated more with the characteristics of social, religious and spiritual capital[71] than with the rhetoric of self-reliance.[72] These characteristics were apparent in the following ways:

a.) the support MCL members offer one another in ways that would otherwise be family responsibilities;

b.) the creativity employed by members in finding ways to contribute to the work of the church;

c.) the part that teaching on giving played in cultivating an ethos of responsibility.

To some degree these characteristics may be found in any community, religious or otherwise. However, as Osbahr et. al. show, also with reference to coping strategies in in Manjacaze, individuals within a single household may pursue differing coping strategies according to their social networks. 'The most significant mechanism to buffer disturbance in the village [Nwadjahane, Manjacaze],' they note 'was the ability to

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[69] Leopoldina Rafael Wale (MCL member at Manjacaze), interviewed by author at the MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 31 March 2010.

[70] Victoria Jonas Sitoe (MCL member at Manjacaze), interviewed by Richard Reeve at the MCL Manjacaze, Mozambique, March 31, 2010.

[71] See discussion of social capital in Introduction to thesis, pages 18-20.

[72] Typically, interviewees did not use the terms *auto-sustentabilidade/auto-suficiência* (self-reliance) or *dependência* (dependency) unless they were introduced by the researcher.

reciprocate through informal institutions as a social safety net.'[73] Also researching in the Mozambican context, Christy Schuetze implies there is something offered by church religious affiliation in particular. 'When confronted with extreme adversity, people's search for healing is likely to lead them to undergo personal transformation.' Citing the kind of church affiliation where a conversion is an expectation (she mentions Pentecostalism), she notes '..deep transformations that alter the authority to which…[adherents] defer [come] to guide their family's lives.' This dynamic is, she claims, especially visible among women, impacting their daily practices and social relationships at the most intimate levels. 'These personal transformations…insert women into new social networks—networks that provide material, spiritual and social support in difficult times.'[74]

As we have observed, there was testimony among some MCL Manjacaze members that following MCL teaching, and leaving former religious practices in favour of Christianity, had resulted in improved home situations. For some interviewees an improved home situation, however, was not merely the result of an individual's decision to leave one set of beliefs for another, but derived also from the network of support within the church. Sometimes those things were expressed concurrently:

> In 2008 I had problems with stomach pain, and it was necessary to have an operation. But I was secure in the hands of God, because I have Jesus Christ in my heart. And I was secure, because the brothers and sisters were praying for me. I didn't have any fear and the operation was without complications and here I am.[75]

The interviewee went on to explain her operation was made possible through the financial support of other church members, her 'sisters in Christ'. 'I am very blessed, because I saw other women there in Xai Xai [hospital] that didn't have anyone to support them to have their operation. They didn't have anything…I don't know if they managed to have their operations or not, but for me it was the grace of God.'

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[73] Henny Osbahr, Chasca Twyman, W. Neil Adger, David S. G. Thomas, 'Effective livelihood adaptation to climate change disturbance: Scale dimensions of practice in Mozambique,' *Geoforum*, Volume 39, Issue 6 (November 2008): pp.1955, 1956, accessed 27 April 2017, http://libcatalog.cimmyt.org/download/reprints/96882.pdf

[74] Christy K. Schuetze, '"The world is upside down": Women's participation in religious movements in Mozambique' (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2010), p.31, accessed 15 June 2016, http://repository.upenn.edu/edissertations/101

[75] Leopoldina Rafael Wale (MCL member at Manjacaze), interviewed by author at the MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 31 March 2010.

This reciprocity between members of religious communities makes up part of, and is sometimes termed, spiritual/religious capital.[76] That is, a cultivation of mutuality and trust between members that leads to both spiritual and material support. Commonly, the support of members for one another extends to circumstances beyond the local church setting, such as in their home situations, at times of ill health, or in financial difficulties. Membership therefore functions as something of an 'identity card', meaning adherents can count on one another as needs arise.[77]

Creative obedience

As Pobee and Ositelu II note, among smaller independent churches, locally resourced life and mission has often been necessity-driven, stemming from the way a church emerged, rather than self-reliant ideology.[78] The solutions found by MCL members, however, for resourcing their church, would seem to imply qualities that go beyond mere necessity in the face of geographical and ecclesial isolation. Indeed, MCL members include those who had once belonged to mainline denominations where less in membership was required of them. In this sense at least, belonging to the MCL, including the expectations placed on them as members, is something they have chosen.

The variety of ways in which MCL adherents come to support the church's economy and in which the church as whole supports the local community are reminiscent of Ted Malloch's description of the qualities of spiritual/religious capital in its relationship to community development:

> Even for those living on the most precarious margins of existence, development is more than a matter of improved material conditions…Within various religious traditions, creative obedience or norms in economic activities are one primary way for adherents to acknowledge and demonstrate

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[76] Social, spiritual and religious capital were outlined in the introduction of this thesis (pages 18-20) as theories that intersect with the interest of self-reliance in church groups. See also Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, p.116.

[77] Adogame, *The African Christian Diaspora*, p.117.

[78] John S. Pobee and Gabriel Ositelu II, *African Initiatives in Christianity*, (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1998), p. 55.

> faith…Economic development can be viewed as creative management of endowed resources by stewards who act on their faith commitments[79]

Based on research in America, Darin Freeburg describes a virtuous circle in which church members participate in sacrificial giving, itself underpinned by a theological moral basis. 'If an individual trusts in, and bonds with, others in the context of a religious environment where God is often discussed, these human bonds are likely to foster a religious connection to some degree that may increase trust in God. In addition, trust in God is likely to increase a shared religious identification among individuals, which increases trust in each other.' He concludes that, whilst giving to and through community groups is not an exclusive feature of churches, uniquely religious groups often combine a trust in God with increased bonding with other church members thus leading to greater economic stability. Trust and bonding in church relationships, he claims, are reciprocal elements which not only encourage giving per se, but over time encourage members to review and increase that giving.[80]

In simple terms, MCL adherents expressing their faith creatively and sacrificially, for the church's economy, may just mean finding a variety of ways to give. 'Members who are able to make…[bricks] are here to do so,' explained Manhique, about a project of that time to build a new church building. 'And if this month there isn't anyone available with time to come and make them, we will pay someone who knows how to make them with the money that has been contributed.' For members who are not in paid work, he says, those who cultivate land may be able to sell surplus produce and make contributions from that income.[81]

Clearly, such varied solutions for resourcing a building project are not necessary for churches that count on external resources. Congregations of the IRM, for instance,

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[79] Templeton Foundation, Working Group of the Spiritual Capital Project, Harvard University, *Social, Human and Spiritual Capital in Economic Development*, Theodore Roosevelt Malloch, (October 2003), p. 7. Accessed on 17 September 2015 http://www.metanexus.net/archive/spiritualcapitalresearchprogram/pdf/malloch.pdf

[80] Darin Freeburg , 'Trust and Tithing: The Relationships between Religious Social Capital and Church Financial Giving,' *Journal of Contemporary Ministry*, no. 2 (2016): p.52, accessed 29 June 2016, www.journalofcontemporaryministry.com/index.php/jcm/article/download/31/65

[81] Ricardo Manhique (MCL pastor at Manjacaze), interview by author at MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 29 March 2010.

have been not only beneficiaries of economic and material support for the construction of church buildings, but also have received teams of South Africans who provided both oversight and labour. The MCL at Manjacaze, however, had to consider each project it undertook – be that in the local church or out in the community – as to the outlay involved, and how each could be achieved, given the types of resources its own members were able to access.

The creativity of the MCL Manjacaze was also characterized by its social outreach. Typically in Mozambique, the ubiquitous HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns of the Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist churches, for example, involved vehicles, sound systems, the printing of T-shirts and other free gifts for distribution. By contrast, MCL outreach to those with HIV/AIDS was designed within the parameters of what a small national church could itself hope to maintain. Talking about the response of the Manjacaze congregation, Manhique described both an independent component of the church's outreach, and also collaborative work undertaken with a government initiative known as *Gabinetes de Aconselhamento e Testagem Voluntária* (GATV).[82] GATV was a facility offered free to individuals who would like to tested for HIV/AIDS.

> It all began with visiting [of HIV/AIDS sufferers by MCL members]. But before the visiting I asked the believers [themselves] also to do the test [for AIDS], and they accepted that.
>
> So I went to ask the agency of GATV to come. I wrote a letter and they accepted the invitation to establish themselves here. And so the GATV team came here on a date we agreed and the Christians did the test…
>
> And so they detected [among both MCL members and local people] that there were infected people. And so we began the programme of visits, and more visits, and more visits. We advised people to go to the hospital to take the medication.[83]

Eventually, some economic/developmental support for AIDS sufferers was secured .Again, however, this was achieved outside of the church's economy and did not interfere with the involvement of the church in its own outreach to those people. In 2006, and in liaison with Manhique, a volunteer from the US Peace Corps working locally was able to secure funding from a South African NGO for local children who had been

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[82] In English: Centre for Counselling and Testing.

[83] Ricardo Manhique (MCL pastor at Manjacaze), interview by author at MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 29 March 2010.

orphaned by HIV/AIDS. A total grant of 60,000 meticais (approximately 1,200 UK pounds) was made for the purposes of digging wells, establishing vegetable gardens, and teaching on nutrition.

In these instances, the distinctive feature of the MCL Manjacaze was to be seen in the origins and ownership of such initiatives. Dependent groups like the IRM not only resourced much of their activities by means of donor funding, but often the ministry itself was identified by external donor communities. By contrast, the involvement of the MCL at Manjacaze, albeit at times involving the participation of partner groups, was developed from a locally held vision for the church's responsibility to the community. Some aspects of the MCL's HIV/AIDS outreach pre-dated GATV involvement and, because it maintained a simplicity of approach, appeared to be sustainable irrespective of GATV involvement.

Another MCL initiative involved the provision of a daily Christian[84] pre-school. 'When we were studying in Chokwe,' explains Manhique, 'my wife did training in how to teach children. So when we arrived here in 2002 we went to the government to make an application to start with this ministry…' In 2010 still unregistered, the pre-school received no funding from either the government or the parents of the children who attend. 'It's difficult,' explains Manhique,

> because many people in this area are people that don't have anything. But the children need to be educated…We should have more people to help to teach…but it's not possible. If we call someone [a trained person] to come and do this they will see it as a job, but she [Manhique's wife] doesn't have funds for that. So it's is a sacrifice she is making.[85]

Teaching

Although not articulated in terms of avoiding dependency, or as a means of realising the objectives of self-reliance, interviewees at Manjacaze were alert to a link between the teaching of the church and how the church resources its life and mission. 'It's in the teaching,' explained one member,

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[84] The activities in the day include learning from bible stories.

[85] Ricardo Manhique (MCL pastor at Manjacaze), interview by author at MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 29 March 2010.

> for someone to arrive and the point of accepting responsibility…In the church we talk about it...We have to incentivise him [the member] that that is the way we do things. Then he'll realise the implications.
>
> We have to bear in mind the pastors need to be evangelizing…So it's our responsibility to make sure he's not worrying about what to wear and eat….
>
> We have in those baskets [points to baskets mounted on an inside wall of the church building] as a collection point for money for the building project; there's another one for evangelisation [funds]. We use those baskets weekly, on Sundays...
>
> At the end of the month, we always have an oral report on what the income has been…[W]e are given told how much we have and find out how money has been used. That happens during the Sunday service when all the congregation are there.
>
> [People who have allotments]…can tithe from what they produce. They can give because they want to thank God [so a special designated 'thanks offering'], or because they want to tithe [as part of regular giving] from their crop.[86]

'The church teaches,' explained another interviewee,

> that when a person is in work he or she needs to pay the tithe...It isn't 'his' or 'hers,' it belongs to God…[In] the churches we were part of before, the tithe was paid at the end of the year. But here at the Centro we pay a monthly tithe, depending on the blessings that a person has received.[87]

'It's like this,' confirmed Manhique,

> as a pastor, my work here is to evangelise people. If a person comes to believe and comes to church I will begin to teach them that a person has to give tithes and offerings, and so-on…Of the people here in the church, there are some that pay a tithe and others that don't. It depends on the person. But if they do it's because that bible says so and we have taught that.[88]

Teaching on giving would appear to be setting the course for the community at Manjacaze as the leadership and one generation of recruits comes to instruct the next. This is both top down, for instance as the pastor explains to members the practice of tithing, and peer to peer, as demonstrated from one member to another. Across the board it is not characterised by self-reliant ideology but instead stems from a commitment to God and one another. However, as we will now see, there a variety of experiences and funding strategies existed among MCL churches.

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[86] Tomás Abílio Zucule (MCL member at Manjacaze), interviewed by author, MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 5 October 2010.

[87] Victoria Jonas Sitoe (MCL member at Manjacaze), interview by author at the MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 31 March 2010.

[88] Ricardo Manhique (MCL pastor at Manjacaze), interview by author at MCL Manjacaze, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 29 March 2010.

The MCL at Chokwe

For the purposes of this research, the principal interest of the MCL congregation at Chokwe (also in Gaza Province) lay in that congregation's experience of collaboration with a foreign donor. The Chokwe branch of the MCL was founded in 1991 under the leadership of Casimiro Mazuze, who oversaw a further two further small MCL congregations in the area. Like the church at Manjacaze, the building at Chokwe was set in a suburb of the town, and constructed using traditional materials, but with a corrugated metal roof. The building was able to accommodate a congregation of 150 or more, and a typical Sunday service saw approximately 100 in attendance.

Mazuze grew up in Inhambane Province where, with his family, he attended the United Methodist Church. It was during the early 1980s, the family having migrated to Maputo, that Mazuze was exposed to other Christian traditions:[89]

> My brother joined a Pentecostal church, 'The Full Gospel Church'. And so it was there I had a personal encounter with Jesus.
>
> Only later, because I wanted to know more about the Word of God, I ended-up in the Bible studies with the Centro do Louvor…I liked the teaching, so I stayed until today.[90]

In the early 1990s, as the MCL began to establish itself, Mazuze was involved first in a church plant in Nampula Province, before then being transferred to Chokwe. During the early 1990s, as a leader in a church affiliated to the AEM, he took up an offer to undergo administrative training provided by the UK-based evangelical Christian relief and development charity, Tearfund.[91] Tearfund's presence in Mozambique began in 1987 where they began to partner with groups of churches, students, and other Christian networks. In Tearfund parlance, the involvement with churches aimed to 'unlock…[their] potential…' Since that time, the main areas of Tearfund involvement have been in the provision of clean water and sanitation. There has been work to combat

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[89] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[90] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[91] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and anti-stigma campaigns around HIV/AIDS.[92] From Tearfund's perspective, the kind of training provided for church leaders such as Mazuze was to prepare individuals in-country who could then, when required, oversee emergency relief efforts.[93] 'For Casimiro [Mazuze],' explained Oliveira,

> he started to get to know people, started to get to know business. [He'd g]o in places where he could be trained. So he became computer literate, and started to do things through e-mail. And with those skills he got involved in the community and tried to help people.[94]

In 2000 Mozambique underwent extensive flooding, and Gaza Province was affected particularly. As international aid and relief organisations entered Mozambique, or introduced new emergency programmes, they were keen to identify leaders in affected communities who could oversee the distribution of emergency relief, and then coordinate the channelling of resources to assist communities in rehabilitation.

Organisations such as Tearfund were in some ways best prepared to help, having already provided disaster preparedness training for national church leaders. As one such leader, Mazuze received requests from both a church in South Africa and from Tearfund to oversee flood relief efforts in Gaza.[95] However, Tearfund's need to engage church leaders was also accentuated by the fact that, at that time, they had no operational programme in Mozambique. They resolved, therefore, to fund five local organizations, drawing on £2.3 million of funding they had raised for flood relief in southern Africa generally. The AEM was one of those partners, with the MCL a key contributor to AEM participation.[96]

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[92] 'Mozambique: background,' Tearfund, accessed 3 March 2016, http://www.tearfund.org/en/about_us/what_we_do_and_where/countries/southern_africa/mozambique/

[93] John Cosgrave et al, Valid International and ANSA Report…Volume 2. p.45.

[94] Barbosa Oliveira (OC Mozambique team leader), interviewed by author, Oliveira's home, Maputo, Mozambique, 25 March 2010.

[95] Barbosa Oliveira (OC Mozambique team leader), interviewed by author, Oliveira's home, Maputo, Mozambique, 25 March 2010.

[96] As Tearfund/DEC partners the MCL in Chokwe oversaw a budget of 15,791 UK pounds - divided into 7,991 for rehabilitation (clothing, main crop seeds, vegetable seeds, agricultural tools, and roofing sheets); 3,269 for sanitation, the cleaning of public places and the provision of food-for-work, and 4,531 for capacity building. John Cosgrave et al, *Valid International and ANSA Report…Volume 2*. p. 95, 96-97.

Given the scale of the calamity, the training he had received, and the potential for ongoing suffering, it would perhaps have been difficult for Mazuze to do other than cooperate with donor requests. Furthermore, a third party report by Valid International[97] noted among the benefits of the interventions of foreign agencies that they 'achieved a good and effective coverage of those affected by the disaster.' It was also reported that DEC agencies, of which Tearfund were part, made '…a significant impact on relieving suffering among flood-affected communities.'[98]

However, with hindsight, a number of criticisms have been made of the interventions by foreign agencies pertaining to the involvement of local people. Based on surveys undertaken with Mozambican beneficiaries, including representation from Chokwe, a World Bank report from 2005 claimed that '…beneficiaries were often poorly informed about recovery plans and activities. Nobody in the communities visited was aware of the full recovery picture. This lack of information led to a sense of powerlessness and dependency…Community participation in recovery remained rudimentary and generally consisted of providing labor, participation in committees, and compliance with a set of rules decided by external agents.'[99] More specifically, a third party report from 2001, concerning the interventions of the DEC group, of which Tearfund were part,[100] concluded that interventions were often inadequate in their relationship to those who were to receive assistance. '[A]ll of the agencies,' claimed Valid International, 'underestimated the resilience of the Mozambican population and

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[97] Valid International conduct research on and evaluation of humanitarian aid programmes. 'What we do: Humanitarian Evaluations,' Valid International, accessed 23 June 2016, http://www.validinternational.org/what-we-do/humanitarian-evaluations/

[98] John Cosgrave et al, Valid International and ANSA Report…Volume 1, pp. 6, 52.

[99] Peter Wiles, Kerry Selvester, and Lourdes Fidalgo, *Learning lessons from disaster recovery: the case of Mozambique*. Disaster Risk Management working paper series; No. 12. Washington, DC: World Bank. 2005, pp.xi, 12, accessed 15 June 2016. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/2005/04/5780422/learning-lessons-disaster-recovery-case-mozambique

[100] During the floods, the DEC (Disasters Emergency Committee) coordinated humanitarian intervention in Mozambique involving the following groups: Oxfam, Save the Children, Christian Aid, British Red Cross Society (BRCS), Action Aid, Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD), World Vision UK, Concern Worldwide, Help the Aged, Medical Relief in Emergencies (MERLIN), and Tearfund. John Cosgrave et al, *Valid International and ANSA Report…Volume 1*. p.11.

their coping mechanisms' and in some cases too little thought was given to the long term local sustainability of solutions drawing on foreign resources.[101]

The interest to this research of the aid effort is less the value of the relief efforts themselves which, as we have noted, also brought significant relief at time of national disaster. Rather, it is in the implications for the vision and sustainability of the church in Chokwe, given its involvement with external donors. By the time of this research (2010), the testimony of Mazuze was that collaboration with external donors had yielded mixed results, bringing as it did a serious challenge to the ethos of the church and its credibility locally.[102] As Barbara Bompani observes, religious groups are seldom established to 'perform' development. In some cases collaboration in aid and development may be projects seen more as an obligation, due to special circumstances and a lack of viable alternatives. A tension can arise, therefore, between the core religious aims of a given group and the subsequent diversification stemming from other activities with which the church becomes engaged.[103]

'Tearfund was our principal donor,' recalls Mazuze,

> Besides them we had a church in South Africa called Tabernacle Church...They also helped us a lot during the floods. The help of the Tabernacle Church in 2,000 was only for that emergency: blankets, food...Only this…After that, we received teaching from them but not material help.
>
> [Whereas] Tearfund tried to help not only during the emergency, but also for [re]construction afterwards. After the floods, they continued with us until 2005. So 2000 until 2005. They stopped their help in 2005.[104]

In previous conversations with Mazuze concerning this relationship with donors the researcher had heard him reflect on the change that took place in both the way the MCL was perceived by other people locally, and by itself. Similarly, in a study

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[101] John Cosgrave et al, *Valid International and* ANSA Report…Volume 1, pp. 3, 5, 64.

[102] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[103] Barbara Bompani, 'Local Religious Organisations Performing Development: Refugees in the Central Methodist Mission in Johannesburg,' *Journal of International Development,* vol. 27, issue 2, (2015): p. 199.

[104] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

conducted by Bompani, of relief and development undertaken by the Central Methodist Mission (CMM) in Johannesburg, she noted how the group's activities and buildings shifted from being a 'religious site' to becoming 'virtually an improvised "refugee camp"'. What was supposed to be a temporary response to a need, she observes, became a long-term project, ultimately shaping the view of the church as it was held both by insiders and onlookers.[105]

Arlene Spencer, a consultant to not-for-profit organisations in the US, uses the term 'mission drift' to describe a process whereby an organisation finds it that it has moved away from its original mission. Whether or not this shift is undertaken purposefully, she notes '…mission drift can confuse the community that the organization serves…'[106] In the case of the MCL at Chokwe, the conspicuous presence of foreign aid workers, with whom Mazuze liaised at the time of the floods, led, he believes, to the perception that the church itself was a primary recipient of aid.[107] Furthermore, having not previously demonstrated interest in the church, certain individuals from the community were now associating themselves with it. 'At first, it seems good to have someone from outside,' explains Mazuze, 'that can help with resources,'

> but then the Christians get in the habit of receiving. It appears the church is growing, but the one who is injecting the money has his own politics. And it could be he [the donor] doesn't consider the church in terms of its own leadership and the vision of the local pastor.
>
> So then we come to bring the Word, but people don't give [tithes and offerings]. Instead they would like to know would the pastor loan them some money. They go to the pastor for material help. Because [now] they see the pastor as someone who distributes material things to poor people.
>
> This makes for a great danger, because one day when the donor stops giving things the church also ceases…Because many people went there did so to receive something. The blessings they are expecting are not there any more.

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[105] Barbara Bompani, 'Local Religious Organisations Performing Development,' p. 200.

[106] Arlene M. Spencer, 'Mission Drift: What Is It, Potential Impacts, & Recovery Methods,' *Seeking Grant Money Today*, 6 September 2009, accessed 26 August 2016, http://thegrantplant.blogspot.co.uk/2009/09/mission-drift-what-is-it-potential.html

[107] Mazuze himself refers to Tearfund's provision of a salary for the weeks of his involvement, transport (a motorbike); communications (a radio); office set-up and assistance to rebuild the damaged MCL church building. Likewise, Valid International report a budget of 4,531 UK pounds for the same items under 'capacity building' Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010; John Cosgrave et al, *Valid International and ANSA Report…Volume 1*, P .95.

> And so you begin the church again...This is what happened to us, and I would not like to repeat the experience. It is harmful and sets the church back a lot.
>
> [In hindsight, it would have been better to say to the donor: 'l]ook, are these resources coming to capacitate the church, or is it for the poor directly?' If it's meant for the poor, directly, then they need not involve the church. It's better they do that outside. If they come to help the poor using the church this can create problems. There are negative points that donors need to see.[108]

Mazuze's description of what happened to the MCL at Chokwe during this period resonates also with Elisio Macamo's more general point about the relationship between the aid sector and the churches in Mozambique since the 1980s. With one humanitarian crisis after another, NGOs came to see the churches as the principal vehicle by which to channel their assistance. The result, claims Macamo, was mission drift for the churches who became victims of the their own importance and standing in the communities.[109]

The phenomenon is wider spread, of course, than Mozambique. As Paul Gifford notes, across sub-Saharan Africa the churches are commonly perceived by NGOs as a more grassroots and less corrupt channel for funding than the apparatus of nation states.[110] A problem arises for the churches when the particularities of the churches, as religious groups, are not respected in their own right by their partners. From her own research in South Africa, Bompani quotes an NGO representative who had been working with a Methodist group in Johannesburg: '…what religious organisations should do is that they should welcome as much help as possible, regardless of where it is coming from, without wanting to take ownership of the whole process but just accepting whatever goodwill is coming from out there'.[111] However, if local religious groups are to make practical contributions to achieving development aims, argues Bompani, due

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[108] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[109] Elísio Macamo, interview by author via Skype, 5th April 2011. Macamo is a Mozambican national working as Tenure Track Assistant Professor of African Studies at the University of Basel Previously he taught developmental sociology at the University of Bayreuth.

[110] Paul Gifford, *Christianity, Development and Modernity in African* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2015).

[111] Anna Moyo a representative of the SACST NGO quoted in Barbara Bompani, 'Local Religious Organisations Performing Development…' p. 205.

consideration should be given to the views of their leaders, so to better understand and address differences between their worldviews and those of the development actors.[112]

There is a role, Mazuze believes, for the churches to minister to the poor. In hindsight, however, he believes an alternative form of engagement would have been more been consistent with the values of the MCL:

> The churches in Mozambique are very poor. You find members without shoes, and no way of buying them...A person without a roof for a house. But the church has a project to help with that. It can help those people gradually. You identify one or two who the church can help.
>
> But if they [NGOs] come to help the poor [through the church] what's going to happen...? Then everyone in the church is "poor". Everyone is going to want this help so not to be left out…There are many churches that did this, but we know that later it [the flow of aid] will stop, and the ministry will suffer.[113]

As Bompani shows in her study of the work of Methodists in South Africa, a religious organisation that was not initiated for delivering relief may become mired in conflict as it navigates its new-found role whilst attempting to maintain its core activities. Potentially, such participation can come to undermine the organisation as a whole, including the organisation's leadership as well as the benefits available to recipient communities.[114] From his own experience, Mazuze recalls,

> Outside the town of Chokwe, for example, I have a church in a locality there called Ndonga, and another place called Kilometro Vinte. They almost split down the middle because someone [another church group] arrived there with clothes and food, and began to distribute them monthly. And so the Christians began to leave [the MCL], saying, 'We are going [to] join with them.'
>
> We tried to sensitize our members, saying: 'That is not the gospel - clothing and food. The gospel is the truth when a person believes in Jesus and so will have eternal life. We are not going to run [compete with the another church group]...Those that want food can go there for the food. Those that want the gospel can stay [in the MCL].' Some felt that, 'No. I want the gospel, I'll stay here.'
>
> Practically, churches that do this, in my opinion, weaken the gospel. Trying to evangelise people with material resources. While they are weakening the gospel, they are drawing people away from the churches where they are with [the promise of] material things, which is wrong. There is this tendency in

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[112] Barbara Bompani, 'Local Religious Organisations Performing Development,' p. 199.

[113] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[114] Barbara Bompani, 'Local Religious Organisations Performing Development…' p. 209.

> many Mozambican churches. [Ones t]hat need someone from outside, principally white people, to sustain themselves…[115]

MCL Machava – national headquarters

As well as being the MCL's founder, at the time of this research Francisco Zimba was both the national leader and pastor of a congregation at Machava. The church there met in a large building, belonging to the MCL, and able to seat up to 350 people. The Machava compound contained both the MCL offices and Zimba's family home. All of these were of modern materials.

In an interview at that site, Zimba expressed both an admiration for how MCL members had historically given sacrificially to the work of the MCL, as well as for the construction of the Machava building. However, implicit in his account was an ambivalence towards the value of self-reliance as a pursuit for national churches.

> In Mozambique when the people see…[a foreigner] at a church, people will go to [that] church, saying: 'Pastor x's [sic.] church has a white man, who will give us money'. But we [the MCL] don't accept that…In our church, people give.
>
> Take pastor Muambe [the leader of church plant in Catembe District, Maputo Province]. He works part time with the government and he works some days here with me. He gives much of his salary to this work…When we built this church here, Pastor Samuel [another MCL leader] gave...He gave everything.[116]

Zimba offered further examples of sacrifice and self-support which he commended:

> Someone had 1,000 head of cattle in Chokwe. After those floods he lost some, but he recovered a lot and gave 11. And so they sold those and he brought all the money here [to Machava] so we could use it.

Zimba also gave examples of how trainee MCL pastors made sacrifices in their ongoing commitment to paid work to see them through their studies.[117] However,

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[115] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[116] Francisco David Zimba, interview by author, MCL headquarters, Machava, Mozambique, 19 May 2010.

[117] In the early days through the AOG in Mozambique and latterly through The All Africa Bible College in South Africa.

alongside his affirmations, two other comments the MCL founder made suggested that, by that time, he was open to external support as a means by which to deliver MCL projects. One example was a reference to the economic challenges for churches in Mozambique, the other was Zimba's own perception of the MCL-Tearfund relationship at Chokwe so disparaged by Mazuze.

As to the difficulties churches face economically in Mozambique, Zimba stated:

> Our country doesn't have the money we'd need to support ourselves. Now that people are free [since the peace accord in 1992] they can change job, have a machamba [allotment] so that they can eat. But our country has big problems…It's difficult when we have a meeting to motivate our workers. Others leave the ministry. There are people that brother Barbosa knew: Francisco Cosinha, he left saying he was going to begin a big work [plant a church] only he didn't manage.
>
> We wanted to send some to train in Mpumalanga [a South African Province]. We wanted to send four last year, but they didn't go because we didn't have money. We will look to friends like…[names interviewer], or maybe someone will appear that has a heart to see things grow.

In contrast to Mazuze at Chokwe, who expressed misgivings about 'partnership' in general, Zimba was to state,

> Partners are those who want to help someone. The problem other churches have [with partners] is in what is written. The owner of the church writes 'We have to do this, this, this...' And so, when partners appear and they have other objectives sometimes they clash over that. They don't know how to move beyond the papers. But my church can handle partnership.

Whilst Zimba acknowledged something went wrong for the MCL at the time of Tearfund's involvement, it was not, he believes, a reason to dismiss involvement with foreign donors.

> Tear Fund worked with Pastor Mazuze in partnership with our church there in Chokwe. Do you know the mess they made? It wasn't a problem of partnership, but a problem in the minds of people. It's about how people see things. It can be a problem of a clash in objectives. That's the problem. But in our church people know what's important and what they must do.
>
> Every year: '2010, right, what are we going to do?' We know how many churches we have to plant and we always talk about it. We know how much money we are going to need. If it doesn't materialise - no problem. But if we manage to raise that money, we have a plan to plant so many churches.

Divergent views

The reasons for the divergence between Mazuze and Zimba over the Tearfund partnership experience are by no means clear cut. However, it is conceivable that from Zimba's distant location in Machava, the prospect of extra funding for MCL in the

provinces made the challenges of donorship appear worthwhile.[118] By contrast, it was Mazuze who had to address in person the more negative consequences of the Tearfund relationship.

Whatever the reasons for the differing views, that they can co-exist within the MCL illustrates both something specific to the MCL and a more general point about the economic trajectory of churches. Firstly, as we saw earlier, the MCL was a loosely administered network, with different approaches to funding even within the three church sites referred to here. Secondly, and this could apply to any church, the fact simply of having emerged independently does not indefinitely make for any particular status, self-reliant or otherwise. A congregation or group of churches may move either way along a spectrum from self-reliance to the receipt of external support.

Conclusion

Given the emergence of the MCL as an independent network of churches, it is not surprising that independent congregations were to be found among their number at the time of this research. However, as not all MCL sites were the same, the particularities of a church like the one at Manjacaze remain pertinent for what they reveal about locally resourced life. Factors that stand out from that group include, a.) the seminal conversion experience of some members, subsequently, b.) the creative agency with which members supported both the ministry and outreach of the church and c.) the background and qualities of the pastor.

As highlighted in the chapter, the conversion experiences of MCL members at Manjacaze resonated with those observed elsewhere, especially among Pentecostals globally. Specifically, it would seem, conversion experiences were so compelling as to inspire and incentivise a break with familial and traditional practices that had, in the

[118] Although this was not established, it is possible the MCL headquarters at Machava was also a beneficiary of Tearfund sourced income. Some administrative tasks and the arrangement of transport would likely have been carried out on behalf of Tearfund in Maputo in order to secure the work at Chokwe. As they work with foreign partners, this arrangement is typical among other church groups with headquarters in Maputo and aid recipient locations elsewhere in the field. The differing views of Zimba and Mazuze may also explain Mazuze's request to use a pseudonym as an interviewee – not to be seen, therefore, as negating the value of foreign support when MCL founder and national leader is open to that.

view of the interviewees, formerly hindered their domestic economies. From that point, it would seem, mutual support among members had acted as both a spiritual and practical support mechanism leading to deepened community ties among members.

That this sequence was played out in a location like Manjacaze is surely significant. Spiritual and religious capital all the more necessary, as help from other networks of support (be that NGOs or governmental) is less available. The church at Manjacaze consists of individuals who are highly committed to their religious faith and, as such, may have compromised traditional family ties in what is a profoundly challenging situation of poverty. It is into that situation that an ethic of mutuality between members combines support for both the activities of the church and for one another.

Salaried work among the rural poor is rare. The churches in such locations cannot, therefore, depend on monetary giving for resources. The response in the case of Manjacze has been for members to contribute in a variety of ways, including produce from allotments and labour for building projects. Similarly, the outreach of the church has been both relevant, in benefiting the community, but also sustainable, in that it was not tied to the availability of external plans and budgets.

As with Langa of the IRM at Xai Xai, the background and vision of the local pastor, Manhique, has been important to the direction the church has taken. To a large degree, the attitude of members can be explained in terms of the members having taken on the values of their leader. Also like Langa, as Manhique took up ministry in Manjacaze, he chose to side-step involvement with a prior existing MCL church. Due to the traditional religion practised among members there, the older church plant would, in Manhique's view, have impeded the work he set out to do. That he had the confidence to mobilise the community where he chose to build[119] can be explained due to his conviction, prior knowledge of construction, and charismatic personal qualities that also are reminiscent of Langa.

[119] First a church building of traditional materials and, at that time of the research, begin a building of modern materials.

Moving to the lessons of the MCL as a group of churches, it is clear that within a loosely administered network, a range of attitudes may be formed among leaders as to appropriate funding methods for the churches they represent. Furthermore, any given congregation may move from one kind of solution to another, along a spectrum from self-reliant to dependent.

The MCL at Chokwe was not dependent in the sense of the IRM, with that denomination's centralised bureaucracy and support from denominational forefathers in South Africa. Nonetheless, an experience with an external donor resulted in similar consequences in terms of how the church was perceived by members and others in the community.

Given the context in which Tearfund financed work undertaken by the MCL at Chokwe, and also the role the partnership played in emergency relief, it would seem doctrinaire to suggest the collaboration would better have been avoided. There are surely circumstances when the *modus operandi* of an institution can be suspended for a greater good. With hindsight, however, even the external body appointed to audit the involvement of groups like Tearfund over that period were critical of the extent to which the agency and ownership of Mozambican nationals were overlooked. Furthermore, for others considering partnerships in less compelling circumstances, the testimony of Mazuze serves as a warning. He describes a process from 2000-2005, in which the partnership of which the MCL was part undermined its core ministries. In 2010, he claimed, he was still working to repair the damage.

Chapter 5: The Arca da Salvação

In this chapter we consider the Arca da Salvação (ADS), one of two church groups chosen for their emergence independent of external sponsorship. Nationally the ADS claim a membership of 8,000, distributed among churches in the provinces of Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, Sofala, Manica, Tete and Zambézia, with the largest groupings located in Maputo and Zambézia. Including 'prayer houses',[1] there are 31 congregations in Maputo, 2 in Gaza, 1 in Inhambane, 8 in Sofala, 1 in Manica, 1 in Tete and 13 in Zambézia. There are 11 pastors serving the 31 congregations in Maputo Province, and one pastor for the two congregations in Gaza.[2]

Attitudes towards the resourcing of church life in the ADS are considered with reference to the congregation at Magoanine, a peri-urban area of the city of Maputo which is where the group emerged first and is also the location of the national headquarters. (See map on page 10.) Given the Mozambican national context

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[1] Congregations without a dedicated pastor. Sometimes a prayer house congregation meet in the home of a member/layleader, if not a dedicated building.

[2] The figures for regional and national ADS membership are ascertained at regional conferences as reported by local leaders to the conference. These figures are based on conferences held during August 2010. Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo on 11th November 2010. On the basis of conferences in 2008, the figures for the southern region (Maputo and Gaza, only) were given as being 1,500 members. Daniel Vasco Moiana (son of ADS founder), interview by author, One Challenge offices, Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique 16th February 2009. Including 'prayer houses' (congregations without a dedicated pastor and perhaps involving meetings held in a member's home) there are 31 congregations in Maputo; two in Gaza; one in Inhambane; eight in Sofala; one in Manica; one in Tete and 13 in Zambézia. This data taken by researcher from a printed map at the ADS headquarters, in Magoanine, customised with pins to identify locations of ADS sites nationally. There are 11 pastors serving the 31 congregations in Maputo Province, and one pastor for the two congregations in Gaza. Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo on 11th November 2010. As we noted in the previous chapter, uneven distribution among churches, with a predominance in the south, may be some way explained by larger numbers of migratory workers from the south having been exposed to Christian teaching while working in South Africa or Rhodesia/Zimbabwe. The dominant position of Islam in some northern provinces is also a factor impeding the church growth there. Gerhard Seibert '"But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal": Zion Churches in Mozambique since the early 20th Century,' *Le Fait Missionnaire. Social Sciences & Missions*. n.º 17, (December 2005): pp. 103-128.

of the ADS, in which many churches are sponsored from abroad, we ask what factors there are in the history, organizational outlook and attitudes of members that lead the church to pursue its own particular methods for supplying its work.

In order to reflect on the significance of the ADS in a broader context, reference is made also to academic theory concerning the development, character and potency of independent churches in southern Africa generally. With parallels, for instance, in the findings of African development specialist Barbara Bompani, the important role of the ADS leader is highlighted as a potent influence and explanatory factor in ADS funding strategies.

The chapter goes on to suggest that the character and quality of ADS resourcefulness is born not out of self-reliant ideology, but from:

a.) a trajectory of independence stemming from the church's AIC ancestry;

b.) the vision, enthusiasm and influence of the founder, who is currently the leader of the local congregation at Magoanine as well as the church's national leader;

c.) among members, a culture of giving to the work in keeping with what is taught formally, and also encouraged informally, among members themselves;

d.) a sense of ownership and personal investment on the part of the membership that is often supported by a personal experience of flourishing in domestic life.

Magoanine

The ADS church and headquarters are located in the administrative division or *bairro* of Magoanine which is six miles north of Maputo city. From the 1980s the area became increasingly residential attracting much unofficial occupation[3] and later, during 2000, serving as home to families displaced by flooding.[4]

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[3] That is, temporary dwellings assembled on land not yet parcelled out by the municipal authorities.

[4] Jørgen Eskemose Andersen, Silje Erøy Sollien and Khadidja Ouis, *Home Space: Built Environment Study* (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, Department of

In general terms, the wealth-creating opportunities for ADS congregants are typical both of other people in the area and of many similar churches located in situations on the outskirts of major African cities. The proximity of the *bairro* to Maputo city, which requires a single minibus journey to the centre, means that notionally salaried work is a possibility for some members. Furthermore, institutions of higher education and a state hospital are geographically accessible.

However, many inhabitants in Magoanine would not see themselves as direct beneficiaries of Maputo city wealth. As Teresa Cruz e Silva[5] notes regarding the circumstances of independent evangelical groups generally, many are to be found in peri-urban areas, yet struggling to access the education, health, and safe water enjoyed by city dwellers. In the face of sub- or unemployment, survival for many is dependent upon the informal economy.[6]

The unemployment rate in Magoanine is high and over 80 percent of households have at least one member who is engaged in informal trade. Typically this is undertaken by young girls or older women in the form of roadside stalls. At least 10 percent of households there live on per capita expenditures of less than one US dollar per day, and between 30 percent and 50 percent of the population expend between one and two dollars per day.[7] A lack of higher education for most in the neighbourhood, and thereby the church, means those (women) working in the city will most often take work as an *empregada* (housekeeper) in other people's homes,

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Human Settlements, 2012), p. 38, accessed 5 May 2016, http://www.homespace.dk/tl_files/uploads/publications/Full%20reports/HomeSpace_Built_Environment_Study.pdf

[5] Teresa Cruz e Silva is Senior lecturer at Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo and concerned with Mozambican social history. She has led or participated in a variety of studies focusing on Mozambique's churches.

[6] Teresa Cruz e Silva, 'Evangelicals and democracy in Mozambique,' in *Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa*, ed. Terence Ranger (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 167, 169.

[7] Mariana Matoso, Understanding patterns of climate resilient economic development, Maputo: Mozambique, Report (London: Overseas Development Institute, November 2015); Valentina Zuin, Maika Nicholson and Jenna Davis, Water Access, Service Quality, and Consumer Satisfaction in peri-urban Maputo: a beneficiary assessment (CRA, World Bank and Woods Institute for the Environment at Stanford University, and Valentina Zuin, 2012), p.25, accessed 5 May 2016, http://www.cra.org.mz/FINAL-Benefiary-Assessment-Relatorio-5.pdf (accessed 5 May 2016).

or (men) work as security guards, neither of which would typically afford the possibility of living in the city centre. Alongside a range of other activities in the informal economy, popular means of generating income include work at a nearby informal market and/or farming a small vegetable plot (*machamba*), either adjoining the home or on nearby low-lying land by a river.

Many young ADS members refer to themselves as students. However, it is often the case that, into their 20s, these will include many who are attempting to complete secondary education. In most cases, irrespective of how a person identifies their occupation, an individual will be running a number of commitments concurrently. For instance, a 'student' may well also be running a small business selling mobile phone credit and/or a roadside barber shack or phone kiosk. A 'student' may also cultivate a *machamba*. It is in this context of proximity to city wealth, but nonetheless wealth perceived as unattainable to many living there, that the ADS has its presence.

The church at Magoanine

The ADS church building at Magoanine makes up part of a group of buildings in a compound, all of which are constructed from modern materials.[8] The site is also the location of the ADS national headquarters and a number of church based projects. A block of three classrooms runs parallel to the main building. The head pastor and national leader lives in another compound locally which contains a chicken rearing project as well as his family home.

As well as smaller midweek meetings on Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday evenings, the main Sunday service of the ADS attracts participation of approximately 250 people. Participation at the main meetings represents a balanced spread of gender and age-groups, with whole families in attendance.[9] A further three meetings are also

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[8] Concrete walls and corrugated zinc roofing.

[9] Life expectancy in Mozambique: average - 52.94 years; male - 52.18 years; female - 53.72 years. 'The World Fact Book, Africa: Mozambique,' Central Intelligence Agency, accessed 29 April 2016, https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mz.html

held on Thursdays catering for women, young people, and a music practice. Often, Saturdays are used as an opportunity for evangelism – either in Magoanine, or to visit and support another ADS congregation in Maputo or Gaza provinces.

In keeping with general migration to the area, the ADS congregation in Magoanine today is an ethnic mix, although with sufficient numbers using Changana[10] to warrant its use alongside Portuguese for church meetings. The founder can trace his roots to Sofala Province and the Ndau people, although he is himself several generations removed from that context. Explaining the ADS demographic, one interviewee explained:

> Maputo is a point of reference for the whole country…They come from whichever canton of the country. They all run to Maputo to gain better conditions…It's normal that here you meet x [sic] amount of people in the church from the provinces…You will also meet people whose families have been here so long they don't know their origins.[11]

This migratory picture is consistent with Cruz e Silva's description, that Mozambique's war during the 1980s drove people from many regions and ethnic backgrounds from the countryside to zones between urban and rural environments, with the cities of Maputo and Beira typifying this process.[12]

Researching the ADS

As with the MCL, the ADS was first identified as a case for study in this research in 2008 under the guidance of Barbosa Oliveira, a Brazilian national and Mozambican team leader of the international mission organisation One Challenge (OC).[13] The ADS was one of a number of church groups around the country that

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[10] Those speaking Changana include not only indigenous Changana/Tsonga people but also those who ancestry can be located elsewhere in Mozambique, but nonetheless learned Changana whilst living in the southern provinces.

[11] Daniel Vasco Moiana (son of ADS founder), interview by author, One Challenge offices, Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique 16th February 2009.

[12] Cruz e Silva, 'Evangelicals and democracy …,' pp. 167-168.

[13] OC's international headquarters are in Colorado Springs, USA. 'One Challenge…Transforming Nations Together,' accessed 25 January, 2016, One Challenge, http://www.onechallenge.org/

participated in seminars and workshops provided by OC.[14] The participation of the ADS in events run by foreign missionaries is typical in a number of ways. As we shall see, it was the willingness of the ADS founder, Pastor Vasco Moiana, to collaborate with foreigners that led to his expulsion from another denomination. Furthermore, Moiana's collaboration with other evangelical church groups locally was typical of the organisation's ethos for collaboration, as they worked together to promote and host conferences for multiple church groups.[15] However, it is noteworthy that the ADS had no missionary working directly in or for the church during the course of my research, nor had they at any point in the past. Nonetheless, it was from his long personal acquaintance with Moiana that Oliveira was able to comment on the historical development of the church, suggesting also they would be worthy of study with regard to their attitudes and habits in resourcing the church.

Notwithstanding a presence on the social media network site Facebook,[16] to which we will return, to the researcher's knowledge there is no published information concerning the ADS in print or electronic form. In order to tell their story, therefore, alongside what can be gleaned from social media, this research has consisted of various ethnographic components. In order to ascertain the culture, aims, objectives and operational patterns of the ADS, the researcher became further[17] acquainted with ADS members and the Magoanine locality. Visits were made to the national headquarters located on the same site as the local church at Magoanine. In addition, classes at the same location were visited, as were music practices and general church festivities. The homes of members were visited, especially to observe chicken rearing projects as a key

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[14] The teaching element of sessions at OC conferences was provided by OC, involving foreign missionaries (from Brazil, the USA and the UK) and some Mozambican nationals. The provision of conference space and preparation of food fell to churches participating in the conferences.

[15] ADS collaboration elsewhere, for instance, includes the promotion of crusades of non-ADS evangelistic speakers, with a similar doctrinal position (evangelical/charismatic/Pentecostal), who are visiting Maputo. Similarly, the ADS promotes social projects, independent of the ADS, but which may benefit their own membership, such as computer skills courses run in Maputo by Change the World Trust of the US based Family Care Foundation. 'Change the World Trust,' Family Care Foundation, accessed 19 May 2016, http://www.familycare.org/network/change-the-world-trust/

[16] Arca da Salvação Facebook page, accessed 7 March 2016, https://www.facebook.com/IgrejaEvangelicaArcaDeSalvacaoDeMocambique/

[17] Relationships with some ADS members/leaders preceded the research period from 2008.

component of members' personal economies, and means by which they gave financially to the church. Visits were paid to evangelistic outreaches undertaken in Magoanine *bairro* on Saturday mornings. Attendance as a participant observer was undertaken at regular services.[18]

During the field work, the researcher was able to rely on existing relationships with ADS members, and new acquaintances were also formed. Ultimately, this led to social invitations made to the researcher and his family to participate in events either at the church or in the homes of members. Similarly, some ADS members were able to join the researcher for social activities in Maputo city, and in one instance for an ADS member to accompany the researcher to attend an IRM church in Maputo.

A further component of the researcher's familiarization with the ADS nationally pertained to professional work undertaken by the researcher between 2008 and 2010. During that period the researcher collaborated with ADS leaders (and some members) at other locations. Typically, this was to provide leadership training seminars for a variety of independent evangelical groups, among which were ADS leaders. For instance, seminars and workshops were held in the provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Zambézia. Thereby, some familiarity with the ADS beyond the Magoanine context was established. Throughout this period notes were taken by the researcher in an ethnographic diary, both for the information they would offer in their own right, but also as a means to prepare for interviews with leaders and members.

Background to the ADS

From the account supplied by Moiana himself,[19] he had been a member of a national African Instituted Church, the Nova Assembleia da Chuva (NAC), from 1968 until his founding of the ADS in 1997. He describes the NAC during his

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[18] See Appendix 3: Ethnographic diary, pages 268-275.

[19] This and other information in this account as described by Moiana to researcher on various occasions and also recorded in interview: Moiana (ADS founder), interview. Also as told similarly by missionary source Barbosa Oliveira, a contributor to the programme at the AOG college in the early days and who knew Moiana before the ADS was established: Barbosa Oliveira (OC Mozambique team leader), interviewed by author, Oliveira's home, Maputo, Mozambique, 25 March 2010.

involvement there as being 'Mazione' (Zionist[20]), and placing great importance on the observance of Mosaic Law and the blood sacrifice of animals.[21]

In adult life, and by then an employee of a bank in Maputo, Moiana came to lead a 'zone'[22] of the NAC. During the late 1980s he undertook part-time ministerial training at an Assemblies of God college (AOG)[23] in Maputo city, from which he graduated in 1990. Although continuing in leadership and evangelism with the NAC, as he trained with the AOG he found increasingly that his own vision for Christian evangelism and discipleship diverged from the one he had known within the NAC. Initially this pertained to his questioning of NAC doctrine on the basis of what he was now learning. From the mid-1990s, he began to involve foreign missionaries from the AOG college as contributors at church training events for which he was responsible. This strategy led to accusations among his NAC colleagues that he was compromising the African character and qualities of the church.

As time went on NAC leaders were less willing to support the evangelistic work Moiana spearheaded through 'crusades' in Maputo and Gaza provinces. Finally in 1997, he recalls, his unwillingness to perpetuate blood sacrifices within his own congregation at Magoanine made his position untenable and led to his expulsion.

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[20] For general discussion of use of this term see Introduction, Locating the churches, pages 5-8. The term is used here as used by a former member of the NAC and as being in common use among Mozambicans. See also Seibert's rationale for its use for the Mozambican context: Gerhard Seibert '"But the Manifestation of the Spirit is Given to Every Man to Profit withal": Zion Churches in Mozambique since the early 20th century,' *Le Fait Missionnaire: Social Sciences and Missions* no. 17 (December 2005): p.125.

[21] Reference to Levitical law is a common feature of Zionism in Mozambique. The use of ash, salt, milk and tea leaves is more common for healing ceremonies and to address spirit possession. In certain cases ritual animal killing is undertaken.
Seibert, '"But the Manifestation of the Spirit,' pp. 138, 145.

[22] A congregation with 20 members.

[23] The Escola Bíblica da Assembléia de Deus was founded in 1985 by missionary Austin Chawner of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC). The college was set up to prepare lay pastors from a wide range of church groups who had previously undertaken little or no Bible training. 'Training Leaders, Mozambique-Maputo: Escola Bíblica da Assembléia de Deus,' Global Ed, accessed on 20 March 2016, http://paocglobaled.celect.org/mozambique-maputo

The reasons Moiana gives for his expulsion have not been verified with NAC sources. It may be the case that, for respectability in evangelical circles, doctrinal differences with the NAC have subsequently been exaggerated. As Anderson notes, even where common elements exist among southern African AICs and newer evangelical groups (e.g. charismatic and Pentecostal churches), the newer churches are seldom willing to acknowledge an affinity with the older AICs.[24] Nonetheless, based on the patterns of worship among other Mozambican Zionist groups and current ADS doctrine, divergence in respect of doctrinal differences is plausible as an explanation.

Separated from the NAC in 1997, Moiana, accompanied by twenty former NAC members chose to set up a church he would himself lead, but which would now openly follow a doctrinal line more closely resembling his training on the AOG programme:

> I followed the evangelical movement...that [the] salvation of a person is through hearing the Word of God. And [that] the Word has the power to convince a person to accept Jesus Christ as saviour. I went into the evangelical doctrine as the only thing that we can preach…[25]

The development of the ADS

Initially the Magoanine ADS met in Moiana's home, which was in keeping with the pattern of evangelism he had learned through the AOG and had first practised within the NAC.[26] Certain of the ADS's members in Maputo at that time were themselves from the central and northern provinces, but had either been displaced to the city during the Frelimo–Renamo conflict (1977-1992), or simply had migrated to the capital seeking paid work. Following the peace accord of 1992 formerly insecure regions of the country began gradually to enjoy new found peace and stability. Accordingly, migrants and the displaced in Maputo found they were able to return to their homelands, in some cases

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[24] Alan Anderson, 'New African Initiated Pentecostalism and Charismatics in South Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 35.1, 2005. pp. 68- 69.

[25] Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, Mozambique, on 11 November 2010.

[26] Information in this section based on the oral accounts of ADS founder Vasco Daniel Moiana and, in some cases, of current members at Magoanine who contributed to the establishment of churches elsewhere (for instance helping in evangelistic crusades and/or the construction of buildings): Moiana (ADS founder), interview.

establishing congregations along the lines of the ADS in Maputo.[27] As resources allowed, Moiana himself or other Maputo-based ADS leaders assisted the new far-flung church plants in their development, thereby growing the ADS network nationally. 'In a short period,' recalls Moiana,

> through the work of evangelism, the church was planted in the province of Maputo, Gaza...We began doing our crusades to begin new church plants. In [the provinces of] Manica, Sofala, Tete and Zambézia…The church grew more in the central zone of Mozambique than in the southern zone.

In Moiana's view, the growth of the ADS at that time in the provinces is explicable in terms of the preparation leaders received in Maputo before sending them to plant churches. He also noted that the provinces at that time had much less exposure to the kind of teaching offered by the ADS:

> Our vision was not to look for the people in the cities. They [the new locations] were places where there were no other churches. So it was easier for the church to grow there than here. Here in Maputo and Gaza there is competition that creates rivalry. If you begin a church there in the districts you don't have a war with anyone.[28]

Generalisations concerning the background of new converts to the ADS are of limited value. However, based on the evangelism of churches generally outside the main cities and towns,[29] in the south of the country it is likely early converts would have been nominally Roman Catholic, but perhaps with a commitment also to traditional religion. It is also possible converts would have come from among Zionist groups. Further north, for instance in Nampula, there are conversions from Islam to Christianity, although this is much less common.

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[27] Although not comparable in scale to the first years of the national peace accord, the pattern of ADS members from Maputo moving elsewhere in-country, establishing new ADS congregations, is ongoing. Whilst visiting a Sunday morning service the researcher observed the participation of one female member talking about her move imminently to Sofala Province. As well as taking paid work in Beira city, she explained she had identified an ADS congregation outside the city which she would join in the interim, but intended then to help establish another congregation in the city itself. As part of the Sunday Service at Magoanine, the lady was brought to the front of the church to explain her objectives and prayed for at length. Observed by author, 9am service at ADS church building, Magoanine, Maputo, Mozambique, 22 October 2009.

[28] Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, Mozambique, on 11 November 2010.

[29] As opposed to the cities where there is much transference of individuals from one church (tradition) to another.

Early attitudes towards resourcing the work of the church

During a bout of widespread flooding in Mozambique, occurring in the first months of the new millennium, the commitment of members to the growth of the ADS was soon to be tested. Flood damage to what was intended as the first purpose-built church building proved pivotal for the nascent group. The founder recalls that:

> We began building [a church building] late in the late 90s. In 2000 we had the problem of the floods. And everything we had was taken by the water. Also, we were not able to visit all the congregations and some lapsed. We didn't have money to visit them. We were without money for evangelism, also, so we had nothing. But some stayed that until now are still with us.[30]

Another leader recalled the same period:

> We were constructing a big building for the church. At this time we had very strong participation of all the members. Even from the neighbours who helped in the construction. But when people experienced the disappointment that came with the floods some began to lose hope, saying: 'No. We are not going to do the same work twice over.' They then left and integrated with other churches. But another group remained strong as we relocated and put up another building.[31]

The developmental potency of religious groups and faith based organisations

Since the 1980s, interest in approaches to economic development among the global poor has shifted. Increasingly scholars have become sensitised to the perspectives of grassroots activists generating their own particular developmental objectives and strategies. Notably, Amartya Sen has developed a range of ideas in his 'capability approach', an economic theory involving the claims that freedom of wellbeing and, most pertinently for this research, the capabilities of individuals, are essential to development.[32] Figures such as Gillian Hart have argued for a distinction between the large-scale projects of the development sector, the world of governmental bodies and large NGOs, and what she refers to as 'little d' development. The latter aims to de-centre

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[30] Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, Mozambique, on 11 November 2010.

[31] Daniel Vasco Moiana (son of ADS founder), interview by author, One Challenge offices, Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique 16 February 2009.

[32] Amartya Sen, *Commodities and Capabilities* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1985).

the perspectives of elites in the Global North on development, and to highlight instead the perspectives of the communities in which development is to take place.[33]

As we shall observe, the ADS is first and foremost concerned with the goals of evangelism and Christian discipleship. However, in undertaking those processes the church at Magoanine is noteworthy for resourcing its own activities in an otherwise economically challenging context, and also for assisting its membership in their own economic development, to the point where they can contribute also to the church's growth from their own resources.

Given its ecclesial priorities, the ADS does not fall neatly into the developmental agendas of Sen and Hart outlined above. However, as Barbara Bompani argues, religious goals and developmental outcomes often cannot always be separated.[34] In the case of the ADS, and as identified by Bompani as a general principle, the development work of faith-based groups is often integrated with, and derives from, regular church activities such as Sunday worship, group bible study and weekday prayer meetings.[35] '[F]aith and spirituality,' says developmental practitioner Katherine Marshall, 'are as a life force in all, but perhaps even more in poor, communities.'[36] The seamless integration of church doctrine with motivation for social and ecclesial development is also a feature of the ADS.

The self-reliant character of the ADS and the central objective of this research, namely to ascertain why some churches resource themselves locally in a context of dependency, both intersect with the findings of scholars such as Marthinus L. Daneel. Daneel undertook over thirty years' empirical research on AICs in Zimbabwe and Malawi. Increasingly, the publications stemming from Daneel's work demonstrated to an international academic audience the initiative and resources African churches had

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[33] Gillian Hart, 'Development Critiques in the 1990s: Culs de Sac and Promising Paths.' *Progress in Human Geography* 25.4 (December 2001): p. 649-658.

[34] Barbara Bompani 'African Independent Churches in Post-Apartheid South Africa: New Political Interpretations,' *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34:3, (2008): p. 665

[35] Bompani 'African Independent Churches in Post-Apartheid South Africa,' p.665

[36] Katherine Marshall, 'Development and Religion: A Different Lens on Development Debates,' *Peabody Journal of Education* 76 (2001): p. 350.

themselves for development, with particular reference to environmentalism.[37] Daneel, like Bompani, has noted the integration of religious and developmental concerns, as exemplified by his study of an earthkeeping project run by AICs in Zimbabwe. He notes that among the AICs church liturgy was laden with references also to environmental stewardship, and served as a means of sensitising church members to the developmental goals of the community.[38]

Most pertinently, Daneel's work has been praised also for his inclination to treat Africans as agents of their own destinies rather than as 'passive victims'.[39] Generally speaking, ADS interviewees in this research were not inclined to offer explanations for their motivation in terms of national identity and insider-outsider identities. However, when they were asked to interpret the contrast between the agency of ADS members and the dependency of mission churches these factors were raised: 'The churches you mention [mainline Protestant/Reformed],' explained one interviewee,

> have a leadership dominated by foreigners, and so the sustenance of those churches also depends on the hands of foreigners…A church that doesn't have its foundation in the locality will not know is own people. And the people won't know the origins of the church…It's going to be very difficult then to survive with local resources. By contrast, the Arca da Salvação looks to cultivate the mind of its own people…That they know how to contribute to the growth of the church through giving.[40]

Interviewees who had experience of mainline denominations were able to differentiate between their former churches and their current experience of the ADS: 'I was in the Anglican Church,' explained on interviewee,

> where I was responsible for a nucleus in Magoanine. The Anglican Church is a Church that is dependent on England, because it was developed there. Part of it we contributed, but not much. The largest part of the cake to do good things came from abroad…I grew-up there; my parents were born there [into

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[37] Dana Robert, 'ML Daneel: missionary as folk theologian', in *Frontiers of African Christianity* ed. by Greg Cuthbertson, Hennie Pretorius and Dana Robert (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2003), p.12

[38] Daneel, 'Christian Mission and Earth-care,' p.131

[39] Robert, preface to *Frontiers of African Christianity*, p. xv

[40] José Tembe (executive secretary of local church, Magoanine, male, 40's), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, on 24 October 2010.

> Anglicanism] and grew there[41]…[then] I came to this church. Many of the churches we have here in Mozambique came from abroad…Accordingly, they have always lived depending on people from abroad.[42]

Contrary to the above views regarding the foreign administration of mainline groups in Mozambique, most mainline churches in the country are now largely or entirely led by Mozambican nationals. However, as we have seen from the IRM case study, the points raised regarding church origins and ongoing influence on national membership from those who control the funds remain valid.[43]

As we here consider the development of the ADS under the influence of its founder, relevant also is the importance Bompani attaches to the background and character of the leaders in religious groups in terms of their ethos for development and strategic operations. Her work in South Africa especially[44] led Bompani to conclude that, typically, the character and views of religious leaders will often be instrumental in shaping church-based projects. There is, she believes, 'a clear need to pay attention to their leadership and how it affects and shapes their modus operandi'.[45]

Mindful of Bompani's advice to consider the role of leadership in its significance for the developmental ethos of faith-based groups, we will now consider that factor alongside the following aspects:

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[41] Both directly and through the Christian Council of Mozambique the Anglican Church in Mozambique receives from a number of donors. One direct source is 'ALMA' (the Angola, London, Mozambique Association) which, for instance, holds annual Lent Appeals of which the Anglican church in Mozambique has been a beneficiary. 'Alma link Lent Appeal' Diocese of London, accessed 16 April 2016, http://www.almalink.org/lentapp.htm

[42] Silvester Mondlane, interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo on 11 November 2010.

[43] Foreigners involved with Anglican Church leadership in this period include the appointment, between 2003 and 2015, of a North American, Mark van Koevering, as bishop of Niassa, who was working also in partnership with the UK mission society USPG. The (IRM) Reformed Church featured in this research also had a liaison officer from South Africa as part of the Mozambican church council. One of his roles was to assist in the channel of funding to the IRM from South African Dutch Reformed churches. To this day many Roman Catholic leaders of local churches are fathers from abroad, for instance from Italy, Argentina and Brazil. In some cases those individuals would bring funding with them, linked to their appointment, from their sending churches for use in the Mozambican parishes.

[44] Bompani, 'Local Religious Organisations Performing Development,' p. 199.

[45] Bompani, 'Local Religious Organisations Performing Development,' p. 199.

a.) group history;

b.) the ADS leadership;

c.) teaching patterns that encourage Christian stewardship;

d.) the mutual encouragement one member to another;

e.) the personal realisation of members.

Group history

Those interviewees who could remember the NAC, from which the ADS emerged, were keen to contrast the ADS's vision for growth with what they pejoratively described as the mere subsistence of the NAC. In the view of the researcher, the self-supporting legacy of the NAC to the ADS is the factor most likely to be overlooked among interviewees in accounting for ADS's own emergence as a self-supporting church. As we have observed, the departure of NAC members to form the ADS was not amicable, and so a desire to look back negatively is likely. Given a certain form of questioning, however, it was possible to glean an acknowledgment among those who could remember that time, that the NAC also could be considered self-reliant. 'The Assembléia da Chuva was independent also,' conceded a junior pastor at the ADS, who is also the son of the founder,[46]

> but that independence was of a church that is financially poor…Practically its economy was very, very low. But when we speak of the Arca da Salvação, beginning then until today…[we] always had a spirit of development…[47]

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[46] Some allowance should be made for the fact that the primary source here is the son of the ADS founder. That is to say, the interviewee may have been inclined to emphasise relative weaknesses of the *Nova Assembleia da Chuva* (NAC), the group from which the ADS emerged, in order both to vindicate the split and by as a means by which to highlight the strengths of the ADS. However, it is uncontroversial to suggest that, generally speaking and in Mozambique, the Zionists (a category that would include the NAC) are the poorest of the poor among church communities. Their self-reliance, therefore, is in part possible due to their simplicity. In general support for the use of data from this interviewee it may be noted: notwithstanding historical data, the questions asked of all interviewees derived from phenomena experienced first hand by the researcher. While any given interviewee could have offered a distorted description or analysis of what was observed at the ADS, in many cases, phenomena was nonetheless observed first hand by the researcher. In terms of historical accounts, some data was available also from a close observer to the ADS from the early days (Barbosa Oliveira – see below). For economic poverty of Zionists see James Pfeiffer, 'Pentecostalism and AIDS Treatment in Mozambique: Creating New Approaches to HIV Prevention through Anti-retroviral Therapy,' *Global Public Health* 6 (2011): p. 167; Barbosa Oliveira (OC Mozambique team leader), interviewed by author, Oliveira's home, Maputo, Mozambique, 25 March 2010.

[47] 'Spirit of development': likely a reference to moving beyond the mere subsistence (of the NAC) to intentional development of both the domestic economies of ADS members and of the church as a body.

> The Arca da Salvação, thank God, had someone with a very ample vision in terms of the financial economy. The funds of the church come from the very Christians of the church. It is they that contribute, that give offerings for the development of the church. We can analyse that the development is not simply spiritual, in preaching the gospel about Jesus the saviour, or evangelisation. The Arca da Salvação has a much bigger vision, to use the funds that come from the Christians to help the community. And so the Arca da Salvação is [more] active in the financial area.[48]

Typically, parent churches pass economic assumptions to their offspring. Indeed, as John Gatu recalls regarding the parenthood of economically dependent churches in an African context, they too tended to assume the same structures and lines of support they received from their missionary predecessors:

> Many of us took over the leadership from the missionaries, and continued with whatever projects were there and as long as the money kept coming from the mission board overseas, all we needed to do was to fly to London, Edinburgh, New York and Geneva to convince our counterparts that we are equally as competent to continue with the structures and projects that we inherited. For that reason, when a Bishop, a General Secretary, Moderator or any other Church leader returned from an overseas trip, the success of the trip was measured in terms of how much money he or she had been able to raise during the visit!'[49]

This is a point also reminiscent of an observation of Henry Venn: in his desire to see that the churches planted by Anglican missionaries themselves became self-reliant, he observed the advantage Nonconformist churches had. They, unlike the Anglicans, had not enjoyed the support of the state back in England, and so were therefore already in the habit of cultivating a financially independent ministry.[50]

It is likely that, as an independent church, the ADS also has assumed some of what the group inherited from their ecclesiastical forebears in uncontested areas of church life. When the ADS came to build its first and second buildings,[51] for example, why was there

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Daniel Vasco Moiana (son of ADS founder), interview by author, One Challenge offices, Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique 16th February 2009.

[48] Daniel Vasco Moiana (son of ADS founder), interview by author, One Challenge offices, Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique 16th February 2009.

[49] John Gatu, 'Rationale for Self-Reliance' (paper presented at Consultation on Self-Reliance of the Churches in Africa, Limuru, Kenya, May 1996), accessed 19 May 2016, http://wmausa.org/wp-content/uploads/Rationale-for-Self-Reliance-The-Rev.-Dr.-John-Gatu-Former-Moderator-Presbyterian-Church-in-East-Africa.pdf

[50] C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy*, (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 25-26.

[51] The second due to flood damage of the first.

the working presupposition, among members and leaders alike, that the work would be resourced locally? This may be explained in terms of the 'can do' attitude of the membership at that time. It may also be explained by a lack of alternatives. Such international relationships as the ADS has (for instance with One Challenge and the AOG) are not ones that would lead to funding for church buildings. Each of these are likely contributory factors. However, given that the tradition from which the ADS emerged was also self-supporting, we may postulate that an attitude of independent self-support was carried over from one group to the other. It was issues of doctrine and ceremony pertaining to sacrifice that differentiated the ADS from the NAC, not questions of sourcing donations.[52] Unless therefore the founders of the ADS had a particular ideological opposition to the idea of locally resourced Christianity, there is reason to believe they would assume that what they had experienced previously was the norm for ecclesial fundraising.

b.) The ADS leadership

As we have noted from Bompani, the place of leaders in church groups is often key to formulating both the vision for, and the determination to implement, social and community outreach. Glenn Schwartz, a long-time advocate and researcher of self-reliance in churches of the developing world,[53] cites the place of leadership as key also to the internal, self-sustaining qualities of church groups. Schwartz focuses particularly on churches that have moved from a dependency situation to locally resourced activities. This is often brought about, he observes, through the teaching and practices of committed, visionary and resourceful leaders.[54] Both in general terms, and in relation to the ADS specifically, these are views with which Daniel Moiana, son of the ADS founder, himself a pastor with the ADS, would agree:

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[52] An example of how NAC ways of giving may have flowed also into ADS liturgy pertains to the way tithes and offerings are made at Magoanine. Although the researcher has not witnessed NAC services, the procedure and ceremony around making tithes and offerings during a church service bears resemblance to other Zionist groups in southern Mozambique.

[53] Schwartz himself served as a missionary in Zambia and Zimbabwe during the 1960s. Since 1983 Schwartz has been researching, writing and speaking on issues of self-reliance in the Christian movement. 'Our Story,' World Mission Associates, accessed 12 May 2016, http://wmausa.org/our-story/

[54] Glenn J. Schwartz, 'What Triggers the Move Toward Self-Reliance?' *in When Charity Destroys Dignity: Overcoming Unhealthy Dependency in the Christian Movement*, ed. Glenn Schwartz (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: World Mission Associates, 2007), p.233

> It's like this, there is more teaching [among churches in Mozambique] these days that is taking place, that Mozambicans can sustain their churches themselves. Principally among the leaders of churches that emerged recently.
>
> And so the leaders have another psychological outlook, that it isn't necessary to be waiting on foreign donations to realise a project…to do something. But with their own initiative, and by teaching the church membership, and then teaching about tithes and offerings. It extends also to social areas. This is how the church can develop in Mozambique.
>
> In the past was not good. In quotes, 'the past', because there is also poor leadership today. A leadership without vision. I am talking about the old leadership in the national churches.[55]
>
> But, with a lot of teaching as there is today people are catching more of a vision whereby they develop ministries of the church because they have a vision for it. And the leaders fight to sustain that vision.[56]

Among ADS members, specifically, the role of the leader in providing a vision and motivation is highly conspicuous. Typically, members identify the founder and senior pastor's contribution as the key factor in the church's strategy to resource itself. As we noted above, interviewees also expressed an appreciation of being part of a community with a leadership that knows how to 'cultivate the mind of its own people.'[57] In terms of what interviewees themselves offered as an explanation for the way the ADS operates, it was the individual qualities and characteristics of the founder that came to the fore:

> We have here at the headquarters a head pastor who God has used to teach us this [an attitude of agency to improve each member's domestic situation]. Through him, we learned that here. It is taught in various ways. It could be at a meeting of workers[58]...It could be in a group of pastors; it could be in a big [church] meeting with everyone participating. And so he begins explaining how it is that people have to sustain themselves. How a person has to be not to stalled...to avoid becoming ever poorer. He teaches that.[59]

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[55] 'National': Most likely a reference to mainline churches that became 'national' upon their administrative independence.

[56] Daniel Vasco Moiana (son of ADS founder), interview by author, One Challenge offices, Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique 16th February 2009.

[57] José Tembe (executive secretary of local church, Magoanine, male, 40's), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, on 24 October 2010.

[58] 'Workers': (*obreiros*) referring to regular members (not paid) working within the local church. A distinct role (although can be undertaken by the same person) from an 'activist' (*activista*) who would typically be engaged in work beyond the local church, such as in the community.

[59] Silvester Mondlane (junior pastor), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo on 11 November 2010.

Moiana's qualities are noted beyond the ADS. He is admired, for instance, among leaders of other church groups in the AEM for his desire and motivation to convene and share training events aimed at both evangelism and community development.[60]

The OC leader of that time, Oliveira, believes also Moiana's professional responsibilities prior to retirement prepared him for administrative tasks in running a church. Specifically he cited Moiana's 'can do' attitude, transparency in resourcing the work, and fearlessness in dealing with local authorities:

> [It]…was because of the vision of the founder, who used to work for a bank, here [in Maputo city]. He saw how things work monetarily…how you can do things. He learned quickly about stewardship and management of money… [He] runs things through the leadership of the church. You know, there is no hidden game...I know some of his leadership. They are aware of what's going-on.
>
> He also has plenty of contacts because he worked in the bank. He knew very well the ins and outs of government. In some ways the government knows him as well. If the government knows you it's easy for them to remember you.[61]

Moiana himself also cites his work in a bank over a 20 year period as an influence in the administration of the ADS:

> I learned a little of these things through my previous work at the Bank of Mozambique…First I worked in the department of inspection. Afterwards I went to work in the department of outgoing payments…This helped me a lot in how to work with money.
>
> In the finances of our church there is transparency…We want people to know how much we have in the funds of the church, and what we do with the money. If we have money or if we don't have money the members have to know. And the members need to know how it is spent…There is no one who does not understand.[62]

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[60] Observation of researcher from conferences of One Challenge (OC). Typically, ADS churches would host and/or arrange catering. ADS leaders would often be a point person representative liaising with OC.

[61] At the time the research was undertaken, with a view to shifting the ADS primary education programme from the church compound to a dedicated site, Moiana had made a request to the municipal authorities to supply land nearby in the *bairro*.

[62] Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, Mozambique, on 11 November 2010.

The influence of the founder is perhaps seen most clearly in what is taught at the church, how it is disseminated from one member to another, and also implemented by the membership.

c.) Teaching patterns that encourage Christian stewardship

A visitor to the ADS at Magoanine soon becomes aware of the importance that is placed by members on the recruitment of newer members to the church and its activities. Whether or not the sermon for the day is evangelistic in thrust, other elements of a typical service will likely include reports on, or prayer for, evangelism. In focus slots prior to the day's sermon, there are often reports from groups or individuals who, the day before, had engaged in an evangelistic activities either locally or with other ADS churches. There may be prayer for an individual who is moving away from the locality to support (or pioneer) an ADS church plant in another province. It may be prayer offered for a group holding a crusade with view to assisting a church plant within Maputo Province.[63] Any discussion of being motivated to contribute financially to the church, therefore, must be set in this context. That is, giving by members to the ADS, even where it may have community development goals, is understood as belonging directly or indirectly to the overarching aim of evangelism and discipleship.

Present in discussion of activities of the ADS in all forums is the presupposition that it will be the members who are themselves to realise the goals the church has set. This is significant because prominent among the views expressed by interviewees drawn from other groups in this research, especially foreign missionaries, is the view that the poverty of Mozambique means that financial help from abroad for church activities is inevitable. The imperative of help from abroad for the growth of the church in

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In the ADS context 'transparency' over funding resembles that of some Zionist AICs in the region. As part of tithes and offerings made during church services money is collected and counted in view of the congregation, and totals are reported as part of the same service. This visual immediacy is also used as a motivating factor for members to give and integrated with other initiatives to give for particular projects. For instance, giving for physical buildings is called 'Bang the table' whereby someone making an offering will process to the front of the church, perhaps dancing as they go, and bang their offering on the table.

[63] An example of this would be the proposal, during the period of this research, to establish a church at Zimpeto. Observed by author, 9am service at ADS church building, Magoanine, Maputo, Mozambique, 20 June 2010.

Mozambique is also a feature in the language of some external groups looking to support the church there.[64] By marked contrast, although aware of the economic challenges, the basic working presupposition of ADS leaders and members is that they will be the ones to supply and carry out the goals they set for themselves. 'I can tell you,' remarked one interviewee,

> poverty comes in the mind of people. Where there is will, there is not poverty. Where there is effort, there is not poverty. When you work with will, everything dedicated to God, there is not poverty. The little we do God multiplies.[65]

'As soon as we open a new church,' explains Moiana,

> we teach that church about how the church has to keep itself during difficulties. How can they raise money to build their church...If the church does not have teaching how to survive it will be a poor church…a church without blessings. The Word teaches that a person who gives is more blessed than the person who receives. If that is what the bible teaches we have to teach the church how to give to receive the blessings of God. So we teach lots in terms of giving to thanks to God. Through these offerings given to God, God will bless them.[66]

The suggestion that church groups can find ways to sustain the goals of their community even in economically challenging circumstances is supported also by Daneel in Zimbabwe, who noted the creative ways in which it was possible for the poor to engage with, and contribute to, (ecological) developmental projects. He was struck 'by the dedication and religiocultural innovativeness of the masses of relatively poor members of a rural subsistence economy.'[67] 'Peasants are able to serve their own communities…' he argued.[68] Religious group loyalties, he concludes, have a socially stabilising influence that contributed to corresponding work ethic.[69]

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[64] 'MANNA raises financial support for the work of the Anglican churches in Mozambique,' reads the website of the Mozambique and Angola Association of the Anglican North London Diocese. 'MANNA's work is needed today more than ever…The Anglican churches in these countries…are held back by lack of funds…' 'What we do,' MANNA, accessed 23 May 2016, http://manna-anglican.org/what-we-do/

[65] Armando Tivane, (activist), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, 24 October 2010.

[66] Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, Mozambique, on 11 November 2010.

[67] Daneel, 'Contextualising environmental theology,'. p.95.

[68] Daneel, 'Contextualising environmental theology,' . p.97.

[69] Daneel, 'Contextualising environmental theology,' p.102.

From some perspectives, the ADS teaching on giving is striking. Christians from a British background, such as that of the researcher for example, may find the frequent references to money vulgar. Even Mozambicans from a mainline churches would likely find conspicuous the openness with which ADS leaders encourage giving as part of the discipleship of members. A few points should be made, therefore, to nuance the significance of these observations. Firstly, Mozambican Christians from Protestant and Catholic churches may generally be spared 'nuts and bolts' talk of church funding, due to the fact that economic resources for their churches are dealt with by other parties. It is likely that, as project managers, mainline clergy themselves are concerned with funds, and that the resources themselves come from without, thereby the need to mobilize congregational support is deemed redundant. In as much as giving is taught, it is notional and tokenistic, rather than vital for the upkeep and growth of the church.

Furthermore, although teaching on giving in the ADS is a prominent feature, the ADS, the MCL and other small independent churches like them, should not be confused with the 'health and wealth' teaching or 'prosperity gospel' of other groups within Mozambique. From the researcher's own experience, Freston is right to identify that IURD theology, for example, leads to 'constant appeals to donate "sacrificially" to the church'.[70] In the researcher's experience, the exhibitionism of leadership, manipulative appeals and emotional blackmail are not practiced in the ADS as is the case in some churches.

To someone therefore with no Christian or church background, the appeals for funding within the ADS may be seen to intersect with the strategies of groups like the IURD, but a more careful reading is that they stem from a desire for self-advancement and an ethic of stewardship, itself deriving from biblical teaching.

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[70] Between 2002 and 2010 the researcher made occasional visits to the IURD with friends belonging to that church. See Paul Freston, 'The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God: A Brazilian Church Finds Success in Southern Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35.1 (2005): p. 42

d.) The mutual encouragement of one member to another

To a significant degree teaching about giving to the church and the reasons to do so occur informally. Members of the ADS are highly motivated to *testemunhar* (testify) concerning both their experience of having become a Christian, and about the blessings they have received as part of the local church. This may be during a focus slot, during a service or at a women's or young people's group, but there are also other less structured opportunities.

At the time the field work for this research was undertaken, the primary means of non face-to-face communication between Mozambicans generally was through the use of SMS text messages on mobile phones.[71] Many Mozambicans, whether or not they belonged to church groups, were then in the habit of sending generic, uplifting messages to friends and acquaintances.[72] Usually highly sentimental in tone, these ideas or sayings derived typically from Brazilian transnational media, such as *telenovelas* shown on channels that were freely available to anyone with a TV. Such messages could be sent to one other person, to everyone on an individual's mobile phone contact list, or to a particular mailing list, such as friends from church. Christians in Mozambique in this period, probably influenced by the phraseology of Brazilian Christian media, would also often send uplifting or didactic Christian themed messages to one another.[73]

It is interesting to note, therefore, the kinds of messages that ADS members continued to forward, as compared with those doing the rounds generally among Christians, and those they would compose for themselves or quote directly from the Bible. Conspicuous among ADS members were messages pertaining to commitment to

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[71] By 2010, smart phones with technology and data for internet access were widely used among Maputo's elite, but were seldom seen in communities like Magoanine. Generally speaking, the purchase of credit to make phone calls was seen as expensive and text messaging was favoured as a relatively inexpensive way to keep in touch.

[72] Personal observation of researcher who was also a recipient of these kind of messages. Similarly the researcher's wife and other missionary acquaintances would be included on the SMS group mailing lists for these messages.

[73] For discussion of the Universal Church from Brazil and use of media see Chapter 6, section: The use of electronic communications as an illustration of religious capital, page 221-222.

religion and personal agency.[74] Most common among ADS members were Bible verses, supplemented by an explanatory note or short personal testimony as to the choice of scripture by that individual. This practice is also undertaken online between individual members of the ADS, using personal status updates on Facebook and subsequently using the Facebook facility of the church itself.[75] Alongside pictures of trips and events made for the expansion of the church there are also posted Bible verses used as motivational messages for ongoing involvement. 'To administrate your resources,' reads a typical header, then followed by a quotation from Proverbs 11: 24-28:

> One gives freely, yet grows all the richer; another withholds what he should give, and only suffers want. Whoever brings blessing will be enriched, and one who waters will himself be watered…the righteous will flourish like a green leaf.[76]

The inspirational texting of ADS members was probably not a unique practice among churches as this time. As already stated, Christians in other churches would send encouraging messages also and quote bible passages. However, in the experience of the researcher, through work and other association with individuals from a variety of church backgrounds, the objective and tone in the use of such media by ADS members was more intended to promote church ethos and activities. The value in considering the use of electronic communication within the ADS, therefore, is not that this form of communication (as opposed to others) plays a part in the lives of members, but that it is used to express particular values of mutuality, encouragement and support. There is a readiness to express a certain practical way of 'doing church' through the use of social media which is not observable, for instance, among other case churches in the case studies.[77]

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[74] As an acquaintance or friend of individuals from a range of churches, and also Mozambicans with no church commitment, the researcher was a recipient of a variety of messages.

[75] 'This is a page that will publish evangelical messages and videos made in the local church and internationally…' states the first post of 30 October 2012. Arca da Salvação Facebook page, accessed 7 March 2016, https://engb.facebook.com/IgrejaEvangelicaArcaDeSalvacaoDeMocambique

[76] Post of 6 August 2015. Arca da Salvação Facebook page, accessed 7 March 2016, https://engb.facebook.com/IgrejaEvangelicaArcaDeSalvacaoDeMocambique

[77] For a discussion as to why other churches in the case studies did not use electronic and social media in the same way see discussion in section 'The use of electronic communications as an illustration of religious capital,' Chapter 6, pages 221-222.

Moreover, the use of SMS and social media is significant because it is in continuity with the regular teaching members receive within the context of church meetings. Alongside the call to acceptance of Jesus as saviour in the life of the individual, ADS meetings supply a steady stream of teaching pertaining to stewardship. Through the teaching, members are motivated to develop the characteristics of both self-help and help for others. 'People learn,' explained one interviewee,' and then they teach others: 'Practically, that's it: we teach one another what we have learned here. And we also learn from other people that have applied the teaching of the pastor.'[78]

'We receive teaching and then we implement it,' explained an interviewee:

'I led a meeting in the church with the general congregation...But also, I sat there with the pastors from there [other provinces] and told them, 'principally, it is you that will teach the others.'[79]

'We taught the women,' explained a female evangelist, in reference to a trip she had made to Sofala, '…how they need to live. How a woman has to contribute to church life. How the mothers can be dedicated to the work of the Lord'.[80]

It is thus clear that teaching on the priorities of the church and the responsibility of stewardship, comes from the leadership and is disseminated further by ADS members themselves in a variety of ways. The next section will suggest that the potency of the teaching pertaining to stewardship gains added credibility as members themselves perceive their own home situations improving as a result of that teaching.

e.) The personal realisation of members

There are a range of private enterprises ADS members undertake to maintain or improve their home financial situations. As we noted above, work in the informal economy in Magoanine may include (nearby) small-scale farming, selling mobile phone credit or running a roadside barber shack. For those with the resources for set-up, in the

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[78] Mário Alberto Pedro Barze, interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, on 24 October 2010.

[79] José Tembe, interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, on 24 October 2010.

[80] In reference to trips to Nyamatanda, Matondo and Beira, in Sofala Province. Ricardina Paulo, (evangelist), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo on 11 November 2010.

area there are also posts for motor mechanics and building supplies. Further opportunity is provided by the local market at Magoanine for selling products such as female beauty products and various types of clothing.[81]

Whichever type of business an individual may choose, a member of the ADS can expect to receive every encouragement for their small business in the context of the church fellowship. It is possible some individuals have received loans directly from the central funds of the church or personally from the leader. However, more typically financial assistance for initial outlay comes informally from within the general congregations in the forms of 'estiques' / 'Xitiques', which are savings groups, usually in the form of a rotating loan.[82] Savings groups are not unique either to the ADS or even to church communities, generally. The application within the ADS, however, is designed specifically for business investment, as differentiated from their popular use to buy a month's supply of staple food (rice/cornmeal), items for home construction or improvement. The mutual trust within the church community supplies what Brooks identifies as a prerequisite for successful rotating loans in terms of trust of fellow loan group members.[83] As Brunie reports in other contexts, not only does a successful loan cycle provide strategic capital for small businesses, but also participants report feeling united with other members in their savings group.[84] Loans made in the context of the extended family (which are common in Mozambique) therefore strengthen family ties. Similarly, in a church setting, such as the ADS, the bonds of fellowship are strengthened, developing further both a sense of, and motive for, belonging in the local church.

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[81] Popular products include nail varnish which is often sold to women by young men and also synthetic hair extensions for which there is a factory in Matola, Maputo Province.

[82] Among three individuals, for example, one week/month two of the group would hand a fixed amount from their surplus income to the third group member. The following week/month the recipient would be one of the two who had given in the first loan. In the third week/month the remaining individual who had yet not received a loan would then benefit from their own surplus and that of the two individuals who had already received from the group. Such groups are sometimes referred to as 'rotating savings and credit associations' or ROSCAs. Another form of loan group is a 'money guard loan' although the researcher has no knowledge of their use within the ADS.

[83] Andrew Richard Brooks, 'Riches from Rags or Persistent Poverty? Inequality in the Transnational Second-hand Clothing Trade in Mozambique', (PhD Thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012), p.257.

[84] Aurélie Brunie, 'Lessons from STRIVE Mozambique: From Savings Groups to Reduced Vulnerability of the Rural Poor,' Supporting Transformation by Reducing Insecurity and Vulnerability with Economic Strengthening (STRIVE) Program, FHI 360 (2015), p.3, accessed 15 May 2017, http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00KTQV.pdf

Beyond congregational loans, the ADS is a resource to members in business as support involves also prayer from fellow members and elders, and the teaching of the church in terms of a work ethic, perseverance and the general stewardship of resources. 'What the Church does,' explained one interviewee,

> is to motivate people to make offerings and tithes, not waiting to receive…We don't have to depend on others. The Bible says 'The hand that is blessed is the one that gives, more than that which receives.'…When people come from outside and they give things they are ever-more blessed, whilst those who only receive stay in their poverty. So we teach do something: a small business; [and then] contribute, principally through tithing, and God will bless that. You will see…[85]

During the period of this research, the model promoted directly by the leadership and undertaken by members was the rearing of chickens for sale at market in Maputo. Moiana himself first undertook a chickens project,[86] and was then able to advise and encourage congregation members to do the same. 'I work farming chickens,' explained one interviewee. 'I farm them, and I learned it here [from the church]. People learn to do things for themselves, to improve their livelihoods…It helps me, and also it helps the work of the church through the income of the farming.[87] 'I have about 390 chickens,' explained another interviewee, concerning a business she began in 2002. 'And I have a little *machamba* [allotment].'[88]

It is therefore likely that improved personal circumstances, perceived as being either directly or indirectly linked with belonging to the congregation at Magoanine, serve as a motivating factor for the personal investment of members in the growth of the church. It may simply be that having more money allows more easily for tithes and

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[85] Silvester Mondlane, interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo on 11 November 2010.

[86] Chicken project still running at the time of this research in 2010. Subsequent to the fieldwork of this research a cattle project was piloted. Film of cattle project featuring, in this order, Sandra Moiana, Vasco Moiana and Daniel Moiana as part of post of 25 February 2013: Daniel Vasco Moiana's Facebook page, accessed 11 May 2016, https://www.facebook.com/daniel.vasco.moiana

[87] Silvester Mondlane, interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo on 11 November 2010.

[88] Ricardina Paulo (evangelist, female, late 30's), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, Maputo on 11 November 2010.

offerings to be made. However, as we shall see, the place of stewarding resources for the growth of the church goes beyond monetary donations.

Like many churches in the sub-Saharan context, the offering of tithes and other monetary gifts make-up an important part of ADS liturgy during church services. To accommodate prompt contributions of those that have salaried work, tithes are collected as part of a Sunday service on the first weekend of the month. Others contribute in the weeks to follow, according to their circumstances. Special offerings can be made for a variety of reasons, although centrally organised giving opportunities tend to pertain to the construction or upkeep of ADS buildings at Magoanine and other locations. A practice found in a variety of church groups in Mozambique and also followed by the ADS, is their counting, on site and during the church service.[89] As well as serving to motivate more giving this practice is believed to counter suspicion as to the misreporting of funds collected. There are other visually aided strategies of the ADS that are designed to focus attention on giving as part of liturgy. 'We have a building fund called "Bang the Table",' explained Moiana:

> A person brings the money in their hand and bangs it on the table to signify an offering. We do this every three months for the national head quarters.
>
> For other local churches Bang the Table is done monthly, but the mother church invites all the churches, once every three months, to do this offering. This will then be sent to one of the churches that is building.[90]

While visual aids and other liturgy around giving are not unique, in the case of the ADS they are used a vehicle to giving that can be contrasted, for example, with the understated giving at the IRM at Maputo.[91] The central place of giving reflects its importance to the economy of the church.

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[89] The researcher has seen this principally among AICs.

[90] Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, Mozambique, on 11 November 2010.

[91] In the experience of the researcher with the IRM Maputo, from 2003-2010, the only aid to giving was when the young people of the church placed a cardboard box by the door of the assembly hall with a sign. However, rather than to aid their own giving this was, as the sign indicated, a request that the rest of the congregation contribute to a day out they were planning.

Among ADS members, a sense that the ADS is worthy of personal investment goes beyond the routine contributions of money. Posts on the church Facebook site celebrate, and with pictures illustrate, visits made to other ADS churches for evangelism, preaching, teaching and the provision of music.[92] Interviewees also described an ethos of volunteerism within the ADS as applied to a range of projects from the construction of church buildings during the initial phase of a church plant to ongoing social outreach in the district.

> We were involved in the building [of the church here], including of the headquarters. Before we had this one we had one down there, that afterwards was destroyed in the floods [of 2000/2001]. It was the Christians. We have a master builder[93] who led us and received no payment for the building. He just did the work because he is a member of the church.[94]

Some Magoanine ADS members also had experience of volunteering to assist in church plants affiliated with ADS elsewhere in the province. 'We went to various places,' explained one interviewee, 'and we built. We did many things for the growth of the Church.'[95] 'We had various building projects,' explained another interviewee.

> We already went to build in Zimpeto [an ADS plant in an outlying neighbourhood of Maputo]. Many of the Christians from the church did the work. We helped build in other places too. Even though they had to travel, no one was given money for transport from the church. The church organised people saying 'If you have transport, take some people to the place.' They went to do the work and returned. Similarly with food, no one got anything from the church, but with this spirit people did the work.[96]

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[92] Alongside regular church activities such as services, weddings and music practices, posts there show the following, respectively: 30 October 2012 – event in support of another ADS church; 30th October 2012 – training event in Xai Xai, Gaza Province; 1st November 2012 – primary education project; 3rd January 2015 - sign writing.

Arca da Salvação Facebook page, accessed 7 March 2016, https://www.facebook.com/IgrejaEvangelicaArcaDeSalvacaoDeMocambique/

[93] In reference to a congregation member Mário Alberto Pedro Barze, a builder by trade and also overseeing the sound system at the church.

[94] Ricardina Paulo, interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, Maputo on 11 November 2010.

[95] Armando Tivane, interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, 24 October 2010.

[96] Ricardo Langa (activist, male, late 50's), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, on 24 October 2010.

‘There is so much that people here have done in the provinces,’ explained one male interviewee. ‘We go out on evangelism campaigns, mini crusades...So there is a lot we do in the provinces.’[97]

‘I went to Monzo [Sofala Province],’ explained a female evangelist. ‘I did a lot of work during the holidays from my studies. We went to the provinces planting churches, doing evangelism, Três de Fevereiro, Namacha [both in Maputo Province]’.[98]

‘I visited Beira [capital of Sofala province],’ said another interviewee. It was this year...I visited Nyamatanda and Matondo in Sofala Province, and Beira also. We taught how a woman can contribute to church life, how the mothers can be dedicated to the work of the Lord’.[99]

Those engaged in social outreach and development, as opposed to the central activities of evangelism and church planting, are generally reimbursed their expenses by the church. However, this did not equate with being salaried work.[100] ‘The creation of the education centre,’ explained an interviewee,

> was with the objective to help the community…There are children in our community who don't have access to education due to financial constrictions. The idea of the founding of the school was to help to the children that don't have access to the schools of the government.
>
> All the workers in the school are doing what they do voluntarily. They don’t have remuneration or a salary like someone with a degree who teaches somewhere else. Simply, they receive something for subsistence, for transport, so they can do their voluntary work.[101]

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[97] Mário Alberto Pedro Barze, interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, on 24 October 2010

[98] Percina Vasco Moiana (secretary of activists, daughter of founder, late 20’s/early 30’s), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, on 24 October 2010.

[99] Ricardo Langa, interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, on 24 October 2010.

[100] Teachers are given (local currency equivalent of) a twenty-two US dollars per month subsidy. Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, Mozambique, on 11 November 2010.

[101] Daniel Vasco Moiana (son of founder) interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo, 24 October 2010.

Conclusion

With special reference to the views of ADS members and other close observers to the church at Magoanine, this chapter has sought to identify the principal reasons for that congregation pursuing its own line in the resourcing of the church. The single most important factor, at least subsequent to the emergence of the ADS, would seem to be the personal qualities, ethos and vision of the leader, who is also the founder. As such, the role of leaders in the developmental outlook of faith based groups is again highlighted as significant for our general consideration in this thesis as to what it is that sees church buck the trend of dependency observed elsewhere. We will return to this theme in the two chapters that follow.

However, the special historical circumstances of the ADS, for instance having emerged from another self-reliant group, are surely also significant. That the ADS has maintained its resourcefulness is key, but that it first assumed an independent identity is explicable both in terms of its inheritance – positively, that the church had a self-reliant role precedent, and also merely as a consequence of circumstances in which there was no foreign network of support desirous to fund the church.

A further important factor, that probably also derives from the vision of the leader, has been the way that new members are discipled. This consists of distinct teaching about resources, stewardship, and the agency of Christians who trust God for their flourishing. The ADS is a highly active church with a range of activities in which members are expected to participate. These activities, along with a mutuality of investment in domestic and ecclesial outcomes serve to promote social and religious capital. Although this has not been uninterrupted in the life of the church (for instance during flood damage) the general direction is a virtuous circle whereby the investment of individuals to the corporate life of the church is experienced also to be beneficial at a individual/domestic level, thereby encouraging ongoing participation. The desire among members to disseminate the message of the ADS is explicable in terms of the support members receive for their own personal development. They are motivated to pay for and tell others about the work because they themselves perceive they are beneficiaries of the teaching.

For analysis, in the next chapter we will draw together findings concerning our three case studies – the IRM, the MCL and the ADS. At this point we may note that the resourcing strategy of the ADS is not underpinned by any formal statement of intent regarding self-reliance. In fact, the position the church takes regarding resources is not really an explicit priority for either the leadership or members; rather, it is more of an automatic assumption. Instead, the desire to mobilise and resource the work stems from a sense of ownership and enthusiasm for the aims and objectives of the church among leaders and members. That is to say, they are envisioned and highly motivated within the model of church that they already have.

As we observed in the previous chapter with reference to the MCL at Chokwe, to be a smaller independent church group in Mozambique today is to face the ongoing possibility of receiving an offer from either a foreign church group, or an aid organisation, to be involved with programmes designed externally for the Mozambican context. In some cases, the momentum, time and resources required for these programmes can alter significantly the character of a church, including how it is perceived by members and local onlookers. At this point such a liaison seems unlikely for the ADS. As we have noted, the founder is already an industrious networker, and has collaborated already with foreign missionaries, fellow national church leaders, and government bodies. Whilst it is plausible that the ADS will use what it can get in terms of resources[102] from an agreeable source, it seems unlikely the current leadership would be willing to receive so much as a single missionary under the ADS umbrella, let alone alter the direction of the church with outsider objectives and funding.

[102] For instance, any favours the municipal authorities grant in terms of land for an education project.

Chapter 6: Analysis

'Control originates wholly in Contribution, and is ever commensurate therewith; control indeed follows contribution, as the shadow the substance.'[1]

The preceding chapters concentrated individually on the study of three Protestant evangelical church groups in Mozambique - the *Igreja Reformada em Moçambique* **(**IRM), the *Ministério Centro de Louvor* (MCL) and the *Arca da Salvação* (ADS). This chapter sets out to compare those groups with one another by identifying common themes and significant differences. Following that comparison, the questions raised in the Introduction are addressed, concerning what it is that determines the location of these churches along a spectrum from economic dependency to self-support. In order to relate the research to a wider context beyond Mozambique, the findings in the case studies are related also to broader social research theory. We consider what resonance there is between this research and academic discussion around the significance of Gift theory and, with reference to 'spiritual' or 'religious capital', how it is that individuals are motivated to invest their resources in the religious communities of which they are part. The chapter then addresses questions posed earlier regarding the developmental potency of churches in Africa. Lastly, the chapter turns to scholarly and practical interest in the self-reliance of the churches in the developing world, asking what importance there is for the churches themselves in the character of the funding strategy they pursue.

Comparison of case studies

Common Elements in the Historical Background of the Three Churches

Much of the significance in comparing the three church groups in this thesis derives from their similarities. That is to say, each is Protestant and evangelical, having to function also in the same national context of economic poverty and dependency

[1] William Carey quoted in Brian Stanley, 'Planting Self-Governing Churches: British Baptist Ecclesiology in the Missionary Context,' *The Baptist Quarterly* 34, no. 8 (October 1992): p.382, originally from William Carey, Serampore missionaries to BMS Sub-Committee, 4 Sept. 1817, in J. Ivimey, Letters on the Serampore Controversy, Addressed to the Rev. Christopher Anderson, 1831, pp. 118, 123.

described in Chapter 2. A further commonality pertains to the origins of each in that they all, in one way or another, owe something to the influence of Christians from abroad. The IRM can trace its roots back to missionary involvement on the part of the South African Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). The founder of the MCL identifies his own conversion and call to ministry as taking place under the ministry of a white South African who visited Mozambique as part of an evangelistic crusade. For the purposes of leadership training, the ADS founder also came under the influence of foreign missionaries when he attended an AOG (Assembly of God) Bible training course.

Given, therefore, that none of these groups could be described as isolationist, or entirely indigenous, the variance between them in terms of the developmental trajectory must be explained with reference to other factors. In general terms, they pertain to three primary areas: a.) the circumstances of their emergence; b.) the vision and attitude of the national leadership towards resourcefulness; and subsequently c.) the agency and investment of individual members in the projects of their local churches.

Circumstances around the emergence of the churches in the case studies

The roots of the IRM can be traced back to the beginnings of DRC involvement in Mozambique from 1909, some 77 years before the emergence of the MCL, and 88 years prior to the birth of the ADS. All things being equal, the longer history of the IRM might have imbued that church with a momentum and confidence to navigate well the challenges of the new millennium. All things were not equal, however. Uniquely among the three churches studied, it was the IRM's structures, the means of establishing those structures, and the resources for many projects of the church, which were provided from outside. The presupposition of the DRC missionaries and then subsequently of IRM personnel was that Mozambican poverty necessitated the continuing subsidisation of the church by the South African DRC. Rather than a confidence in its own agency, therefore, what the IRM learned from its history was dependency and, as Roland Allen has observed, 'dependence does not train for independence'.[2]

[2] Roland Allen, *Missionary Methods: St. Paul's or Ours?* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1962), p.125.

By contrast, although the founder of the MCL was converted under the ministry of a South African evangelist, there was no personal, ongoing relationship between him and the individual under whose influence he converted.[3] He was merely to employ Christian teaching that was similar to that which he had himself been exposed, and then promote it among a group of friends in the context of a local Bible study. There were no foreign models of church polity or structures linked with the teaching he received. Even as the MCL multiplied, they continued to perceive themselves simply as a study group, using a simple teaching format they produced themselves, before eventually registering with the Ministry of Religion as a church. In as much as the founder had any leadership model to copy, it was probably his exposure as a young person to the African-led *Igreja Luz Episcopal* (ILE), where his father was an evangelist.[4] That being the case, he would have had no reason to think it other than normative that a Mozambican could lead a national church that was itself resourced locally.

Similarly, prior to the emergence of the group he founded, the ADS national leader belonged to a Zionist AIC with separatist tendencies. Although in general terms he testified openly to the theological influence of the foreign missionary teaching he received, the ADS was neither a branch nor a project of the AOG college where he received his training.[5] In fact, the aim of the college was the preparation of pastors from a wide range of church groups and networks, who would otherwise be without formal training. Given the multiplicity of denominational participation and the numerical turnover of students at the college, ongoing direct links between each leader and the AOG would not be practical, even were they desired. Furthermore, missionaries teaching

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[3] Peter Pretorius, founder of Jesus Alive (in 1982) and Joint Aid Management (JAM: earlier known as Food for Africa) 'Jesus Alive: Gospel Outreach with Peter Pretorius', accessed on 26 January, 2016, http://www.jesusalivego.org/ For JAM see: 'JAM: Helping Africa Help Itself ', accessed on 26 January 2016, http://jamint.com/

[4] Sometimes cited as Mozambique's first 'Ethiopian' AIC, the ILE was established by Muti Munene Sikobele in 1918. Teresa Cruz e Silva, 'Sikobele, Muti Munene', in *Dictionary of African Biography Vol. 4* eds, Emmanuel Kwaku Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 380-381.

[5] The Escola Bíblica da Assembléia de Deus 'Training Leaders, Mozambique-Maputo: Escola Bíblica da Assembléia de Deus,' Global Ed, accessed on 20 March, 2016, http://paocglobaled.celect.org/mozambique-maputo

at the college were not themselves all AOG members.[6] The ADS vision and values, therefore, for resourcing the life and mission of the church are better explained in terms of the vision and values of the founder. In turn, the founder's ethics in these areas are well explained as having been developed in the context of his former employment in a bank, plus prior involvement in an AIC, itself self-supporting.

Considered alongside one another, the origins of the groups in the case studies underline an obvious but nonetheless important point: church groups which originate as single autonomous congregations, and then multiply, are more likely to assume the same ecclesiology of self-support than those who follow a traditional line that assumes central funding. Earlier we highlighted the observation of Henry Venn that Baptist and Congregationalist missionaries, themselves from self-supporting home churches, enjoyed greater success than did Anglican missionaries in planting churches abroad which also assumed self-responsibility. By contrast, and to his frustration, Anglican missionaries who had been nurtured in an English context of denominationally centralized and publicly-originated funds tended also to plant new churches which presupposed funding from 'headquarters'.[7]

However, as we have observed with general reference to the AICs in Mozambique, and in particular to the MCL, as a congregation or network of churches develops over time, options for securing funding may yet multiply. At some point, a range of questions present themselves for church leaders about whether or not to establish a relationship with a donor, and, if so, on what basis.

The training of leaders

Uniquely among the churches in the case studies, it was leaders within the IRM who were guaranteed ordination training within their own denomination. A dedicated training facility meant that throughout the country the IRM had a leadership with a consistent level of training. Similarly, in studying under teaching staff from various

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[6] Barbosa Oliveira, for instance, the One Challenge (OC) missionary quoted in chapters four and five, was a contributor to the programme at the AOG college but was himself Presbyterian in background.

[7] C. Peter Williams, *The Ideal of the Self-governing Church: A Study in Victorian Missionary Strategy*, (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 25-26.

national backgrounds, IRM leaders gained an understanding of Reformed doctrine as observed beyond Mozambique's borders. Where bursaries for training were available from international partners it meant the training of national pastors need not wait on the availability of resources within Mozambique. In 1996 the Hefsiba transitioned from a bible school to a theological seminary, also raising the profile and kudos of the IRM in government circles.[8]

By contrast, neither the MCL nor ADS ran a training facility, meaning neither could offer training that was tailored for their own leaders. The founder of the MCL had himself received no formal training, among leaders in both groups there was a mix of those who had undertaken training at an AOG college in Maputo and yet others who had trained in South Africa. Among those individuals were those who had either to fund or part-fund their own training. The timing of such training, therefore, relied not only on the willingness to study, but also on the availability of personal/local monetary resources.

Alongside the advantages afforded by the IRM training facility, the way it was established also led to a number of drawbacks. Firstly, this is evident in the lack of sustainability of the college itself. At the time of this research, teaching staff consisted of a mix of Mozambican nationals and expatriate missionaries. Although technically an institution belonging to the IRM, there was no reason to think that the IRM synods were moving towards taking on responsibility for *Hefsiba*.

A second drawback related to the way nationals were being prepared for ministry. Naturally, each contributing donor was concerned to see curriculum content reflect their own theological and doctrinal values.[9] The provision of seminary buildings,

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[8] Willie Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power: A History of The Igreja Reformada em Moçambique 1908-2004* (Mossel Bay, South Africa: Mosprint, 2005), pp. 167, 210-211.

[9] Gouws describes the circumstances leading to the establishment of Hefsiba as follows: '…Rev. Botha stated several times that the influence of liberal theology at… [the Ricatla ecumenical] Seminary was a big concern and damaging to the IRM's students…Rev. Manie Taute wrote a very damning report about the situation at Ricatla to the IRM's Synod…The feeling was that the IRM with its conservative theological viewpoint and high emphasis on moral standards was not welcome there any more…As Synod contemplated in shocked silence, the logical decision was taken: Start the IRM's own theological training at Hefsiba…' Willie Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power: A History of The Igreja Reformada em Moçambique 1908-2004* (Mossel Bay, South Africa: Mosprint, 2005), pp. 167-168.

staff and other resources was made therefore with a view to certain outcomes. The researcher has no reason to think that the theology of Reformed donor groups from abroad was at odds with the beliefs of national leaders,[10] but some IRM graduates claimed that their training had prepared them poorly for the practicalities of future ministry. 'What I can say is that Hefsiba...was not very practical,' recalls IRM Maputo city pastor Paulo Vijarona:

> It was very theoretical. It was more academic...They are at a high level…[T]hey never taught for example [in such as way as to prepare us]…to go out and enter a church that depends on foreigners. For us it was a shock…[T]here are churches that were opened by missionaries, but for a national [leader] to go there next, the national will never be welcome…because he doesn't have things [material resources] to offer them.[11]

In the view of some national leaders, the role of foreign missionaries within the IRM was portrayed uncritically by the college itself. Speaking about his seminary missions module, Vijarona claimed:

> [We were taught] when a foreigner comes here to Mozambique…people are very attentive to what they will say. And not only what he will say, but what he can give to people. And so [that] this is something to use…to preach the gospel…[R]eceiving a missionary is a big advantage…He will…have a big crowd, which is different from a local person...a national.[12]

Leadership

Notionally, and in keeping with the pattern of DRC leadership in other countries, IRM leaders receive a regular salary that derives directly from their work in the church, thereby obviating the need to find other sources of income. Given that full salaries were seldom covered by the giving of national congregations,[13] the DRC in South Africa has continued to support Mozambican pastors for both remittances and pensions.

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[10] Principally in discussion with IRM leaders in the southern synod, for instance at Laulane, Machava and Maputo, national pastors seemed comfortable with the Reformed / conservative evangelical outlook taught at Hefsiba. Each had in any case chosen to attend a Reformed church before pursuing a leadership vocation. Furthermore, for doctrinal reasons, some were critical of the teaching at alternative training facilities nearer to them such as The United Seminary of Ricatla.

[11] The pastor of the IRM Maputo city congregation Paulo Armindo Vijarona, whose training was completed in 1999. Paulo Armindo Vijarona, interview by author, Maputo, 10 August 2010.

[12] Paulo Armindo Vijarona, interview by author, Maputo, 10 August 2010.

[13] The salary of the pastor at the IRM city congregation was covered locally. However, this was largely achieved due to the substantive tithes and offerings of missionaries within the congregation, and the rent paid by one missionary to the IRM for an apartment she occupied in the city. The apartment itself had first been purchased with donations from the DRC in South Africa.

By contrast, MCL and ADS leaders could not depend on income from their work in their church. Although each congregation earmarked categories of giving for support of the local leadership[14] and expenses incurred in ministry, pastors within these two groups reckoned generally to make up a proportion of their income by other means. At the very least, each would expect also to maintain a plot of land to cultivate vegetables. Businesses among MCL pastors also included photography and a roadside barber shop. Among pastors' wives, business initiatives included the selling of cloth/clothes at a market and the roadside sale of phone credit. The pastor at the ADS Magoanine drew on investments made earlier as an employee of a bank and from a chicken rearing project. Not only did the ADS leader assist others in chicken rearing, but he could count on others within the fellowship to assist with his chicken project.

Because of their flexibility, therefore, in incorporating giving in kind, and the freedom for pastors to undertake non-church paid work, the ADS and MCL found more diverse ways for their leaders' upkeep. Resonating with the observation of the Christian Council of Mozambique general secretary, Marcos Macamo, concerning AICs in Mozambique,[15] the MCL and ADS economies were more 'liberal', allowing more flexibility and member participation. In her study of Zionist churches in Mozambique, Ulla Alfredsson also contrasts the grass-roots nature of AIC power structures with the '…huge, bureaucratic structures of the Catholic Church and most Protestant missionary churches.'[16] Without the regular burden of a fixed stipend, congregations of the MCL and ADS were freed to concentrate on project giving that would advance the activities of the church. Typically, this giving was towards the development of buildings, whether to convert an existing structure of traditional materials to one of modern materials, or to plant a church in a new location.

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[14] The regular 'tithing' of members.

[15] Marcos Macamo, interview by author, (undertaken in at Macamo's CCM office, Rua Mtomoni nº57, Bairro Polana, Maputo, Mozambique) Maputo, 21 January 2010.

[16] Ulla Alfredsson and Calisto Linha, *Where God Lives*, Sociology of Education and Culture Research Reports 20, (Uppsala University, April 1998), p.32

As the IRM congregations at Maputo and Machava demonstrate, in a situation of denominational dependency, unless there is a personal conviction on the part of the leader that the church could and should attempt to resource its own activities, any given congregation will be likely to continue the patterns already established. The case of the IRM in Xai Xai, however, was significant in demonstrating that where a leader is able to mobilise a congregation, even within the context of a largely dependent denomination, patterns of dependency may be changed. The location at Xai Xai was by no means favourable in terms of local economy, work opportunities, or the demography of the membership. However, a leader who was himself determined to teach ownership and giving to a new congregation had gone a long way in encouraging the church to take responsibility for itself. The congregation had a way to go in establishing itself as self-supporting, and the pastor himself acknowledged having received some assistance from both the DRC and IRM centralised funding. However, the personal qualities and history of the leader at Xai Xai combined to make for a potent vision and sense of personal responsibility. Langa was frustrated by his earlier experiences of the DRC-IRM relationship at Machava.[17] Subsequently, the qualities he developed of entrepreneurship and project leadership meant he was well prepared to plant an IRM congregation along different lines.

Comparisons between the groups are also illuminating with regard to the internal variation of each. Manhique, the MCL pastor at Manjacaze, shared a number of experiences and qualities with Langa. Prior to his conversion, Manhique had run small businesses, and also migrated to South Africa to work in the construction industry. The characteristics which were nurtured in these roles were also later well employed in establishing a new congregation at Manjacaze. Like Langa, he was also a personable and enthusiastic communicator. These were qualities conducive to convincing MCL members they could undertake to work together as a church, both for their own upkeep and in simple social outreach to the community.

The churches in this study which maintained a self-supporting autonomy were those led by individuals who seemed to have a clear vision for the types of partnership

[17] António Eugénio Langa, interview by author, (undertaken in an apartment block in Maxaquene C, where he was staying while visiting Maputo from Xai Xai), 21 January 2010.

that would fit their vision for ministry. The MCL at Manjacaze, for example, had drawn on expertise and/or resources that the church could not have provided locally to support victims of HIV/AIDS. The pastor there, Manhique, showed himself to be a skilled networker – communicating well with (national) specialist groups in order to provide blood tests for people in the community as well as resources to establish vegetable plots for the sustenance of widows/orphans of HIV/AIDS victims. Nonetheless, this did not prevent the church in continuing to engage in its own visiting programme of the sick.

Similarly, the ADS founder at Malhangalene demonstrated a willingness to collaborate with governmental bodies but, seemingly, without compromising the momentum of the local church in making provision for its own work.[18] His desire to help the domestic economies of members promoted a sense of local ownership as well as an independent resourcefulness for church projects. Using qualities that were doubtless developed during his former employment in a bank, he also showed great confidence in the administration of his church and a willingness to approach those in local government.

The importance of the leader's role in these smaller independent evangelical groups resonates with Bompani's findings regarding AICs in South Africa. 'The AICs,' she states,

> …have an acknowledged capacity to generate social capital and thus to mobilise their adherents...add[ing] value through the great attention given to trust and community relations; through the important role played by the leadership; through local roots and sources of accountability; through a commitment to values…good governance, and other forms of sustainability, as well as participation.[19]

Bompani's observations concerning the potency of faith-based groups for development are consistent with conclusions arising from the research and activism of Marthinus Daneel in the late 1980s. Although he also involved traditional non-Christian leadership, it was in part through harnessing the agency of Zimbabwe's AICs that he was to promote grass roots ecological work. Tree planting initiatives among the churches

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[18] In order to expand the primary education project of the ADS, which the church had resourced, Vasco then drew on personal contacts at the Ministry of Education to request land for further classrooms. Vasco Daniel Moiana (ADS founder), interview by author, ADS headquarters, Magoanine, Maputo on 11 November 2010.

[19] Barbara Bompani, 'Religion and Development from Below: Independent Christianity in South Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, vol 40, no. 3 (2010): p.322.

with which Daneel was involved, underscored, he believed, the capacity of poor and marginalized people to contribute to local development. As well as running small-scale income-generating projects, church members from otherwise remote rural areas of Zimbabwe were able to overcome their marginality, ultimately as salaried tree nursery keepers. Daneel reported that as the projects developed, 'a new generation of iconic church leaders' emerged, 'whose evangelical drive included good news for all creation…illuminating the mediation and saviorhood of Christ in an existentially understandable idiom.'[20]

In general terms, therefore, the background and ethics of church leaders are highly significant in promoting congregational resourcefulness and agency. The picture, however, is complicated by instances such as those experienced by the MCL leader at Chokwe. In spite of a stated preference for locally resourced mission, the pastor there became overwhelmed by circumstances resulting from regional flooding during 2000-2001.

Mazuze himself shared some of the resourcefulness exhibited by Malanga at the IRM Xai Xai, his colleague Manhique at the MCL Manjacaze, and Vasco at the ADS Malhangalene. He demonstrated competence in a range of leadership skills that would normally lend themselves to mobilizing a congregation in their own development and, like the others, had partly sustained his family with a small business project. However, it was some of these personal qualities and the location of his church that led to collaboration with outside bodies at a time of ecological crisis.

As Gifford notes, in African contexts the churches have often been uniquely placed and attractive to aid and development groups as a means for channelling resources for assistance. 'Agencies of official Western aid,' he says, were 'reluctant to give to governments they considered corrupt, [and] sought out more reliable local partners, often churches with their extensive networks, grassroots membership, and established structures.'[21]

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[20] Martinus L. Daneel, 'Christian Mission and Earth-care: An African Case Study. (Case Study),' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 35, no. 3 (2011): p. 130.

[21] Paul Gifford, *Christianity, Development and Modernity in Africa* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2015),p. 94.

As a leader of a church in a province badly effected by flooding, and as individual who had formerly received training from an aid and development organization, Mazuze was well placed to assist in the relief and development efforts of that time. He lamented, however, that his vision for the church became eclipsed by the aid work, ultimately confusing non-members as to the *raison d'être* of the MCL in that locality. Having not previously demonstrated any interest, certain individuals from the community now associated themselves with the MCL, Mazuze believed, due to the resources it was channelling. 'This makes for a great danger,' he reflected, 'because one day when the donor stops giving things the church also ceases…Many people went there did so to receive something…It is harmful and sets the church back a lot.[22]

This pattern of 'mission drift', whereby an organisation allows itself to be drawn into an agendas beyond a vision set locally is played out in many locations across the developing world. '…[M]ission drift can confuse the community that the organization serves,' states Arlene Spencer, a consultant to Not for Profit organisations in the US.[23] The case of the MCL in Chokwe, and from another perspective that of the IRM at Xai Xai as it moved towards its own self-reliance, challenge the notion that churches can simply be categorised as either dependent or self-reliant. Especially within looser networks of churches, as with so many independent churches in Africa and the MCL in this study, one may expect to find a spectrum of funding models within a single network of churches, as individual congregations move towards or away from self-support.

As we have observed, leaders from independent churches often make up part of their own income by engaging in paid work over and above their church ministry. With no prescribed model as to how a living is to be secured, plus the prominence of the aid sector in southern Africa, it is inevitable that some are also inclined to work within that sector. The significant question for each, this thesis concludes, pertains to the direction

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[22] A pseudonym is here used due to the request of the interviewee not to be quoted by name: Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12 May 2010.

[23] Arlene M. Spencer, 'Mission Drift: What Is It, Potential Impacts, & Recovery Methods,' *Seeking Grant Money Today*, 6 September 2009, accessed 26 August 2016, http://thegrantplant.blogspot.co.uk/2009/09/mission-drift-what-is-it-potential.html

in which a church is moving. Has the presence of aid and development work locally, perhaps designed and funded from abroad, been allowed to undermine the vision of the local church? Does a church have a leadership with the vision for its own support, or is it impeded and stuck at some point? In either case, where a degree of dependency has taken root, is there a strategy and will among the leadership for a move towards locally resourced ministry?

The agency of congregation members

As suggested in the introduction to this thesis, the phenomena described in the case studies can be illuminated by a range of social theories. Among the most pertinent are the dynamics and implications of 'gift giving', also pertaining to spiritual and religious capital.

Gifts and reciprocity

With reference to the IRM as a whole, and to the congregations at Maputo city and Machava in particular, there is resonance between the way these churches have been supported by donors from outside and social theory pertaining to gifts and reciprocity. Pioneered through the work of Marcel Mauss in the 1920s (who was concerned with what he referred to as 'archaic societies') and latterly as applied to aid and development, the social function of giving has become increasingly important to anthropologists. Consistent with the findings of this research, Mauss argues that any gift system is symbolic of the relationship it fosters between two parties.[24]

Although he does not explicitly address the primary issues of this thesis, the New Testament scholar John Barclay is also helpful when he reflects on anthropological enquiry and the use of Gift theory in relation to Pauline theology.[25] The idea of gifts with no strings attached, he argues, is a modern Western construction, not commonly understood in other eras or geographical contexts. The 'free' gift is a 'modern

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[24] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies* (London: Routledge, [1922] 2002), p. 4, 14, 16.

[25] Barclay's use of Mauss and Gift theory is for his exposition of theologies of God's grace stemming from interpretations of the biblical books of Galatians and Romans. See John Barclay, *Paul and the Gift* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2015).

assumption', he states.[26] In a West African context, Barclay's point is echoed by John D. Y. Peel in his study of the Yoruba where he concludes that, prior to the arrival of Christianity and Islam, non-reciprocal gift-giving was not conceivable outside the social entity of the local community. 'Charity,' he states, 'was incomprehensible to many Yoruba.'[27]

While it is true that charity from abroad is now ubiquitous in Mozambique, the scope for misunderstanding remains. Western patterns of gift giving have emerged in a cultural context where, traditionally, reciprocal exchange was the norm. Consequently, both donors and recipients may experience confusion as to the expectations of the other party. 'Let me tell you a short story,' offered Arão Litsure, then General Secretary of the Mozambican Synod of the United Congregational Church in Southern Africa (UCCSA), during an interview:

> My father is a retired pastor. He used to tell us, in the beginning, when the missionaries came to Inhambane [a province in central Mozambique]...They called people. They taught them songs, and prayed, and afterwards they said 'You can go'. But the people didn't go. They remained seated. The missionaries said, 'You can go now'. They said, 'No, no, no, no. We did your job, which was to listen to you. Now you pay us!'
>
> You see? That in the 19th century. You can see how difficult it would be to change the mind of someone who was thinking he must be paid...To start [themselves] contributing.[28]

Mozambique is a 'low-information democracy', say Mattes and Shenga, peopled by 'uncritical citizens' with low literacy rates, formal education, and access to media.[29] In that context, communities in receipt of foreign giving often have little involvement in negotiating the resources of which they are recipients. In most cases charity is negotiated

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[26] Barclay, *Paul and the Gift*, p.3

[27] John David Yeadon Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*, (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2000), p.87.

[28] Arão Litsure, interview by author, (undertaken at the Hotel Cardoso, Maputo city), 27 January 2010.

[29] Robert Mattes and Carlos Shenga, 'Uncritical Citizenship in a 'Low-Information' Society: Mozambicans in Comparative Perspective,' *Afrobarometer* Working Paper 91, December 2007, p, 38. accessed 2 June 2017, http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Working%20paper/AfropaperNo91.pdf

on their behalf by a Mozambican elite.[30] As such, the beneficiaries are not sensitised to, or understanding of, the motives of donors. Rather, they are simply aware of a flow of resources, part of which they are ultimately the beneficiaries. By contrast, among local people and within interpersonal relationships, giving tends to be reciprocated as evidenced, for instance, in a generally reciprocal-functional view of friendship and bride price customs (the paying of a *lobolo* by a groom and/or male members of his family to a bride's male kin).[31] Traditionally, the realisation and agency of local people derives in part from a two-way negotiated relationship. As such, to quote Doreen Indra, '[t]he western charitable ideal of altruistic…and autonomously-motivated giving is so symbolically opposed to 'economic' exchange…as to seem to exclude it from use in reciprocal social relations.'[32]

Among national elites also, interaction with foreign agencies has traditionally involved some kind of reciprocation.[33] Today, therefore, national leaders who channel funding from abroad are likely assume some kind of obligation is placed upon them as recipients of charity. At the level of state, arguably, this has been evidenced in the sway afforded foreign NGOs who came to wield power and influence in the political realm.[34] At the ecclesial level, within a church like the IRM, such reciprocation as there is would seem to include the unfettered access the DRC has enjoyed in designing and implementing its vision for mission in Mozambique under the banner of the IRM. In conclusion, even if these forms of giving are intended by their donors merely as charity,

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[30] Joseph Hanlon, 'Renewed Land Debate and the 'cargo Cult' in Mozambique,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30, no. 3 (2004): p. 624.

[31] On 'lobolo' see Patrick Harries, Work, culture, and identity: migrant laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, c. 1860-1910 (London: James Currey, 1994), pp. 90-100.

[32] Doreen Marie Indra, 'The Spirit of the Gift and the Politics of Resettlement: The Canadian Private Sponsorship of South East Asians', in *The International Refugee Crisis: British and Canadian Responses,* ed. Vaughan Robinson (Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1993) p. 343.

[33] Newitt describes the interaction of traditional leadership with colonial powers as involving gold for the Portuguese in exchange for recognition of sovereignty, gifts among chieftancies to facilitate cooperation and gunds for alliances with external powers Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 126, 74, 219, 74, 137, 351.

[34] Tanja Kleibl and Ronaldo Munck, 'Civil Society in Mozambique: NGOs, Religion, Politics and Witchcraft,' *Third World Quarterly* 38, no. 1 (2017): pp. 203-18; Stefano Bellucci, 'Managing of Social Transformation (MOST): Governance, Civil Society and NGOs in Mozambique,' Discussion Paper nº 56, UNESCO, 2002, accessed 2 June 2017, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001252/125280e.pdf

in their Mozambican context they have purchased much influence and served to confuse, pacify and disempower the recipients.

The scope for misunderstanding between Western givers and national recipients among Christian organisations of the developing world is explored in depth by Frampton Fox. Fox's research is based on case studies in India where, he notes, partnerships that involve money are often a source of practical and theoretical tension. This, he argues, derives from a difference in cultural perceptions between the donor and recipient communities as to what makes for appropriate behaviour around fundraising.[35] David Maranz is another observer who has identified a comparable mismatch between Western and African presuppositions over monetary resources. From a survey of anthropological and developmental work across several sub-Saharan states, Maranz generalises that gift giving in African contexts is more functional than western ideals allow for.[36] These observations may not be as specific to the African continent as Maranz implies. As Derrick Gondwe observes, the distinction Maranz makes may be applied to western economies in contrast with just about any resource-poor nation that has not transitioned toward global capitalist interdependence. Indeed, he notes, Maranz's observations could equally well describe the exchange of resources in older European societies.[37] Nonetheless, the work of both Fox and Maranz is helpful in highlighting the potential for mutual intercultural misreading of gift giving from western churches to religious groups in contexts like Mozambique.

Also with reference to Mauss and Gift theory, Mark Osteen has posited that regardless of whether the aims of giving are altruistic, giving can concomitantly facilitate freedoms for donor and recipient, and yet bind obligations between the parties.[38] In the context of international aid, Robert Kowalski makes the point that self-interest in gift

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[35] Frampton Fox, 'Money as water: A patron-client approach to mission dependency in India' (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, 2003), pp. iv, 10-12, 105-113, 336-338.

[36] David Maranz, *African Friends and Money Matters: Observations from Africa* (Dallas, Texas: SIL International and International Museum of Cultures, 2001).

[37] Derrick K. Gondwe, review of David Maranz, *African Friends and Money Matters* [2001], *Africa Today* 50, no. 2 (2003): p.108.

[38] Mark Osteen, *The Questions of the Gift, essays across disciplines*, ed. Mark Osteen, (London: Routledge, 2002), p.14

giving need not be tied to comparable reciprocation by the recipient, but may pertain instead to the value that the donor finds in a new relationship that was facilitated by the giving of gifts.[39] In the case of the IRM, for example, doors have been opened within the IRM for South African church groups to undertake 'missions trips' in Mozambique and for the DRC generally to wield ongoing influence on the direction of the IRM.

Not only can recipients become dependent on the receipt of gifts, notes Kowalski, but donors also may come to depend on their status or role.[40] This is reflected in the case of the IRM where, in general terms, neither the DRC from South Africa nor the IRM seemed willing to undertake necessary steps to move to a new relational dynamic. Instead, both parties diagnosed the origins of dependency as lying with the other. Dependency is therefore perpetuated by appeal to pathos, a feeling that there is no alternative but to carry on as they are. To change would be to enter unknown territory, a strategic risk that may be unsettling both to the personnel involved and to the prevailing system.

As is the case for many Mozambican church communities, the inability of the recipient communities to reciprocate gifts from abroad is significant in defining the relative status of each party going forward. It may be argued, of course, that economically poorer churches, such as those in Mozambique, do not need to reciprocate like with like in order to play their part within an interdependent relationship. Even allowing for differentiation in types of gifts shared, however, it is hard to see what churches such as the IRM are giving that would underline their status as equal to that of their donors. John Gatu's observation in 1996 is pertinent, as he reflected on the relationship of churches in Africa with Western donors: 'If we are talking about interdependence when all the money and personnel come from overseas, what is it that we in Africa are contributing to make our interdependence a reality?'[41] In such a dynamic, the donor's role and status are affirmed as being those who have the resources

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[39] Robert Kowalski, 'The Gift – Marcel Mauss and International Aid,' *Journal of Comparative Social Welfare* 27, no. 3 (2011): p. 195.

[40] Kowalski, 'The Gift – Marcel Mauss and International Aid,' p. 195.

[41] John Gatu, 'Rationale for Self Reliance,' World Mission Associates (1996), accessed 21 February 2007, http://www.wmausa.org/page.aspx?id=83845

and agency from which to give. By contrast, the inability of a recipient community to give back comparably impinges on notions of freedom they may otherwise enjoy, also perhaps undermining the mutuality that a well-meaning donor sought from the relationship.[42] Gifts can be deeply patronising, Kowalski argues, casting recipients in the same kind of role as infants or the infirm.[43] Not only is this dynamic demeaning to Christians who belong to dependent churches in Africa, but arguably it is inconsistent with other areas of life. Emmanuel Oladipo comments that 'It isn't that African people don't know how to give…There are hardly a more generous people on earth. They give for festivals and many other special occasions. They give to relatives in need of education, or to unemployed or orphaned people in their community. However, many simply don't give generously to the church.'[44]

It is among the subsidised churches, claims Glenn Schwartz, that national members are more likely to conclude: '"As long as you…[the national church leadership] have [access to donor] money for…that…program, you obviously don't need my money."' This is a view supported by Macamo who believes the capacity of Mozambicans generally has been weakened in the face of large-scale foreign funding.[45] In developmental contexts, donor communities may employ the rhetoric of facilitating local autonomy through their giving but in fact gifts may serve simply to strengthen the influence of the donor upon the recipient.[46]

In an observation that is pertinent for this research, in which giving from abroad is usually undertaken by Christians, Kowalski notes that, although giving may not be reciprocated by recipient communities, donors may perceive their giving as being

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[42] Kowalski, 'The Gift – Marcel Mauss and International Aid,' pp. 191, 195.

[43] Kowalski, 'The Gift – Marcel Mauss and International Aid,' p. 195.

[44] Emmanuel Oladipo: formerly the African regional secretary for Scripture Union and subsequently Africa coordinator for Langham Preaching. 'Langham Preaching in Nigeria and Ghana,' Langham Partnership, accessed 26 January 2017, http://langham.org/langham-preaching-in-nigeria-and-ghana/ Oladipo is quoted in study guide to Glenn Schwartz, *Dependency Among Mission-Established Institutions: Exploring the Issues*, [booklet accompanying DVD], (Pasadena, California: William Carey Library, 1996), p.77.

[45] Elísio Macamo, interview by author, conducted remotely using Skype video and sound computer application, 5 April 2011.

[46] Kowalski, 'The Gift – Marcel Mauss and International Aid,' 191, 195.

recompensed and affirmed in other ways, such as by a deity.[47] Speaking of the DRC-IRM relationship referred to above, a South African missionary explained the value DRC donors take from the relationship. '...[I]t makes a congregation in South Africa alive and active, and involved in missions. And it makes a big difference to their own spiritual life.' '…[A]s compassionate people,' says Robert Lupton, writing generally on not-for-profit interventions of US Christians with the poor, 'we have been evaluating our charity by the rewards we receive through service, rather than the benefits received by the served. We have failed to adequately calculate the effects of our service on the lives of those reduced to objects of our pity and patronage.[48] '[O]ne of the biggest problems in many poverty-alleviation efforts,' claim Steve Corbett and Brian Fikkert, 'is that their design and implementation…[plays to the] god-complexes [of the economically rich]…and [to] the poverty of being of the economically poor — their feelings of inferiority and *shame.*'[49] '[H]uman dignity cannot be given to a man by the kindness of others,' stated Julius Nyerere, with reference to the role of the church:

> Indeed it can be destroyed by kindness which emanates from an action of charity. For human dignity involves equality and freedom, and relations of mutual respect among men. Further, it depends on responsibility, and on a conscious participation in the life of the society in which a man moves and works.[50]

Among the case studies in this research, the experience of the IRM best illustrates the risks involved with the receipt of external giving. However, as other primary source interview material indicated (see Chapter 2), interviews among Roman Catholic, North American and Brazilian missionaries suggested the pattern is more widespread.

The central role occupied by the giving of economic resources from the churches of developed nations to churches in the developing world, reflects too elevated a view of the missional value of money in general, and a lack of regard for the consequences of

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[47] Kowalski, 'The Gift – Marcel Mauss and International Aid,' p.193.

[48] Robert D. Lupton, *Toxic Charity: How Churches and Charities Hurt Those They Help (and How to Reverse It)*, (New York: HarperOne, 2011), p.71

[49] Steve Corbett and Brian Fikkert, *When Helping Hurts: How to Alleviate Poverty without Hurting the Poor and Yourself* (Chicago, Illinois, US, Moody Publishers, 2009), p.62

[50] Julius Nyerere, 'The Church's Role in Society,' in *A Reader in African Christian Theology*, ed. John Parratt (London: SPCK, 1987), p.113.

giving on local churches. 'Another age may learn to look upon our use of activities much as we look upon the use of the sword by an earlier age,' wrote Roland Allen in 1927:

> Because in them money takes so prominent a place, ours may one day be known as the age of financial Christianity, just as we look upon that earlier age as the age of military Christianity. As we regard the sword so a later age may regard money. It may learn the wisdom of the Apostle and decline to use such an ambiguous weapon. If the sword was an ambiguous weapon which might easily confuse the issue, money and activities which depend upon money, are not less ambiguous and may as easily confuse the issue. The time is not yet full. We have yet to learn the consequences of our use of money.[51]

Allen's observation addresses well the form 'partnership' takes for many churches internationally, and especially the IRM with their DRC donors. Perhaps it is this moral imperative of giving, from richer churches to poorer, that has led to insufficient consideration of the outcomes. Largesse is so integral to the kind of mission many churches are involved with that it is now difficult to step back from the model without an uncomfortable loss of identity. Ironically, support from abroad is in some cases sustaining something that is detrimental to the selfhood of the national church. Among its casualties is the social, spiritual and religious capital of local churches.

More recently, Jonathan Bonk has protested against the central place of money in Protestant approaches to mission. Reflecting on the consequences of well funded missionary work taking up residence alongside the relative poverty of the national churches, he identifies historical, economic and cultural factors among missionaries as difficult or impossible to replicate among poorer national churches and thereby inappropriate as models for church. In turn, the economic disparities raise challenges to relationships, communication, strategy and ethics which, taken together, threaten to undermine the integrity of intercultural cooperation.[52] '[M]any missionaries,' he states,

> in an effort to help people economically, have unwittingly assumed the role of patron or feudal master. If they then refuse to fulfil the obligations associated with that role, the understandable result is confusion, frustration, and even anger.[53]

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[51] Roland Allen writing in *Mission Activities* [1927], included in *The Ministry of the Spirit*, ed. David M. Paton.(London: World Dominion Press, 1960), p. 109

[52] Jonathan Bonk, *Missions and Money: Affluence as a Western Missionary Problem*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis, 1991); 'Missions and money: affluence as a Western missionary problem...revisited,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 31, no. 4 (October 2007): pp.172.

[53] Bonk, 'Missions and money...revisited,': pp.173.

Social/spiritual/religious capital

The theories of spiritual and religious capital derive from the better-known theory of 'social capital' – argued for by Robert Putnam in 1995,[54]in reference to the value of social networks to their members as they benefit one another collaboratively.[55] As we have seen in Chapter 1, spiritual and religious capital is respectively concerned with a motivational belief system and the way it is practiced in community. Like social capital, the 'bondedness' provided by spiritual and religious capital occurs between people who share values, in this case moral and religious values. Similarly, a shared historical experience, such as working on a project together, can also develop capital between group members in a way that cultivates loyalty between them and enriches the resource network into the future.

As critics of social capital have noted, however, some collaborative alliances may in fact serve to entrench poverty and/or dependency.[56] The case of the DRC as a denomination in southern Africa generally is pertinent. Given the high levels of cross-border collaborative participation, the tradition may itself be seen as a transnational community of which both the South African mother church (the DRC in South Africa) and the IRM daughter are part. Certainly, there is capital in that relationship on which the IRM can draw because of its on-going collaboration with the DRC. However, the patterns of involvement – that is unidirectional funding from South Africa to Mozambique – seem to have further embedded the dependency of Mozambicans and the poverty of the national church. It is when we consider the quality of religious capital within the local national Dutch Reformed (IRM) churches of Mozambique that this is most apparent. The local national congregations are profoundly weakened due, in part, to their place in the larger transnational Dutch Reformed grouping. In the face of the

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[54] Robert D. Putnam, 'Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital,' *Journal of Democracy* 6 (1) (1995): pp.65–78. Also later in his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

[55] David Halpern, *Social Capital* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

[56] As Irena Grugulis notes, membership of some groups may serve merely to perpetuate and entrench poverty. A view expressed on 'Social capital, Gentrification.' *Thinking Allowed*. BBC Radio 4. UK, August 8, 2012 recording available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b01ljk4r .See also Irena Grugulis and Dimitrinka Stoyanova 'Social Capital and Networks in Film and TV: Jobs for the Boys?' *Organization Studies* 33, no. 10 (2012): pp.1311-331.

economic challenges that confront them, national members do not look to one another as is the case among independent churches. The dynamic discussed above in reference to the giving of gifts applies. The fact that the IRM does not reciprocate materially towards the South African DRC donor has contributed to a learned helplessness among national members.

Notwithstanding, given the demography of IRM members, for instance at the Maputo city branch, it may be argued that a mutuality of support between one member and another would in any case be less likely than in the MCL or ADS. Of all three case studies, the IRM could be characterised as having the most upwardly mobile membership, with individuals there generally belonging to more economically stable, middle-class families. That being the case, perhaps it is natural that each member looks first to their biological family for support, rather than to the local church. This conclusion, however, would still support the thesis that social/religious capital within the IRM is weak, or of such a quality that is detrimental to the church. It is precisely because IRM members represent more wealth individually that such individuals might be expected to find the resources to support the work of the church. Instead, however, within the context of the IRM, national members and missionaries alike commonly employ the rhetoric of national poverty as a rationale for on-going external sponsorship.

What is true of the IRM as a church in its relationship with DRC is reflected also in situations within the local church. In spite of the relative personal/familial wealth of IRM members, Mozambican Christians still hold out the expectation that support for their needs, and sometimes ambitions, should come via South African missionaries. As we have seen in Chapter 3, foreign missionaries within the local congregation are seen as potential sources of funding for all sorts of projects. Resources may be sought for personal reasons, for instance, the construction of a house or support to purchase a vehicle. Alternatively, the request may be made for resources to fund a project of the church, whether evangelistic, medical, administrative, for buildings, for clergy salaries, or pensions. The significant difference between the IRM and the MCL and ADS in these cases is that, first and foremost, the IRM will request this kind of assistance from missionaries or from missionary sending agencies abroad, rather than from fellow national members. IRM members can indeed, therefore, draw on capital that is not available to all Christians in Mozambique. While this may be convenient in the short

term, however, and facilitate projects of such scale that would not otherwise be undertaken, the long-term consequences have been a neglect of the reservoirs of social and religious capital within the national church. By contrast, local developmental projects, such as the chicken-rearing of the ADS at Magoanine and the building project of the MCL and Manjacaze, serve to promote a congregational spirit of mutuality as members work together.[57] Without missionaries or donors to intervene in the challenges of church members' lives, generally speaking these groups were more inclined to look for creative ways to assist one another. What Agadjanian says of AICs was found also among these two independent evangelical groups - they are 'social venues' offering support and the formation of an identity that is able to address what may be lacking [elsewhere].[58]

The use of electronic communications as an illustration of religious capital

As Freston indicates, with the arrival of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) from Brazil in 1992, electronic communications have become increasingly important among some church groups in Mozambique as a means of promoting their cause and disseminating their teaching.[59] Whether or not such communications are related to church membership, for those with access to them, the contemporary relevance and appeal of electronic media as a means to shape thinking and behaviour are plain. Writing in 2012 of her own research with women among Pentecostal churches in an urban setting in Mozambique, Linda Van De Kamp notes, 'the youngest generation [15-30 year olds]…grew up in the post-socialist, neoliberal era and have benefited from…access to internet facilities, books, and foreign television channels…These broadened their perspectives on how society could be organized and on family life and marriage, and they became familiar with ideas of personal choice and responsibility.'[60] The growing importance of communications technology at the time of this research

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[57] Subsequent to the field research period in 2010 this then extended also to cattle rearing.

[58] Victor Agadjanian, 'Religion, Social Milieu, and the Contraceptive Revolution,' *Population Studies* 55, no. 2 (July 2001), pp.137-138, 146.

[59] *Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus*. Paul Freston, 'The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God: A Brazilian Church Finds Success in Southern Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35.1 (2005): p. 33-65. pp. 40, 56.

60. Linda Van De Kamp, 'Afro-Brazilian Pentecostal Re-formations of Relationships Across Two Generations of Mozambican Women,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 42, no. 4 (2012): p. 439.

made it appropriate to reflect if and how it was being used by members of the churches in the case studies to fulfil the aims and objectives of their local congregations.

For some of the local churches in this study electronic communications were not an important component of member-to-member involvement, yet this was due to reasons other than a lack of stakeholdership in church activities. In some cases their lack of use pertained simply to lack of availability and the investment and participation of members were demonstrated in other ways. For instance, because of socio-economic reasons and their geographical isolation, members of the MCL Manjacaze were least likely to have easy access to either fixed line or mobile telecommunication.[61] Phone credit for talk-time was expensive in 2010, and many literate Mozambicans generally chose instead to send SMS text messages. Among women at Manjacaze, especially, literacy could not be assumed; MCL members were conspicuously more comfortable using the local language Changana (rather than Portuguese), which they spoke but seldom wrote. Most of the members at Manjacaze lived within a mile radius of the church building, which meant messages could in any case be passed orally, or by sending a child as a messenger. In such cases, therefore, an assessment of the use of electronic communications between members would not help in assessing the resourcefulness of individual members to support the life of the church.[62]

The lack of use of electronic communications media within the MCL was not restricted to Manjacaze only. Of the churches within the MCL, the headquarters in Machava would be best placed in terms of local communications infrastructure. However, also for socio-economic reasons, the membership at that time was least likely

[61] Many of the members did not have electricity supplied to their homes with which to charge a phone battery.

[62] Certain communications with outside bodies, such as when the MCL Manjacaze leadership collaborates with GATV (for HIV/AIDS testing), do require electronic communications. For informal communication the pastor used his own mobile phone. For written communication he would resort to either a borrowed email facility in Manjacaze town centre, or asking someone there to write on his behalf.

to be among Mozambicans who had ready access to smartphones or other devices[63] that would facilitate internet access. The MCL founder had access to a computer at the Machava church offices, but his use of internet and email was facilitated by friends and associates elsewhere. Chokwe MCL, like Manjacaze, was in a rural situation, and socioeconomic factors and the non-availability of electricity meant internet and telecommunications were in short supply. Such mobile phones as were owned by church members were not smart phones and were often shared across extended families. Although simple mobile phones[64] were used for receiving calls, seldom did those in possession of them have the necessary phone credit with which to make a call or send an SMS text message.[65]

A meaningful comparison of the way electronic and social media were used among churches in the case studies, therefore, is restricted to the IRM and ADS. The contrast drawn here is developed from activity observed specifically among members of the IRM Maputo city and the ADS Magoanine. However, given the nature of the internet, a medium that is accessible both nationally and globally, the implications for each church are more far-reaching. Increasingly, among the churches at the time of the research, it was IRM city members who had access to and demonstrated excitement about the ownership and use of smart phones. Significantly, however, this did not translate to their use among members for the promotion of and support for the activities of the church. By contrast, in the ADS Magoanine, electronic communications were being well used by both national leaders and rank and file members in the development of the church.

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[63] Although not among members of the IRM, ADS or MCL, the researcher was acquainted with Mozambican nationals at this time in ownership of an Apple Ipod Touch (an all-purpose hand held PC) which, for those with internet access at home (largely restricted to Maputo city), made internet access possible. Typically, such individuals would also own either a laptop or a desktop computer with internet access and/or have internet access at their place of work.

[64] Typically Nokia 3210s, therefore without the facility to use the internet.

[65] Typically, where one individual wanted to be in contact with another, but did not themselves have phone credit, they would make a call called referred to colloquially as an 'm-bip'. An m-bip involved making a call to the person with whom the caller wanted to speak. The recipient would then attempt to answer the call, at which point – due to their being no credit on the caller's phone – the call would be cut off. Assuming the recipient of the call did have credit, and the number of the first caller displayed on their mobile phone, the recipient may then choose to return the call. This procedure was common practice among nationals.

Given the comparable access between IRM and ADS members in those locations, and the increasing use of electronic communications by the membership of both groups, their use for church activities is significant as an indicator of resourcefulness towards the development of the local church. The lack of their use by IRM members for ecclesial objectives may be understood as indicative of lack of motivation for and ownership of the projects of the church. Conversely, in the case of the ADS, the inclination to harness the power and effectiveness of communications media can be seen as reflecting a general sense of participation and agency among members of that group. 'The new churches are more sophisticated,' claims Macamo, 'they know the internet. So, they bring things together [their competence and access to communications technology and]…the central issues that people have.'[66]

It would not be correct to portray the IRM at the time of this research as entirely lacking an internet presence. Until 2016, the IRM had a dedicated website linked to its training facility,[67] Hefsiba Bible School (subsequently Hefsiba Institute for Christian Higher Education) at Vila Ulónguè in Tete Province. In general terms the material on the site placed great importance on the historical development of the DRC in Mozambique, and on the current activities of the Institute. A number of factors concerning that website, however, are indicative of a lack of ownership among national members. The IRM website was constructed under the direction of South African DRC missionaries and drew on the historical research undertaken by another South African missionary, Willie Gouws. The site used English rather than Portuguese language medium, probably indicating that the primary intended audience would not be national members but perhaps (potential) foreign donors. At the time of writing the IRM website has been offline for a period of one year. It is conjecture on the part of the researcher, though nonetheless based on patterns already established, that if and when an IRM website is re-established it will again consist of work produced by South African missionaries, if not produced in South Africa itself. The Dutch Reformed website 'Witness Ministry'

[66] Marcos Macamo, interview by author, Maputo, 21 January 2010.

[67] Then accessible at http://www.hefsiba.org/ but unavailable since 2016.

currently gives Kobus Odendaal, a South African national, as a point of contact for the IRM in Mozambique.[68]

Notwithstanding the exceptional case of the IRM website, the lack of an online presence for IRM is conspicuous as compared with the ADS. As a denomination with a presence in the capital, the IRM is best placed to access electronic communications that could be used to organise and promote church activities. Although by no means an entirely wealthy congregation, the ownership of smart phones among IRM members in city congregation was becoming commonplace. Because of where IRM city members lived and the kind of employment available to them, internet access by other means (computer) was common also. IRM members at this time were in the habit of using social media for personal communications. The researcher received invitations to be networked with IRM members both through Facebook and also a business and employment networking service, LinkedIn. Although generally disinclined to use email, IRM church members were keen users of mobile phone SMS[69] text messages. SMS messages were sometimes employed among IRM members to confirm the details of a meeting, or to organise contributors' participation in scheduled activities such as music practice, bible study or social get together among members. However, events were not advertised via SMS or by other electronic means. Members were not consulted, nor was teaching or motivation undertaken via electronic media as was the case among ADS members. Varied means of communication were in use by IRM members, but principally it was for individual projects rather than for the objectives of the church. When set alongside other member behaviour, the lack of use of electronic media within the IRM is consistent with a broader pattern that is indicative of a lack of ownership among members and a sentiment that the development of the church should be organised by 'someone else'.

Although the use of Facebook within the ADS developed further subsequent to the data gathering of this work, its current use is nonetheless reflective of a positive

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[68] 'IRM (Igreja Reformada em Mocambique)' , Witness Ministry, accessed 31 May 2017, http://www.kga.org.za/english/irm-igreja-reformada-em-mocambique/

[69] Short Message Service: a messaging service provided by most mobile telephony systems. At that time in Mozambique provided by either mcel or Vodacom.

attitude among members historically to the use of communications media for the development of the church. Initially, this was undertaken using SMS and included messages that were both specific to and representative of the teaching of the church. Subsequently, with the increased availability of smartphones, members used their own Facebook pages to communicate with one another, including for the purposes of promoting ADS values and events. Latterly (since 2012), those same objectives have been met by an ADS dedicated Facebook page[70], which was set up and run by a national member of the church.[71]

Whether it has been through SMS messaging or social media, what has remained typical throughout is the involvement of ADS members in organising, promoting, and in some cases discussing, a range of church-based activities. These include rallying members from one congregation to assist in the building project of another congregation; teaching on the need for transparency in administration; reports from national conferences; short films taken during services; reports on the visits of leaders from other churches to the ADS; teaching for members on the stewardship of resources; Christian testimony; advertising evangelistic campaigns; sporting events; weddings; music group and choir activities; young people's groups and seminars; seminars on leadership and raising a family, and projects for economic betterment, such as cattle rearing and chicken farming.

For the purposes of this research, the use of electronic communications is significant as a reflection of what happens on the ground in the life of the church. Nationals within the ADS both design and resource the activities of the church. Accordingly, they are both motivated towards and resourceful about promoting them with the means of communication available to them. This reflects social and spiritual capital among nationals who see one another as a trusted source of support, not only for religious observance but also in the practical challenges of day-to-day life. This stands in stark contrast to the IRM where a lack of modern communications activity correlates

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[70] Arca da Salvação Facebook page, accessed 6 December 2016,

https://en-gb.facebook.com/IgrejaEvangelicaArcaDeSalvacaoDeMocambique

[71] The Facebook page was set up and is moderated by José Tembe who is also an executive secretary of the Magoanine ADS congregation.

with a lack of agency and personal investment by the national membership in the development of the church.

The self-reliance debate and mission practice

In the Introduction, the question was asked, 'What are the implications of the way a church secures resources for its selfhood?' In answering that question through the case studies in chapters 3-5, we observed a correlation: self-support economically is often linked also with other types of commitment among the members demonstrated in the life of the church. Conversely, a lack of member responsibility for the upkeep of the local church financially is often accompanied by a disengagement and a lack of agency among members for other central components of church life. Secondly, in the Introduction we also acknowledged the views of certain individuals, themselves concerned with international church relations, who do not see the self-reliance/dependency issue as paramount. For Richard Stearns of World Vision, for example, there is simply a moral imperative for developmental activities undertaken in developing nations to be funded by the largesse of richer churches in the northern hemisphere. That imperative, it would seem, appears to eclipse questions concerning the ownership of the national church and the effectiveness of local Christians.[72] John Rowell, we noted, at one point challenged the very existence of dependency, going on to advocate 'Marshall Plan' giving by churches in the developed nations to Christians in the developing world nations.[73]

In some cases financial support for churches of the developing world from churches in the Global North has been long established, stemming back to the arrival of the first missionaries. In Mozambique this is illustrated by the development of what became the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique (IPM). The IPM was first established in

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[72] Richard Stearns, *The Hole in Our Gospel*, (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2009), pp. 216, 217, 218, 219.

[73] John Rowell, *To Give or Not to Give* (Authentic, Colorado Springs, 2007). The first print run of Rowell's book featured the subtitle *'Generosity and the Dependency Myth'*. During the same year, for subsequent print runs, this was altered to '*Rethinking Dependency, Restoring Generosity, and Redefining Sustainability'*. Images of differing versions accessed 21st, August, 2008, respectively at: a.) http://www.buy.com/prod/to-give-or-not-to-give-generosity-and-the-dependency-myth/q/loc/106/202875069.html b.) http://www.amazon.com/Give-Not-Rethinking-Dependency-Sustainability/dp/1932805869/ref=pd_bxgy_b_img_a

1882 through the work of an African evangelist, Josefa Mhalamhala. However, the mission station at Ricatla, Maputo Province, was inaugurated in 1887 under Swiss Mission Presbyterian leadership. Subsequently denominational primary and secondary schools, hospitals and a seminary were established. As a result of progressive steps, taken between 1948 and the 1970, the IPM has been constitutionally independent for over thirty years. However, under national leadership the church has continued to struggle with issues of dependency on foreign donors.[74] Speaking of the accoutrements of European colonial era mission globally, and Roland Allen's critique of it during the 1920s, Lamin Sanneh describes a burden the national churches would later inherit:

> Missions stretched their resources to cover medical, educational, and social work…Large institutions, guilds, clubs, halls, and structures were created...Heavy machinery was purchased, transported, and, at great cost, maintained by skilled expatriate specialists who were brought into remote areas that had scarcely the means to inherit or to perpetuate such top-heavy elaborate infrastructure. Missions were consumed in the creation of offices and departments, with directors, clerks, and accountants...[75]

The giving of aid was first incorporated as a strategy of mainline western ecumenical churches. Following the Second World War the same model was increasingly adopted among evangelical para-church organisations.[76] Since this time there has been a progressive blurring of the distinction between faith-based organisations and secular NGOs, as western churches have established development programmes, often drawing also on the monetary resources of national governments.[77] The views of Stearns and Rowell above, however, belong more to a context in which the western

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[74] Robert Benedetto, Darrell L. Guder, and Donald K. McKim. *Historical Dictionary of Reformed Churches*. Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies, and Movements ; No. 24. Lanham, Md. (London: Scarecrow Press, 1999), p. 445; Felicidade Naúme Chirinda, 'Autonomy of the *Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique* (IPM): Pastoral concern for liberation, (PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2012), pp.xii,25-26, 107.

[75] Lamin Sanneh, *Disciples of All Nations Pillars of World Christianity*. Oxford Studies in World Christianity, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 226.

[76] Brian Stanley, 'From Missionary Societies to Christian. NGOs: how Christian mission became international development,' Address given as part of symposium at The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), the University of London, on Tuesday 5 November 2013. Typescript loaned by Professor Brian Stanley, Centre for the Study of World Christianity, School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh.

[77] Dena Freeman, *Pentecostalism and Development Churches, NGOs and Social Change in Africa*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 2.

churches have organised themselves also as agencies of aid and development. Paul Gifford has termed this trend the 'NGO-isation' of the churches.[78]

Part of the conclusion of this research is that, wherever they originate, strategies for sponsorship that do not also give due consideration to national churches' holistic ownership of their own projects are erroneous and are likely to be detrimental to the long-term health of those churches.

Partnership

In an attempt to offset the more paternalistic models of mission stemming from pioneer missionary work from Global North to Global South, many churches have come to participate in international 'partnerships'. Within Protestant Christian missions, the idea was discussed as far back as the 1928 Jerusalem conference of the International Missionary Council (IMC).[79] By 1947, the time of IMC meetings at Whitby, partnership had become a core ecumenical value. [80] It was at the Green Lake Conference held in Winona, Illinois in 1971, however, that the two largest groupings of US evangelical mission societies – the Interdenominational Foreign Missions Association and Evangelical Foreign Missions Association – came to discuss the idea in the context of relationships between mission societies and national churches.[81]

Among evangelicals, biblical support for the idea was given by figures such as John Stott. As well as a call to imitate practices in the early church in 1 Corinthians 3:9; Philippians 1:5-7, Stott argued that partnership flowed from the idea of 'koinonia' (community) and the type of fellowship implied by the noun 'koinonos' (a partner). Stott pointed out that, firstly, Christians share a common Christian inheritance of salvation, grace, new life and the life of God in Christ through the Holy Spirit. Secondly, they 'share out' the Christian service of making known the Gospel and Christ's concerns for

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[78] Gifford, *Christianity, Development and Modernity,* p.102

[79] David Bosch, 'Towards True Mutuality: Exchanging the same Commodities or Supplementing Each Others' Needs?' *Missiology* Vol. VI(3) (July 1978): pp. 284-7.

[80] John Gibaut and Knud Jørgensen, eds., *Called to Unity: For the Sake of Mission* (Oxford: Regnum, 2014). pp. 20-21.

[81] At the Green Lake Conference held in Winona, Illinois. Vergil Gerber (ed), *Missions in Creative Tension: The Green Lake '71 Compendium* (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1971).

God's world. Thirdly, Christians share with one another in mutual responsibility and global interdependence.[82] More recently, Andrew Kirk has argued for four elements in missionary partnerships, featuring the 'sharing in a common project', the 'sharing of gifts', the 'sharing of material resources' and 'sharing in suffering'.[83] 'Within world Christianity,' he says, partnership

> '…expresses a relationship between churches based on trust, mutual recognition and reciprocal interchange. It rules out any notion of 'senior' and 'junior', 'parent' and 'child', or even 'older' and 'younger'. It is a term designed to show how different parts of the Church belong to one another and find their fulfillment through sharing a common life. It implies a relationship in which two or more bodies agree to share responsibility for one another, and in which each side meaningfully participates in planning the future of the other….'[84]

Figures such as Melvyn Hodges and, more recently, Christopher Little have contested some of the biblical interpretation behind ecclesial thinking and practices regarding partnerships. Whilst affirming the global unity of the church, Hodges notes that as an advocate of ecclesial partnership the apostle Paul did not employ strategies whereby a church in one area was to undertake to cover the operational expenses of churches in another area.[85] 'New Testament churches were self-sustaining,' claims Little, who questions Trinitarian and New Testamental interpretation as a basis for the contemporary 'partnership movement', as he refers to it.[86]

The main source of disagreement, aside from biblical interpretation, is the extent to which international church relationships, going under the name of 'partnerships', have in reality reflected the qualities of mutuality spelled out by Stott, Kirk, and others. As the findings of this study have demonstrated, in Mozambique the goals of international partnerships have remained largely an aspiration that has seldom in practice been realised. Partnership advocate John Hitchen has observed, 'In our understanding of

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[82] John R.W. Stott, *One People* (London: Falcon Books 1968), p.75

[83] J. Andrew Kirk, *What is Mission: Theological Explorations* (London: Darton, Longman &Todd, 1999), pp. 188-191.

[84] Kirk, *What is Mission*, p.184.

[85] Melvyn Hodges, 'Are Indigenous Church Principles Outdated?' *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* 9(1) (1972): pp. 43–46.

[86] Christopher R. Little, 'The Economics of Partnership Partnerships in Pauline Perspective,' *International Journal of Frontier Missiology*, 27:2 (Summer 2010): pp 62-63.

partnership in mission, we have historically tended to focus primarily on Stott's second, or 'sharing out' aspect of the biblical term…[W]e seldom measure up to these biblical understandings and inherent expectations when we reach out in mission partnership.'[87] '…[P]artnership is an ideal to be aimed at. In practice … there are real difficulties in the way of a truly equal partnership,' agrees Andrew Kirk, who is also an advocate of biblical partnership.[88] In practice, claims Glenn Schwartz, 'Partnership' usually amounts to a one-way flow of economic resources, and would be better termed 'sponsorship'.[89] 'You will tell me that we are now living in the era of "interdependence" or "partnership"!' Gatu stated in 1996, '…[but f]or me interdependence means "we are equally depending on each other".[90] Similar criticisms of the idea of partnership were voiced by Tim Dakin when he was General Secretary of the Anglican Church Mission Society, in 2004.[91]

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to bring together and compare three distinct case studies of churches in the Mozambican context, that is the IRM, the MCL and ADS. Using elements of social theory, we reflected on the development of their leader training, on attitudes among leaders towards the resourcing of their congregations, and upon member participation. Consideration was then given to how those groups differ or resonate with aspects of developmental and mission theory. Taken together, the church groups studied are mixed – in one case within the IRM showing evidence of movement from dependence to self-support. Conversely, within the MCL we observed a group that had

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[87] John M. Hitchen, 'What is Partnership in Mission?' A paper presented at the Global Connections In Mission Retreat, Taupo, New Zealand, March 2007. Also featured in 'Appendix 9, *Biblical Model for Partnership,*' GCiM Connexions Handbook Section 8, (2007), pp. 4, 5. Accessed 30 December 2016, http://www.gcim.org.nz/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=139&Itemid=204

[88] Kirk, *What is Mission*, p.184.

[89] Glenn Schwartz, *When Charity Destroys Dignity: Overcoming Unhealthy Dependency in the Christian Movement*, (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2007), pp. 14-15.

[90] John Gatu, 'Rationale for Self Reliance,' World Mission Associates (1996), accessed 21 February 2007, http://www.wmausa.org/page.aspx?id=83845

[91] Timothy Dakin, 'Deepening Partnership,' A Ramsden University Sermon, Cambridge University, Cambridge, 2004. Typescript loaned by Professor Brian Stanley, Centre for the Study of World Christianity, School of Divinity, University of Edinburgh.

emerged independently but had experienced some debilitation as a result of channelling external resources on a Christian NGO.

In this chapter we have also considered partnership as a model for mission that has replaced colonial models from the global north to south. The implementation of partnership, it was argued, often fell way short of its own ideals.

In the final chapter, conclusions will be drawn as to why some church groups in Mozambique pursue mission that is resourced from within, while neighbouring churches undertake mission with foreign resources. We will also form a view as to what it is that promotes or hinders church life and mission that is resourced locally. Suggestions will be made also as to what this research may contribute to the debate concerning the flow of funding from churches in developed nations towards mission activity among churches in developing nations.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This project was born in 2007 from frustration on the part of the researcher, then working as a missionary with the *Igreja Reformada em Moçambique* (IRM), having experienced first-hand the symptoms of dependency in that denomination.[1] At that time, the decision was taken by the researcher to reflect more broadly on the background to the IRM in relation to the dependency issues of that time: were the patterns observed particular to the IRM, or part of something found commonly across the denominations in Mozambique? Preliminary research suggested that while many older churches did depend for their existence upon the continuous charity of others, not all church groups had comparable relationships with foreign missionaries or experience of external funding. Accordingly, further research was undertaken to address the question: why was it some church groups in Mozambique, a low-income nation, depended upon foreign funding and yet others in comparable circumstances resourced themselves locally?

In this concluding chapter, reflective, possibly pessimistic conclusions are drawn concerning the dependency of churches in Mozambique past, present and future. Nevertheless, attention is also given to cases where self-reliance has, against the grain, been pursued among some congregations. Such a treatment, it is hoped, will address the local situation in Mozambique but also contribute to broader debates concerning the transnational flow of funding to churches in developing nations. Reflection on those churches that have leaders and congregations committed to self-support has the potential to contribute to further social research concerned with the potency and sustainability of local religious communities. Specifically, this concluding chapter makes the following five points:

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[1] See Chapter 1, section 'Researcher – background, status and reflexivity', pages 41-45.

1.) At the time of the research, the historical dependency of the churches in Mozambique seemed likely to continue.
2.) In relation to the various three or four selves formulae (propagation, governance, economic and theologizing) it is argued that without the component of self-support each of the others is likely to be illusory.
3.) It is argued that the more self-reliant a church is the more likely members will be drawn into ownership of the total life of the church.
4.) Analysis of data in the case studies demonstrates that dependency and self-reliance are end points on a spectrum, between which a local church can move in either direction.
5.) the role of local leadership is central to the capacity of individual congregations for locally resourced mission.

1. The on-going dependency of churches in Mozambique

Historically, the churches in Portuguese East Africa (PEA)/Mozambique have tended to reflect the nation's own trajectory of economic dependency, both during the Portuguese colonial era, and subsequently following the achievement of national independence. As discussed in Chapter 2, from the arrival of the Franciscans in 1500, until the *'Concordo Missionário'* in 1940, the Roman Catholic Church was closely aligned with Portugal's own colonial objectives.[2] Although for long periods Africans were compelled to work for the economy of the Catholic Church, their involvement was not designed for or resultant in their ownership of that tradition.[3]

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[2] Joseph C. McKenna, 'Chapter 5: Marxism and the Church in Mozambique,' In *Finding a Social Voice: The Church and Marxism in Africa*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1997), p. 82

[3] Through the *prazo* system of tenant slaves, from the 17th century Africans were compelled to work for the economy of the church. Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), p. 126. Even by the early 20th century church membership among Africans was scant. Jonathan Hildebrandt, *History of the Church in Africa: A Survey*, (Achimota, Ghana: Africa Christian Press, 1981), p.177. By independence in 1974 only thirty three of the 509 Catholic priests in Mozambique were African. Eric Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar: The Relation between Christian Churches and the State in post-Colonial Mozambique, 1974-1981,' *Social Sciences and Missions*, vol (1996): pp.11, 33. At the time of this research internal debates were ongoing as to the economic dependency of the national church. 'Igreja Católica introduz dízimo mas os crentes contestam,' *Notícias Lusófonas*, 25 September 2007, accessed 16 September 2009, http://www.noticiaslusofonas.com/view.php?load=arcview&article=19286&catogory=news

As Protestant groups arrived in Mozambique during the course of the 19th century, Roman Catholic hegemony supported by the Portuguese state made for a hostile reception. Although in many cases Protestant evangelism was undertaken first by Africans, Protestant missionary societies abroad were keen to protect their denominational links, to support them economically, and to supply them with missionaries. Typically, this led to the establishment of schools and other institutions that required both funding and specialist personnel from abroad.[4] Notably, both Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries set out to cultivate an ethic of independence among African converts.[5] This approach made a highly significant contribution to the politicization of Africans and ultimately to the winning of national independence.[6] Presbyterians were also among the first to hand over administrative authority to the national church.[7] However, in a pattern played out elsewhere globally[8] over the same period, the structural independence of the church did not lead to self-support.[9]

From the 1980s, the power and influence of international aid increasingly co-opted the churches for its own goals.[10] Given the frequent ecological crises in Mozambique following independence, a long civil conflict as well as general economic poverty, it is understandable how for both parties the aims of the aid agencies were

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[4] George O. Ndege, *Culture and Customs of Mozambique* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2007), pp. 30-31.

[5] Teresa Cruz e Silva, 'Identity and Political Consciousness in Southern Mozambique, 1930–1974: Two Presbyterian Biographies Contextualised,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24.1 (1998): p. 226

[6] Teresa Cruz e Silva, 'Identity and Political Consciousness in Southern Mozambique, 1930–1974: Two Presbyterian Biographies Contextualised,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 24, no. 1 (1998): p. 236;

[7] Morier-Genoud, 'Of God and Caesar…' pp. 10-11.

[8] In reference to Indian churches deriving from the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS), Stanley observes, 'Indian churches attained their structural independence from the BMS at various points between 1933 and 1948, but remained heavily dependent financially on subsidies from an external "establishment": the BMS in London. Many of the problems experienced by those Baptist churches which remained outside the Church of North India after 1970 can be traced to that fact.' Brian Stanley, 'Planting Self-Governing Churches: British Baptist Ecclesiology in the Missionary Context,' *The Baptist Quarterly* 34, no. 8 (October 1992): p.382,

[9] Felicidade Naúme Chirinda, 'Autonomy of the Igreja Presbiteriana de Moçambique (IPM): Pastoral concern for liberation,' (PhD Thesis, University of Pretoria, 2012), p.xii.

[10] See discussion Chapter 2, section: 'How the indigenisation of the churches led to new forms of economic dependency', pages 73-75.

perceived as intersecting well with those of the churches. However, aid and development interventions were often organised directly between church leaders and foreign sponsors.[11] Among national Christians, the general result has been the eclipse of giving and in some cases of activism in churches that have come to depend on their donors abroad.

Among independent churches the picture is more complex. It is likely, as elsewhere in southern Africa, that the classical AICs include many locally supported congregations. However, among these groups also are leaders who are conscious of the support received by mainline churches from abroad, for instance through the CCM. In some cases independent church leaders are desirous to access similar funding.[12] For those that are able to secure a relationship with external donors, the challenge will be to see that such funding serves the vision of the church in its own mission, rather than lead to projects that eclipse locally held priorities.

In general, European Protestant mission agencies seem now a less likely source of dependent relationships for African churches than has been the case historically. Among denominational agencies from the UK, at least, as well as a decline in the sending of missionaries, there is a rhetoric that indicates some sensitivity to dependency issues.[13] Nonetheless, certain partnerships continue to supply funding to both the general

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[11] See full Elísio Macamo quote, Chapter 2, page 75, including that '…after [national] independence…The economic context was very difficult to be able to maintain its autonomy. [W]ith the humanitarian crisis…[M]ost of those [Aid] organizations…saw the churches in Mozambique as the main vehicle for their assistance, and that changed the self-perception of churches in Mozambique.' Elísio Macamo, interview by author, conducted remotely using Skype video and sound computer application, 5 April 2011.

[12] See full Marcos Macamo quote Chapter 2, pages 80-81, including that '[As CCM General Secretary] I am in the middle of this…[The Zionists]…have been banging on the door…Many of them asked for help with their initiatives…They watch the television and see us carrying out our very big social projects…When they look at the Christian Council they see a channel…and think, "One day we would like to have this".' Marcos Macamo, interview by author, (undertaken in at Macamo's CCM office, Rua Mtomoni nº57, Bairro Polana, Maputo, Mozambique) Maputo, 21 January 2010.

[13] 'Lasting economic change: it's about dignity not dependency.' States CMS's website. See 'How we do mission,' *Church Mission Society*, accessed 11 March 2017, http://churchmissionsociety.org/how-we-do-mission ; 'We don't give handouts, which can create dependency,' says the website of USPG. See: 'We are a church-based charity working in direct partnership with Anglican Churches around the world,' *About USPG*, accessed 5 March 2017, http://www.uspg.org.uk/about/

running and special projects of Mozambican mainline churches.[14] North American missionary involvement in Africa has not declined on a scale comparable with that of European groups. Despite fluctuations in the numbers of North American missionaries committing to work in Africa, funding from the United States has remained consistent, or has grown. Principally this comes from within the evangelical sector.[15] The findings of this research suggest that the strategies of some North American missions include a number that are an ongoing threat to the selfhood of Mozambican churches.[16]

This research also suggests that dependency-cultivating initiatives are emerging from new sources. Increasingly, south-to-south mission undertaken by the missionaries of one developing nation to another is a threat to the selfhood of the Christian community in Mozambique. Although deriving from a European ecclesiastical tradition (the DRC), the IRM featured in this study was itself planted from Mozambique's neighbour, South Africa. With reference to Freston[17] and first hand material,[18] this thesis has shown that the type and scale of missionary activity from both the US and Brazil in Mozambique are leading not only to new economically dependent churches, but are also acting as a potential impediment to the selfhood of those churches.

2. The relationship between the 'three selves'

Although this thesis has been concerned primarily with the economic dimensions of transnational church relationships, those interested with the three- and four-self theories[19] are bound also to consider ways in which dependency on material resources

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[14] UK Anglican churches continue to support the Anglican Church in Mozambique through a charity called MANNA which is linked with the dioceses of Lebombo and Niassa. See 'Who we are,' and 'What we do,' Manna, accessed 11 March 2017, https://manna-anglican.org/. Manna support for the Mozambican churches extends to both building projects (for example seminaries and health posts) and also clergy salaries. See items, 'News: How we can best support the Anglican Churches in Mozambique & Angola and their community development,' 'The Diocese of Niassa,' and 'A new seminary for Lebombo,' *Manna*, Issue No. 99, Spring 2017, pp. 2, 3,6,.

[15] Julie Hearn, 'The invisible NGO: US evangelical missions in Kenya,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32, no. 1 (2002): p.38

[16] See discussion in Chapter 2, pages 81-82.

[17] Freston, 'The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God,' p. 36.

[18] See references to the Brazilian charismatic Wesleyan Methodist group (Igreja Metodista Wesleyana (IMW)) and North American group, pages 81-82 and 82-84, respectively.

[19] See Introduction, pages 11-13.

correlates with challenges to other expressions of selfhood, in terms of self-governance, self-propagation and self-theologising. Throughout the thesis, with particular reference to the views of national Christians, we have considered the consequences of economic dependency: a lack of self-support, resulting in a diluted form of local evangelism (self-propagation), and a weakened national leadership (self-governance). However, links with contextualized theology (‘self-theologising), the so-called ‘fourth-self’, were less clear.[20]

As a denomination, the IRM was most obviously dependent in the economic sphere, having been resourced from the South African DRC in both its establishment and maintenance. Economic support and/or personnel from the DRC continued for areas including evangelism, theological training, technical specialisms (for example to construct buildings) and administration. Technically, the church gained its administrative independence in 1975 when it was registered as the IRM with the Mozambican Ministry of Religion.[21] The economic dependency of the IRM, however, and the fact that in many instances support from abroad was negotiated by South African missionaries meant that foreigners continued to wield significant influence in the decision-making of the church. At the time of the research, the IRM continued to receive teams from South Africa who would also undertake evangelism on behalf of the IRM. The IRM was not apparently ‘dependent’ on the DRC for this evangelistic assistance, and perhaps would not have encouraged it were it not being offered by groups whose remit was also to construct buildings and provide financial support. As such, the evangelism of foreigners demonstrated less a need of external help with propagation and more the extent to which local vision and agendas for the church could be manipulated by external ones in a church that is economically dependent.

Within the IRM, economic dependency was further illustrated by the influence of foreign personnel in a street children’s project that was neither the vision of nor supported financially by the church. A North American led ministry with children, and a

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[20] For discussion of ‘fourth self’ see pages 239-241.

[21] Willie Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power: A History of The Igreja Reformada em Moçambique 1908-2004* (Mossel Bay, South Africa: Mosprint, 2005), pp. 80-82, 85.

South African initiated and sponsored child evangelism project are further examples.[22] As such, the administrative independence of the IRM was often illusory as churches in South Africa continued to influence and participate in activities undertaken by the IRM. In conclusion, the economic dependency of the IRM correlated with and led to other forms of dependency.

More recently, writing about the selfhood of the churches has set this concept within a broader theoretical framework which incorporates contextualized theology as well. In reference to the diversity of churches and the quest for authentic indigenisation, Bosch has argued also for a fourth self, namely that a mature indigenous church should be characterised by 'self-theologizing'.[23]

It was not the primary emphasis of this research to investigate how far these churches were engaged in theological self-reflection and such evidence as there was of a relationship between self-support and locally contextualised theological is inconclusive. Although occasionally during the research there was evidence of a group or congregation interpreting scripture in a way particular to that group, such interpretation did not appear to have emerged as a result of reflection on the context in which the church was placed.[24] During their meetings and church services the MCL and ADS, and also pastor Langa of the IRM Xai Xai, were more inclined to teach against traditional religion than was the case at the IRM Maputo city and Machava. The character of that teaching, therefore, may be seen as highly relevant in having responded to the local context. However, in terms of theological reflection, the views expressed (for instance the avoidance of consultations with traditional healers ('*curandeiros*')) were held notionally by all churches in the case studies. To establish a relationship between independent qualities and this teaching would require further and more focused study.

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[22] In reference to the activities/projects outlined in Chapter 3, pages 111-114.

[23] David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1997), p. 452.

[24] During each church service the ADS at Magoanine, for instance, would repeatedly close the doors of the building as prayer was undertaken, then opening them again when singing or other components of the service resumed. This was seen as being in obedience to the instruction of Jesus in Matthew 6:6 – 'But when you pray, go into your room and *shut the door* and pray to your Father who is in secret. And your Father who sees in secret will reward you.' (Emphasis in italics author's own.)

A number of further observations may be made regarding the way theology is undertaken among the groups in the case studies. The IRM has its own theological institute which, in keeping the other widespread characteristics of dependency in that denomination, has been supplied largely with human resources and teaching content from abroad.[25] Following the training period for IRM pastors, there does not appear to be much evidence of teaching or application that has sought to address issues that are specific to local context. Furthermore, among some national leaders there was the criticism that the training provided by the IRM was too abstract and had ill equipped them for the context to which they were sent following ordination.[26] All three groups in the case studies, therefore, bear hallmarks of global theological influences on their own life and liturgy. However, it was IRM leaders uniquely that expressed a sense of frustration and helplessness that extended also to their theologising.

In reference to the formal setting of the IRM's training facility, therefore, we can agree with Bosch that a link can be made between the immaturity of the churches in respect to the other three-selves and the scope there is within the IRM to theologise while reflecting on context.

The converse, however, that economically independent churches are those also that theologise locally does not appear to be the case. For the training of leaders, historically, the MCL has arrived at a variety of solutions - from using leaders with no formal biblical/theological training, to buying into training offered either in South Africa or by the Pentecostal AOG in Maputo. Similalrly, the ADS also used the AOG facility in Maputo for the training of leaders.

For the evangelism and discipleship of regular members in the MCL, however, there was a locally developed element as leaders used sheets produced in-house to disciple new recruits.[27] Although these were not in use at the time of this research, the

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[25] Gouws, *Not by Might, Nor by Power,* pp. 165-166, 178.

[26] The pastor of the IRM Maputo city congregation Paulo Armindo Vijarona, whose training was completed in 1999. Interview by author, Maputo, 10 August 2010.

[27] See Mazuze interview in Chapter 4, section 'Church tradition and structure of the MCL', pages 137-138.

success of these materials in the early years was described by interviewees as having stemmed from their simplicity and so accessibility to those with little formal education. In this regard, it would appear, work had been undertaken to contextualise the communication of the MCL rather than its theology.

A more focussed study pertaining to theological development of the churches in Mozambique would be likely to produce more nuanced conclusions on the matter, but a provisional observation from this research suggests that the value of self-reliance for these groups lies in the motivation and sense of ownership that self-support has cultivated among congregants, rather than having led to theological reflection in the light of the local context as highlighted by Bosch.

3. Self-reliant churches better engage their members

The personal agency of church members which was to be found among self-supporting congregations resonates with another of Bosch's assertions, that is, to a large degree the identity of the Christian person derives from their very involvement in the mission of the church.[28] The conclusion of this study, also, is that Christian outreach is best cultivated in a self-supporting group and most stifled in churches that are dependent. While it is quite possible for external funding to be applied to locally designed projects, and while such funding may accelerate the superficial development of such projects, too often the local quality of Christian witness is lost when funding comes from abroad. Instance after instance in this study and elsewhere have shown that the creative agency and resourcefulness of local people for the realisation of their objectives is most often a casualty of outsider funded mission. As we observed in our consideration of 'gifts', a subservient status may be inculcated by the recipient of external support alongside a learned helplessness.[29] A habit of mind cultivated that is ultimately enshrined in the religious institution, and becomes the norm. As such, the church enters a process in which national churches become ever more an extension of foreign agency, be that European, American, South American or South African.

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[28] Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p. 8

[29] See Chapter 6: Analysis, section 'Gifts and reciprocity', pages 211-219.

It is then a welcome development where churches design their life and mission to fit locally available resources. The inclination for churches to resource their own life and projects, for example as demonstrated at the MCL Manjacaze and ADS Magoanine, correlated with the adoption of simpler and less prestigious activities than were to be found within the IRM.[30] Among interviewees in this research, both nationals and missionaries, none were poverty-denying or inclined to suggest that Mozambique's economy represented anything other than a developmental challenge. For the IRM, however, that perception resulted in much rhetoric around a situation of poverty and was offered as one more reason to draw on the funds of South African contacts. As a short-term consequence, as well as personal financial support for some individual members, the IRM enjoyed large buildings made of modern materials, health posts, and leaders who were trained at a prestigious college which was paid for by outsiders. By contrast, the ADS building, also of modern materials, had been a long time in the making. With no teams from South Africa to undertake the building and pay the bills on their behalf, little by little, the membership had themselves invested what they could. Similarly, the MCL in Manjacaze had designed its activities to fit within the range and capacity of its local membership. Projects such as brick making for a new building, or engagement with local HIV/AIDS victims, were designed in such a way as to be sustainable locally. For both the MCL and ADS the income of leaders was diversified so as not to derive solely from church work. This approach probably reflects both the low income of members in these churches, and also the absence of presuppositions concerning remuneration from abroad. Most activities of the MCL and ADS were simple and low cost, a reflection of the local economy.

It is not entirely the case that members of more self-reliant congregations in this study accepted unquestioningly the self-supporting strategies of the churches to which they belonged. For instance, a junior pastor at the ADS in Magoanine reported that when a locally resourced first church building of the ADS in Magoanine had collapsed due to

[30] See chapters 4, 5 and 3 respectively.

flood damage, some members left the church, protesting at the prospect of building a another.[31]

Nevertheless, both the MCL at Manjacaze and the ADS at Magoanine included individuals who had formerly been members of mainline or Roman Catholic churches which they believed to be dependent but, under their new church affiliation, now participated as members of self-supporting congregations. These interviewees were able to give first-hand accounts of ecclesial dependency as contrasted with a situation in which they were expected to contribute economically to church life and mission. Typically, their testimony was that the financial affairs of their former churches seemed distant to them as compared with the congregations of which they were now part. In general terms these interviewees described their former church involvement as held more loosely, and the principal income for the congregation as being a matter dealt with directly between by the leadership and a donor. Whether or not it was the case, usually they perceived those leaders to have been personal beneficiaries of external resources. By contrast, both regular members and the leadership at the MCL Manjacaze described a process of discipleship in which, alongside other Christian disciplines, new members were taught about stewardship and the place of tithes and offerings in the life of the believer.

In some cases taking up new membership in a self-supporting church occurred alongside personal spiritual renewal, or a conversion experience, usually described as 'being saved'. This is in keeping with Joel Robbins' discussion of 'rupture' and change, a process which takes place around the conversion of Christian individuals and incorporates economic behaviour.[32] However, additional reasons given by interviewees for participation in a new church, such as the MCL or ADS, were more mundane factors such as a move from a home in one area to a home in another area. Sometimes it was issues of proximity to work, or moves due to new family ties such as through marriage

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[31] See 'Chapter 5, section: 'Early attitudes towards resourcing the work of the church', page 178, interview: Daniel Vasco Moiana (son of ADS founder), interview by author, One Challenge offices, Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique 16th February 2009.

[32] Joel Robbins, 'Transcendence and the Anthropology of Christianity: Language, Change, and Individualism (Edward Westermarck Memorial Lecture).' *Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society*, 37, 2 (2012). pp. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13.

that raised for the individual the question of participation at a different church. This being the case, the participation of some individuals in self-supporting churches derived from what was available to them locally. Formerly they were members of a Roman Catholic or mainline Protestant congregation where little was expected of them. To quote Wakatama, 'they were accustomed to coming to church on Sunday, hearing the sermon, going home and waiting for the next Sunday.'[33] In their new church situation they had been taught Christian stewardship as part of their discipleship.

There is resonance in these findings with a popular idea in evangelical Christian circles that 'What you win them with is what you win them to', which is used to mean that the kind of discipleship an individual is presented with at entry level to a church community is likely to form that person's viewpoint thereafter. '[H]ow we present the Christian faith to people forms the foundational expectations they have of it and of their responsibility…' argues Yvon Prehn, a communications consultant to churches in America.[34] Typically, in its global north context, the maxim is applied to argue for a kind of evangelism and discipleship among new adherents that is characterised by service and sacrifice, as opposed to treating new members as though they are consumers.[35] The principle is also relevant, however, to churches in the southern hemisphere as they work out their models for funding. A self-supporting ethos in a church is more likely to be perpetuated if the agency and resourcefulness of new members/converts is nurtured, as opposed to a rhetoric of poverty that is so often encouraged by partner organisations from abroad and within the aid sector.

The principle that the kind of church an individual joins shapes their viewpoint thereafter regarding their economic participation was borne out in the case of the IRM at

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[33] Wakatama writing in the 1970s concerning the dependency of missionary planted churches in Africa. Pius Wakatama, *Independence for the Third World Church* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1976), p. 34.

[34] Yvon Prehn, '"What you win them with is what you win them to": a challenge to remember in holiday outreach,' *Effective Church Communications*, accessed 7 March 2017, http://www.effectivechurchcom.com/what-you-win-them-with-is-what-you-win-them-to-a-challenge-as-you-plan-your-holiday-outreach/

[35] Mark Dever and Paul Alexander, *The Deliberate Church: Building Your Ministry On the Gospel*, (Wheaton, IL: Crossway 2005), p. 44.

Xai Xai, discussed in Chapter 3.[36] There, the model was a mixed one, involving support through DRC channels alongside teaching from a motivated local leader who was aiming for the self-support of his congregation. Accordingly, that church operated and recruited new members on this basis. Individuals attending services for the first time would be left in no doubt that the activities of the church, including a variety of outreach projects, were the responsibility of the members. That the congregation belonged to an otherwise dependent IRM mattered less in the formation of members; the influence of the local pastor was more compelling than were denominational ties. It is significant, no doubt, that in choosing a strategy for his ministry in Xai Xai, Pastor Langa (who arrived there recently ordained) chose not to be involved with a pre-existing IRM prayer house. Such a move would probably have led to opposition from an older congregation who were used to IRM patterns of development.

4. Self-reliance is a spectrum

Be they evangelical churches such as the MCL and ADS or the more classical AICs, churches that emerged independently began with a head start in self-support. Initially, with no links abroad to finance ecclesial activities there is only the vision of local leaders and the resources of local members upon which to build the church. By contrast, denominations such as the IRM very often became entrenched in situations of dependency cultivated by years of donor support. What a general reading of the churches in Mozambique historically reveals, however, and the case studies in this thesis in particular, is that a church can move in either direction, either towards reliance on an external body or towards the utilization of local resources.

Although within the MCL and ADS there was generally a much higher value placed on the teaching of Christian stewardship, tithes and offerings, than within the IRM, none of the groups or congregations in this study taught self-reliance in particular as a value or objective. Furthermore, none could be described as isolationist; all three groups were in some form of relationship with other national churches through the Evangelical Association of Mozambique, and most congregational leaders enjoyed

[36] See section pages 117-121.

personal relationships with expatriate Christians in Mozambique. Furthermore, within the parameters of this study (confined largely to the south of Mozambique) the funding trajectory of each group as dependent or self-reliant was not clear-cut.

The churches of the IRM southern synod, for instance, appeared broadly dependent on external donors, yet with indications, in one case, of a move towards self-reliance.[37] Conversely, although it was a group that had emerged independently, within the MCL there was evidence of a range of attitudes among leaders to the prospect of external relationships and funding. As well as the MCL at Manjacaze, where the membership was well engaged in the ownership and resourcing of church life and outreach,[38] there were instances in other localities of a congregational leader who was desirous to access foreign funding.[39] Yet another had already channeled resources on the part of a foreign agency.[40]

Accordingly, this research demonstrates that even in a group that has developed independently, local factors, such as being situated in a location in which an NGO is operating, are likely to affect the strategies of the church. This may or may not include collaboration with other groups, and such collaboration may or may not involve funding for the national church. Even where a national church leader resists support from the outside, they may yet experience pressure from peers or members of their congregation who have learned first hand, or from media sources, that other churches in the area are the beneficiaries of foreign funding.[41] Of the two directions a congregation or group can take, to move from dependency towards self-reliance is plainly more challenging than a move from self-reliance towards the receipt of funds and will require a leadership committed to inculcating the values of Christian stewardship.

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[37] See Chapter 3 pages 117-121.

[38] See Chapter 5, concerning the MCL at Manjacaze, pages 151-155.

[39] See Chapter 5, section 'MCL Machava – national headquarters', pages 163-165.

[40] See Chapter 5, section 'The MCL at Chokwe', pages 156-163.

[41] Speaking of the independent churches' observation of CCM activities Marcos Macamo stated: 'They watch the television, and see us carrying out our very big social projects. They feel this is a good thing. "We have to be part of this…We have to identify with this".. Marcos Macamo, interview by author, (undertaken in at Macamo's CCM office, Rua Mtomoni nº57, Bairro Polana, Maputo, Mozambique) Maputo, 21 January 2010.

Given that churches can move in either direction, and that the economic relationships of a church may be beyond the control of current leaders and the local membership,[42] a nuanced approach that is sensitive to the context of each congregation and church group will be most helpful in ascertaining its economic health.

As expressed by Langa at the IRM Xai Xai,[43] there may be circumstances where financial aid is timely and strategic. More significant therefore will be the nature and trajectory of ecclesial relationships into the future. Does a funding exception become the rule? Does the receipt of financial support mean attitudes within a group or denomination, little by little, become engrained? Dependency thus understood is aware only of the benefits, meanwhile overlooking the deficits in terms of realisation, agency and selfhood.

5. Self-reliance stems from the agency of leaders of local congregations

This thesis has outlined potential sources of dependency as stemming from traditional denominational support from abroad, the aid and development sector, and new waves of church planting as part of south-to-south mission. As each of these broad categories consists of a range of denominations and/or originate in differing nations they too are not homogeneous. With such a range of hazards to the self-reliance of national churches, it is unrealistic to imagine that a shift of strategy within any one of them would significantly reduce the threat of dependency. It is equally unlikely that such a range of internationally dispersed actors would concurrently conclude that the integrity of national Christianity should be prioritised over their own agendas. Largely therefore, this leaves any decision as to the strategy national churches adopt as a matter for those churches. Again, the national churches themselves represent great variety, so what

[42] For instance where a new pastor succeeds a colleague or missionary who has sought external funding or, as described for the MCL at Chokwe, where ecological disaster means the local church feels compelled to cooperate with international groups.

[43] See Chapter 3, pages 122-123.

appears to be strategic for one may be dismissed by another.[44] Added to all this, as we have already noted, even for those church groups that have known independence, some may yet be overcome by exceptional circumstances, such as an ecological disaster.

In such a context, it might be argued, with so many factors ranged against the pursuit of self-support, it would be too much to expect hard-pressed local leaders to contend for that aspect of the selfhood of their congregations. In general terms the conclusion of this thesis is in agreement with that notion, and yet, there is evidence, against all odds, of congregations that have managed somehow to undertake life and mission using the resources of their members. The single best explanation this thesis can offer, on the basis of both the case studies and in agreement with others who have examined the role of leadership in religious communities,[45] is that, crucially, self-support is secured under the agency, vision, resourcefulness and perseverance of local leaders.

In reference to the work of a Faith Based Organisation in Johannesburg, the Central Methodist Mission (CMM), Bompani reflects '…the church leader defined the way in which development was perceived and was to be delivered by the institution.'

> It was very clear that the…Ministry existed because of the Bishop's vision and tenacity…The work of the CMM…[was] determined by the leader's personal history, the force of his vision and personality and his position as a leader in a religious organisation…[His] organisational culture, his working practices, his relations with other actors and particularly his attitudes…were perhaps shaped by his [previous working experience]…[46]

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[44] Whilst this thesis has highlighted the paternalistic methods of some Brazilian missionaries, interviews were also undertaken with Brazilian Roman Catholic missionaries who were contending for the self-reliance of congregations with which they were serving in Mozambique. Interviews were undertaken with two Roman Catholic missionaries who were contending for the self-reliance of congregations with which they were serving in Mozambique: José Geraldo da Silva, (Brazilian missionary padre of the Parish of São João Bosco, Bairro Bagamoyo, Maputo Province, and member of the Pastoral Commission of Tithing *(Commissão de Pastoral do Dízimo)* and Padre Estaban Cullen, an Argentinian Padre working with the Parish of *Nossa Senhora da Gaça* (Our Lady of Grace), Maputo Province. interview by author (undertaken at CARITAS buildings – No. 777 Avenida Amilca Cabral) Maputo, 8 September 2010.

[45] See discussion of leadership in Chapter 5, section 'The developmental potency of religious groups and faith based organisations', pages 178-181.

[46] Barbara Bompani, 'Local Religious Organisations Performing Development: Refugees in the Central Methodist Mission in Johannesburg,' *Journal of International Development* 27.2 (2015): pp. 204, 209.

Whether they were leaders in an otherwise dependent denomination, such as Langa of the IRM at Xai Xai, or those from within the more loosely affiliated groups, such as Manhique at the MCL Manjacaze, or Moiana at the ADS Malangalene, these leaders held a number of qualities in common. All had shown perseverance in difficult circumstances.[47] Each had previous work experience outside the church that was likely to have provided them with skills they used subsequently in their leadership roles. Langa and Manhique had both worked in construction. Both had since overseen building projects on behalf of their local congregations and had successfully motivated members to be involved. Moiana had himself run small business projects and, in his church leadership role, had led others in doing the same. Each of them was a good communicator and well able to enthuse their congregations regarding both a responsibility for, and the benefits of, contributing to the projects of the church.

This is not to say that leaders in more dependent congregations lacked these qualities altogether. In some cases leaders at other locations had their own special skill sets.[48] However, for the purposes of engaging local members in the mission of the church, it was seemingly a combination of these qualities that lent themselves to that task. This is also not to undervalue the role (addressed above in point 3) of the church members themselves. It would seem, however, that where even congregations themselves demonstrated an active engagement in the economy of their churches it was because typically groups took on the characteristics of their leader.

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[47] The conditions in each of these locations were simple. Langa at the IRM Xai Xai was working against the general presupposition within the IRM that the DRC would fund the church from South Africa. The MCL Manjacaze was perhaps the poorest and certainly the most isolated congregation within this study. The first ADS building at Magoanine had been destroyed by flood water. A second was built with the resources and labour of local people. See chapters 3, 4 and 5 respectively.

[48] Paulo Armindo, leader of the IRM Maputo city congregation had a working knowledge of biblical Hebrew and was occasionally called upon to guest lecture at bible colleges in Mozambique.

Concluding remarks

The economic dependency of the churches in this study mattered to the leaders who experienced it as a problem in its own right, referring to it pejoratively as burdensome and debilitating.[49] And yet these churches, committed as they were to an ongoing presence in the communities where they are situated, remained attractive to donors looking for partners at the grass roots.

Relative to other potential partners, churches may be trusted as low-risk options to channel funding[50] and, due to their long-term presence, are usually better known by the community than NGOs who may be desirous to work in any given area.[51] Positively, most churches would see social uplift as part of their service to any given community. Access to external funding, therefore, may also be seen as a strategic advantage to the ecclesial mission. It is, however, the extent to which involvement with external bodies comes to undermine other core aspects of the mission of the churches that represents most risk to their integrity. As church leaders become the managers of external funding, the perception of church members towards their leadership is almost certainly affected. Whether or not the leaders are themselves direct beneficiaries of external funding, suspicions among the congregation are typically raised. In any case, regular members may argue that, with larger-scale funding now available to the church, their own individual giving becomes less relevant. It is likely, therefore, rank and file members will be demotivated in their church participation by involvement with a donor.

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[49] See for instance full quote of IRM Machava leader, including that: 'As [a leader] …today… I am failing…because of the errors of...the [missionary] leaders who went before me…They brought a structure, and we received it…' Juvenal António Cuna, interview by author (undertaken at his home in Machava), Maputo, 12 April 2010, featured in Chapter 3, page 114.

[50] As for example compared to governmental bodies. In December 2009, a majority from within a group of nineteen principal donors, the 'G19', announced that they would withhold support they had pledged for the coming year unless the government took a number of specific measures to address corruption and a lack of transparency. There followed a 'donor strike', which lasted for several months. Henrik Lomholt Rasmussen, 'Donors put brakes on Mozambique aid,' *Mail & Guardian*, 1 July 2010, accessed 2 March 2017, https://mg.co.za/article/2010-07-01-donors-put-brakes-on-mozambique-aid

[51] Poor communities globally, claims developmental practitioner Katherine Marshall, typically indicate higher confidence in religious organisations and leaders than others such as government and NGOs. Katherine Marshall, 'Development and Religion: A Different Lens on Development Debates,' *Peabody Journal of Education* 76 (2001): p. 349.

There has been increased interest among secular developmentalists in recent years in the potency of faith-based organisations and church groups for development in the global south.[52] '…[I]t is possible,' states Barbara Bompani, speaking of South Africa's AICs, 'to identify a 'developmental' ethos in independent churches that promote the initiating and sustaining of communities' own improvement.'[53] Similarly, Katherine Marshall, herself a development practitioner, is keen to bridge the worlds of development, faith, and academia.[54]

Given the qualities among churches of grass-roots location, trust, and an unparalleled appreciation of context, this is hardly surprising. It is, however, not yet clear where this growing interest will lead. Even with reference to Daneel's work, it should be noted, his admiration for the agency of grass-roots community groups in Africa led to the procurement of project funding from abroad for environmental projects involving the churches.[55]

From the perspective of the churches in Mozambique, and elsewhere in the developing world, the question will be if and how the churches can maintain their own agency and integrity in the relationships they develop with external bodies. Will those relationships be ones simply in which external groups learn new strategies from local

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[52] See Julie Hearn, 'The invisible NGO: US evangelical missions in Kenya,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32, no. 1 (2002): pp. 32-60; Barbara Bompani, 'Religion and Development from Below: Independent Christianity in South Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40, no. 3 (2010): pp.307-30; Dena Freeman, *Pentecostalism and Development Churches: NGOs and Social Change in Africa*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); Brian E. Woolnough, 'Christian NGOs in Relief and Development: One of the Church's Arms for Holistic Mission,' *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies* 28, no. 3 (2011): pp. 195-205; James Pfeiffer, 'Pentecostalism and AIDS Treatment in Mozambique: Creating New Approaches to HIV Prevention through Anti-retroviral Therapy,' *Global Public Health* 6 (2011): p. 167.

[53] Barbara Bompani, 'Religion and Development from Below: Independent Christianity in South Africa,' *Journal of Religion in Africa* 40, no. 3 (2010): p. 314.

[54] Marshall, 'Development and Religion,' pp. 339, 340.

[55] Daneel himself travelled to Europe to raise funds for the environmental movement in Zimbabwe. Dana Robert, 'ML Daneel: missionary as folk theologian', in *Frontiers of African Christianity* ed. by Greg Cuthbertson, Hennie Pretorius and Dana Robert (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press, 2003), p.10

'How was [the Zimbabwean] leadership affected by the infusion of large funding from overseas?' Norman E Thomas asks critically in his otherwise largely positive review of tributary work dedicated to Daneel, Norman E Thomas, 'Frontiers of African Christianity: essays in honour of Inus Daneel,' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 28, no. 2 (April 2004): 92. *ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 2, 2017).

churches, for their own projects elsewhere, or will the temptation to use those same churches as funding channels be too great? Perhaps the most practical contribution a thesis such as this can offer would be to serve as a foundation for subsequent work that is more accessible to national Christians. A next step for this researcher, or others with similar interests, would be to use this work as a springboard in the production of a course, a manual, or seminar materials. Such materials would be produced in Portuguese and designed to help church groups think through current issues pertaining to the procurement of resources for church life and mission.[56]

Notionally, all groups would value the kind of partnership Andrew Kirk has described, in terms of a 'relationship between churches based on trust, mutual recognition and reciprocal interchange…[ruling out]…any notion of "senior" and "junior", "parent" and "child"', one in which 'different parts of the Church belong to one another and find their fulfillment through sharing a common life…each side meaningfully …[participating] in planning the future of the other….'[57] It appears, however, that such a relationship is seldom realised where it is built around unidirectional funding.

In a thesis that has sought to reflect the attitudes of insiders to the African church scene, it is appropriate here to end with the words of two church leaders. The MCL pastor at Chokwe, itself an economically poor community, had experienced both what it was to resource church life locally, and also what it was to be the beneficiary of external funding. 'At first, it seems good,' he remarked,

> to have someone from outside that can help with resources, but then the Christians get in the habit of receiving. It appears the church is growing, but the one who is injecting the money has his own politics. And it could be he

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[56] Karim Sahyoun, for example, has produced not only academic writing, with a similar concern for sustainability, but also made accessible, practical advice available to community groups. For academic work see Karim Sahyoun, 'Phasing-Out Development Interventions: Approaches, Challenges and Opportunities for Community-Focused NGO Projects and Programmes' (PhD Thesis, University of Berlin, 2009). For community development resources see, Karim Sahyoun, 'Planning for Sustainability,' *Tearfund Footsteps* (originally a hard copy magazine now online), accessed 14 November 2017, https://www.tearfund.org/Sites/TILZ/Resources/Publications/Footsteps/Footsteps_61-70/Footsteps_64/Planning_for_sustainability?sc_lang=en

[57] J. Andrew Kirk, *What is Mission: Theological Explorations* (London: Darton, Longman &Todd, 1999), p.184.

> [the donor] doesn't consider the church in terms of its own leadership and the vision of the local pastor…
>
> I believe the time is coming when Mozambican churches have to invest themselves in the truth…Knowing that everything we need follows receiving the Word of God…[W]e don't need the politics of 'I [the donor] am going to help this people'. Because it's like that you kill the church.
>
> The church…[needs] to learn how to mobilise its own resources for helping the poor…It's the church that knows who has a need at any moment…It's the Christians who know and we can…[assist] that person.[58]

The economic dependency of the churches in this study mattered to the leaders who experienced it as a problem in its own right, and found it to be burdensome and debilitating. Ultimately, however, its avoidance is to do with the authenticity of African Christianity, so that it is not simply an extension of American, European, South American or even South African churches. As John Gatu states, dependency is 'a pattern of paternalism…where you allow someone to dictate your thinking and your outlook…You don't exercise your own capacities to be what you are…[By contrast, self-reliance is]…the idea of coming to a point where you think as an African…You are operating in terms of your African conscience and your own people. You don't have someone on top here, who you must satisfy…It is the idea of being your own and looking at yourself in a new way.'[59]

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[58] Casimiro Mazuze, interview by author, at MCL building, Chokwe, Gaza Province, Mozambique, 12th May 2010.

[59] John Gatu, former General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of East Africa (PCEA), interview by author (undertaken at Westminster College), Cambridge, 23 April 2008.

Appendix 1: Interview transcription (Portuguese).

* The marking '…' in this and other interview transcripts indicates a longer than usual pause. The marking '…//…' indicates that material has been omitted.

Notes

Date: 17.9.2010

Location: A guest house in Nacala.

This interview was undertaken with Pastor Marcelo Melo Nascimento. Melo Nascimento is a Brazilian pastor working as a missionary of the Brazilian *Igreja Metodista Wesleyana* in Nacala city, Nampula Province, Mozambique. Melo Nascimento was coordinating the efforts of an One Challenge (OC) team visiting Nacala to provide training for church leaders.

<u>Preamble – interviewer's speech in parentheses:</u>

(Olá Marcelo. Como você já sabe, eu me chamo Richard.e estou envolvido com algumas pesquisas que analisam como é que várias igrejas em Moçambique se prestam recursos. Gostaria de lhe perguntar um pouco sobre sua própria experiência como missionária e a estratégia da sua igreja em Moçambique. Quando eu aprender mais sobre as pessoas, por exemplo através de entrevistas, como a sua aqui, eu escreverei sobre aquilo que aprendi a fim de enviar para a Universidade onde estou estudando na Escócia.

Eu usarei seu nome agora enquanto estamos conversando e quando fizer as perguntas , mas não direi a ninguém, aqui ou em qualquer outro lugar que foi você quem me disse aquilo que você falou. Por esta razão, você pode falar abertamente para mime não precisa se preocupar que alguém saiba de nada. Está bem?)

Interviewee indicates willingness to be quoted by name but requests that any reference to 'sensitive countries' where the Igreja Metodista Wesleyana works are omitted.

(Obrigado por concordar em falar comigo.

A melhor forma para eu me lembrar daquilo que você respondeu é gravando numa fita cassete. Está bem, é apenas para eu ouvir. Se você não estiver satisfeita com a gravação então tirarei anotações.)

Interviewee indicates willingness for audio recording to be taken.

Audio recording begins.

(Eu gostaria saber um pouco das origens da Igreja Metodista entre Brasil e Mocambique. Eu gostaria se for possível você informar se sabe quantos anos a Igreja Metodista existe e, o nome da denominação e quanto tempo no Brasil.)

MN Igreja Metodista Wesleyan no Brasil foi fundada em 1967. E ela e um ramo da Igreja metodista no Brasil. E ma Igreja que foi diferenciada da Igreja Metodista tradicional pelo mover do Espiro Santo. Então alguns lideres leigos na aquela época receberam da parte de Deus dons espirituais e a Igreja não concordava com aqueles dons, dizendo em nota em Jornal que se eles rejeitassem aquele dom eles poderiam permanecer na Igreja ,caso contrario seriam expulsos. Então eles se reuniram em oração e Deus trouxe uma palavra profética através de um Bispo nosso chamado Bispo Callegari. De que a Igreja que surgiria através daqueles lideres leigos, alcançaria o mundo e seria uma Igreja frutífera na face da terra, porque Deus tinha separado aqueles irmãos. Ai eles resolveram realmente se desmembrar daquela Igreja e então surgiu em 1967 a Igreja Metodista Wesleyana na cidade de Nova Friburgo num pátio de uma fundação, chamada Getulio Vargas foi onde ocorreu a primeira reunião e de la pra ca a Igreja tem crescido não so no Brasil, na America Latina mas em todos os continentes e hoje no Brasil somos mais de 120 mil membros como Igreja nacional brasileira.

(Qual estado esta aquela cidade que mencionou?)

Rio de Janeiro. Nova Friburgo, então, apesar disso a Igreja tem crescido no ensino teológico e damos seguimento ao ensino episcopal, a metodologia eclesiástica, somo metodistas. Então temos seminário teológicos onde são preparados os nossos próprios lideres e também temos Seminários missiologicos onde são preparados missionários transculturais. Então foi preparado uma equipe missionaria para ser enviada a Mocambique porque em 2003 um pastor da nossa denominação em Portugal, capitão do exercito Português, Pastor Fausto Adão, ele veio enviado pelo exercito português em um amissao de Paz a Mocambique. Esse Pastor ganhou 7 jovens para Jesus, discipulou-os e batizou-os. Esses jovens batizados ele viu que poderia surgir através desses jovens um trabalho da nossa Igreja, Então ele lançou o desafio para a liderança brasileira que tem os seminários e tem obreiros para que se houvesse a possibilidade de enviar obreiros para Mocambique para darmos o inicio a obra missionaria qui em Mocambique ,em Africa. Apesar de todo o tempo, o que vai acontecer, veio a missionara Conselita Pinto, uma senhora que era aposentada, ela se dispôs para fazer a obra do Senhor aqui em Mocambique. Ela veio ficou 6 meses em 2003, voltou para o Brasil enquanto isso uma equipe estava sendo preparada. Em 2004 terminou o preparo dessa equipe, a equipe levantou o sustento com passagens, na nossa própria denominação, na suas Igrejas em suas regiões e distritos de cada pessoa então em Abril de 2005 veio todos a equipe. E chegando a Equipe aqui em Nacala Porto, porque viemos direto para Nacala, chegando a Equipe aqui começou o trabalho e seu desenvolvimento com mais continuidade, aonde as tarefas foram divididas e o trabalho cresceu em multiforme.

(Uma questão breve , voltando ao assunto do desentendimento dos dons, e a parte da Igreja que não aceitou o movimento novo, Podemos então descrever que a sua denominação e Carismática?)

Exatamente, somos carismáticos.

(O numero dos missionários que chegaram da primeira equipa e ate hoje quantos tinham no inicio e quantos missionários tem hoje?)

Éramos 5, e hoje temos 2.

(Ok)

Mas a Missionaria Conselita esta no campo , mas ela todo ano vai ao Brasil para compartilhar com as Igrejas e tudo mais. Mas ativamente mesmo, sou eu e a minha esposa.

(HA alguém estatista quanto ao numero de membros que ha aqui em Mocambique?)

Nesse tempo de trabalho aqui em Mocambique, de acordo com o ultimo censo que fizemos aproximamos uns 500 membros. Mas e um percentual um pouco oscilante, porque as Igrejas elas enchem e esvaziam com muita facilidade. O povo Macua, e um povo, não vamos dizer nômades mas e um povo que muda de localidade e migra com muita facilidade. Mas o numero que batizamos e discipulamos que estavam na Igreja são 500 membros. Ultrapassamos,porque tivemos um batismo dia 4 e chegamos a 547 membros. Então devemos ter numa faixe de 450 e 520 membros atualmente.

(Se estávamos agora sentados com a sua Liderança no Brasil, qual e a sua visão no lado Brasileiro , como eles irão descrever a visão que eles tem para Mocambique?)

A visão que eles tem para a Igreja e m Mocambique e uma visão compartilhada com a visão dos missionários no campo. Eles nuncam trarão uma visão sem identificar o que os missionários observam o que e mais importante para o campo. E atualmente temos compartilhado com eles e eles tem aceitado essa visão que temos a respeito da construção de um seminário teológico com nível superior para os nossos lideres e outros lideres também que poderão participar e nos temos um projeto de que onde houver uma Igreja metodista Wesleyana terá uma escola , um centro infantil e uma escola primaria.

(Isso ja existe?)

Ja existe em Namyalo e surgira uma escola em Nacala porque ja tem a Igreja, falta a escola e surgira uma escola em Namyalo e a Alua porque ja temos uma Igreja em Alua. Isso são Igrejas estabelecidas, mas essas Igrejas tem as suas congregações e pontos

de pregações. Ou seja, cada igreja tem a visão de sua própria expansão na localidade que atua.

(Você ja falou sobre o investimento que ja existe, mas com meu entendimento vocês ja compraram um terreno novo com o propósito de construir uma nova fase de desenvolvimento. Quantos metros tem o terreno.)

O terreno tem 3.800 metros quadrados. E um terreno bastante amplo para o que precisamos.

(Você ja tem uma ideia do orçamento ou e algo progressivo?)

Sim, existe, Richard, o que acontece e que nosso orçamento e feito por etapas. Visto que todo o valor investido no campo missionário em Mocambique advém das Igrejas Brasileiras. Ou seja, são ofertas missionarias que os membros da Igreja Brasileira ofertam. Esse valor vai para o caixa de missões da Igreja geral, que e a secretaria geral de missões e eles dividem para toda obra missionaria. Então e repartido isso.

(Outras divisões são para onde, Angola?)

Nos trabalhamos na America Latina , hoje estamos em 8 países da America Latina, Venezuela, Peru Bolivia, Argentina, Paraguay e outros países ali na America Latina. No Brasil , na Amazonia, Floresta Amazonia nos ribeirinhos e nos Tapachos e mais duas tribos indígenas que eu não conheço e em …//…[ommited at request of interviewee]… então temos missionários em 4 continentes, tirando a Oceania que não entramos la. Então e dividido isso tudo, mas nos apresentamos uma orçamento e foi apresentado agora a uma semana atras para o nosso Secretario Geral de Missões que esteve aqui, foi apresentado o orçamento do muro , de vedação do terreno. O terreno tem 275 metros de extensão. O muro e toda a circunferência então são 4 Milhões e 800 mil medicais, Isso e aproximadamente $130 mil dollares.Eles então, levaram esses dados, a planta e todo o orçamento, do material, mão de obra e todo o trabalho entregue por uma construtora qui mesmo da cidade. Esse valor foi entregue. Agora vamos esperar o resultado. Passando esta fase, vamos na construção do seminário e dos alojamentos.

Juntamente com a casa dos missionários , por que moramos de aluguel. Onde vivemos pagamos aluguel.

(Sim ai vão evitar o aluguel e vão viver ali dentro. então, vai ter o muro, fase 1, vai ter casas para os missionários, mais o que?)

Seminário Teológico, o Alojamento para os seminaristas, alojamento feminino e masculino. Três casas para famílias que vão estudar no seminário, ou seja pessoas casadas e depois disso uma biblioteca, um refeitório , uma sala de conferencia alem disso a casa para os missionários. E pretendemos fazer também hortas, alguma coisa para que os seminaristas que estarão internos, ali estudando por dois anos, porque trataremos também o caracter no acompanhamento diário, teremos que ter alguma atividade como, que posso dizer uma atividade profissional. Um serviço profissionalizantes, para que alem do treinamento teológico ele possam se profissionalizar em alguma área. Pois quando forem enviados para alguma Igreja ele não vai so necessitar da Igreja mas vai também gerar recursos para a própria Igreja também.

(Ontem quando falamos sobre o lado Brasileiro, a palavra que você utilizou, foi Investimento para aqueles que estão sacrificando no brasil, estão fazendo um investimento. Poderia explicar mais um pouco sobre come aqueles cristãos estão a investir. Como eles percebem o que estão fazendo?)

Eles são pessoas que tem tido um resultado favorável. Porque eles tem investido na obra missionaria e não so da parte de Moçambique, eu estou falando numa visão da Igreja Wesleyana na sua totalidade. Eles tem tido o retorno do investimento, eles não estão investindo acreditando de que no futuro bem longe talvez veremos alguma coisa. E uma característica talvez da Igreja brasileira de que aquele que investe quer ter resultados. E eles tem conseguido ver os resultados. Come você tem observado, as construções, as aquisições de terrenos e projetos, e querendo ou não, tudo isso tem abraçado esse povo e feito com que eles percebam que nos temos estrutura para crescer então vamos nos dedicar. E uma forca motora para que eles se dediquem na pregação, no compromisso com Deus. Porque tudo o que sido construído, apesar de levar uma nomenclatura de uma Igreja, eles sabem que e para eles, Esta no povo deles , na aldeia deles. Ha essa satisfação do investimento da Igreja brasileira para o trabalho.

Embora que seja mais espiritual, porque retorno financeiro, a Igreja no Brasil não espera de Africa. Porque a Igreja em Africa e uma Igreja pobre, e muito mais tem recebido do Brasil. Então o retorno que eles recebem e ver pessoas convertidas, livres, sendo transformadas,pessoas batizando, mudando o caracter. Então o retorno nesse sentido que a Igreja brasileira tem tido como gratificante.

E verdade que esse e um ponto muito importante que a Alessandra colocou. Exatamente, o resultado espiritual. A igreja brasileira ela se importa mais com isso. A satisfação e do investimento como você perguntou, das ofertas e tudo, Mas a maior alegria e ver que os Africanos tem deixado as tradições, a escuridão para servir a Jesus.

(Como você ja falou, eu ja vi a parte do fruto daquele investimento, através da nossa conferencia. Por exemplo, eu sei que para vocês ha alguns desafios, mas se eu for comparar com outras conferencias, ha uma disciplina em termos de horário quando chegaram e em parte da participação deles, mas também uma outra questão eu tenho e se vocês ja consideraram essa questão de dependência económica para o futuro da Igreja? Você pode compartilhar um pouco sobre isso? Se ha riscos, se pode considerar os riscos ou não?)

Eu vejo que trabalhar com liderança, com formação de lideres africanos e correr o risco a cada minuto. O risco e inevitável, mas acreditamos que através dos ensinos bíblico, acreditamos que atrevas do acompanhamento pessoal, o dissimulado, aquele discipulado não so teórico,mas de andar juntos, dele estarem vendo o comportamento dos missionários, o dia a dia dos missionários que o quedos missionários falam , ano so falam mas praticam, enato vai servir como exemple e estilo de vida. Isso nos faz acreditar que amenizara os riscos futuros. Apesar de estamos plantando uma Igreja, estamos formando lideres nativos. E nesta formação ha o ensino sobre dizimos e ofertas. E dentro deste cuidado, desta mordomia que eles entregam aos lideres maiores das Igrejas, ou aos pastores das Igrejas, eles se manterão com estes valores. Estão esta visão será elaborada, será difundida entre toda a Igreja visando que nos futuramente precisamos alcançar uma maturidade crista, a ponto de que poderemos conseguir andar com os nossos próprios pés sem precisar da ajuda externa, apesar de estarmos ligados como denominação, apesar de ater termos os missionários aqui, actuando nos

seminários, actuando no centro infantil, que são as escolinhas, mas na Igreja nos podermos andar com as nossas própria pernas. Orisco e inevitável como eu disse e repito novamente, mas acreditamos que através desse ensinamento continuo, eles entenderão e lutarão para que este risco não aconteça mesmo de forma desastrosa.

(Obrigado. Pode falar ago sobre a pobreza que percebe aqui. Como você pode descrever Nacala, como área e com o tipo de pessoas que estão a trabalhar com vocês. Ha uma pobreza? Quais os desafios económicos, e qual o tipo de pessoa com que estão a trabalhar?)

Hoje eu estive pensando sobre o desafio económico, como pensamos como que vamos levar a Igreja a ser auto-sustentável? A realidade e que hoje nos temos pessoas que vivem com menos de 1$ dólar por dia. Não chega nem a 37 medicais pra uma família por dia. Então nos vivemos com pessoas extremamente pobres. E o nosso desafio e ensinar essa pessoa que elas podem utilizar o meio que nos encontramos na cultura, a Machamba, o plantio a pesca para tentar motiva-los para que eles mudem essa realidade espiritual primeiro para depois o financeiro haver uma mudança. Mas falando assim de uma forma generalizada eles são pobres e dependentes ainda. Ate para produzir eles precisam que o missionário ensine. Faca um plantio grande porque você vai ter um retorno, vai ter seu milho e sua mandioca, mas por enquanto nem isso eles sabem fazer direito para ter uma subsistência para sustentar a família, então nos lidamos com pessoas extremamente pobre em todos os nível. Espiritualmente e materialmente. Se formos ver, o Moçambicano não tem nem um $ para uma família de 7 pessoas para sobreviver durante o dia. Isso e muito pouco.

Eu gostaria de acrescentar um pouco. E que na realidade o que acontece alem da pobreza, a falta de educação, Eu digo na questão de saber gerir ate o que ganha. Por exemplo, um Macua que e a etnia do povo com quem trabalhamos. Se eles conseguem planta 2 hectares e colher 2 hectares eles vão vender a maior parte, vão gastar o dinheiro com roupas e com outras coisas , e em menos de um mês ou dois aquele valor de um plantio o todo foi embora. Então se houvesse uma forma de educa-los. E o que trabalhamos com eles, so que ha aqueles que houvem e aqueles que deixam ir embora as palavras de aconselhamento. E padecem com isso. Por que eles tendo sabedoria, tendo uma forma educada de gerir tudo isso eles poderiam armazenar a comida que daria para

o resto do ano e venderia um pouco para comprar a roupas necessárias não roupas que sobram. Mas o necessário. Então seria uma forma de sustentabilidade educada para a vida deles.

(Para gerir o que haja tem?)

E de forma desordenada. Mesmo que você der 5 quilos de arroz para uma família de 5 pessoas pode durar 15 dias.Eles vão comer em 4 dias. Essa questão de desordem, de falta de estrutura educacional, de berco, isso e uma barreira que precisa ser vencida, barreiras étnicas são essas. Eu acredito que o povo Macua com muito dinheiro acabam tudo porque eles tem que pensar no amanha. Mas eles pensam o que eu tenho e para hoje e acabou. O amanha Deus sabe.

Appendix 2: Interview transcription (English translation).

* The marking '…' in this and other interview transcripts indicates a longer than usual pause. The marking '…//…' indicates that material has been omitted.

Notes on interview context(s) and how they are likely to affect the interactions that formally constitute the interview.

This interview was undertaken with Daniel Vasco Moiana, the son of a pastor (Vasco Daniel Moiana de …//…) of the Arca da Salvação church. It is possible, therefore, as well as offering insights that only someone so close to the church could offer, he may feel the need to "tow a party line".

The interview was undertaken early in our acquaintance so there may be some reticence to allow me beyond the 'official line', however, it did mean that I got a good 'official version' of the history, as someone coming to it for the first time.

Interview undertaken at my workplace (O.C. office), Bairro Museu, Maputo, Mozambique.

Interviewee: male, 28 years old.
First session: 16 February, 2009.

Part A. – not recorded – but spoken by interviewer to interviewee.

Preamble – interviewers speech in parentheses:

(Hello, Daniel,

As you know, I doing some research about the way churches resource themselves. The reason I am doing my interviews in such an organised way is because I am also going to write about what I have learned, and send it to the University in Scotland where I am studying. If you or anybody else tell me something interesting about churches and economic independence, it is possible I will write what you tell me in a thesis.

For this reason, if you would like, I don't need tell anyone who it is that said what you tell me today. I will use your name – now - when I am speaking to you, and even ask you about your name, but if you prefer, I won't tell anyone else, either here in Maputo or anywhere else that it was you who told me what you say.

In this way, you can speak freely to me, and need not be worried that someone else knows you said what you said.
Does that sound okay to you?)

Interviewee indicates willingness to be quoted by name.

(Thank you for agreeing to talk to me. The best way I can remember what you say to me is to make an audio recording. Is that okay, it is just for me to listen to?
If you are unhappy with that, I can just take notes.)

Interviewee indicates willingness for audio recording to be taken.

Audio recording begins. The interviewer's words in indicated in parentheses:

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1. (What's your full name? Can you help me write it?)
Daniel Vasco Moiana

2. (The first two names are like European names. Is your last name local?)
It's a local name. It's a name from the north of the country, from Mussapa.

3. (Mussapa is a place?)
It's a place in Mozambique

4. (Were you born here, or in Mussapa?)
I was born in Maputo, in 1981. I am the son of Vasco Daniel Moiana

5. (He is from the north, or was he also born here?)
No, I was born here, and my parents are also from the south.

6. (But it is probable that that they have roots in the north?)
The origins of the Moiana is that, exactly, the north…They are northerners.

7. (Which province is that?)
Mostly from Quelimane. I can't be more precise – they are from Nampula, Quelimane. I can't be more precise.

8. (Which language is used there?)
There are various languages. Different idioms. As you know, Mozambique has many languages. I can't…The language from there is Ndau isn't it.

9. (If we went to your church on Sunday, it is probable that we would not see any influence from the north, only the coincidence that you and your father have roots there? Is there anything in the character of the church, or is it more Changana?)

As you know, we are in Maputo, the capital. It's a point of reference for the whole country. People come from the north, they come from whichever canton of the country. They all run to Maputo because they can gain better conditions, they can get by, get an education. They all end up in the south. Often, it's normal that here you meet X amount of people, in the church, from the provinces, from the centre of the

country. It’s possible also that you will meet people who are so long here that they don’t know their origins, even if they are Mozambican. The have a local language and accent, and it can be difficult to distinguish. But also, it’s very easy to distinguish those who arrived in Maputo recently.

10. (What is the name of the church?)

A Arca da Salvação.

11. (That’s the ark, as in the boat of Noah, or the arc of the rainbow?)

It’s the ark of the boat of Noah. But it’s in the sense of a boat of the navy, Jesus being the boat, and people enter for salvation. The Noah story is typical, people had to enter to be saved. In our context, our boat is Jesus

12. (What language do you use at home?)

We use mostly Changana, though it’s Changana in speech marks, because of the influence of Ronga, which is our maternal language.

13. (And in church, is there translation, or do you use one language, only?)

In principle, when the church began, it was only one language Changana and Ronga. But now with the participation of others, who don’t understand Changana, Ronga, we are obliged to work with a mix of Portuguese and Changana, translating Portuguese to Changana and Ronga.

14. (Is the church know by other names, or only the Arca da Salvação?)

Everyone knows the church by the same name.

15. (Are there many congregations throughout the country, or is it concentrated in Maputo?)

I’m going to consider the origin of the Arca da Salvação. Its origins are in Maputo, where it began in 1997. These are the origins, but we are in a phase of development, until we are practically occupying all the provinces of Mozambique.

As you know, Mozambique has 11 provinces. We are trying to occupy all of them. But, the largest development, in terms of numbers, is in the central and northern zones of the country, compared with the south.

16. (Has there been any attempt to get statistics in terms of numbers for membership?)

Really, we are working on statistics, but it is not determined. But, we are trying to establish a number to measure our growth.

17. (If you had to guess - to what could you compare the Arca da Salvação numerically? Is your feeling that we can compare it to the size of the Methodists, or a smaller church? If I said it is smaller than the Universal Church, would you agree?)

Obviously, I would agree. The Arca da Salvação is not very new, but it is quite new. It existed for 11 years. It takes time to grow, and we began small. We had 20 or 15 people that came together. But an estimation of our conference of last year is that we had 1,500 people, only including the southern region. I am not referring to the central and northern regions, which would be much bigger.

18. (Generally, a church has roots in something else, whether it is – like some Zionist churches here - in the South African mines, or from missionaries. Even if it emerged spontaneously, churches can normally trace influences. How is it with the Arca da Salvação?)

Good question [laughing]. Before the Arca da Salvação the founder was a member of a church called A Assemblia da Chuva. Before 1997, the founder was very active in the Assembléia da Chuva. He learned and he grew there, coming to know God better. But he was someone who had that spirit of wanting to begin new things, to develop the activities of those he was involved with. He always wanted to start something – he wanted to see people develop, getting on in their lives.

He reached a depth…He went to theological college of the Assembly of God where he graduated in 1990. But it happened that whilst he was at bible school, with the teaching he received, he was lifted up, and wanted to implement in the church what he was learning. However, there was a contrast; the leaders of the Assembléia da Chuva were much more involved with tradition.

19. (Can we refer to the Assembléia da Chuva as Zionist?)

Obviously, obviously – it's a Zionist church. They were caught in tradition, which is the reason that the founder of the Arca da Salvação, who was an evangelist in the Assembléia da Chuva, didn't have a place…He wasn't welcome. They didn't accept the message.

He tried, in various ways, for example in involving missionaries - the teachers from the bible college - to come and do seminars in the Assembléia da Chuva, to see if they could make a change in the church, generally.

But, he just took what was almost a spanking. Because, there, the leaders said always, "We don't want need this teaching. We don't need the whites." You know how it is. "The whites will take the church. The church is ours." This was one of the problems. They thought of the church as theirs…This is a problem, if a person says "The church is mine." Not taking account of the fact of what the church is. There is a problem, saying, "No, they will take our church." It was all this.

20. (Given that many Zionist churches are independent, economically and otherwise, is it probable that that spirit of independence in the Arca da Salvação came from its roots in the Assembléia da Chuva?)

In my opinion, the Assembléia da Chuva won independence, also, but that independence was of a church that is financially poor. Because, it was a church of people without vision. Concretely, without vision. And so, practically, its own economy was very, very low. But when we speak of the Arca da Salvação, beginning then, until today, when pastor …//…[names founder] began the Arca da Salvação, he always had a spirit of development, to develop the church…

[Interview interrupted by passer-by]

21. (So the Assembléia da Chuva had a type of independence, but one that was in the context of their economic poverty? But they didn't receive money from outside? The contrast we can make is that the Arca da Salvação also wanted to be independent, but wanted to develop economically, in terms of the community?)

Clearly, as I said, it was all on the basis of the person at the front. The Arca da Salvação, thank God, had someone with a very ample vision, in terms of the financial economy. It is an independent church, financially. The funds of the church come from the very Christians of the church. It is they that contribute, that give offerings for the development of the church. We can analyse that the development is not simply spiritual, in preaching the gospel about Jesus the saviour, or evangelisation. The Arca da Salvação has a much bigger vision, to use the funds that come from the Christians to help the community. And so, the Arca da Salvação has activities in the financial area.

22. (Thank you. You have given me lots of ideas for more questions in the future, but I'll let you get to work now. I wonder if you might recommend others whom I could interview.)

There are various people who would like to be interviewed, to participate in a conversation like this with you. They would like to say how it is a church in Mozambique…Because many say it isn't possible to have a church with its own economy developing here in Mozambique, but we are a mirror in this, a mirror. So there are many who would like to participate in an interview, knowing that an interview could help other people fix their eyes on this reality. So yes, there are people.

Appendix 3: Ethnographic diary

ARCA DA SALVAÇÃO

9 AM SUNDAY SERVICE

22.10.09 I ARRIVED AT 8.50 AM FOLLOWING A 30 MIN DRIVE FROM THE CITY CENTRE

SCATTERING OF PEOPLE ARRIVING IN MAIN BUILDING — 9 ADULTS + 5 CHILDREN BY 9.53 AM

WHAT APPEARED TO BE A SUNDAY SCHOOL WAS ALREADY RUNNING IN A CLASSROOM DOWN RIGHT-HAND SIDE OF BUILDING. BEGAN. 7.30

BY 10.23 THERE ARE ABOUT 210 PEOPLE

APPROX 240 SEATS LAID OUT — DID THEY FILL THEM?

9.13 WORSHIP GROUP SANG IN CHANGANA; ACCOMPANIED BY ELECTRIC ORGAN

9.15 CLOSED DOORS ON MAIN ENTRANCE FOR PRAYER

1 MAN PRAYING OUT LOUD IN CHANGANA; ORGAN CONTINUED PLAYING;

PRAYED FOR 7 MINS

9.22 AS PRAYING HAD STOPPED OPENED DOORS AND SO A FURTHER 30 OR SO PEOPLE, WHO HAD BEEN WAITING OUTSIDE, COULD ENTER

— ORGAN PIPED UP AND EVERYONE SANG A HYMN IN CHANGANA // DOORS CLOSED AGAIN IN ANTICIPATION OF THE LITURGY //

9.25 GIRL READ LITURGY FROM PSALMS

9.26 MAN READ LITURGY REQUIRING RESPONSES FROM CONG.

ALL IN CHANGAN.

PRAISE GROUP OF 5 PEOPLE (4 SINGING, 1 ON ORGAN) STAND ON RAISED CONCRETE PLATFORM AT THE FRONT OF THE CHURCH.

(1)

9.27. DOORS OPEN AGAIN – A FURTHER 20 PEOPLE ENTERED.
SINGING WITH ALL CONG
9.29 DOORS CLOSE
EVERYONE PRAYS OUT LOUD.

ONE MAN DRAWS PRAYERS TOGETHER, PRAYING OUT LOUD
ABOUT 160 NOW PRESENT
MEN + WOMEN MIXED SEATING (ie) SITTING BOTH SIDES OF CHURCH BUILDING DIVIDED BY ONE ISLE.

9.35 DOORS OPEN 25 MORE PEOPLE ENTER.
FUNKY ORGAN TUNE PIPES UP
STIRRING SONG LASTING 8 MINS

9.41 DOORS CLOSE
CONG
PRAYING OUT LOUD
1.. MAN ENDS PRAYER
9.44 DOORS OPEN
9 ENTER
FUNKY HYMN
OUT CONG SEATED + WORSHIP GROUP SEATED

9.45 MODERATOR DO WELCOME.
WHO IS AN "EVANGELIST" (POSITION) BEGINS SPEAKING.
USES A SMATTERING OF PORTUGUESE BUT MOSTLY CHANGANA.

(2)

GIVES CHURCH ANNOUNCEMENTS. THEY ARE LENGTHY.

9.54 LOUVOR TIME
A YOUNG PEOPLES (APPROX 15 – 19 YEARS) GROUP (SUNDAY SCHOOL)
GOES TO FRONT TO SING. ABOUT 17 PEOPLE
SWAY / DANCE AS THEY SING.

(LATE TEENS)
10.00 1 GIRL TESTIFIED
GRADUATED – SHOWED HER DIPLOMA IN
ACÇÃO SOCIAL

– ANOTHER TESTIMONY. MIDDLE AGED LADY
GOES TOMORROW TO LIVE IN SOFALA
HAPPY 4 PROMOÇÃO IN JOB BUT SAD TO LEAVE
CHURCH + FRIENDS.
WILL FIND AN 'A. DA SAL.' THERE A BIT OUT OF
CITY, BUT CHURCH IN MAPUTO IS ENCOURAGING HER
TO START A NEW ONE.

10.02 PASTORS PRAY FOR ↑ THE LADY
→ X3 OLDER MEN 60's / 60's + 50's
LAY ON HANDS WHILST WORSHIP GROUP + CONG
SING A STIRRING SING
10.12 MODERATOR CALLS FOR A "JOVEN" (TO LEAD YOUNG PEOPLES SINGING
GROUP?). NO ONE RESPONDS!
CONTINUES ANNOUNCEMENTS

(3)

DANIEL. SON OF PASTOR PRE

O QUE A IGREJA FAZ

DANIEL (12) CHAP OS TEMPOS

OB. CALL ATTENTION

END TIMES

LIVE A LIFE THAT CHRIST OFFERED.

SECRET - OF DAN 12.

STILL NOT WITH US.

WE DON'T KNOW WHEN JESUS WILL RETURN.

SERMON

10:15 MAMAS' GROUP SINGS + PAPAS 17 OF THEM. UNACOMPANIED. — GROUP REFERRED TO AS "ACTIVISTS"

X 3 SONGS INC. DANCING/SWAYING

CONG. CLAPS THEM OFF THE STAGE + WHOOPS.

10:23 YOUNG MAN (18?) + WOMAN (18?) SING CALL + RESPONSE TYPE HYMNS

X 2 . ACCOMPANIED BY ORGAN.

SANDRA (WIFE OF DANIEL) GOT UP FROM WHERE SAT WITH WORSHIP GROUP - AS COUPLE SANG - AND PUT COIN(S) IN SHIRT POCKET OF MAN + HANDED GIRL A COIN.

THIS IS LIKE A BLESSING FOR THEM.

10:30 OFFERINGS ANNOUNCED BY 'A LADY'. CONG SUNG ABOUT GOING 20 OUR GOD + UNITY IS STIRRING + RYTHMIC. LINE BY LINE OF SEATING — SING + DANCE AS PART OF OFFERING

10:35 A SING + DANCE 4 CONG (4) → FOLK DANCE TO PLACE OFFERING IN BASKETS AT FRONT.

10.37 TITHES ARE ANNOUNCED
SOME PEOPLE GO TO FRONT, INDIVIDUALLY.
STIRRING SINGING ~~[illegible]~~ (WORSHIP LEADER) + RESPONSE (CONG)
BUT LESS PUMPING AN DYNAMIC.

10.40 MODERATOR SPEAKS

10.42 SONG - STAND TO SING. (CONG)

10.43 PREACHER ANNOUNCES A SONG
(DANIEL)
WITH RAISED HANDS CONG SING.

10.50 PREACHER PRAYS WITH LOUD ORGAN ACCOMPANIMENT
CONG. STILL STOOD.

10.51 PREACHING BEGINS. IN PORT WITH CHANGANA TRANS.

WELCOME IN HOUSE OF LORD.

WE LEAVE EVERYTHING BEHIND NOW TO BE
IN PRESENCE OF THE LORD.

THIS OPPORTUNITY.
HALLELUJAH!
MY PULPIT IS OUT THERE (POINTS 2 OUTSIDE
OF CHURCH
MY PULPIT IS IN MATRAQUENE
ITS A PRIVILEGE TO BE HERE THIS
MORNING

THIS MORN · TALK ESP ABOUT "THE TIMES".
WE MIGHT GUESS WHAT THAT MEANS.

ALL THE TIME IN THE HOUSE OF THE LORD IS FROM YOUR TIME
REF TO BOOK OF MATT.

JESUS WAS HUNGRY.

PREACHING IS LOUD - SHOUTED + USING A MICROPHONE.
SOUND DISTORTED OVER LOUD P.A. SYSTEM.

EVERYONE (ONE) SEATED. WORSHIP GROUP OFF TO SIDE OF (CONCRETE) STAGE BEHIND ORGAN + OTHER PA EQUIPMENT

PREACHER USES BIG MOVEMENTS HANDS + ARMS - MOVES UP AND DOWN STAGE

'JESUS IS HUNGRY, AND HE NEEDS UR FRUITS'

MUSICAL INTERLUDE. ORGAN PLAYED WHILST PREACHER SATD NOTHING.

PREACHING RESUMED...

ARE YOU COMFORTABLE WITH THE EMPTY CHAIRS IN THE CHURCH.
DOESNT MATTER WHAT YOU DO OR GIVE (MONEY) IN CHURCH - BECAUSE YOU HAVE A MISSION,

(6)

'I'M TALKING ABOUT THE EMPTY CHAIRS

11.12 "IF WE DON'T PREACH THE GOSPEL OUT THERE DO U KNOW WHAT JESUS SAID.
'IF THESE PEOPLE R QUIET. THE STONES WILL PREACH'".

LOTS OF TEACHING + CHALLENGE ENCOURAGING/ COMPELLING CONG. TO 'PREACH THE GOSPEL' TO FRIENDS/ FAMILY/ NEIGHBOURS

CALLS FOR SHOW OF HANDS IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION.

FROM PULPIT, PREACHER ASKS "PASTOR" IF HE CAN PREACH NEXT WEEK
"I AM NOT GOING TO PREACH TODAY. NEXT WEEK, IF THERE ARE NO EMPTY SEATS, I WILL PREACH."

STARTS TALKING ABOUT SECRETS. WHAT THEY ARE, WHAT THEIR FUNCTION IS.

11.30 CALLS CONG TO PRAY
LONG PRAYER IN CHANGANA FROM PREACHER LOTS OF "AMEN"
11.38 CONG CLAP / PREACHER.

11.40 SONG FROM WORSHIP GROUP. SOME OF CONG. JOIN IN

SOME PEOPLE ARE PRAYED FOR @ FRONT PASTORS LAY-ON HANDS (7)

11.43 FOUNDER, PASTOR VASCO, SPEAKS. TO CLOSE MEET. / REITERATES WHAT DANIEL SAID. ENCOURAGES GOING TO 'COLLECT THE HARVEST'.

YOUNG WOMAN from YOUTH + MISSION DEPT'S GOT PREGNANT OUT OF WEDLOCK. NOW REINSTITUTED!

+ LONG CLOSING PRAYER.

11.54 END OF SERVICE. PEOPLE LEAVE WHILST WORSHIP GROUP SINGS

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