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**WHERE GOD LIVES**

**AN INTRODUCTION TO A STUDY OF THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN  
MAPUTO, MOZAMBIQUE**

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In collaboration with  
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SEC/ILU, Uppsala University  
April 1998

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*Where God Lives.*

*An Introduction to a Study of the Independent Churches in Maputo, Mozambique*

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By  
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## INTRODUCTION

God created the African continent and the last thing he made was the beach. That is where he lives now.  
(Said by a Mazoine pastor on the beach outside Maputo)

Everyday on the beach outside Maputo city there are small groups of people gathered, colourfully dressed, praying, singing, dancing and getting ritually immersed in the sea water. They are the so called Mazoines, members of one type of the Independent Churches, which have been rapidly spreading in the Maputo area during the last decade.

What, then, are the Mazoine churches? What kind of Christianity do they represent, from where do the churches origin, how come they are spreading so fast in Mozambique today, especially in the southern parts of the country, to what kind of needs, philosophically and socially, do they offer an answer which enables them to attract thousands and thousands of believers?

There are many questions and as the explosion of the Independent Churches is a quite recent phenomena in Mozambique there is not much written about them in the country. To be able to trace the origin of the Independent Churches on the African continent and to answer the connected question about what distinguishes them from the western forms of Christianity I have above all turned to two classic books on the subject: Bengt Sundkler's *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* and David Barrett's *Schism and Renewal in Africa - an analysis of six thousand contemporary religious movements*.

Many writers see the emergence of the Independent Churches partly as a respond to new social and economic requirements on the African continent. The society is undergoing far reaching changes everywhere in Africa and one obvious process behind these transformation is urbanisation. Therefore, before the discussion of the Churches, I have presented some works discussing the recent influx to the urban centres of Africa.

I have also accounted for some of the most important studies of the problems connected to process of urbanisation in Mozambique, where above all Maputo is growing very fast. My hypothesis is that even in Mozambique the explosion of the Independent Churches in the Southern parts of the country partly can be explained by societal transitions caused by urbanisation and the war, which in many places have caused disruptions of the traditional societies. The rapid changes require different philosophical and religious outlooks as well as new social organisations and networks.

I have written this paper in co-operation with INDE (the National Institute of Education Development) in Mozambique. In Maputo I worked together with one of the researchers at the Institute, Calisto Linha. We prepared and conducted all the interviews together and are equally responsible for the result.

INDE is connected to the Ministry of Education and both INDE and the Ministry are concerned about the current crisis in education in Mozambique. This crisis is felt on many levels and INDE is investigating what contributions different popular movements can offer towards the improvement of the educational situation. The Independent Churches are growing fast in the rural and suburban areas in southern Mozambique and they constitute an important social force among the population in these areas. At the same time their philosophy and organisational forms are rather unknown outside their own circles of believers. To be able to evaluate what possible educational impact, in a broad sense, the churches have and could have in the future, INDE was interested both in getting a general overview of the churches and a more specific knowledge of what they were doing in the social and educational areas, above all for the young people.

Therefore, after the presentation of some of the consequences of urbanisation for Maputo city I have given a brief overview of the educational situation.

The last part of the paper deals with the role and functions of the Independent churches in the suburban areas of Maputo.

We have been concentrating on the Independent Churches partly because their roles and functions in Mozambique have hardly been investigated before. Other religious movements, Christian, Muslim and traditional, are better known and our not discussing them does not imply any negative evaluation of their importance in the social and educational areas.

## **1. URBANISATION - AFRICA**

The earliest known urban centres in Africa are from the iron age. Some of these are Meroc from the sixth century, Great Zimbabwe from the seventh century and Mogadishu and Mombasa, both from the eighth century. During the fourteenth century Mombasa, Zanzibar and Kikwe were examples of flourishing urban centres characterized by Islamic culture. They were rather small, with about 2 500 inhabitants, and had originated as religious centres but soon developed their trade and administration. After a couple of centuries they declined. (Peil:1984)

The modern form of urbanisation is a relatively late process in Africa. Now the continent has the highest rate of urban growth in the world. Between 1950 and 1980 the continent as a whole had a 4.8 per cent rate of increase annually. At the same time it still has a low level of urbanisation.

Characteristic for the urban growth in Africa is that it is not directly linked to the level of industrialisation. The industrialisation of the continent was of relatively minor importance up to the sixties and what caused the migration to the towns was above all the crisis in agriculture. Even in the last decades the major force behind urban growth has been different problems in the rural areas, mainly droughts and poor harvests. (Kipre: 1993, p. 389)

The present African urban areas were created in colonial times. In the centre was the town, reserved for Europeans, with the possible exception of accommodation for servants and some low-income housing for blacks. It could not and would not accommodate for the rural immigrants, who instead settled in enormous shanty-towns and squatter areas surrounding the "white enclave" (Shorter: 1991, p. 9). It is estimated that at least one-third of the urban population in all African countries live in slum- and squatter settlements and the rate is growing 15 per cent annually - a fact that has serious consequences for employment, housing, education and health. (Obudho&Mhlanga:1988, p.6)

Besides the actual moving of people's physical being urbanisation is also a mental process. Shorter makes a distinction between urban growth, as being the physical aspect and urbanisation. He quotes Kenneth Little, who writes: "By urbanisation is meant the process whereby people acquire material and non-material elements of culture, behaviour patterns and ideas that originate in, or are distinctive of the city." The rural-urban movements has everywhere implied deep-going changes in people's minds; ways of organising their social lives; economic, social and cultural living conditions etc. (Shorter: 1991 p. 7)

Many writers have described the profound consequences the transition from the rural, traditional village to the modern urban centre have implied for the individual. Mbiti says that change alienates the migrant both from the traditions of his society and his roots. At the same time he does not feel at home in his new surroundings: "He is posed between two positions: the traditional solidarity which supplied him for land, customs, ethics, rites of passage, customary law, religious participation and a historical depth; and a modern way of life which for him has not yet acquired any solidarity." (Mbiti, 1991, p.219)

Even if the newly arrived urban dwellers have been said to be rootless in their new surroundings and alienated from their past, they also bring their old values with them and try to intergrate these in the new urban setting at the same time as they often keep the contacts with their places of origin. Shorter talks about the close ties, economic and social, that exist between urban and rural areas. According to him the urban African is living in "two semi-encapsulated worlds at the same time." The so called "modern" world co-exists with traditional values, ideals and world-views. The values of the modern world is not easily integrated with tradition and the result is partly cultural disorientation. (Shorter, 1991, p.226)

The African, it has been said by many writers, is a profoundly religious being. "To him, religion is not just a set of beliefs, but a way of life, the basis of culture, identity and moral values. Religion is an essential part of the tradition that helps both to promote both social stability and creative innovation" (Tshibangu: 1993, p. 501). Although it is possible to discern an ontology, common to African religions, at the same time each society has its own religious system, deeply connected to the roots and traditions of that society. According to Mbiti a person has to be born into the society in order to assimilate the religious system and to detach oneself from the religion of one's group would mean to detach oneself from one's roots, foundation, context of security, kinship and the entire group. One religious system can not be transmitted from one society to another and that is one reason why African religions have no missionaries.

The traditional religions are not easy to adapt completely to urban areas. The tribal solidarity has been disrupted, at least on the surface. But recently there has been a revival of tribal rites and customs in the cities. On the other hand, Christianity also has difficulties



in adapting fully to modern life, both in Africa and elsewhere. At the same time it has not completely managed to fit in to the traditional African life. "A new dichotomy has invaded Africa, driving a wedge between religious and secular life, which is something unknown in traditional life" (Mbiti, 1991, p. 221).

In the cities there is a high concentration of poverty, especially in the squatter- and slum areas. Unemployment is widespread and in order to sustain their living a majority of the population is involved in one way or another in the so called "informal sector". People show "a considerable ingenuity in inventing ways of making a living or of supplementing incomes." (Shorter, 1991, p. 55) Even so social problems are huge: "There are questions of housing, slums, earning and spending money, alcoholism, prostitution, corruption, and thousands of young people roaming about in search of employment" (Mbiti, 1991, p.224).

Connected to the social problems are ethical and moral problems. The traditional ethic was based on tribal solidarity and a life firmly based on kinship and family values. In the village the collective was more important than the individual, but urban life fosters individualism and the old ethics is difficult to apply.

The urban family is undergoing far reaching changes. In the village the dominating family-type was the so called "extended" family, whereas the "nuclear" family is common in the urban areas. The younger generations are challenging the authority of the parents. (Ibid, p.224)

A growing problem in many African towns and cities are the street-children, doing what they can in order to survive, sometimes forced to make their living through theft and prostitution. It is estimated that up to 70 per cent of the town dwellers are under thirty and children between five and fifteen probably constitute a third of this figure and many of these are living on the streets. (Shorter: 1991, p. 112).

Traditionally the education of the children was the responsibility of the parents and the community. Both boys and girls were given education that should prepare them for their future roles in the family and society. This education was especially organised around the initiation rites. (Mbiti:1991, p. 227) According to Habte this education "went beyond socialization within the extended family, age-grade organisations, and institutions of puberty rites". Within an informal setting the child was taught the mother-tongue, to count, story-telling, about the environment etc. (Habte:1993, p.684)

The traditional African religion was "a vehicle for exploring the forces of nature and for systematising new knowledge both of the human and the physical environment." It involved knowledge of botany and zoology, pharmacological and mathematical knowledge, calculation of probabilities, the powers of words and numbers, transmitted to new generation through the training of priests and diviners. (Tshibangu, 1993, p. 506)

In the cities the responsibility for the education of the children has, at least in part, been handed over to schools and teachers. The traditional preparation for marriage and family life also included sexual education whereas modern schools generally offer little or no teaching in sexual matters. (Mbiti: 1991, p. 227)

Since independence African states have doubled or trebled their number of schools and institutes of higher learning, but most children receive only six to ten years of formal

education.(Ibid) Many African children, even those living in urban and peri-urban areas do not have the possibility to attend school at all, not even primary school. Still it is presumably the formal school which gives the children the best chance to adapt to urban life and prepares them for future jobs and careers. Shorter puts it this way: "In Africa today it is probably true to say that education is the same as urbanisation. The educational system urbanises the young, gives them an urban consciousness, equips them for urban salaried employment." (Shorter:1991, p.10)

The fast urbanisation on the African continent has no doubt created a lot of problems and many people, especially in the peri-urban areas, characterised by slum- and squatter settlement, live in material poverty, not completely belonging either to the new, "modern" world or to the old, based on traditional values and kinship solidarity. On the other hand, as Shorter says, "African urban areas are not just places of dereliction and despair. They are also places of opportunity and innovation. ... The cultural pluralism of the African town may engender a ghetto mentality or an attitude of orientation and drift. It also provides a basis for dialectic and exchange, a dialogue of lived experience." (Ibid, p. 10)

The forms the organisation of social life take are very different in the village and in the city. In the village everyone has his fixed place, secure in his relations with the family and the whole community. Shorter talks about the cohesive principle as opposed to the associative principle which is behind the social organisation in towns and cities. There the migrant can not rely on kinship ties, he or she has to create an "ego-centred network of patrons and clients". In stead of relating to and relying on kinship members the urban dweller associates with work mates and friends. Occasionally, particularly in squatter-settlements and low-income areas, other networks, based on social cohesion appear. "This is one of the adaptive mechanisms or bridges between rural and urban living that enable migrants to adapt to a new mode of life: ethnic welfare associations, funeral societies, community centres, clubs and organisations of all kinds, also churches, particularly the new religious movements of Independent Churches, and mission-related churches with a strong ethnic affiliation" (Ibid, p 29).

Here, in this context, lies one of the important aspects of the African Independent Churches, as "bridges between rural and urban living".

## 2. THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

The so called Independent churches have existed in Africa for more than hundred years.; the first was founded in 1862 in Ghana. Since 1960 their number have increased considerably and in 1987 their amount was estimated to about 10 000 churches and sects with some 33 million believers. (Thsibangu: 1993, p. 516) They are spread all over Africa but the highest concentration is in South Africa with about 3600 different churches. They rarely appear in muslim and catholic areas and are most predominant in the former British colonies where the mission churches were mainly protestant. (de Rosny:1992)

In his book *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* Bengt Sundkler has described the beginning and early development of these churches among the Zulu people in South Africa and the following paragraphs are based on his findings.

Sundkler sees the Independent Zulu churches "as a symptom of an inner revolt against the White man's missionary crusade". (p. 19) He distinguishes between two main types of Independent Churches in South Africa: *The Ethiopian Church* and *The Zionist Church*.

The first Ethiopian Church was founded in Witwaterstrand in 1892 and other churches were soon to follow in South Africa. The motto of the Ethiopian Church was "Africa for Africans" and it was supposed to be a church for all Africans. Its ideology was built on a quotation from Ps 68:31 *Ethiopia shall soon stretch her hands onto God* and Mokone, the leader of the first church interpreted this bible word to mean the self-government of the African Church under African leaders. Sundkler talks about the Abessinia-ideology and says that is an attempt to "give to the independent Church an ancient apostolic succession and a charter, linking their church with the Bible - which speaks of "Ethiopians"-and with a Christian African kingship. They talk about a Black Christ who sometimes becomes associated with the Zulu hero Chaka and the Zulu kingdom.

In the twenties some of the Ethiopian leaders took an active part in the ANC. During the Italo-Abyssinian war in 1935 the churches supported Abyssinia's cause and both the Ethiopian and Zionist Churches received thousands of new followers. The Abyssinia ideology was essential even for most Zionist Churches.

The Zionist Church comes from the USA, where the first church was founded in 1896. It soon came to South Africa where 27 Africans were baptised in Johannesburg in 1904. From there it spread very fast and soon numerous different churches were founded. The name *Zionist* denotes both the fact that the churches originated in Zion city, Illinois, USA and that they consider their ideological roots to be the Mount of Zion in Jerusalem.

Although there emerged a lot of different Zionist Churches, Sundkler says they all had some common features. Their main expressions of faith were "healing, speaking with tongues, purification rites, and taboos". Healing is very important and they could even be labelled as "an institution of healing". (. 55) They interpret "the Christian message in terms of Zulu religious heritage". (p. 238)

In Johannesburg the Independent Churches had a considerable social role. They served as a home and a social centre. Sometimes they gave concerts, they had night services, they offered "song and praise and dance". For the urban dwellers they rendered help in the crises of life, not least important was their healing practice. Sometimes they held meetings and conferences. Sundkler writes that they gave substitutes for the civic life denied to the Africans and in this way could be seen as training grounds for political activities. (Sundkler:1961, p. 85)

In another classic book about the independent churches, *Schism and Renewal in Africa*, D.B. Barrett has investigated six thousand religious movements in 850 different African tribes. He concludes that although most of the churches have arisen independently of each other and in many ways have different practices still they have so many common features that it is possible to talk about "a single organic movement". (p. 175) They developed both as a reaction to the mission churches and "as movements of renewal attempting to create a genuinely indigenous Christianity on African soil". (.7) Barret compares their outbreak to the reformation in Europe and the sixteenth century and says that size and extension over years of the independent movements make them unparalleled in the whole history of

Christianity. They also belonged in a wider context of resistance and reaction against white domination and subsequent struggle for independence in Africa.

What the African peoples reacted against was the missionary churches assaults on the traditional African life, above all the churches' condemning attitudes towards polygamy, ancestral cults and fertility cults - all of which were of fundamental economic and social importance in many traditional societies built on the extended African family. An attack on either of these was felt as a threat for the whole society. Interesting enough, Barrett states that it was the women who felt most endangered and consequently became the most ardent adherents of the new independent sects. In many traditional societies they had held prominent positions and in others at least they had had social and economic security, status and religious power. When the mission tried to introduce monogamy, all but one wife in a family were sent away and often the only way they could survive was through prostitution. Likewise, the missionary churches refused to baptise illegitimate children.

The translations of the bible into the local languages triggered off the break away from the mission churches. Now people could read it for themselves and especially in the Old Testament they found that the patriarchs lived very much like themselves. There appeared to be a discrepancy between the missions' teaching and the words of the bible and the missionaries criticism of the traditional African life was seen as a form of social control which was unjustified by the bible.

But, even more important was the fact that the reading of the bible revealed what Barrett calls "a failure in love" on part of the missionary churches. The African reader came across the biblical concept of love, which had "an immediate appeal to African societies...In the New Testament, *agape* is primarily the distinctive activity of the divine nature, the redemptive goodness of God towards the undeserving, *philadelphia* denotes social love, or the affection of friends; and within the Christian community, *agape* takes the special form of *philadelphia* or love for the brotherhood." Love, according to the bible, is among other things "to share and sympathise" and this aspect had been sadly missing in most missionary work. What the missionaries had demonstrated was not love among equals, rather their attitude towards the Africans could best be described as paternalism. This failure in love, according to Barrett, led to "a disastrous absence of... brotherly love", a failure to understand africanism and consequently a failure "to discern the existence of any links between traditional society and biblical faith". Here lies the root to the whole movement of independent churches.

So far I have talked about Barrett's analyses of the causes for rejection of the missionary churches. However, he also talks about the capacity of the independent churches to renew the Christian religion and get rid of its over-europeanised characteristics. In their strive to become independent they have renounced everything from overseas - control, money, expert help etc., the only thing they keep is the bible. For the rest, all their resources come from their own societies. They have reformed Christianity mainly on three issues: philadelphia, africanism and biblicalism.

The bible has become the centre of the churches and the faith been stripped of European culture and conscious attempts made to combine the traditional world with biblical faith. Philadelphia, seen as the Christian version of "African traditional values of corporate life, community, group solidarity, hospitality and the like" (.167) has been stressed and

resulted in a widespread philanthropy, which is based on the contributions of the church members.

The stress on philadelphia has also resulted in a reformation of the Christian community, which should not be too big and whose main concern should be to serve other people. The structure of the community is often modelled after contemporary societies and new practices have been created which are in part African and in part Christian. (Barrett:1968)

The view that the Independent Churches originally were created as a reaction against the white mission churches but that they also have a positive value in that they have renewed Christianity on the African continent is shared by many writers. For example Thsibangu points out that it is now generally agreed that equally important or even more important than the protest value of the churches is their capacity to preserve "African cosmology within the scope of Christian teaching". They "could be viewed as centres for the re-evaluation of African religions and theology, in renewing the themes of humanism, sanctity of life and solidarity." (Thsibangu: 1993, p.519) According to Mbiti they are attempts to "indigenize" Christianity and he also states mission Christianity never managed to penetrate "sufficiently deep into African Christianity". (Mbiti:1991, p.233)

Mbiti talks about the concept of time in the traditional religions. There was an awareness of the past, consisting of events that have already happened, the present, that which are taking place now and events which are going to take place in the near future. Things which have not happened as well as events which are not likely to happen within an immediate future belong to the category of "No-time". (Ibid, p.17) There is not, then, a real awareness of the future in the traditional religions whereas future aspects are getting more important in modern Africa. Mainline Christianity, on the other end, sees the end of the world and the arrival of Messiahs as an "ultra-historical myth" far away in time. As events in the long distance future are hard to conjecture for people brought up in traditional societies, Mbiti sees one reason for the success of the Independent Churches in their Messianic preaching and hope of the immediate arrival of paradise. (Ibid, 235)

The very fact that they fuse elements both from traditional religions and Christianity enable the independent churches to act as "adaptive social mechanisms for the urban migrant". (Shorter, 1991, p. 126) Shorter, himself a catholic, is of the opinion that the mainline Christian Churches never have been fully at home in the African towns whereas the Independent Churches are better equipped to work as bridges between rural and urban life.

Already Sundkler talked about the social function that the Independent Churches had in Johannesburg and Barrett about the importance they gave to the biblical concept of philadelphia. Generally speaking they provided a network of social security, solidarity and hospitality which was not least important for the black urban poor in colonial Africa; a role they still have today in many of the peri-urban areas in the independent states. They emerged and are emerging both as "reply to socio-economic requirements, and to the search for new spiritual paths in these societies". (Tshibangu, 1991, p.519) Mbiti, too, regards them as socially and psychologically important: "The rather small groups of members of independent Churches provide psychological areas where uprooted men and women find some comfort, a sense of belonging together, a feeling of oneness, and a recognition of being wanted and accepted." (Mbiti:1991, p.234)

Many authors stress the importance of the healing-practice. Within the churches the traditional healing-systems were preserved in a Christian framework at a time when they were condemned by the colonial powers and the mission. (Tshibangu:1993, p. 518)

Besides their social functions the churches also have a cultural importance. In the drama of the ritual the church members can make use of both the artistic talent and the music that had been practised within the traditional religions. (Ibid) In the peri-urban areas they offer a reinterpretation of traditional culture in a situation very much characterised by cultural disorientation.

The origin, roles and functions of the independent churches have been much discussed and not everyone shares the points made by the authors I have cited above.

Ranger objects to the dichotomy often made between mission and independent churches, they are "fundamentally similar in one respect: they are both first and foremost Christian movements which *await* Africanisation." The Independent churches are less "African" than what have been commonly believed; the very characteristics that have been regarded as parts of the traditional heritage - spirit possession, prophecy, spiritual healing and exorcism - are those who link the Church strongest to the Christian tradition. According to Ranger they originate either from Christian Pentecostalism in Europe and North America or from evangelical revivalist tendencies. On the other hand the mission churches are much more "African" than what the prevailing opinion holds. (Ranger: Religion,...:1987, p. 31)

Ranger also challenges the assumption that the independent churches, thanks to their smallness of scale, are more suited to assist people in their community than the great international, bureaucratic mission churches. Even the mission churches can help people in need just because of the fact that they have access to national and international structures. (Ranger: Concluding Summary:1987, p.159)

It has also been questioned if the Independent Churches, especially those of Zionist type, really stood for resistance and protest against white domination. Sundkler suggests that even if they did during the first decades of this century the picture changed after 1945. At that time the churches began to accommodate themselves to the apartheid system. "This accommodation could be seen in the field of private business enterprise, education and care of the sick". (Sundkler:1961) In the seventies there appeared several studies that challenged the widespread view that the Independent Churches primarily should be seen as forms of opposition to colonialism. Instead the churches' readiness to political acquiescence was stressed, a readiness that seemed to be confirmed when president Botha in 1985 was invited by the Zion Christian Church to participate in its Easter celebration. Many explanations for the reasons behind this reconciliation with the apartheid system have been put forward and Schoffeleers presents the most important: "Rejection of white culture, quest for leadership, fear of state reprisals, the search for a place to feel at home and abhorrence of physical violence." He thinks that all these forces have been reinforcing each other but according to Schoffeleers the overriding cause for the acquiescence is the healing practices within the Zionist Church. (Schoffeleer:1991, p. 98)

Furthermore, Ranger challenges the dominating picture of the urbanisation of the African continent as leading to a deep identity crisis for the people involved. According to that

picture the alleged identity crisis had as a result that the urban migrants could not fully adapt themselves to urban life and in order to restore some feeling of identity they needed points of reference "such as the deliberate construction of 'urban ethnicity' or membership in an African church." Ranger is of the opinion that this view leads to the erroneous interpretation of the new religious movements as compensations for deprivation. He says that this view is the product of colonial social science and makes the base for "the whole colonial sociology of so called 'urbanisation'" . (Ranger: Concluding Summary: 1987, p.128)

Instead Ranger wants to emphasise "African participation in a struggle for the city." New data show "the marvellous, cheerful adaptations to urban life, the innovation of new structures of fraternity and associations, the evolution of an urban popular culture." (Ibid, p. 150)

### 3. URBANISATION - MAPUTO

Mozambique with its population of ca 16 million inhabitants has got a very low degree of urbanisation. At the same time its rate of urban growth is high and fast increasing. (Mendes: 1989) Even though the level of urbanisation is low the rush into Maputo began towards the end of last century. In 1887 the city had 1. 413 inhabitants. Among these were 654 Europeans and 52 Chinese. In the same year the first urban plan was introduced and this plan stated that the Europeans should live in the area close to the sea while the African population only could settle in an unhealthy area to the west. (Mendes:1988, p.220) Characteristic for the colonial urban model was that it was divided in two parts, the "ville de beton" for the Europeans and Indians and the "ville noire" (In Mozambique called Canico (reed), after the material of house construction) for the African population. (Mendes:1989) In both rural and periurban areas the African population squatted on or rented land without secure tenure. The insecurity made that most of the house construction was of a temporary nature. The colonial authorities mainly left the African population to take care of itself and did not do much to control the influx to the urban areas. This resulted in large, spontaneous settlements around the cement cities. (Jenkins:1990, p. 151)

Between 1940 and 1950 the African population increased by 20.6% in Maputo and in 1952 there came a plan which reserved the whole area between the sea and Avenida Vladimir Lenine (practically the whole cement city) for the Europeans. The Africans were crammed into an area to the west. Between 1960 and 1970 the population growth caused a new expansion of the European city and the Africans were forced to move again. (Mendes:1988, p.221)

The city was characterised by a segregation of classes and a polarisation of incomes and consumption. (Mendes: 1989). Cheap manpower was provided by the African population who mostly worked within the service sector or as domestic servants and only spent the days in the city. Their homes were in the suburban areas. The Portuguese colonial government introduced the assimilation system by which it wanted to integrate some of the African population in the life of the city. To be assimilated people had to renounce their own traditions and still they had an inferior place in the society. (Macamo:1991, p. 30)

When Mozambique gained its independence in 1975 and Frelimo came to power Maputo had a low level of industrialisation and what was produced was mostly consumer goods for the European population. The industry was subsidised and never profitable in colonial times but after independence all urban workers retained their jobs. (Hanlon:1991, p.23)

In 1976 the state nationalised all dwellings that were not used as family residence. Through the nationalisation about 50 000 house units became available and many of them were allocated to families in some peri urban squatter areas where there had been flooding. The rents should be paid according to income, family size and housing type and ranged between 10 and 20 per cent of the family income. (Jenkins:1990, p. 151)

At the time of independence there were huge social problems: unemployment, prostitution, criminality, especially in the urban areas. One way for the new government to confront those problems was to create so called "Dynamising groups". Those groups consisted of people from work-places and residential areas and should help the population to combat the urban criminality and facilitate the implementation of consumer co-operatives, cultural centres and health posts. They were responsible for the organisation of the urban areas and they should keep the order and take care of sanitation in the residential parts.

However, for various reasons, such as lack both of material equipment and competent people, the intentions behind the installation of the groups were never completely fulfilled and the local participation declined. In 1980 the government tried to elevate the interest by elections to the local administrations, but soon afterwards the South African supported Renamo began the destabilization war, which among other things disrupted the distribution of food to the cities. The social situation in the urban areas deteriorated quickly, the parallel market grew and the social marginalization increased. The system with dynamising groups faded out. (Mendes:1989)

The emigration to Maputo continued to increase. Between 1970 and 1980 the population grew from 422 000 to 755 300, which corresponds to an increase of 78.98 %. This growth was mainly due to various problems in the rural sectors. (Mendes:1989) The Frelimo government introduced a not very successful programme that should send "improductive" urban dwellers back to the countryside, but the programme was soon abandoned.

In the eighties the war was a decisive factor behind the urban growth. Millions of people were forced to leave their homes. Traditionally it had been mostly men who emigrated to the cities. This pattern changed because of the war and in the last half of the 80s it was mainly women and children, old people and families who fled from the war. Many women arrived alone in the urban centres. (O Direito a Alimentos:1992, p. 189)

In 1990 it was estimated that there were 1 million refugees outside Mozambique and two million displaced people within the country. Since 1980 the population of Maputo has increased by 50 %. (Hanlon:1991) Exact figures are hard to come across but it seems that the number of people belonging to the same urban household has increased: from 4.8 in 1980 to 7. Even the population density has increased considerably. This means that more people are living in a precarious situation in the suburban areas and the situation is rapidly deteriorating. (Armando:1991, p. 22)



The war also affected the children and many lost or became separated from their parents. It is estimated that 200 000 are "unaccompanied" and some of these live on the streets of Maputo.

The urban centres could not accommodate for the huge influx of migrants and it became even harder because of the deterioration of the economic situation in the country. Mainly because of the war the economy of Mozambique was almost bankrupt in the beginning of the 80s. In September 1984 the country joined the IMF and World Bank and soon the government announced its Economic Recovery Programme, which above all supported the agricultural sector. In the 1985 budget spendings on health and education were cut by 15 %. This did not satisfy the Bank and in 1987 the Mozambican government presented its own structural adjustment programme (PRE - Programa de Reestruturação Estrutural).

The implementation of the programme had some serious implications for the majority of the urban population. In 1981 a ration system of food had been introduced in the cities. People should be guaranteed to buy a certain amount of basic food at official prices every month. Even though the system did not work completely satisfactory it offered some safety net for the poorest part of the population. With PRE the system was abandoned and two devaluations in 1987 caused enormous price rises without corresponding rises of wages. In connection with the first devaluation the prices rose 200 % and the wages 70 % and with the second there was a price-rise of 100 % while the wages rose by 50 %. Investigations made by Maputo Central Hospital show that the level of malnutrition among the urban population has increased since the introduction of PRE. (Hanlon:1991, p. 125) In 1980 about 15 per cent of the population in Maputo were living in absolute poverty, in 1989 the figure had reached 50 %. (Green:1989, quoted from Hanlon:1991, p. 149)

The level of unemployment also rose but PRE was not the major cause although the World Bank had foreseen that urban unemployment should increase as a result of rationalisations. In fact only 10 % of the work force was dismissed but the higher unemployment was due to the influx of war refugees and expelled miners coming back from South Africa.

For those living in the 'cement city' the rents rose considerably. From being linked to income and family size the rent should be linked "more directly to the costs and characteristics of the building". This meant an overall increase of 100 to 150 per cent. (Jenkins: 1990, 169)

Since urbanisation is not the result of a higher level of industrialisation but mainly is the result of inadequate conditions in the rural areas to sustain the population and in the last decades of the war, Mozambican cities have been said to be "parasitarian" centres which have their main economy in the informal sector where people are involved in different strategies for survival. In a way Mozambique has transferred the rural poverty to the urban centres. At the same time the newcomers have to adapt themselves to new values, norms, traditions, all the organising principle of life that characterises urban life. However, there is also an inverted process going on in the urban or peri-urban centres: "*ruralization*", which means that although the urban dwellers physically occupy a space in a modern context, mentally they belong to the past. (Macamo:1991, p 33 ff)

In 1992 Mozambique had the lowest income per capita in the world.(World Bank 1992:4) Life is difficult for everyone, men, women and children and about 50 % of the families in

the urban areas live in absolute poverty. (In the rural areas the figure is even higher: 60-70 %.)

But it seems to be the women who suffer most in the present situation. It has been estimated that 17 % of the household in the peri-urban areas of Maputo are female headed. 53 % of them are headed by widowed, divorced or separated women, most of whom have a low level of education. 44 % have no formal education at all. (Peri-Urban Baseline Research Report: 1991)

In the traditional society the woman, even though she had a subordinated position, was protected by the family and the rest of the society. In the urban context the structure of the family is changing and the old moral and value system is undergoing a transformation. Many of the women are recent immigrants and they do not know about the new structures and laws that could protect them. Without the support of the traditional family the situation for many of the women in charge of households are extremely vulnerable. (A Mulher e a Lei:1993, p. 13)

According to a survey made in 1992 by the University Eduardo Mondlane many of the women in Maputo said that they did not get help from their families. The reasons for this are various: because family members were killed in the war, because they live far away and the communications have been obstructed, because the family ties have been broken. The traditional parental relations are changing and some women now say that they only get help from their own biological family, not from the families of their husbands. ( O Direito a Alimentos: 1993, p. 69)

The women and the children have to rely on themselves for survival and the urban women get their income from three main areas: domestic activities, activities within the informal sector and agricultural activities. At the same time as the women are the ones who suffer most from the deterioration of the living conditions in the suburban areas they are the first to find strategies for survival and the female participation in the informal economy is very strong. (Ibid, p. 194)

84 % of the women in the above-mentioned survey stated that they did not receive any institutional help from the state, sometimes because they did not know about their rights. Their main source of support and help was the churches. (Ibid, 197)

Among the churches the different types of Zionist churches seem to attract most people, especially among the younger generations. It is more frequent in the rural areas in the province, but it is growing fast even in the suburban areas of Maputo. (O Direito a Alimentos:1993, 137)

Although the material we have referred to above talk about the war-situation before the signing of the peace accord, there are no real signs that the situation in the suburban areas will undergo any significant changes within a foreseeable future. The problems in the countryside are still huge and there will probably not be any great outflux from the cities to the rural areas.

#### 4. EDUCATION - MOZAMBIQUE

One of the reasons we have been investigating the Independent Churches is to discuss what possible educational role they can have in Mozambique today, when even the educational system is in crisis partly due to the transformations the society is undergoing.

At the time of Independence adult literacy was less than 15 %. During the colonial period a small minority of the African population had become "assimilated" and obtained the right to attend the colonial state schools. The Catholic Church had schools whose main objective was to teach the indigenous population obedience to the colonial government. (Goilas:93, p. 39) The different missionary churches, too, had schools for the African population, where the pedagogical methods were more liberating and where many of the Mozambican leaders got their first formal schooling. (Cruz da Silva:1991, p. 28ff)

The most important education was taken care of by the family and the traditional society; in connection with the initiation rites but also coupled to the daily upbringing. The child was taught the tradition, moral, its mother tongue, songs and dances, how to live, history, geography, practical knowledge necessary for survival, sexual education etc. (Golias:93, p. 27ff)

Free health care and free education for all were Frelimo's most cherished principles at the time of independence. It soon set out to build health posts and schools over the country. Schools and health posts also became the main targets for Renamo's attacks. Since 1981 700 health's centres and 2423 rural primary schools have been destroyed. (Koevering:92) With PRE fees for schools and health care were introduced and in two years health consultations fell by a third. (Hanlon:91, p.279)

Frelimo had a very ambitious educational programme. From the beginning the programme faced a lot of problems, above all in the rural areas. Its successful implementation was hindered by lack of text books and other material, lack of qualified teachers; a scarcity of almost everything except the amount of students in the class room. Even so, the number of qualified school leavers both in primary and secondary school had increased four times by 1980.

However, the situation was worsened by the attacks of Renamo. After the introduction of PRE government spending on education declined. In 1988 it was only a third of what was allocated in 1982. Hanlon quotes one World Bank report which has the following to say about education: "budgetary resources are extremely limited and below what is necessary to provide reasonable levels of service. Parents' contributions are high when compared to existing wages...unit costs for primary and secondary education are already significantly below those of African countries because teacher salaries are low and because the provision of materials and supplies is very minimal". (World Bank: *Mozambique Public Expenditure Review*, 28 October, 1988, draft: quoted from Hanlon: 91, p. 137) In 1987 the educational budget was one of the lowest in Africa and it was only 2.3 % of the GDP.

In 1990 half of Maputo children did not attend school. Some of them did not go because of economic and other reasons but not all who wanted to start primary school were admitted; there were only places for two-thirds of them. (Hanlon; 1991, p. 162)

It seems that the situation is even worse today. According to the daily newspaper *Noticias* just about 40 percent of the school aged children in Maputo attended school in 1994. (Noticias, August:1994)

Not only is the rate of enrollment low but the percentage of drop out among those who manage to get a place in school is high. It is estimated that out of 1000 pupils who start Grade 1 only 5 conclude Grade 7. About one quarter of the pupils drop out in the course of and between each grade. (Palme: 1993:5) The reasons behind this wastage are various and complex and the situation is not the same all over the country. Girls in rural areas are the one who disappear most frequently from schools, and the drop out tendency is strongly linked to gender and social group adherence. (Ibid, p.57)

In an urban centre like Maputo the schools are placed in different social environments and the wastage rate varies between the districts. Palme has characterized the different parts of the city as "urban", "suburban", "semiurban" and "semirural" The school achievement is best in the urban parts, followed by the suburban and semiurban schools whereas the semirural schools have a higher proportion of drop outs and repeaters. In the urban parts there is also a high percentage of girls in the schools. According to Palme the situation reflects a social reality, where among other things, families in the semiurban and semirural areas "have little legitimate cultural resources which would make their children able to handle school successfully" and where the struggle for the daily survival sometimes is more urgent than doing well at school. (Ibid: 59-60)

Closely connected is the question of language. Portuguese is the language of instruction from Grade one in the Mozambican schools. It is normally only in the urban centres that the children speak Portuguese before they start school. (Ibid:37-38)

To sum up, basic education in Mozambique is still faced by huge difficulties and Goliás lists the most important: Inappropriate and inefficient infrastructures; the content of the subjects taught is often far from the children's lives and not related to the society; not very effective teaching methods, poor quality and quantity of the teachers and an inefficient pedagogical supervision. (Goilas:93, p. 76)

Since Independence private schools had been forbidden in Mozambique but they were introduced by the Fifth Congress of Frelimo in 1989. Some writers have warned about the negative consequences privatisation might have for the state schools. The private schools will probably have better resources and thereby means to attract teachers to the detriment of the state schools. (Palme: 1993, p.69) A "two-tier system" might be created which will serve the elite but where the poor will be the losers. (Hanlon:1991, p.246). There is also the risk that the churches and NGOs (Non-governmental organisations) choose some schools and give them all necessary equipment to make them "islands of efficiency in a sea of deterioration". (Marshall:1992, p.38)

## 5. THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES - MOZAMBIQUE

### 5.1 HISTORY

There is not much written about the independent churches in Mozambique and, within the limited scope of this paper, we have just been able to establish a few facts about their early history.

The Portuguese colonial power in Mozambique was strongly linked to the catholic church and reluctant to let Protestant missionary bodies operate in the country. At times it went as far as open persecution of both foreign Protestant and Independent churches. The hostile attitude became worse in the sixties, when FRELIMO was founded and the colonial government feared a cooperation between the liberation movement and the Protestant churches. (Cruz da Silva:92) In 1972 about 1800 people were arrested in Lourenco Marques, among them around 200 people connected to different Protestant Churches. "First of all, the Zionists were touched,...". (Marcel Vonnez, the then Legal Representative of the Swiss Mission in Mozambique, cited in Helgesson:94, p. 368)

Significant for the Protestant mission in Mozambique was that the first missionaries were not foreigners but Mozambican, who had been emigrant workers in the neighbouring countries, above all South Africa. There they had come in contact with different missions and they brought the new religion with them back to Mozambique. (Chamango:93, p. 33)

Butselaar tells one significant story about Yosefa Mhalmhala, who belonged to the Swiss Mission in Spelonken in South Africa. In 1880 he went to Mozambique to look for his relatives. He travelled for six months and everywhere he went he preached Christianity. He also managed to find some of his relatives, who converted to Christianity. His sister, Lois, and her husband went to Ricatla where they founded a small church, *Igreja em casa de Lois*, in 1883.

According to Butselaar the church in Ricatla was the result of an African movement, an expression of African culture and traditions without any intervention of white missionaries. The movement responded to a need to identify with a group, defined by specified traditions at a time when the traditional society experienced some changes, partly because of the presence of the European culture and industrialism.

The church leaders did not object to the traditional ethics in the same way as the white mission did. They accepted both the lobolo system and polygamy. What they did not accept was the "European sins": alcohol, adultery, even European music. African values were defended against harmful European influences but at the same time the church in Ricatla maintained relations with the Mission in Spelonken which had both white and black members.

Barrett talks about the importance of bible translations for the creation of the Independent churches. (see above) Parts of the bible had been translated into Tsonga, the so called *Buki* and at Ricatla it served as an instrument for the teaching and liturgy.

Later on missionaries belonging to the Swiss mission arrived in Mozambique and they first came to Ricatla. The arrival of the foreign missionaries sometimes caused intense confrontations between the African Christian movement and a European pietist theology.

In Lourenco Marques the African missionaries had founded a church before the first white missionary, Paul Berthoud, arrived in 1887. The latter severely condemned for example polygamy and polygamous men who wanted to become church members had to send away all but one wife. To pay Lobolo was not allowed. On the whole there arose many conflicts between the two traditions and even though the Swiss missionaries tried to understand the African culture in this first period it was more motivated by a "scientific interest than by the search for a profound unity between Swiss and African Christians." Both the Swiss missionaries and the African Christians had to make strong efforts to try to adapt to each other and this cultural adaption provoked direct confrontations between the Christians and the Swiss missionaries. As a result some of the first black missionaries left the Swiss mission. (Butselaar:1987, p. 92ff)

What happened to the missionaries who left, we do not know. But according to Barrett one of the very first Independent Churches on the Mozambican soil was the small *Igreja Luzo Africa*, who broke away from the Swiss Mission in Lourenco Marques in 1921. (Barrett:1968) It seems that origin of the Independent Churches in Mozambique has the same background of clashes between two cultures that Barrett has found to be the case all over the African continent.

The first Independent church in Mozambique is said to be *Igreja Luz Episcopal*, which was founded in 1918 by Muti Sikobele. In his doctoral dissertation *Church, State and People in Mozambique* Alf Helgesson has traced the story of Sikobele and his church.

Muti Sikobele had as a young boy attended school in the Methodist Episcopal Church at Inhambane and in 1895 he was sent to a college in South Africa, where he stayed for four years. During this time he probably came in contact with South African Independent Church movements which influenced him to work for African independence within the church later on in Mozambique.

Back in Inhambane Sikobele started to translate the Bible into the Tshwa language together with some other people at the mission. At the same time he travelled around in the district and propagated for the "Home Mission", a movement that stressed African "Self-supporting, Self-governing, Self-promoting" within the mission. At first the White missionaries supported the movement but after some years they grew suspicious of Sikobele's ideas.

When Sikobele in 1916 became supervisor of two mission circuits in the north of the Inhambane province he often travelled there and spread the thoughts behind the Home Mission. At the same time another influential Mozambican, Tizora Navess, at the Methodist Episcopal Mission supervised circuits in the southern parts where he preached the liberation of the people of Israel by Moses and God. According to Helgesson his message probably had political overtones. In the years 1916-1917 a large number of people got baptized in the province and at the Annual Conference of the mission in 1917 there was more African involvement than usual especially on the question of appointments of African workers in the church.

The tension between the white missionaries and some of the Africans grew and in January, 1918 a new church, *Associação Igreja Luso-Africana* was founded by Muti Sikobele and Victor Sebastiao Piedade de Souza. This new church was condemned by the leaders of the Methodist Mission. Tizora Navess stayed on in Methodist Episcopal Mission but during these years he created the Inhambane branch of the African National Congress.

One reason behind the creation of the new church was the African mission workers' dissatisfaction with the fact that they were not consulted in connection with appointments. But Helgesson is of the opinion that "the Sikobele crisis also highlighted a conflict between Blacks and Whites. While African village evangelists had been heard preaching equality for all people... the missionaries had not yet learned to meet their African colleagues on equal basis."

Igreja Luso Africana grew dramatically in the first years. In 1931 it became officially recognized by the colonial authorities. In 1937 it got its present name, Igreja Luz Africana, and under that name it still exists today. (Helgesson:94, p. 56ff)

Muti Sikobele used the slogan *Africa for Africans* in his new church. In the 30's he wrote a genealogy of the Tshwa people where he connected their history with the biblical genealogies. He started his work with the affirmation that "God is black" and he also claimed that the Bible had undergone certain changes, introduced by "the whites to their advantage" (in Ferraz de Freitas, cited by Helgesson:94, p. 246)

It is perhaps significant that the most accessible information about the churches probably is gathered in Afonso Ferras de Freitas *Seitas Religiosas Gentílicas*. According to Dr Lembo at the Historical Archives of Maputo the four volumes are an internal PIDE report. (PIDE was the colonial government's secret police.) (Helgesson:94, p. 258)

How many the Independent Churches were in the years before Independence is impossible to say, we have seen figures from 80 to 300. Of them about 13 were of Ethiopian type and their main slogan was the same as in South Africa: *Africa for the Africans*. (Ferraz de Freitas:56) This, of course, was one reason for PIDE's interest in the movement as well as the churches' message of equality between the races. To preach such a message was against the law. The colonial government's attitude toward the Independent Churches appeared to have been somewhat ambivalent, though. At the same time as the authorities wanted to restrain the activities of the churches they also realized that they could not control the religious groups if they were not given some opportunity to operate in the open. No "significant action" seemed to have been taken to impede the activities of the Independent Churches. (p.94)

According to Helgesson the Independent Churches, with their strong nationalistic feelings, had a political role during the first years of their existence. But during the 50's and 60's their political influence was far less than PIDE feared and suspected, maybe because the regime during those years did not allow much scope for protest. (Helgesson: 94, p. 290 ff)

De Ferreira has analysed the existence of the Independent Churches in Mozambique, above all in Lourenco Marques, and she sees them in the context of a society in transition which implied new value systems and new moral codes. At the same time the new churches were founded as reactions against the hostility of the mission churches against traditional beliefs and social organization, which among other things included polygamy. The Independent

churches also introduced new elements of organization in societies that were undergoing profound changes. Ferreira refers to Sundkler and seems to be of the opinion that his analysis of the South African situation is valid even for Mozambique. (De Ferreira:1968)

Some of the independent churches managed to be authorized by the Portuguese colonial government and one of these was *Igreja Siao Uniao Apostolica Christa de Mozambique*.

## 5.2 THE EXPANSION OF THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN THE MAPUTO AREA

There has been an explosion of Independent Churches in the last few decades in Mozambique and it is impossible to give an exact figure of the number of churches. A new church is often created when a group of people break away from a mother church and sometimes it takes time to get the new congregation registered.

The majority of Independent Churches in Mozambique are so called Zionist churches, but there are a few others, above all the *Dós Apostolos* and *Velha Apostolica de África em Mozambique*. We have not had time to find out anything about *Dós Apostolos*, but we had an interview with Apostle Malaquias Massinga from *Velha Apostólica*.

According to Apostle Massinga the church was founded thirty years ago by Mozambicans who came back from South Africa. The first church was built in Catembe and the founder was Apostle Massinga himself. Now they are spread all over Mozambique and they have churches in almost all provinces. In the Maputo area they have about 10 000 members and congregations in most of the suburbs.

The church has different sections for women, youth, children and old people. Different projects are being planned, among other things a centre for old people, a training school for pastors, a centre for street children and a vocational school in Catembe. In Maxaquene there are plans to open a school which would serve as a primary school during the days and secondary school at nights.

There exist a lot of different Zionist churches in the Maputo area, where they are called Mazoines. Some of them have Ethiopia in their names, but according to the church-leaders there is no difference between them and other Zionist churches and nowadays Ethiopia seems to be just a name they use, without any real significance.

The most established of the Zionist churches in the Maputo area is probably *Igreja Siao Uniao Apostólica Crista de Mocambique*, which we have mentioned above, at least it is the congregation who have the biggest church-building, inaugurated in 1991 and situated in Matola Rio. That church has about 2000 members, but there are 11 parishes in and around Maputo and the leaders estimate their number of believers to 10 000. The arch-bishop lives in Inhambane.

*Igreja Siao Uniao Apostólica* was founded in 1922 in South Africa by Simone Cumbe, a Mozambican who was a migrant worker there. In 1938 he went back to Mozambique where he started to evangelize. In 1956 the church got its present name and it was authorized by the colonial government in 1957.



The bishop, Xavier Tualofo Boca, was imprisoned by the colonial government in 1966. The reason, according to bishop Boca, was that the government did not like the healing practiced free of charge by the church. During the four years he was detained, some of the churches which later formed AICIM (see below) broke away from Igreja Uniao..

The church has cults every Wednesday, Friday and Sunday, but people can come there whenever they want, if they have any problem of any kind, including health-problems.

Bishop Boca said that their faith is based on the Bible, Hebr 12:22 and Ps:87 where it is written about the mountain of Zion. The church has deliberately taken up some muslim characteristics: It is forbidden to eat porc, to enter the church with your shoes on or if you are unclean. Behind this is a wish to unite all churches - "God is the same everywhere."

A majority of the congregation consists of women, about 60 %. The explanation was the same here as everywhere else: It is the women who suffer most in the society and there are many single women who take care of the family. They need the help and support they can get from the church. The women organization meets every Thursday and about thirty women come there regularly. They discuss, learn sewing and cooking from each other. In contrast to many other Zionist churches Igreja Siao Uniao do not accept female pastors - women have too many impediments; like menstruation, pregnancy etc.

The church at Matola Rio has developed some social activities. Some elderly women and orphans are taken care of by members of the church. An escolinha (kindergarten) and a primary school are run by the church. The escolinha has two teachers and the primary school one. The first grade pupils study together with the children from the escolinha and the pupils in grade 2 (6) and grade 3 (9), study together.

Many of the other Zionist churches are organized in either of two associations: AICIM (Alianca das Igrejas Christas Independentes de Mocambique) and Conselho das Igrejas Pentecostais de Mocambique.

AICIM got its name in 1976 but the first association was formed in 1968. Its president is Fernando Chaidi and there are about 30 different churches registered. Chaidi said that they base themselves on the New Testament and that they are independent in the sense that they are headed by Mozambicans and not have any foreign missionaries.

The latter was true till two years ago. Then appeared some American missionaries from a church or an organization called Boa Nova para Africa (Good News for Africa) and offered their help. With the assistance of those missionaries AICIM is now building a training centre in Machava where alfabetization courses, English lessons and bible studies are taking place and a vocational school, carpentry and agriculture, is being planned. According to the missionaries the stress is put on adult education.

Igrejas Pentecostais de Mocambique was formed in 1983 when some churches detached themselves from AICIM. The organization is headed by Armanado Jossane Mahanjane and have 31 registered member churches. The oldest church in the organization is Igreja Luso Africana which was founded in 1929 in Lourenco Marques. All the member churches were founded by Mozambicans and they do not receive any help from abroad The churches are very poor.

The member churches accept female pastors. If a man is a pastor, then his wife becomes a pastor too.

### 5.3 TWO MAZOINE CHURCHES

Our investigation of the Independent Churches was conducted during two months in the Maputo area. Before initiating our field work we had to spend some time trying to find out what had already been written in Mozambique in the area of urbanisation and the Independent churches. The time left was not enough to carry out a throughout study of the situation in Maputo and we did not have any opportunity to go to other parts of the country. As the churches are situated far away from the city centre and transport is a problem in Maputo, we had to rely on INDE to be able to get to our informants.

Our first problem was how to find the churches. The church buildings are normally small, very modest and not easy to find in the suburbs. We made our contacts either through the leaders of the two above mentioned organisations or by talking to some of the Mazoine groups that happened to be on the beach when we were there looking for believers. In the latter case our choices were made completely at random but all the time we were invited to attend the masses, the service had probably been adjusted to our visit.

However, we visited ten different Independent churches, a majority being Mazoines, attended some of their cults, interviewed church-leaders and believers to get a general overview of the beliefs and social functions of the churches. We also interviewed some traditional doctors, in Mozambique called *curandeiros*, and different representatives for the authorities and other churches. In order to get a deeper understanding of how the churches operate and what role they play for their believers we decided to choose two Mazoine churches, one situated in Bairro Lois Cabral, relatively close to the city centre, and one in Bairro Sao D'Amaso in the outskirts of the Maputo area. In each of these churches we interviewed some church-leaders and about ten believers. As none of us speaks any of the local languages we were restricted, here as in other contexts, to only interview speakers of Portuguese. The only practical way to get the interviews within a short period of time was to ask the church leaders to help us to get in touch with our informants and this might have implied further restrictions.

Bairro *Sao D'Amaso* was founded after Independence and has about 6 200 inhabitants. Most of the inhabitants are emigrants, mainly from Gaza, but there live some people who were born in the Maputo area. Many have come because of the war, some are moving back to their original homes now, but many have settled in Sao D'Amaso and intend to stay.

Sao D'Amaso is an example of a semi-rural suburb. Although some men work in the city, the essential source of income comes from agriculture. It is a dry area without irrigation and what is cultivated is not enough; there is famine and people have a hard life. Sao D'Amaso was attacked several times during the war - many people fled to other suburbs. Here as everywhere else life is especially difficult for the women. Many households have female heads, either widowed, divorced or abandoned women, who mainly get their income from what they can sell at the market but it is normally only when it rains that they have something to trade.

Sao D'Amaso has no hospital but it has a primary school and there is a new-built secondary school which is not functioning yet. It is a quiet suburb without much criminality.

There are 34 churches in Sao D'Amaso, but some belong to the same mother church, so in reality there are 23 different congregations, the majority of which are Mazoines. The secretary of the suburb, Fransisco Mabote, who has supplied us with the information above, thinks that the churches have a great influence because they help to educate the population. Without that education there would probably be much more criminality.

One of the churches is *Igreja Apostólica Zione de Mocambique* which was founded in 1973 as the result of a schism between some leaders at the Igreja Etiópia Luso Africana de Mocambique. The church has its base in Sao D'Amaso, where the bishop, Tiago Muthimba, lives and it has seven parishes in Maputo, one in Gaza and seven in Inhambane. The ecclesiastical hierarchy is very strict: the head is the bishop and he is followed by four superintendents, pastors, counsellors, secretaries, diacons, evangelists, mucoqueles, preachers and caretakers. As in many other Mazoine churches there are female pastors and in contrast to some churches the woman does not have to be married to a male pastor to become one herself.

Igreja Apostólica Zione is, as other independent churches, mainly financed by the tenth of their income that the church members pay every months. As the believers are poor people, the church is poor too, and this is demonstrated by the church building, which is very simple, without any roofs or doors, which can give shelter against wind and rain.

The main mass is on Sundays and the first Sunday every month is especially important. Then the believers from all the congregations in Maputo come to Sao D'Amaso, where the bishop himself leads the mass, which is followed by the Holy Communion. After that comes a recreational programme where different groups from different churches present song- and dance numbers, theatre-plays and poetry, that they very often have written themselves and rehearsed during the month.

But it is not only on Sundays people go to church. Every day there are activities. Tuesday and Friday nights are devoted to healing and counselling. Wednesday nights there are reading and interpretation of the Bible and the women organization meets on Thursdays. Saturdays are called Bible days and again the main occupation is Bible-explanations. The youth organization meets on Monday, Thursday and Saturday.

The women we interviewed from the congregation were between 26 and 53 years old. They have all emigrated from places outside Maputo, some before the war, some during and because of the war. The youngest of our interviewees lives together with her man (although the couple can not afford to get married), the rest are single heads of their households, although one lives together with her co-wife and has a husband who works in the South African mines, but he only comes home twice a year. The women get their main income from the informal market, most of them sell crops when these are available. They all say that the church is their most important support, morally and sometimes practically, and that the church has taken the place of a family, when their own family has become reduced due to different circumstances.

If Sao D´Amasao can be said to be a semi-rural bairro, where the inhabitants mainly are directly dependent on agriculture for their survival, *Luis Cabral* is rather an example of a suburban bairro. It is older than Sao D´Amasao, is situated closer to the city centre and many of its inhabitants are employed at work-places either in the city or in other suburban areas. In the bairro itself there are not many factories or other work-places and those which exist do not necessarily employ people from Luis Cabral.

It is impossible to say the exact number of inhabitants because people have moved out and in because of the war and some have just come and stayed with relatives. At the beginning of 1994, though, it was estimated that there lived about 22 000 people. A majority is from Inhambane.

As in Sao D´Amasao many households are headed by women who are widowed, divorced or abandoned. There are a cashew factory and some other typically female work-places nearby where many women from the Bairro used to work, but lately quite a few of these women have been made redundant and are now unemployed. Most of them get no help; the only exception is a foreign organization which gives a small amount of money to some women.

Domingos Senete, the secretary of the Bairro, thinks there are too many churches. If someone is dissatisfied with the church he belongs to, and there is often money involved in this discontent, he leaves the mother church and opens up a new church. But at the same time Senete thinks that the churches help people morally.

*Igreja Santa Christa* has its bishopric in bairro Luis Cabral and its bishop is Felizberto Fenya. The church was founded in 1973 as a result of a dispute over money in another Mazoine church. The bishop and some other people decided to leave the old church and open up a new one.

The structure and organization of the church is very similar to *Igreja Santa Apostólica*. If anything the *Igreja Santa Christa* is even more well-organized: the youth organization is divided into two groups: infantile and youth, and the women organization in three: the activist group for women between 20 and 30 who are newly married and only have got one to two children, the canto coral group for women between 30 and 50 who normally have more than three children and the group consisting of old women. An important task for the latter group is to educate the young women, act as marriage counsellors etc.

To become a bishop or pastor you have to be married (a revealing contrast to the Catholic Church) and wife and husband always have the same status within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The women we interviewed belonging to *Igreja Santa Christa* were between 13 and 57 years old. All of them but the youngest were born in places outside Maputo. Several were married and the social situation seemed to be a bit more stable than the one of the believers in Sao D´Amasao. But even here the women had to add to their husbands´ incomes through activities in the informal market and some of them were alone responsible for their families. Here, too, the women stressed that the church helped them to solve their problems, both regarding their health and otherwise, and that they found love and security in the congregation.

#### 5.4 THE ROLE OF THE INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

The following discussion on the role and social function of the Independent Churches in Mozambique is based on our interviews with members and church leaders of the Igreja Santa Apostólica and the Igreja Santa Christa plus the other interviews we have referred to above. Again we want to stress that our material is very limited and one obvious limitation is that it only concerns the situation in Maputo. One possible consequence is that we stretch our findings too far because we have been influenced by other writers' theories about the Independent churches in different countries in Africa. Even though we have tried to make our interviews as open as possible there might have been questions leading to confirmations of analyses we on beforehand have thought could be in accordance with the Mozambican context. Given our restricted numbers of interviewees the necessary contradictions to differentiate our picture might not have been obtained.

We would like to see this study more as an **introduction** to the subject of the Independent Churches in Mozambique and our conclusions are tentative. They should rather be regarded as hypotheses for a broader and more serious research that could confirm or contradict our findings.

Bearing this in mind, we still want to compare the results of our study to the analyses of the role of the Independent Churches in Africa we have referred to above and, generally speaking, these analyses seem to fit in also in the Mozambican context regarding the origin, function and social role of the African Independent churches. We want to emphasize the words *generally speaking*. Each country of Africa, as well as each ethnic group has its own history, tradition, religion, philosophy, culture and societal form of organisation and to speak about *Africans, African tradition, African culture* etc. implies the use of huge generalisations. Still, for example Barrett found some common characteristics for all the different Independent Churches he investigated. Our methodological approach, which is open to criticism, has been to start with the general theories and, then, hopefully, come to an understanding of the distinguishing features of the different Mozambican Independent Churches.

We are going to discuss the origin of the churches, their importance as "institutes of healing" and their nearness to tradition - both philosophically, culturally, educationally and in their ways of organizing the society. Here for example the concept of philadelphia belongs and the tendency to find cooperative instead of individual solutions. The churches have been seen as adaptive social mechanisms in societies in transition where they offer new types of social networks, when the old ones have been disrupted. One example is the extended family.

One fact we do not have seen stressed by any other writer, writing about the general situation in Africa, is that the Independent churches today can be said to be the churches of the women. It is true that Barrett writes that it was the women who were most threatened by the early missionaries' attack on the traditional societies and instead of the mission chose the Independent churches. It is interesting to note that it is still the women who are hardest hit by the social transformations and who above all turn to the Independent churches, at least in Mozambique.

#### 5.4.1 *Origin*

One of the reasons for the origin of the Independent churches is the clash between two cultures that emerged when the European missionaries arrived in Mozambique and tried to replace the traditional African culture and ways of organizing the society with European values and ways of life. The explosion of the Independent churches in the Mozambique of today can partly be explained by the fact that they, after Independence, do not have to live a clandestine life any longer, but can also be interpreted in terms of the profound and difficult changes the Mozambican society is undergoing.

#### 5.4.2 *"God is the same wherever you pray"*

In Mozambique as elsewhere on the African continent it would be wrong to see the existence of the Independent churches simply as a response to new social conditions. The belief in God is essential, and according to Mbiti, present in all traditional religions. (Mbiti:1991) Consequently, what makes people join the churches is first and foremost a deep spiritual need. But this need could be satisfied in any religious congregation - "God is the same wherever you pray" is a statement we have heard ever so often. Many of the Mazoines and members of other Independent churches originally belonged to either the Catholic church or one of the Missionary Churches and the dominating reason why they at first were attracted by one of the Independent Churches is that they had health problems which could not be dealt with in their original church but which became cured by the Mazoines.

#### 5.4.3 *Healing*

There is no doubt that what attracts people to contact the Mazoines is the healing practice. Almost all our informants said the reason they first had turned to one of the Independent churches was that either they or their children had been ill. Very many also said that they could not afford to go either to the hospital or to a traditional doctor. The health care system in Mozambique is expensive for most people and not available to everyone. In their healing the Mazoines also come very close to traditional medicine as it is practised by the so called curandeiros, the traditional doctors. According to Alcinda Honwana the main difference between the concept of illness in traditional and modern medicine is that the former regards the origin of illness to be social instead of being caused by a malfunctioning organ. (Honwana:1993) The Mazoines acknowledge that there are illnesses they can not cure and patients suffering from one of these they send to the hospital. Many illnesses, though, are thought to be caused by spirits or demons and if a person, who has got a special power, prays to God the Mazoines think the bad spirits can be driven away and/or the proper treatment of the disease will be revealed. The illnesses, people told us they had been cured of, had very often occurred in connection with different life crisis and manifested themselves as head-ache, pain in other parts of the body, asthma etc.

There seems to be something like a fight going on between the Mazoines and the Curandeiros. The curandeiros regard the Mazoines as a threat in as much as the latter, with their free practise, attract many clients that normally would have gone to a traditional doctor. The Mazoines say that they have got their power to heal and purify from God and that they do not use traditional remedies. The curandeiros admit that the Mazoines have got the power to heal but also state that in doing so the Mazoines use exactly the same traditional means as themselves. Where the truth is, is hard to say. Undoubtly many Mazoines are very close to the traditional medicine in their healing practice, whereas others

try to disassociate themselves from the old customs in order to become more "civilized" - as the curandeiros say.

Honwana, too, discusses this conflict between the curandeiros and the Mazoines and sees it as a manifestation of a fight for influence and power in the rural, semi-urban and even urban areas in Mozambique. It shows that the traditional societies are not static, but involved in a dynamic process of readjustment and adaptation. (Honwana:1993, p. 255 ff)

#### *5.4.4 Nearness to tradition*

Even if people come to the Zionist church to be healed there are further reasons why they stay in the church after being cured and our overriding explanation is just that they fit in into the process of readjustment and adaptation, not only on a social but also on a philosophical and religious level, that we have discussed above in relation to the general situation in Africa. The traditional social network is breaking up as a result of urbanisation and other social transformations, a process which is not unique for Mozambique but made even more brutal due to the fact that the country was in war for such a long time.

Mozambique is in many respects a heterogenous country with different ethnic groups and different social forms of organisation. Characteristic for the northern parts is that the societies are matrilineal whereas they are patrilineal in the South. A majority of the population believe in traditional religions and among the imported religions Islam is strong in the north, especially in the coastal parts, and the Catholic Church in the South. The transformational processes are not homogenous all over the country and we have only been investigating the situation in the Maputo province.

At the moment it seems that the Independent Churches are growing faster than any other religious congregation in the suburbs around Maputo. Even if we have concentrated on the role of the churches in an urban and semi-urban context the investigators from the University of Eduardo Mondlane found that they are even more frequent in the rural areas in the Maputo province, (O Direito a Alimentos: 1993, p.137) where the traditional societies have been disrupted because of the war. A majority of the churches are of a Zionist type. There are signs that some of the Independent Churches have spread even to the northern parts of the country, but we have not had time to confirm this.

It is true that our investigation is limited and the amount of people we have interviewed very small but it is still worth mentioning that almost all our informants originally have belonged either to the Catholic Church or to one of the missionary churches - none has declared that they have converted from the traditional religion. This at least suggests that the Independent Churches can offer something to the suburban population that makes many choose them and for us that something is that they are so close to the African tradition; not only to the philosophy and religions but also to ways of organizing life in a broad sense. They are "the African churches".

What they above all have kept from Christianity is the Bible, which is the fundament of all the Independent Churches. The church leaders constantly refer to the Bible and for almost all their practices they find support in a Bible-quotation. Very often the rites they perform go back to the Old Testament. One Mazoine-leader explained this fact in the following way: "Many Mazoines are illiterate or have very little education. We know that the purification rites in the Old Testament not are necessary - the blood of Jesus purified all

humanity. But this is very difficult to grasp for many people. It is easier to relate to the lives of the old Israelites and that is why we use many rites from the Old Testament."

Purification rites, either they are related to healing or not, are essential to the Mazoines. They can take place in the church, but the Mazoines in the suburban areas of Maputo very often go to the beach; "where God lives." There they can go and spend the whole day, deeply concentrated in prayer, singing and dancing, and if they need to be purified, getting immersed seven times in the water.

#### *5.4.4.a Traditional rituals and ceremonies*

Even if the Mazoines find support for many of their rituals in the Bible and even, as Ranger says, many missionary church movements base themselves on "spirit possession, prophecy, spiritual healing and exorcism" (see above) it is evident that the manifestations those acts have taken within the Mazoine belief system are profoundly connected to the traditional religious belief and people recognize them as parts of their own heritage. The spirits operate within the traditional framework. The only real difference is that in the new religion the power to make prophecies, interpret dreams, drive away bad spirits etc. is thought to come from God and not from the ancestors. (For detailed analyses of the beliefs in spirits in southern Mozambique see Feliciano:89 and Honwana:93)

In fact, many of our informants have told us that almost all the traditional rituals, from birth to death, are performed within the Independent churches. For example, when a child is born, the newborn and its mother are undergoing ceremonies similar to the traditional ones, but based on the rites in the Old Testament. Here again, as in the case of healing, all these ceremonies, of such importance for the feeling of continuity and meaning of life, are executed free of charge, making them accessible to the poor population in the suburban areas. It is true, that the church members have to pay a tenth of their income to the church, but still many said that they could afford that but neither going to the hospital to be cured nor letting a curandeiro conduct the ceremonies.

Mbiti says that the traditional African religions permeate the whole life. (See above) One of the reasons the Mazoines give for leaving the Missionary Churches is that they say that there only are masses once a week. The Independent Churches, on the other hand, have activities going on almost every day and are present on almost all levels in every day life.

We have said above that many Mazoines originally belonged to one of the missionary churches. It is not uncommon, though, that believers in the missionary churches occasionally visit a Zionist church just because they find that the latter, with the nearness to tradition, can give them things that they do not encounter in their own church. One woman we met at a mass said that she belonged to the Catholic church. She had confronted serious problems that had affected her health. She knew that the hospital could not help her and she did not want to go to a curandeiro. Instead she went to the Mazoines and her health recovered. Because of that she participates in the activities of the Zionist Church but she still belongs to the Catholic Church. She said that for her it was possible to distinguish between the theological and psychological aspects of religion. What she wanted from the Mazoines was the psychological strength that that congregation could give her.

Part of the psychological strength comes from the way the Mazoines deal with people's everyday life, which demonstrates another difference between the African tradition and



European Christianity. Today in European Christian philosophy, not least in the Protestant version, the human being is alone and at the mercy of God's grace, in line with the individualism that has developed over the centuries in Europe. In contrast, people brought up in an African society traditionally have their roots, hope, strength and sense of belonging within the collective. Consequently, within the Independent churches, the individual's despairs, sorrows, difficulties (and joy) are not left to that person alone; they are felt and shared by all members of the congregation.

We have seen example of this, when after the mass, people, mostly women, have gone up, knelt in the middle on the floor and told their stories. The stories were about how the women had been robbed of their money or their belongings in one way or another. The churches and their members are poor and not able to give much material support, but what they do give is moral support. In the church they all sing, dance and pray for the bereaved person and in that way everyone participates in the loss.

The participation can go further than this. One woman told us, that in her church, when someone had real serious problems, the whole congregation gathered in the church-building for three days and nights; fasting, praying, sleeping and all concentrating on the afflicted one.

Sometimes the prophesy rituals demonstrate an illustrative mixture of collectiveness and privacy. The congregation is singing and dancing around the person who wants to be counselled, and in that way everyone is partaking in the ritual, but at the same time the singing and dancing ensure that none can hear what is being said, either by the afflicted person or the one making prophesies, and that any secrets revealed will remain secrets between the two.

#### *5.4.4.b Philadelphia*

This mutual sharing and helping each other exhibit another fundamental characteristic of the Mazoine Churches: the stress on *philadelphia*, which Barrett mentions as being one of the most essential features of the African Independent Churches. (see above) In their sermons the church-leaders again and again stress the importance of love for your brothers and sisters, the need to aid and support each others. Bible-quotations are chosen and interpretations made to underline this need and in the church communities this brotherly and sisterly love is practised.

Besides giving mental support the help from the churches and their believers can be more practical. We were told by one woman whose husband always was away from home, spending time with other women, contributing nothing to the household that the church was her greatest support. For example, when she was ill, the other women of the congregation used to come to her place, help her to clean, cook, carry water etc. Many other women, with more or less the same family situation, have told us similar things. "If you do not have any luck in life, the people in the church will help you. In this church there is a lot of love and that is what attracts people to come." (Woman, 49 years old, unemployed, single with three children, Lois Cabral.) The church, here as in other contexts, has taken over the role traditionally played by the extended family.

#### *5.4.5 New social networks - the extended family*

There is no doubt, as mentioned above, that it is the women who suffer most in Mozambique today where many of the traditional social structures and safety nets are breaking down. This applies to the situation not least in the peri-urban areas. Many women have been forced to move there because of the war, leaving relatives behind them. Some are widowed, others have been abandoned by their husbands when the cost of living, above all after the introduction of PRE, has become so high that it is almost impossible to sustain a family. Many of the widowed, divorced or abandoned women in the suburbs of Maputo do not receive any help from neither their ex-husband nor his family. At the best they can be supported by their own family but this is not always the case because the family ties have been destroyed by the war and social transformations. Many of these women find a new "family" in the Independent Churches which assist them in a context where they and their children otherwise would have been utterly exposed. Many of the women we met in Sao D'Amaso and even some in Lois Cabral belong to this category.

The women themselves say that their main support comes from the church and that they regard the congregation as their family. They are all "brothers and sisters, united by God". When the women come to church they forget about their problems, they receive moral and sometimes material support. "Sometimes I sit alone at home, feeling very sad, thinking about that I have nothing at home, no money to buy food to my children. Then I go to the bishop and if he has some money, rice, bread or whatever he gives it to me. If he has nothing he prays for me." (A woman, 45 years old, single head of a family with six children, Sao D'Amaso.)

The Mazoine churches have even taken over different functions that used to be accomplished within the traditional community and the extended family. Rituals and ceremonies around birth and death, marriage counselling, education of children, education of the young women by the elderly ones, etc. In some churches attempts to family planning are practised: The women are prescribed to breast feed during two and a half years - the reason behind this is to avoid pregnancies that could damage the health of the mother; sexual intercourse is not allowed when a woman is breast feeding.

#### *5.4.6 Youth organizations*

All the Mazoine churches have youth organizations where young people are taught traditional values, ethics and moral. Respect for other people, especially for parents and the rest of the older generation, is important. The propaganda against alcohol and smoking is strong. The children and the youngsters study the Bible, they learn different songs and dances. Very often they write the songs themselves and they also write and perform theatre-plays. Those can be about the birth of Jesus, the importance of showing respect for your parents or about different social problems; in one church, for example, they had written a play about AIDS. The children and the teenagers rehearse during the week and normally one Sunday afternoon every month is dedicated to performances by all the different groups in the church. In some churches discussions about different aspects of young people's reality are arranged.

The educational system in Mozambique has somewhat neglected moral education and this has been seen as one of the reasons behind the dissolution of the traditional values and the churches' contribution in this area is becoming more and more recognized. The teaching methods have been accused of being inefficient and characterized by ritualisation. (Palme,

1992, p. 11) The creativity that is developed in the cultural activities of the youth organizations (and other groups connected to the Mazoines churches) show a striking contrast to the mechanical teaching methods that mostly are used in the formal class-rooms.

Tshibangu talks about the cultural importance of the Independent Churches, they preserve both the artistry and music of the traditional religions. (see above) The cultural aspect of the Mozambican churches, too, needs to be stressed. Besides the use of drama, song and dance in the liturgy and recreational programmes, they sometimes make the whole life into a drama of unexpected beauty in the middle of an otherwise very harsh reality.

#### *5.4.7 Women organizations*

Even in the women organization the cultural activities have a significant part. The women meet regularly once a week and they, too, rehearse song- and dance-numbers for the Sunday performances. In addition to that they discuss things connected to the household; how to cook, how to sew, how to bring up their children and how to treat their husbands. In the latter case it is important to stay calm even if their husbands are angry. Often it is the elder women who are educating the younger ones and the elderly women also act as marriage counsellors. There is no doubt that what is being taught mostly are traditional female vaules, but on the other hand the organizations offer a very practical safety net for exposed women. It is worth mentioning that in one organization we were told that part of the agenda was to encourage the women to stand up and speak in front of people without being afraid. This at least suggests that the women organizations do not only transmit the usual submissive roles to the women. One of our interviewees, who used to work for the OMM, the Mozambican woman organization, said that the programme of the OMM was very much the same as the women in the church discussed and taught each other.

In several churches women are admitted as pastors, we even heard of a female bishop. " In the Zionist church there is no difference between men and women; everyone has the opportunity to develop what is inside them. People here are no egoists." (Female pastor, Sao D´Amaso)

The interpretation of the Independent Churches as substitutes for the extended family does not only apply to women. The multitude of different churches can also be seen as an attempt to reconstruct the traditional family structure in the new, suburban context. If someone becomes discontent with the ways things are run in his church (often the discontent has to do with money) the dissatisfied person breaks away, gathers some believers and opens up a new church; if nowhere else it can be in his own home. It is very common, though, that the base of the churches consists of people from the same family or at least originating from the same place.

#### *5.4.8 Recreating traditional structures*

The churches, even the small ones, have a very strict hierarchy. At the top there is an arch bishop or a bishop, then come pastors, evangelists etc. No doubt the ecclesiastical hierarchy is a copy of European Christianity but at the same time it can be seen as a way of recreating traditional power structures.

Traditionally in the south of Mozambique the population lived in small, rather isolated entities consisting of patrilinear households of about three generations. Those entities were the base of habitation, production and consumption and served as political and religious entities. Each community was governed by a chief and had considerable autonomy in relation to other communities.

Communities, belonging to the same lineage (on the side of the men) formed other entities, which in their turn formed bigger communities consisting of entities of which some were of the same lineage, some not. The largest political, social and religious unity included various clans and the chief was the regulo. Several small areas were incorporated and each of these was governed by a brother or other close relative of the regulo. (Feliciano:89, p. 175ff)

It has not been possible within the limited scope of this paper to conduct a close analyse of the power structures within the Mazoine Churches and to compare them to the traditional distribution of power and organization of the societies but at least we can suggest a certain proximity. The small scale communities of the Zionist churches seem closer to traditional societies than the huge, bureaucratic Catholic Church and most Protestant missionary churches.

Although the multitude of the Mazoine churches can be seen as a reconstruction of the traditional society and their smallness of scale as something that enables them to help and support the people in their community, it can also have a negative interpretation. As we have said above the foundation of a new church is very often a result of dispute over money in the mother church. Although the churches and the church members are poor, the tenth of the income that every believer gives monthly can represent a considerable amount of money and there are accusations of frauds and embezzlements among the Mazoines. It is not possible to ignore the probability that some of the churches have been set up by people whose intentions have not been altogether serious. (Compare Honwana:93)

Even if this might be true, the Independent Churches in the suburban areas of Maputo have an important social function. Their appeal and strength lie in the fact that they are so close to the traditional society and manage to keep the ties even in a time of profound changes and urbanisation. This proximity can be seen on almost every level, but the churches do not only copy the past, they give it a new meaning which is coloured by Christianity but also by the new social reality in which the believers find themselves.

#### ***5.4.9 The Independent Churches and formal education***

The educational impact of the Independent churches should be interpreted in a broad sense - in the way the children and the teenagers are taken care of within the youth organization where the concentration is on moral education but where also the youngsters' creativity is taken care of in different cultural activities. Several single mothers among our interviewees have declared that one of the advantages with the Independent Churches is that the latter help them to educate their children. This is especially important in Maputo today when some young people take to the streets, making their living through begging, theft and prostitution. Even if the street-children are a minority of all the youngsters, many of the women we met showed a concern for their fate and the fear was vivid that their own children should abandon home.

Unlike many other religious denominations the Independent Churches have not to any greater extent gone in to the area of formal education. After the legalisation of private schools in 1989 both different religious bodies and local communities have begun to operate schools. One example is the Catholic Church and another Assembleia de Deus, a missionary pentecostal church which is spread in many parts of Mozambique.

Assembleia de Deus has a pretentious educational program for all the provinces of Mozambique. So far two schools have been built and are now functioning, one in Maputo (Catembe) and one in Gaza. Both schools have both primary and secondary education. Besides the subjects in the curriculum decided by the Ministry of Education the schools also have religion and moral as a compulsory discipline. The teachers are appointed by Assembleia de Deus but their salaries are paid by the Ministry of Education.

The building of the schools have been made possible by contributions from the Swedish Pentecostal Church "Pingstkyrkan". The Mozambican Independent Churches, in contrast, have no foreign donors and their economic situation hardly allows them to get involved in the building of schools, getting materials, the employment of teachers etc.

There are some exceptions. We have already mentioned Igreja Siao Uniao Apóstolica who runs an "escolinha" and a primary school in Matola Rio. The school and the school building are very modest, though, especially if compared to the well-equipped Pentecostal school in Catembe.

One of the Independent Churches, Igreja Velha Apostólica, which we have mentioned above and which does not regard itself as a Zionist Church, has some defined plans within the educational sector. In one of the suburbs of Maputo, Maxaquene, a school is projected which according to the plans will serve as a primary school during the days and secondary school at nights. The school has not yet been authorized by the Ministry of Education. The same church is making plans for a vocational school in Catembe, in a project where also other activities will be included, such as a centre for old people and a home for street children. All those projects will be financed by contributions from the congregation; according to Apostle Massinga Igreja Velha Apostólica has no financial support from outside.

As noted above, one of the associations of Zionist Churches, AICIM, has recently received assistance from an American organisation, Boa Nova para Africa, and is now building a training centre in Machava. The missionaries are mostly interested in adult education and no formal school is being planned.

The other association of the Zionist churches, Igrejas Pentecostais de Mocambique, has, according to the leader, pastor Armando Mahanjane, a piece of land where the association wants to build a school. But so far the economic situation inhibits the realization of the plans - a situation which is common for most of the Mazoine Churches.

But it is not only on Sundays people go to church. Every day there are activities. Tuesday and Friday nights are devoted to healing and counselling, performed in the same way as we have described above with people singing and dancing around the person to be counselled in order to guarantee privacy, theatre-plays and poetry, that they very often have written themselves and rehearsed during the month.

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But it is not only on Sundays people go to church. Every day there are activities. Tuesday and Friday nights are devoted to healing and counselling, Saturday.

Apart from that everyone, who has got a problem, is free to come to the church and talk to the bishop. Almost everyone we spoke to talked about how they sometimes were sitting at home without any food or money, despairing, not knowing how they should manage to feed their children. Then they used to go to the bishop and if he had any bread, rice or other type of food at home he gave it to them - if not at least he gave them moral support by praying for them. The necessity of mutual help and support is a constant feature of the bishop's sermons and one of the main characteristics of the Igreja Apostólica Zione is the practising of Agape -brotherly and sisterly love.

There is a majority of the women in the congregation, but many of them work in the informal sector and as the meetings of the women organization take place on Thursday afternoon, they are attended by just about twenty women every time. The women rehearse their performances for the Sunday mass, they study the bible, discuss, teach each other different things that are useful in the household; sewing, cooking etc. Normally it is the older women in the congregation that educate the younger ones. They also discuss relational problems in the marriage and if a woman has got problems with her husband they try to speak to him. One of the most important things they discuss is how to bring up their children. As one woman in the congregation said: "there are so many children in Maputo today that live on the streets, leading a very bad life. Sometimes they have just run away from their families. What we have to teach our children first and foremost is respect. Then they will listen to their parents and the rest will follow."

If someone does not turn up at church it is the task of the women to go home to that person and see what is wrong. He and she might be ill and in need of help.

In the youth-organization the children and teenagers also spend a lot of time rehearsing the songs and dances they are going to perform on Sundays. Very often they make the songs themselves and the texts are based on the Bible. The children and the teenagers have a special teacher who teaches moral.

## 5.5 SOME INTERVIEWS

### **Marcia**

Marcia is 39 years old and comes from Inhambane. Before she married she used to be a nurse, but after marriage her husband did not want her to work outside home.

She came to Maputo in 1990. In Inhambane she lived in a place affected by the war and as her husband works in the mines in South Africa it was difficult for her to stay there alone with her children.

Marcia has five children; three live in Inhambane, but the two youngest are with her in Maputo. They are two and a half and seven years respectively. She lives together with her co-wife, who has got three older children. In the household there are two more people; the co-wife's grand-daughter and daughter-in-law. The husband usually comes home every six month.

Her husband's income from the mines is not enough to sustain the family, therefore both Marcia and her co-wife work within the informal sector. They sell things at the market and they have to get up very early every morning to arrange something to sell.

Marcia used to be a member of the Methodist church, but she left it and joined the Igreja Apostólica Zione mainly because her husband belong to this church. But she also says that because her husband does not live in Maputo she must arrange friends. Those friends she has found in the church.

When she lived in Inhambane she worked as a nurse and she was also a member of the OMM, the Mozambican women organization. She used to travel a lot in different provinces and among other things teach nutrition. To give nutritional courses is something she really would like to do again within the framework of the church and she says that the bishop is interested in starting such courses. There are many things that grow that you can use as food and many children do not get enough to eat simply because their mothers do not know that they have nutritional crops around them. Otherwise she says that the programmes of the OMM were very much the same as what the women in the church discuss and teach each other: sewing, cooking, how to bring up their children etc.

Although Marcia is a trained nurse her former profession does not conflict with the healing practices of the zionist churches. "There are illnesses that Western medicine can not cure", she says, "African illnesses caused by bad spirits and demons." Sometimes people who are ill come to her for help and first she takes them to a prophet who can see if the patients ought to be sent to hospital or can be cured by the church. If the illness is not too complicated, instead of sending the patient to the hospital, she can treat him and she can also work as a midwife.

Marcia says that in the Methodist Church they just prayed, they did not help people as the Zionist Church does and they were not able to drive away bad spirits: "The Zionist Churches are the church of the poor. They can not afford to go to the curandeiros but the church help them. It is people who suffer who come to the church."

She is a pastor. "In the Zionist church there is no difference between men and women; everyone has the opportunity to develop what is inside them. People here are no egoists."

## **Eliza**

Eliza was born 1949 in Inhambane. Her mother died when she was three and her aunt took her to Maputo. When she was a child she belonged to the Catholic Church and went to their school till she was twelve. Then, together with her aunt, she started to attend Assembleia de Deus where she studied the Bible in Ronga.

In 1984 she turned to Igreja Apostólica Zione because she had a son who was ill. She had no money to go either to a curandeiro or to the hospital. She went to the church, the bishop prayed for the child and it recovered.

Now she has got six alive children (two are dead). Her husband had two women, the other woman died, but he still does not at Eliza's place. He drinks and he does not contribute anything to the household. Her youngest child is an eleven years old boy, who does not go to school because she has no money to enroll him. Her oldest son is 24 but he does not live at home. Eliza has also got a sixteen years old daughter who has got a son of her own. Eliza only works occasionally outside home; when the lemon or mango-trees bear fruit she goes to the market and sells the fruits.

She alone is responsible for the household and she has not other family, except her aunt. She says that the church is her family. Sometimes she sits at home, feeling very sad, thinking about that she has nothing at home, no money to pay food for her children, nothing to give them to eat. Then she goes to the bishop and if he has got some money, rice, bread or whatever he gives it to her. And he prays for her. If he has nothing, she can always go to another woman in the congregation, they are all like sisters, united by God, and they do not have to be afraid or ashamed to ask each other for help.

Eliza is a pastor. She says that there is no difference between men and women in the church; it is like a school - if you are clever you advance. She is also the representative of her church when all the churches in the same organizations have meetings. She wants to get a work but at the same time she is needed in the church .

## **Ana**

Ana is 53 years old. She has got two children but they are grown ups and do not live in Maputo. One lives in Gaza and Ana has a son who she does not know if he is alive or dead. He was in the army and she has not heard from him since 1982. Now Ana lives alone with his daughter, who was abandoned by her mother when she was two years old. The granddaughter is eight years old.

When Ana was young she lived in Gaza and belonged to the Swiss Mission where she went to school and completed grade four. Then her father died and her mother could not afford to keep her at school any longer.

In 1967 her husband died and she came to Maputo to get work so she could sustain her children. She got an employment as a shopassistant and she worked so hard that she did not have much time to go to church. In 1983 she became unemployed. At that time she had a lot of problems and did not feel well; she suffered from head-ache and asthma. To be cured she went to Igreja Apostólica Zione. She recovered, left the Swiss Mission and became a member of the Zionist church.



"I did not stay at the Swiss Mission because I was ill, suffering and without any family," Ana says. "In the Swiss Mission you just go to the masses and that is that. They do not help you with the rest of your life. I did not have any money to go to the hospital and I still do not have any. But the bishop helps me when I am ill. There are illnesses he can not cure, but my head-ache and asthma has disappeared."

Ana still has a lot of problems. She alone is in charge of her granddaughter and says that it is important to keep the girl at school, because when Ana herself dies her granddaughter will be without any family and must have education so she can get an income. But it is very expensive to study: clothes, notebooks, textbooks cost a lot and the only money Ana can get is when she is able to sell some crops from her rather small shamba.

When life is too difficult the church helps her to forget her problems. When she is there singing, praying etc, they disappear, at least for a while. The bishop also helps her with money or food if he can.

## **Cecilia**

Cecilia is 26 years old. She was born in Magude where she went to school and concluded grade six. After that she had to leave school because of the war, the school building was situated far away from her home and it was dangerous to walk there.

She came to Maputo in 1991 because her husband worked there. She has got two children, one four and a half years old daughter and one and a half year old boy. She and her husband are not married because they cannot afford two. Her husband has got a really low income and they have no shamba or any other extra income.

Cecilia is the leader of the youth organization in the church, because she is oldest of them. She likes the Mazoine Church because there people can get cured and she for example has no money to go to the hospital.

Some of the church members are attending a three years long bible course which is held in Bairro Luis Cabral one week every months, but with participants from different congregations in Maputo, including the Catholic Church and several missionary churches.

In Igreja Santa Christa, as in many other Zionist Churches, the women are recommended to breastfeed their children for two and a half years. This can be seen as a form of family planning because a breastfeeding woman is not supposed to have sexual intercourse, and bishop Fenya states that the main reason behind this long period is that there ought to be an interval between the children for the sake of the mother.

We have interviewed some of the believers and the same sort of restrictions apply here as in Sao D'Amaso: our informers are all Portuguese-speakers and they were chosen by the church-leaders. An indicator of the differences between the two bairros is the fact that in Bairro Luis Cabral all men worked during the days and if we wanted to speak to them we had to come out night times, whereas in Sao D'Amaso it was much easier to get in touch with men even at day-time.

## **Aida**

Aida is 30 years old and was born in Xai-Xai. There she went to school and concluded grade 7. In 1980 she moved to Maputo because her husband had got a job there. She has four children, three girls and a boy. The youngest is six years old and the oldest 13. The latter goes to secondary school in town and the other two attend a primary school nearby. She has three brothers in Maputo and one of them lives in the same house as she does with his wife and children.

Aida's husband works at Noticias, the daily newspaper, and she is a house-wife. It is hard for a family to live on one income, though, and to get extra money she bakes bean pies, that she sells at the local market every day.

Till 1990 Aida was a member of the Angelican Church but then she started to go to Igreja Santa Christa. Partly she changed because the Angelican church was far away from her place, but she says that the main reason was that "this church helps me with my life so I do not have any difficulties any longer. If I am ill they help me and if I am too ill to go to

church they come to my place and treat me there. Since I came here I have never been suffering,"

Aida says that it is good to pray. Then you learn what is good and bad in life and how to avoid sins. Sins are above all if you make things that other people do not like.

### **Claudina**

Claudina was born in 1963 in Inhambane. She completed grade four, married and in 1979 she moved to Maputo because her husband got a job here. She has got four children, three girls and one boy. The boy is 6 years old and the girls 13, 9 and 3 respectively. Besides being a house-wife Claudina sells tomatoes, onions and chaircoal at her home.

When she grew up she belonged to the Methodist church, but she started to pray in the Zionist church in 1982. The reason was that she, after having delivered her first child, got pain in her stomach. Her husband took her to the bishop of the Igreja Santa Christa who cured her and she stayed in the church.

"I stayed because this church entered my heart", she says.

### **Maria**

Maria is 13 years old and she was born in Lois Cabral. Her parents are from Inhambane. She has got three brothers; 21, 15 and 10 years old. Her mother is retired but her father works. Her oldest brother works at the market.

Last year Sandra completed grade six with good marks, especially in maths and Portuguese, which were her favourite subjects. She would very much like to continue school but her father says he has got no money to enroll her. (Her brothers go to school). Sandra wants to become a nurse, so she can help other people when they are ill.

Every morning she wakes up early and goes and fetch water. Then she takes care of the garden, cleans the house, washes and cooks. In the afternoon she heats water so her parents can take a bath and serves food. Then she goes together with the rest of the family to church. She is also a member of the youth group.

### **Luisa**

Luisa was born 1955 in Inhambane but when she was one year old she moved with her family to Resano Garcia where she attended primary school. She went to secondary school in Lourenco Marques (the colonial name of Maputo) and she completed grade nine. Thereafter she started to work as a secretary in a factory.

She had a relation with a man with whom she got three children. Now they are 15, 11 and 7 years respectively. The man left her some years ago and married another woman. She receives no help from him.

In 1990 she was made redundant and she has not managed to find another employment. During the years she was employed she built a house where she lived together with her parents and her children. A couple of years ago her parents retired and moved back to Inhambane.

Her two youngest children go to primary school, but her oldest daughter, who was supposed to start secondary school this year, did not manage to get enrolled. They do not have a secondary school in the Bairro and it is difficult to get a place somewhere else. Luisa is very concerned about this and says that her daughter's life will be limited if she does not get any secondary education.

To be able to sustain her children Luisa sells vegetables at the market. She does not have any shamba so once a week she goes to Inhambane with capulanas, soup and other things that she can swap against vegetables.

Luisa used to be a member of the Methodist Church, the same as her parents attended. After they moved she started to go to Igreja Santa Christa instead. She says that God is the same wherever you pray, but she likes this church. "If you do not have any luck in life, the people in the church help you. In this church there is a lot of love and that is what attracts people to come."

### **Micaela**

Micaela was born in Inhambane 57 years ago. She attended grade one at Primary school but she says that she can not read or write. She came to Maputo 20 years ago because her husband got a work. She has got ten children. The oldest is over twenty and works as a journalist. Her three youngest kids go to school, the rest have got different jobs. They all live in Luis Cabral, but some of them have got houses of their own.

Until she retired 4 years ago she used to work as a cleaner in a factory. Now she has a shamba where she grows some crops for the household. She is a counsellor for the younger women in the congregation.

When she was young Micaela was a catholic and later she sometimes went to Assembleia de Deus. Then she became ill; she had pain in her chest, and went to Igreja Santa Christa. Her pain disappeared and she stayed in the church.

"I stayed because it is good here," she says, "life is fine. When someone has any problems the church helps to solve them."

## **Delfina**

Delfina is 25 years old and comes from a place just outside Maputo. Her father died when she was very young and her mother had no money to keep her at school. Delfina can not read or write.

She came to Maputo seven years ago because her husband works at an office in town. She has got three children; ten, eight and four years respectively. The two oldest go to school. At her home she sells oranges and tea.

When her daughter fell ill and always cried she went to Igreja Santa Christa. Her daughter stopped crying and Delfina stayed.

## **CONCLUSION**

The origin of the Independent Churches in Mozambique as well as their religious, social and cultural functions in the society follow the general pattern as described by different writers.

We have above all been interested in the social and educational role of the churches. Religious and philosophical aspects have been discussed mainly to stress their nearness to the traditional world views and the capability of the churches to construct a new version of Christianity built on familiar belief and value systems. At the same time this new version is adapted to the socio- economic realities that are changing fast in Mozambique today.

The traditional society built on the extended family is undergoing profound transformation, both in the cities as a result of urbanisation and in the rural areas where the war has disrupted the family ties. Our investigation has concentrated exclusively on the suburban areas of Maputo, and there we have found, as other investigators before us in other parts of Africa, that the Independent churches have taken over many functions traditionally performed by the society or by the extended family. For many people they have become a substitute for the traditional family.

The women have been severely hit by the changes. Many of them are now alone in charge of their children, without a husband or a family to help them. The churches have become their main support, morally and even economically, and a majority of the believers in the Independent churches are women.

The war and other social transformations have also affected the children. Many live on the streets and criminality and prostitution are increasing problems that affect younger and younger people. When the churches help to restore the family they also help to give the children a safer background. Traditionally the extended family and the society used to take care of the education of the majority of the children. Among other things they were taught moral and ethics, subjects that have been neglected in the formal school - a fact that has been seen as one reason behind the disruption of the traditional value system. The teaching of moral is essential in the youth organisations of the Independent churches and probably it is the old values that are transmitted to the younger generations.

The educational system in Mozambique is in a crisis today. Apart from the fact that it can not enrol all school aged children, in Maputo less than 50 percent, its efficiency is blocked by many weaknesses. Some of these are mechanical teaching methods and subjects that are far from the reality of the children and do not take into account the pupils' cultural heritage.

Within the very limited scope of this paper we have not been able to look very much into to work of the youth organisations of the Independent churches. But judging from the results we have seen in different performances there is no lack of creativity and the cultural heritage is taken care of in the drama, songs and dances. Our immediate conclusion is that the formal school system could gain something in the fields of methods and subject contents by a co-operation with the Independent churches.

Such a co-operation needs much further investigation about how the different youth organisations work, what they teach, how they use the cultural heritage. The Independent churches have the advantage, though, of being where the people are, especially the poor, and their practice is firmly based on tradition and the day-to-day life of its adherents.

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