

**INVESTIGATING THE PREVALENCE OF SATANISM IN  
ZAMBIA WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO KABWE  
DISTRICT**

**BY**

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## **DEDICATION**

To my beloved daughter, Luyando and Dad.

Luyando, true to the meaning of your name, you are to me a living example of unconditional love. I cherish you my daughter.

And to you, Dad: though departed, you are fondly remembered. You were already tired few hours before you finally left us, but you stretched your weary hand to give me a pen, a gesture whose meaning shall remain ever vivid in my mind.

## DECLARATION

Student Number: 3397-624-4

I, HACHINTU KAYUNI JOSEPH, do hereby declare that **Investigating the Prevalence of Satanism in Zambia with Particular Reference to the Kabwe District** is my work and that with the exception of the sources I have used or quoted, which have been indicated by means of complete references, the rest is the outcome of my own investigation.

Signature:.....

Date:.....

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

Much of the material for this report was gathered in 2010-2012 during which period I was fully engaged in teaching at Nkrumah University College. The actual research data derives chiefly from the field work that was conducted in 2011. I am grateful to Mr. Jere Godwin, who was Religious Studies Head of Section at Nkrumah University College, for helping me in finding time within my busy work schedule, to work on my thesis. I am grateful also to my supervisors, Prof. G. Lubbe (UNISA) and Dr. A. Cheyeka (UNZA) for what turned out to be a complete academic freedom to consult them at any time I needed help.

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study examined the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Zambia, with a particular reference to the Kabwe District during the period 2010-2013. The overall objective was to ascertain the claims and speculations on the alleged prevalence of Satanism in the district of Kabwe.

The claims about the alleged prevalence of Satanism and the satanic scare were found by this study to be a reality in Kabwe, with eighty-eight per cent (88%) of the respondents acknowledging the alleged prevalence of the phenomenon. People's knowledge of Satanism was mainly through rumours, messages from Churches and the electronic media. Studies on rumours (by Stephen Ellis, Gerrie Ter Haar and Jeffrey Victor) have shown that rumours can be investigated in the search for facts, especially rumours that offer plausible explanations for people's shared anxieties. The above mentioned scholars argue that with efforts at corroboration, such as by interviewing key informants, the researcher can seek credibility on prevailing rumours by verifying or dismissing mere rumours from true stories.

The assertions from scholars above justified the use of rumours as a methodological tool in this study. From sources of information the study relied on, claims about the alleged prevalence of Satanism in the district were investigated. The study refuted the satanic claims in a number of cases that were analysed, because they were mostly based on 'pious legends' hence lacked objective evidence. From the few incidents that suggested the prevalence of Satanism, there were still two basic problems faced in assessing their credibility: the first being the difficulty in determining the reliability of the confessions from informants who in this case either claimed they were ex-Satanists or served on behalf of Satanists. The second problem consisted in what seemed to be the inconsistency in the explanations of motives behind human killings found in the ritual murders. Some explanations did not suggest satanic motives.

One example of refuted claims concerned the two locations within Kabwe district which were highly rumoured to be sites for Satanists, which were found by this study to be Freemasonry Lodges, contrary to what was rumoured.

From the findings of this study, it was believed that people joined Satanism either because of the greedy for riches or to avoid poverty. It was also believed that other peoples joined Satanism unconsciously through luring methods used by Satanists.

The study also found the satanic scare to have effects on the lives of people in the district. For example, it caused some people to become more committed Christians in their defence against the alleged satanic forces. Because people had associated riches to Satanism, certain individuals avoided getting rich for fear of being labelled 'Satanists'.

## **KEY TERMS**

Black magic; Church of Satan; Demonology; Devil worship; Economic despondency; Kabwe District; Lenje People; Modern Satanism; Occult religion; Ritual murder; Rumours; Satanic Bible; Satanic scare; Satanism; Serial killer; Zambia.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ATR: African Traditional Religion.

CID: Criminal Investigation Department - the department of the Police force that is responsible for solving crime.

IMF: International Monetary Fund.

KCCI: Kabwe Chamber of Commerce and Industry

LDCs: Least Developed Countries - A category of low-income states that are deemed structurally disadvantaged in their development process.

MMD: Multiparty Movement Democracy.

RAs: Research Assistants.

SDA: Seventh-day Adventists. This is usually used in the phrase 'SDA Church', one of the Christian church congregations in Kabwe.

UCZ: United Church of Zambia.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 BACKGROUND

Zambia is one of the countries in the Southern Africa with a rich cultural diversity, characterised by distinct ethnic groups of seventy-three dialects from seven main languages, namely Tonga, Bemba, Nyanja, Luvale, Lunda, Lozi and Kaonde. The Lenje people, who are the natives of Kabwe district, are identified with a Lenje dialect, which is part of the Tonga language.

In terms of religious affiliation, Zambia is predominantly a Christian nation. This has been acknowledged even in the preamble to the country's constitution, following the proclamation by the Second Republican President, Dr. F.T.J. Chiluba on December 29, 1991, that Zambia was a 'Christian Nation'. However, other major world religions (such as Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Baha'i Faith) are represented in the country. Existing alongside these religious traditions is the Traditional Religion. The presence and influence of the African Traditional Religion is still strongly felt, especially in rural areas. Besides, aspects of the occult religion are also alive in the country, either operating independently or within the existing paradigms of the main-line religions.

This study sought to examine the prevalence of Satanism in Zambia, with particular reference to the Kabwe District. There are widespread rumours in Zambia and Kabwe in particular, which recount atrocity stories and scaring incidents about inexplicable deaths or disappearances of people, attributed to the alleged presence of Satanism. Other incidents attributed to Satanism include cases of ritual murder, testimonies from self-confessed ex-Satanists who claim to have belonged to the 'underworld' of the Satanists and other mysterious incidents obtaining in the district, that people suspect to be acts of Satanism. Such rumours and incidents have caused the satanic scare in the district.

This study is, therefore, guided by the following questions: (1) What are the origins of satanic rumours, claims and allegations and how do they arise? (2) Why do so many people believe these rumours / claims or what can explain people's receptiveness to these satanic stories?

(3) What do these rumours, claims and allegations indicate about socio-economic conditions in Kabwe society? (4) What kind of fears and anxieties are experienced by people of Kabwe because of the satanic scare? (5) What effects does the satanic scare have on people's socio-economic and religious lives?

Central to this study, is the argument that, first, Satanism did not just come to Kabwe from without, but from traceable roots outside Zambia. Upon making inroads in Zambia and Kabwe in particular, the phenomenon had to utilise the existing social / religious paradigms for it to gain meaning, acceptance and relevance to those who joined it, in their respective societies.

The direction of this study, therefore, is such that it begins with the analysis of the various socio-economic and religious contexts of the lives of people in Kabwe, in whose events people used Satanism as a paradigm of understanding what was going on. At the core of the analysis, is the assessment of the supposed relationship between religion and economics, which eventually leads to the testing of one of the key objectives of this study: the supposed link between the individuals' search for ways out of the economic despondency and the motivation to enter into an economic arrangement with the spirit world. The economic aspect here comes in because of my assumption that Satanism in Kabwe proliferated mostly during the 1990s because of people seeking ways out of the economic downturn in which the district found itself. The supposition is that during this period, some people could have utilised Satanism to get out of economic despondency while others perceived those who prospered in difficult times as Satanists.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

There were three basic concerns identified by this study, which constituted the Statement of the Problem that prompted the need for this research. The first one was that there had been an increase in incidents purported to be Satanic manifestations in Kabwe. These incidents include among others, ritual murders, mysterious disappearances of people, high-levels of promiscuity and people craving for wealth. It has been well documented elsewhere that these attributes make the essential elements of Satanism.

The second concern was that the very awareness of the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe seemed to present problems. The first problem was the absence of official research-backed acknowledgment of the phenomenon. Despite the continued reports of its incidents, the rationalisation of the existence of Satanism in Kabwe remained something difficult in the absence of research. The absence of research on the subject also made it difficult to know the extent to which Satanism had affected people in the district.

The third concern consisted in the question: Given the suggestion by Banja (2009), Ellis and Ter Haar (2004) of a link between individuals' search for ways out of economic despondency and the motivation to enter into economic arrangements with the spirit world, was the prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe something to do with the district's economic meltdown?

### 1.3 RATIONALE

First, this study served as a starting point in providing basis for the rationalisation of available, yet not documented information on the subject of Satanism in Zambia. A study of this nature was, therefore, necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the subject under investigation, as well as for providing a background for later research and documentation so that the phenomenon in question would become a written subject in Zambia, just like other religious phenomena.

Secondly, Satanism represents spiritual issues of the occult. Issues of the occult require adequate consideration in academic discourse in Zambia, as essential aspects of religious knowledge. It was felt that for them to make good academic reference, they should be well studied and documented. This study was, therefore, going to contribute towards this direction.

Thirdly, the knowledge on the subject of Satanism at the time of the study seemed to have survived mostly on rumours and speculation, kindled by media reports on obtained incidents. According to Ellis and Ter Haar (2004:35), 'rumours have to be investigated because they represent people's attempt to understand the world, usually by attributing causes to effects. They constitute a system of explanations able to organise a great number of loose facts into a coherent whole'. The duo further contends that through interviews, a researcher can verify or dismiss rumours on an issue in question (*ibid.*). The above assertion by Ellis and Ter Haar



justifies the use of rumours in this study to confirm or dismiss the alleged acts of Satanism in Kabwe.

Lastly, the successful completion of this study would, through its findings, contribute to the current knowledge on Satanism in Zambia and Kabwe in particular. This would provide a Zambian-based research at this level. In addition, it would trigger interest in local research even on other issues related to the subject of Satanism.

#### 1.4 OBJECTIVES

This study sought to explore the prevalence of Satanism in Zambia and Kabwe District in particular, hence the major objectives were:

- a) To ascertain the claims and speculations on the alleged prevalence of Satanism in the district.

In a case where the prevalence of Satanism would be confirmed in Kabwe, the study was to further seek:

- b) To determine what prompted people to join Satanism.
- c) To examine whether or not the declining economy of Kabwe had something to do with the proliferation of Satanism.
- d) To explore the effects Satanism or satanic scare might have on people's lives in society.

#### 1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

The prevalence of Satanism seems to be an undeniable fact nearly everywhere in the world today. In Western countries, scholars at first tended to give account of its prevalence under the collective term 'Religion of the Occult', until recently when the term 'Cult of Satanism' seems to begin gaining preference. Discussing the prevalence of the religion of the Occult in the United States, Roger Palms (1973:8) presents a series of scenarios depicting mysterious events, of which the following are deemed relevant to this study:

... One morning following a night time invasion of English Graveyard, stories in the British Press told about desecrated graves, broken crosses, open coffins and the remains of a witch's gatherings. The following night still, other small town English cemeteries are invaded. A person schooled in the black arts says that the desecration is part of a Devil worship ritual and that it is increasing everywhere...

A second incident is a scenario in Michigan's Livingston County:

In a deserted house, a seventeen-year-old girl is found brutally tortured and slain. The two charged with the killing are described as members of the occult group called 'Satan's Satanic Servants' (*Ibid*).

Another example given by Palms is an incident where Patrick Michael Newell was killed in Vineland, New Jersey, after which his companion told the police that they killed him at his own request. It was said that Newell had given instructions to the colleagues to kill him so that he would return to earth in a different form as a leader of Satan's Devils.

Still in America, scholars have written specifically on Modern Satanism, as opposed to treating the subject under the general reference to 'The Occult Religion'. Chris Mathews, for instance, attempts to narrate a number of incidents or crimes said to be engineered by Satanists. He contends that an analysis of such crimes has not been an easy task in the absence of what he terms an 'International Criminal Network' of Devil worshippers (Mathews, 2009:130). The only way forward in the analysis of such crimes, according to him, is to consider the doctrine of Modern Satanism, its relationship to legal and social issues and the attitude towards satanic crimes. He says no matter how objective investigators may be, they often end up getting disturbed by the increasing number of Satanic Bibles found at crime sites, or in the personal effect of mass murders. According to Barton (1990:216), a further investigation into scenes behind Satanic crimes seem to reveal that the Satanic thoughts release forces within unstable Satanists, which they are not able to control. Barton adds that the work of the founder of Modern Satanism, Anton Szandor LaVey, is constantly romanticising with validation of strength, as well as an emphasis on hatred and vengeance. These, he says, are easily used as justification for violence. But LaVey's reactions to documented satanic crimes are blunt:

... LaVey maintains that he is not concerned with accusations of people killing their fellow human beings in the name of Satan. He swears that each time he reads of a new killing spree, his only reaction is, 'what 22 people? Is that all?'... 'I would rather be in the company of killers than in the company of wimps...' (Mathews, 2009:130).

## 1.6 BACKGROUND TO SATANISM

Satanism is a phenomenon that has been in existence for some time, though its existence has sometimes been characterised by a thin delineating line between fact and fiction. According to Mathews (2009:1), 'Satan has by far the richest genealogy of any religious or mythological figure.' With a history that stretches more than 3,000 years into the past, the biography of the great beast (*Satan*) reaches further than written accounts. It passes through the poems of the nineteenth-century French poets and English romantics, hedonistic eighteenth-century Hellfire Clubs, renaissance witch-hunts, Secret Societies. It also passes through medieval knights, dark age heretical sects, Papal edicts, early Christian Splinter Schools and biblical scriptures – both apocryphal and canonical. Satan's ancestry is, therefore, said to be the result of an elaborate cross-breeding of traditions that have spanned millennia.

## 1.7 MODERN SATANISM

The question why the very idea of Satanism came about and what has made it proliferate up to the modern times has been a concern for some scholars. A variety of explanations have been given, depending on one's viewpoint. Palms (1973:16) for instance says:

...any observers of the mood of the times have noted that the Western man has become so baffled by the very complex social and economic problems that he has lost his faith in scientific reason and is increasingly attracted to the kind of irrational solutions offered by the occult.

Whatever the case, the beginning of Modern Satanism can be traced to the founding of the Church of Satan by Anton Szandor LaVey (1930-1997). It has been argued that Religious Satanists existed in the 1950s, both in the United States and in the United Kingdom, but they were little known to the public. Legends describe how Modern Satanism burst into mass consciousness on Walpurgisnacht, on April 30, 1966, when LaVey announced the creation of the Church of Satan. It is said that LaVey was teaching weekly lectures on occult topics for \$2.00 charge per person during the Spring of 1965. A professional publicist, Edward Webber, suggested that:

...he would never make any money by lecturing on Friday nights for donations ... it would be better to form some sort of church and get a charter from the State of California ... I told Anton at the time that the press was going to flip out over all this and that we would get a lot of notoriety (<http://www.churchofsatan.com>).

It was therefore not until the 1960s and onward, with the birth of an embryonic 'Church of Satan' and Anton LaVey (its founder) that the concept of 'Satanism' began to assume a somewhat new and comprehensive form. It is said that it was triggered by a newspaper article that referred to LaVey as the '*priest of the Devil's church*'. LaVey is widely believed to have been the technical advisor for the 1968 movie *Rosemary's Baby*. He claimed to have played the part of the Devil in that film. Apparently, his only involvement with the movie was that he was once asked by a theatre in San Francisco to make a promotional appearance when the film opened. However, LaVey seems to have been involved as an advisor in a later movie '*The Devil's Rain*', which was released in 1975. He appeared in the movie as a satanic *priest*. Some chants and symbols in the movie come from his writings. Mathews (2009:48) observes that during this period, '...the lines between fact and fiction about Satanism became much easier to track'.

#### **1.7.1 The Composition and Characteristic Features of Modern Satanism**

Modern Satanism recognises Satan generally as a life principle of philosophy. Its followers are usually adults, although some may be mature teenagers. Of the established traditions that exist, the largest and long surviving is the Church of Satan. Other traditions have come and gone, with most being ephemeral.

According to the United States Census of 1991, only 335 citizens claimed to be Satanists, which would create an estimated national total of about 350 Satanists. The actual total is probably significantly larger. An accurate account may be impossible because it is said that the Church of Satan does not release its membership totals. Local groups of Satanists may be called *grottos*, *pylons*, *temples*, or by any similar name. They correspond to Christian congregations and a modern form of witchcraft organisations called Wiccan Covens that are common in America. Many Satanists feel that Wiccans are hypocrites, because they restrict their work to positive healing activities. Satanists use Magic and other rituals to benefit themselves and their friends, but also use these same rituals to harm their enemies. Satanists tend to be highly critical of all other faiths. They are particularly opposed to Christianity, because of its paramount position in Western society and the historical persecution of Satanists and other religious minorities by Christians (Mathews, 2009:131).

### 1.7.2 Modern Satanic Principles, Beliefs and Practices

The Satan recognised by most Modern Satanists has little or nothing to do with the conservative Muslim or Christian view of Satan. Their concept is pre-Christian, taken from Pagan images symbolic of power, virility, sexuality and sensuality. This Satan is more of a *life-force*, as opposed to a living quasi-deity and has nothing to do with *Hell* (another Christian concept), demons, torture, bargaining with people's souls, cannibalism, sacrifices, or other profoundly evil deeds.

Different traditions of Modern Satanists accept a number of common tenets. First, all of them respect Satan as a principle rather than a deity. Followers do not worship him, just as Buddhists do not worship the Buddha. In all of them, emphasis is placed in the power of the individual, rather than in a god or goddess and each person is their own redeemer and is expected to be fully responsible for all actions and consequences. Satanists respect life and view children and animals as the purest form of life force. Those who believe in Satan as a living entity, do not worship him, but engage in a working partnership with him (unlike Christians, who worship and pray to their God). Satanists also believe that one should live life to the full and encourage the individual to explore his/her lusts and desires. They follow many rules, beliefs and practices that contradict Christianity and most other religions. Uniqueness and creativity are encouraged. Many Satanists use their main symbol, the *Sigil of Baphomet*. This is a goat's head, drawn within an inverted pentagon (a five-pointed star with one point downward and two up, enclosed by a circle). Some sources say that it is a registered trademark of the Church of Satan. It is not; for it was also used in the nineteenth century. Satanists have occasionally engaged in a *Black Mass* for publicity purposes, in which the Roman Catholic Mass is ridiculed. Nevertheless, their rituals have no connection with those of Christianity (<https://open-site.org/society/Religion/Satanism>).

Satanism is also said to have incorporated the popular media. Heavy metal music has often been associated with Satanism, especially through the lyrical content of the music's several bands and their frequent use of imagery often tied to *left hand path* beliefs (such as the upside-down pentagram). However, such musicians do not believe in legitimate satanic ideology and often profess to be atheists, agnostics, or religious sceptics. In some instances, followers of the *right hand path* religions use Satanic references for entertainment purposes and shock value (Stuessy, 1990: 378).

An American vocalist, Glen Benton (cited in Mathews, 2009: 132) is reported to have once openly claimed to be a practitioner of Theistic Satanism and spoke publicly against Christians on numerous occasions. Mercyful Fate singer King Diamond also openly admitted to practicing Satanism, which is widely and explicitly present in the album 'Don't Break The Oath'. Norwegian black metal artists such as Euronymous from Mayhem and Infernus from Gorgoroth have also identified themselves as Satanists who actively promoted their beliefs. Numerous Church burnings that occurred in parts of Norway in the early 1990s were also attributed to youths involved in the Black Metal Movement, which included people claiming to have theistic satanic beliefs and strong anti-LaVeyan attitudes. However, the legitimacy of such actions as Satanic endeavours, rather than simply rebellious actions done publicly, is something that has been doubted by even those who contribute to the genre of Modern Satanism.

In the popular media, an American singer Rihanna was rumoured to use satanic symbolism in her videos, images and music. Such symbolism was rumoured to include the Eye of Horus, *back masking* and subliminal messages. These allegations have, however, been denied by the singer (Stuessy, 1990: 379).

Heron (2008: 40) quotes LaVey in one of his writings saying: 'Satan represents all of the so called sins, as all lead to physical, mental or emotional gratification'. He cites the Satanic Black Masses, which are performed on the body of a nude woman, which starts with a prayer calling upon Satan, for example: '*In nomine Dei nostril Satanas Luciferi excelsi...*' (meaning: 'In the name of our God Satan Lucifer glorious'). Heron refers to Satanists as very fully and very explicitly anti-Christians. Their use of Black Mass, he says, is deliberate parody of the Catholic Mass. He adds that sex and blood seem to play important parts in their rituals. Heron further observes that Satanists are known for organising sexual orgies and rape, ritual and sexual abuses of children. Other activities included in the satanic acts as noted by Heron, include torturing of their (Satanists') victims, human sacrifice, the procurement and eating of foetuses.

Heron cites an incident where one Senior Police Officer from the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D) affirmed that such incidents and practices certainly do happen, though not as widely as people sometimes may claim. The police officer further said that it could not

be easily affirmed though, that every satanic group was involved in the cited activities. ‘Obviously’, he said, ‘it is very difficult to obtain the sort of proof that would be required in a law court’. Heron quotes the Police Officer using an example of a therapist who can be quite right in judging that a particular child has been the object of ritual sexual abuse, while at the same time the police rightly decide that there is inadequate evidence to secure a conviction in a law court ( *ibid*: 41).

Mathews (2009:16) cites a typical example of a Modern Satanic ceremony, where LaVey took the Black Mass as an invention of the Christian Mass and made it the ritual counterpiece of his new order. On this particular occasion and in a confinement Mathews refers to as a *Ritual Chamber*, he describes the Mass organised by LaVey as a time-honoured method of witches and black arts practitioners to parody the Christian service, while paying homage to their own deity or spirits. The subversive nature of the Mass, its clandestine history and diametric opposition to conversional religious practices made it a powerful vehicle for the Satanists, both symbolically and magically. LaVey incorporated a sinister element there, by draping a long black cloak over his shoulders and wearing a traditional priest’s uniform and horned skull cap over his shaven head. The ceremony was conducted with a naked *acolyte* reclining on an altar and a large audience in the background. The infernal names, mostly the titles of gods and goddesses of long-forgotten and of underground faiths were read out and the passion of the flesh exalted. The workings of LaVey’s ritual chamber were strongly focussed on the psychological power of the Mass where, unlike the situation of the witches of old, the high priest and his congregation did not celebrate their rites in secret. The Black Mass was forthrightly performed and well published. Mathews hence talks of the Black Mass as ‘the *Church of Satan’s trade mark*’. So publicly conducted, it eventually became a cause of concern and worry to non members. One worried neighbour in the same locality, while witnessing one of the Satanists’ sessions in progress had this to say:

... there is something definitely going wrong over there! I just have a feeling I can’t trust him [LaVey]. There are women there who are without clothes – naked! And the men wear a kind of black hooded robe. And sometimes from my window I can see a kind of red light and silhouettes like Devils. And one silhouette, a big one, maybe it’s him, standing over the whole crowd and preaching (Nick Bougas in the *Wavelength Video*, 1993).

The neighbour was a woman interviewed in the diablomontary Satanism: *The Devil’s Mass*, one of the numerous and outrageous methods that the Church of Satan used to promote itself.

Talking about satanic incidents in the United States, Mathews (2009:218) gives a statistical figure of 40 people killed collectively by the four killers who were LaVey's preferred company. One of the four named Baker, was found with half-eaten human fingers and a copy of a Satanic Bible. He was later judged insane. The author also gives a separate incident involving a man by the name of James Hubert, who machine-gunned down 40 people (killing 21) in a certain McDonald's restaurant after losing his job as a security guard. LaVey is quoted as having taken credit for this crime in his list of '*Curses and Coincidences*' in one of the publications entitled '*The Secret Life of a Satanist*,' an action described by Barton (1990) as vulgar. The Night Stalker Killer, Richard Ramirez, was another notorious and high profile Satanist in crimes ever heard of. Ramirez committed brutal murders and rapes in California in 1984 and 1985. Appearing in court with a pentagram tattooed on his hand, he was convicted of 13 murders and 11 sexual assaults. The court gave Ramirez the death sentence (Barton 1990:198). In a later addition to his personal mythology, LaVey claims to have briefly met and brushed off the younger killer in a chance-street encounter. He commented, 'When I met Richard Ramirez, he was a nicest, most polite young man you would ever want to meet... a model of deportment'.

Given the evidence of serial killers in the United States, I may pose the question: What keeps the Satanist from breaking the law? Mathews (2009:13) contends that in any case of illegal activity with a satanic element, the established Satanic Churches are quick to deny the knowledge of the person involved and even generally, deny that the individual is a proper Satanist. Mathews says that this double standard is common among Satanists. He adds that despite Satanists' fondness for serial killers, the Satanic Bible emphasises that Satanism is a law abiding religion. He says that one of its central doctrines is the tautological refrain '*Responsibility to the responsible*'. In LaVey's view, this implies that everyone in a satanic society must experience the consequences of his own actions – for good or for ill (LaVey, 1992:94). The meaning of this slippery doctrine was finally pinned down in the documentary speech of the Devil as follows:

We believe in taking responsibility for our own actions and not saying, of course as a Christian would, that the Devil made me do it. If it is an anti-social act, we have to weigh the decision to do it, whether or not we are caught, or get punished, it's really worth it. And we do not depend so much upon conscience, as we do upon pragmatism (Wavelength Video, 1993).



This seems to imply that the Satanists stay within the bounds of the law only out of fear of punishment, not out of respect for the principles of law or moral qualms concerning victims. It also seems that legal boundaries can be ignored at the individual's discretion – so long as the individual is ready to accept the consequences of being caught. The satanic imperative to follow the laws also becomes conditional. If the individual feels a particular act is justified, then he or she is entitled to commit it, regardless of any other considerations, be they legal, moral or social. As already noted, this picture portrays the notion of Satanism in an American society. The situation may be different elsewhere.

### 1.7.3 Satan as Scapegoat

Referring to the Judeo-Christian era, Mathews (2009:18) contends that Satan was necessary for a monotheistic pre-modern religion such as Christianity, for it needed to find a way to explain the presence of evil to its followers. Part of the reasons for this necessity, he argues, was that complex arguments on the nature of *free will* could have been there to satisfy the church intellectuals, but they were not particularly effective on illiterate peasants. By elevating and elaborating Satan's role in biblical sources, Christianity absolved its *God of evil*. This meant that it found or rather created its scapegoat. As a consequence, Satan is associated with a number of very real, very human desires and emotions. Mathews argues that it was not a coincidence that what came to be referred to as the '*Seven Deadly Sins*' characterising the Modern Satanism are all sins of the self-indulgence, which include *lust, gluttony, greed, sloth, wrath, envy and pride*. Aligning the Devil and his fate with the temptations that ordinary people felt, the church warned its flock of the dangers that lurked beyond its protection, lest they meet the snares of Satan.

Satan's role as scapegoat and association with all-too-human desires had the effect of making him attractive to marginalised members of society and helps explain the small pockets of (purported) Devil worship throughout history. This therefore, implies that any individual who feels a weakness to more earthly desires, to fleshly pleasures, is automatically aligned with Satan. This seems to have given grounds to the Bible's explicitly placing the spirit and the flesh in opposition:

But I say, walk by the spirit and you will not gratify the desires of the flesh. For the desires of the flesh are against the spirit and the

desires of the spirit are against the flesh, for these are opposed to each other, to keep you from doing the things you want to do...the works of the flesh are evident: sexual immorality, impurity, sensuality, idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, fits of anger, rivalries, dissension, divisions, envy, drunkenness, orgies and things like these, (Galatians 5:16-21).

It then followed that invoking the Devil as a justification of natural desires was a logical and predictable step for anyone who wished to escape the repression of the dominant teachings of the church. The repression itself resulted in a legitimisation of the dissident groups and sects. It is argued that it was the persecution of unorthodox views that stimulated interest in these sects and groups, resulting in a self-perpetuating and frequently circular mythology, as Richard Cavendish writes:

The principle beliefs and rituals of medieval witches seem to have come from the Cathars, the Luciferans and other sects accused of worshipping the Devil. It is also likely that the later persecutions of Satanist sects and the witch trials themselves stimulated the activities they were intended to suppress (Cavendish, 1967: 303).

Cavendish's assessment seems to hold substance. The Luciferans, for example, were accused by the church of indulging in Black Masses and depraved orgies, in complete contradiction to their beliefs. These rumours became the basis and justification of later practice. In the Church's attempt to recognise the common enemy, all of these groups – the Knights Templar, witches, Luciferans – have been claimed by modern movements as spiritual ancestors. The so-called Marginalised Contrary Spiritual Movements of today identify themselves with these historical counterparts. From the persecution their antecedents faced, they are able to see the condemnation they feel today.

With the passage of time, Satan became increasingly attractive to artists, poets, writers and painters in the modern era. Mathews (2009) argues that as Western society developed and the Church's influence slowly eroded, it became acceptable to 'bring Satan further from the shadows'. Satan's close association with sex and the obvious connection between sex and creation, became a powerful formula for modern artists and writers. His outsider status (outside of perceived normal society) made him a perennial favourite for those dwelling on the fringes or in many cases, beyond the fringes of acceptable society. Just as apostles and Church Doctors used the Devil to warn of the dangers of the flesh, modern figures began to invoke his name with increasing frequency and bluntness to '*celebrate*' the joys of the flesh.

This seems to justify the later emergency of *Hellfire Clubs* in the West, being one example of where such indulgence took place.

From here, then we begin to see what was initially the Theistic or Biblical Satanism gradually becoming something else, assuming the different form in the modern era under influence of certain factors. Scholars (such as Mathews) have singled out some of these factors, which in their view pre-figured the 'new version' of Satanism today called *Modern Satanism*. This will become more apparent in the subsequent sub-chapters. This entails categorisation of Satanism into some kind of 'Traditional' versus 'Modern'. The traditional type being the Theistic *Satanism*, a category comprising those Satanists who 'venerate Satan as a supernatural deity' (<http://modern.satanism.com/satanism>). This categorisation may only be for the purposes of academic analysis for Satanists themselves usually would not specify which type of Satanism they adhere to and do not necessarily adopt it.

## 1.8 SATANIC DIASPORA

From the mid-1970s onward, various satanic groups proliferated. LaVey had brought the term into mainstream discourse and different applications of it abound. He had made a considerable number of followers from various quarters. In addition to the Church of Satan defectors, there were numerous satanic groups that never affiliated with LaVey but simply took his ideas as a springboard of modern Satanism. Some were merely variations on a LaVeyan theme, some almost exact duplicates. The majority were either very small, very short-lived, or both. Estimating the membership and influence of the various groups is something difficult, especially in a field as dramatic and attention garnering as Satanism. The *Satanic Diaspora* that has taken place is said to be responsible for the proliferation of Satanism in various quarters of the world (Mathews, 2009: 49).

Despite heavy criticism from other religious groups, there are signs that satanic beliefs have become more socially tolerated, especially in America and European countries. For instance, Satanism is now officially allowed in the Royal Navy of the British Armed Forces, despite much opposition from Christians and in 2005 the Supreme Court in the United States debated over protecting the religious rights of prison inmates after a lawsuit challenging the issue was filed to them. The number of practitioners of Satanism has also been found to be on the rise

in places like Poland, despite the country's long reputation as Europe's most devoutly Catholic country in recent years (Cavendish, 1967:173).

Though Modern Satanist groups are said to be widely diverse, the two major trends namely Religious Satanism and Atheistic Satanism have emerged prominent. Religious Satanism being the one that began with the founding of the Church of Satan in 1966 and Atheistic Satanists being those who consider themselves atheists and regard Satan as merely symbolic of certain human traits ( as shall be noted later under the 'Intellectual Precursors to Modern Satanism' in the sub-chapter that follows). Atheistic Satanists only believe in God in the sense of a *Prime Mover* but, still worship themselves, due to the *deist belief* that God plays no part in mortal lives. In this context of Modern Satanism, the term Satanism itself may therefore be defined as:

A direction and a school of religious beliefs that comprise a number of related ideologies and philosophical beliefs and social phenomena. They share the feature of symbolism, traditions, veneration or admiration of Satan and/or similar figures or personifications of powers or ideologies (<http://modernsatanism.com>).

## 1.9 INTELLECTUAL PRECURSORS TO MODERN SATANISM

Numerous faiths and folklores, philosophies or ideologies have been considered to have contributed to the creation of a modern satanic figure as rich in resonance as it sounds today. These are said to have played the role of antecedents to Modern Satanism. Since the different faiths and folklores may have already been referred to, I shall here focus on some philosophies, literary works and ideologies that have been considered influential to the development of modern Satanism.

Cavendish (1967:51) begins his argument on the subject of Intellectualism and Modern Satanism by noting that certain notable philosophers and social theorists have long concerned themselves with the complex relationship between human nature and the body politic in a complex manner. He considers the various philosophies and theories brought about by such individuals to have intellectually pre-figured the Modern Satanism. These antecedents to Modern Satanism may be analysed under what he referred to as Political Pessimism, Radical Individualism, Occultic Digression, Satan in Many Faces and lastly, the Philosophy of Egoism.

### 1.9.1 Political Pessimism

One example of the Intellectual Precursors to Modern Satanism is the Political Pessimism. Mathews has used the umbrella term '*Political Pessimism*' in reference to the influence of the principles of Malthusian Pessimism and Social Darwinism to modern Satanism.

In analysing the principle of Malthusian, Mathews says it all began far back in the Eighteenth Century when the English demographer Thomas Malthus, in his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) announced that drastic measures were needed to curb population growth. Malthus claimed that, because population growth grows geometrically while food supply increases arithmetically, the great masses of humanity would suffer from limited supplies of food by the middle of the following century. To combat the anticipated widespread famine, Malthus advocated limitations on reproduction (a measure which was later argued that it only targeted the poor). One common criticism Malthus' analysis of humans suffered was that it did not do much to give enthusiasm for his ideas simply because it focussed exclusively on population and human supply, while failing to anticipate the growth of the increasingly sophisticated and productive farming techniques (Mathews, 2009: 28). Even though Malthus' principle lacked support, it is argued that his insights still exert influence today. This is because his essay and its focus on the evolution of population had another unforeseen consequence of making yet another English man by the name of Charles Darwin, to come up with what is still today an influential theory.

It has been noted that of all the discoveries that have challenged the primacy of religion, none has been as devastating as Darwin's theory of descent with modification. Charles Darwin (1809-1882), a naturalist and biologist, presented his life's research in the *Origin of Species* (1859), later applying his findings directly to humanity in the *Descent of Man* (1871). Darwin showed that species evolve over huge periods of time, far longer than the biblical account of world history allowed for. Similar theories had been advanced previously, but Darwin, indebted in part to Malthus' underscoring of intraspecies competition in the struggle for existence, provided the first account of the mechanism by which species evolve, called the Natural Selection. Darwin showed that in every reproductive population, favourable traits would tend to be preserved and unfavourable ones would tend to be destroyed. Over time, the population would evolve. It was a simple idea which became uniquely powerful.

The Darwinian revolution is said to have been too important to be limited to the natural sciences, since it was also a philosophical revolution. It removed humanity from the centre of creation, thereby denying nature the benevolent designer. As a consequence, it directly rejected the Genesis creation story and according to Mathews, undermined the role for a creator. The long-term implications for religious belief in particular were profound. It meant key processes in the natural world being explained without reference to divine or biblical authority, thereby shattering what are referred to as the anthropocentric assumptions of theism. By revealing the natural mechanisms that drive the organic change, Darwin contributed enormously to the demystification of nature (Mathews, 2009: 29).

The phrase *survival of the fittest* was, however, not the formulation of Darwin, but of his contemporary - the philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820-1903). Spencer was already devoted to the general notion of evolution and social progress (from Jean-Baptiste Lamarck) well before the publication of *Origin of Species*. For example, in his 1857 article '*Progress: Its Law and Causes*,' he argued that 'the law of organic progress is the law of all progress,' and applied its principles well beyond merely the biological realm:

Whether it be in the development of the Earth, in the development of life upon its surface, the development of society, of Government, of manufacturers, of commerce, of language, literature, science, art, this same evolution of the simple into complex, through a process of continuous differentiation, holds throughout (Herbert Spencer, in Mathews, 2009: 30).

Because of his belief in the parallel nature of biological and social development, Spencer is often referred to as the '*chief architect of Social Darwinism*'. His theory was promoted mostly by the nineteenth-century capitalists.

The ethical implication of these theories gained much legacy, especially when combined with yet another influential contemporary theory of Eugenics. Francis Galton, a geneticist and Darwin's half-cousin, coined the term 'eugenics' in 1883 to describe the process of planned hereditary improvement of the human race by controlled selective breeding. Galton encouraged the use of eugenics to assist the so-called more suitable races or strains of blood in overcoming the less suitable. In practice, this entailed encouraging the breeding of those with supposedly noble qualities and the forced sterilisation of the weak, disabled or poor. At this stage in time, Social Darwinism and Eugenics became popular with Western intellectuals.

Winston Churchill, H.G Wells and a number of American industrialists openly endorsed and applied the concepts well into the twentieth century (Rand, 1957: 931).

As the Darwinist and Eugenic thought was waning, another equally important and radical philosophy commonly called *Radical Individualism* arose. Founded by Max Stirner (1806-1856), the philosophy was based on principles of extreme individual egoism, nihilism, anarchism and even fascism. Stirner's popularity led to a lot of unjust Eugenics programmes in a number of countries, including America and played a central role in Nazi racial policy. In fact, the use of social Darwinist and Eugenics thought to justify mass exterminations during World War II proved clearly the moral failing of these theories and both fields were almost entirely abandoned.

It seems, therefore, that the political pessimism as fostered by Malthus' and Darwin's theories laid foundations where modern Satanism possibly based its challenges of conversional religions' superiority.

### 1.9.2 **Radical Individualism**

Another example of the Intellectual Precursors to Modern Satanism is the Radical Individualism. Its main work, *The Ego and Its Own* (1844), an unorthodox anti-authoritarian critique of Western society, led Friedrich Engels to label the author (Stirner) as the *enemy of all constraint*. Fiercely critical of morality, the state, religion and all fixed ideas or absolute concepts, Stirner argued in favour of the complete autonomy of the individual. He was quoted as saying 'I am my own only when I am master of myself, instead of being mastered either by sensuality or by anything else' (Stirner, 2005:169).

In this radical vision, the phrase 'anything else' includes religion, laws, educational systems, or any aspect of society that encroaches on the individual. Mathews (2009) argues that by combining this emphasis on total freedom with self-empowerment at the expense of others, Stirner advanced a vision that often bends to the extreme right:

My intercourse with the world, what does it aim at? I want to have the enjoyment of it, therefore, it must be my property and therefore, I want to win it. I do not want the liberty of men, nor their equality, but I want only my power over them; I want to make them my property, material for enjoyment (Stirner, 2005:318).

Stirner's sentiments cited above were considered to be among the common elements of Modern Satanism.

Echoes of Stirner's dissident individualism can be found in the anti-Christian polemicist Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900). Nietzsche is one of the most recognisable figures in philosophy, with his writings being one of the most influential in the Modern Age. Convinced that he lived in a time of cultural sickness and decay, of widespread dehumanisation brought about by mass industrialisation, Nietzsche championed a new focus on creative energies to counter the modern over-reliance on rationalistic thinking and promoted an elitist philosophy that shifted the focus away from the heavens and afterlife onto the joys of existence.

Nietzsche's work comes from a strong vein of anti-Christian and frequently loud atheistic – German writing:

I condemn Christianity...The Christian church has left nothing untouched by its corruption. It has turned every value into invaluable, every truth into a lie, every integrity into a vileness of the soul...I call Christianity the one great innermost corruption, the one great instinct of revenge, for which no means is poisonous, stealthy, subterranean, small enough... I call it the one immortal blemish of humankind (Nietzsche, 1976:655-56).

Nietzsche viewed religious observances as dangerous and misplaced pieties, from which perspective he drew up his most notorious statement that '*God is dead,*' in his 1882 work entitled *The Gay Science*. He raised these questions and remarks:

Is God alive? ... I will tell you. We have killed him- you and I. All of us are his murderers. Do we not hear anything and yet of the noise of gravediggers who are burying God? Do we not smell anything yet of God's decomposition? Gods too decompose. God is dead. God remains dead. And we have killed him... What are these churches now if they are not the tombs and sepulchre of God? (*Ibid*: 25-26).

Mathews contends that Nietzsche's meaning, entirely metaphorical in its intent, was not that God had literally died, but that the idea of God was dead. He also implied that humanity was responsible for the collapse of the Christian worldview and the divine and that all that was left was to acknowledge it. Christianity, he proclaimed, was simply obsolete.



In the modern world, however, this concept was simply untenable and could no longer offer existential consolation or a basis for morality to humanity (Mathews, 2009:32). As Nietzsche renounced transcendent conceptions of morality, he instead identified two historical moral codes at work in Western culture: that of the ruling class (*master morality*) and that of the oppressed class (*slave morality*). By Nietzsche's account, the oppression of the Romans which represented the philosophy of might, strength and power, had caused the early Christians to respond by making virtues of their weakness. As a consequence of this, egalitarianism, piety and brotherly love were extolled as honourable, though they were little more than the values of the spiritually and physically weak, the triumph of mediocrity as a virtue. In order to rise above this repressive slave (which is Christianity) morality that corrupts society, Nietzsche called for a '*revolution of values*'. He wished to move beyond the false *dichotomy of good and evil*, which he called a product of the so-called slave revolt in morality, towards a realisation that life is something amoral and that moral judgements are both *arbitrary* and *subjective* (Nietzsche, 1968: 187).

To respond to the crisis of values he had diagnosed, Nietzsche presented in *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (1883-1885), the concept of *the Superman*, a higher type of man who had moved both beyond Christianity and nihilism. The Superman turns away from the heavens and towards the earth, embracing creativity, life affirmation and the possibility of becoming more than human. Central to this development is the idea that 'Man is something that shall overcome' and the idea of the will to power, the deep-set instinctual growth of all life toward an accumulation of forces and power, as he asserts:

... What is good? Everything that heightens the feeling of power in man, the will to power, power itself. What is bad? Everything that is born of weakness. What is happiness? The feeling that power is growing; that resistance is overcome (Nietzsche, 1976:570).

Nietzsche's sentiments above, however, sound ambiguous. The exact form of power being discussed is not clarified. Nevertheless, the central thesis of his work is clear: dominant Western (Christian) morality and values – piety, repentance, sin and guilt – are all false and must be discarded. All forms of mediocrity have to be forsaken and creative, expansive tendencies encouraged. Weakness of any sort is condemned, for he seems to make frequent attacks on conformity and compliance in general, which he dubbed '*herd mentality*'. In *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, castigation of the '*herd*,' the '*superfluous*,' and the '*rabble*' is endless.

His pitiless, elitist vision held scorn for the vast majority of humanity, honouring only those who excelled and rose above the masses.

Nietzsche's contemporary influence seems to be unsurpassed. There might be many reasons for his continued attractiveness to modern readers. His fierce combative intellect, flamboyant writing style, passionate nature of his critique and fervent irreligiousness, are some of them. Following the concerted assault on the Christian worldview by Darwin and Marx, soon joined by Freud, the intellectual world was, in many ways, ready for Nietzsche.

### 1.9.3 An Occultic Digression

The major scholar in what has commonly been termed an '*Occultic Digression*' is Aleister Crowley (1875-1947). Born in Warwickshire in England, Crowley attended public schools and studied at Trinity College. His enviable position as the heir to his family's brewery fortune allowed him to follow any path he saw fit. For instance, he chose mountaineering, esoteric studies, poetry, bi-sexual excess and drug experimentation. As a prolific writer and an adventurer, Crowley travelled widely in search of arcane knowledge and higher mountains. He also became extraordinarily notorious for his personal conduct and sexual extravagance, which earned him a reputation as 'the wickedest man in the world' (Booth, 2000:394).

Crowley became a member of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, a highly influential occult order, in 1898. His membership brought him into contact with MacGregor Mathers, W.B. Yeast and other prominent occultists, propelling him to further travel and studies of tantric yoga, Buddhism, meditation and ceremonial magic. He hence wrote his famous work, *The Book of the Law*, in Cairo in 1904 while he was travelling under the name 'Chioa Khan,' literally 'Great Beast.' One day while in Cairo, a spirit named Aiwass, apparently an emissary of the Egyptian god Horus, dictated its 220 verses to the scribe-priest Crowley. These verses were dense, cryptic, allusive and frequently incomprehensible that even Crowley battled to interpret them. However, the work was considered a sacred text of Thelema, the label Crowley appropriated for his system of occultic philosophy. It is believed that the name 'Thelema' came from Francois Rabelais, a Renaissance individualist writer, whose work's central theme was '*Do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the Law*' (Crowley, 2004: 40).

In 1914 Crowley became the head of the Ordo Templi Orientis (Ancient Order of Oriental Templars), a magical society that claimed the heritage of a number of esoteric orders, including the Night Templar's purported idol called Baphomet. The order's propensity to include sex in rituals suited Crowley perfectly. Sexual magic became increasingly important to his system, as he saw it as a way to harness physical and psychological energy, both internal and external. His book of the Law strongly advocates sexual liberation for male and female alike. Numerous passages address the nature of the so-called Scarlet woman, through whom whoredom in Crowley's eyes, badly defamed by the Book of Revelation (in the Bible) eighteen centuries earlier, will be redeemed, such as 'Let her work the work of wickedness! Let her kill her heart! Let her be loud and adulterous! Let her be covered with jewels and rich garments and let her be shameless before all men' (Crowley, 2004: 44).

In practice, these sex magic explorations led to one of his most notorious acts: the 1921 ritual in which Crowley persuaded his Scarlet Woman to have sex with a he-goat. The goat, however, did not perform, but Crowley substituted and the animal's throat was slit to complete the ceremony.

The system of magic that emerged from Crowley was dubbed '*Magick*,' a synthesis of Eastern and Western mystical and esoteric traditions. Equally importantly, it was a quasi-scientific approach to spirituality and magic, with his ideas frequently presented in seemingly scientific language. The best example is his highly influential *Magick in Theory and Practice* (1930). MAGICK is taken to mean '*the Science and Art of causing change to occur in conformity with will*' (Crowley 1998:126). With a strong focus on spiritual enlightenment, Crowley believed in advancement through the magical orders by development of will-power, self-control, meditation and prayer. The central Thelemic creeds remained '*Do what thou wilt*' and '*Love is the law, love under will*'.

Crowley's philosophising was not limited to only mystical and magic(k)al concerns. It is said that he had an aristocratic social outlook and often echoed Nietzsche and other radical social critics strongly, particularly in his calls for a reevaluation of all values and contempt for Christian slave morality. He had a dismissive attitude towards traditional moral limitations. Writing to a friend in 1905, he is quoted as having said: 'I want blasphemy, murder, rape, revolution, anything bad or good, but strong...Mercy be off; damn them who pity! Kill and torture, spare not; be upon them!' (Crowley, 2004:160).

Crowley's sentiments, as quoted in *The Book of the Law*, are repeatedly punctured by contempt for humanitarian virtues, that later found voices in stock in the social Darwinist and anti-Christian rhetoric:

Nature's way is to weed out the weak. This is the most merciful way too. At present, all the strong are damaged and their progress hindered by the dead weight of the weak limbs and the missing limbs, the diseased limbs and the atrophied limbs. The Christians to the lions! ... We must go back to Spartan ideas of education; and the worst enemies of humanity are those who wish, under pretext of compassion, to continue its ills through the generations. The Christians to the lions (Crowley, 1986:177).

Though not a Satanist himself, Crowley stated publicly that he would give up black magic and stand too far outside the Christian tradition to be any kind of Devil-worshipper. He prefigures the Modern Satanism in a number of ways: his contempt for Christian piety and sexual repression; the focus on sexual freedom and sexual magic; strong elements of Social Darwinism; use of ceremonial magic and ritual; and emphasis on attaining higher levels of consciousness. Combined with his quasi-scientific (effectively demystifying) explanations of magical theory, Crowley's legacy proved a potent mix that is second only to LaVey in its influence on Modern Satanism. His prolific writings continue to attract attention to many.

#### 1.9.4 **The Philosophy of Egoism**

The philosophy of Egoism was another precursor to Modern Satanism. One of the common figures behind the philosophy of egoism was Ayn Rand. Russian-born Ayn Rand (1905-1982) became a bestselling author in America in 1943, a period during which a philosophy of Radical Individualism was prominent in English fiction. Some of the books she authored were *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged*. Both books argued in favour of the nobility of man, limited government and the primacy of the individual. Rand attacked all forms of mysticism, by which she meant any religious or supernatural beliefs and exalted reason and individualism as morally superior to sacrifice (altruism). Rand rejected the ethics of nihilism, maintaining that there is an objective basis for morality, which is the morality of reason. For her, the individual's happiness is the moral purpose to life. In her optimistic assessment of modern industrialised society, the interest of rational individuals exists in harmony.

The centrepiece to Rand's philosophy is found in the 50-page-plus speech by the character John Galt in *Atlas Shrugged*. The dominant theme is repudiating the sacrifice of individual autonomy and product. Galt begins his speech as:

I am the man who does not sacrifice his love or his values... just as I do not consider the pleasures of others as the goal of my life, so I do not consider my pleasure as the goal of others (Rand, 1957:936).

The lives of Galt and Rand were selfish defined and focused solely on personal happiness irrespective of other people's needs. The principles quoted above formed the basis of their philosophical system, dubbed by Objectivism. Rand further developed these in her non-fiction work *The Virtue of Selfishness* (1964), where she declared that the concept of selfishness had been grossly maligned. She argued that while in the popular usage 'selfishness' is a synonym of evil, the exact meaning and dictionary definition of the word selfishness is 'concern with one's own interest'. Rand's central argument here is that humans are selfish, therefore they should be selfish. *Altruism* is unnatural as it contradicts the nature of the giver and it is insulting to the autonomy of the beneficiary, hence promotes *dependence*. Though her arguments may seem to be wrong, authors like Mathews admit that the Objectivism, which they purport, has been widely influential in mainstreaming individual egoism and validating greed. Mathews (2009:36) for instance, argues that numerous prominent capitalists, industrialists and economists find Rand's theories attractive, even if they have not had much influence with philosophers.

The work of Rand brings us to the era of LaVey's establishment of the Church of Satan. Mathews argues that even though the figures that form the general intellectual background are many, a number of core concerns can still be identified. When elements of each one of these figures are combined, they form a radical, multifaceted critic on many conversional beliefs and values, which lay the basis for LaVey's ideology.

Indeed, as scholars here seem to contend, the principles that LaVey championed certainly did not arise in a vacuum.

#### 1.10 SATAN IN MANY FACES

Satan and his bad name have been propelled through Western history by a variety of sources: the early Christian drive to account for evil, medieval fear of the unknown, clerical need for a scapegoat or spook and the need of artists to articulate their rebellion, individualism and

nonconformity. The adoption of a satanic stance by revolutionary literary figures and the raising of Satan as a standard to wage war on the dominant culture, merely increased the ideal's potency. The radical atheistic philosophical tradition of the nineteenth century does not invoke Satan, but can be seen and is taken by Modern Satanists to champion satanic ideals: elitism, egoism, rebellion, social upheaval and overturning of Christian values (Mathews, 2009:38-39).

The importance of philosophers and social theorists included in this overview indicates how far from the biblical Devil Satanism has digressed. A number of figures mentioned here are decidedly non-satanic, in the popular understanding of the word, that is, regarding Devil-worship or issues that are explicitly wicked or evil. Objectivism for example, appears completely divorced from any traditional satanic ideals. There is something worth noting in this phenomenon: the closer we get to the birth of Modern Satanism, the further from Satan we stray. The religious origins of the Devil are important for their symbolic potency, but the real ideological power comes from other far more secular sources that champion sexual liberation, psychological and ethical egoism and elitist social doctrines (ibid).

As the counterculture movements of the 1960s made its bid to change the world for the better once and for all, all the ingredients for a darker, far less tolerant ideology stood steady. The major themes of Satanic thoughts were largely prefigured in the monomaniacal Wolf Larsen, an explicitly demonic figure, a tyrant who ruled his kingdom by pure force, simultaneously drawing on the philosophical, scientific and dramatic traditions to buttress his claims. All that was needed was an iconoclast, a latter-day conjurer who would weave together the separate strands of the existing traditions and formulate the ultimate outsiders' credo (Mulhern,1995:140).

### 1.11 SUMMARY

In concluding the background on Modern Satanism, it is worth noting that the philosophy / ideologies, literary and religious traditions discussed above have been considered as equal creators in the foundations that Modern Satanism builds on. The importance of philosophers and social theorists included in this overview indicates how far from the biblical Devil Satanism has digressed. A number of figures and terms mentioned here may not be

necessarily satanic going by the popular usage of the term. Take for instance the term Objectivism, which may appear completely divorced from any traditional satanic principles.

#### 1.12 THEISTIC (BIBLICAL ) SATANISM

The term '*Satan*' is often interchanged with the term '*Devil*'. The latter is derived from the Old English, '*deofel*'; the Latin '*diabolus*' and the Greek '*diabalos*' which directly translate the Hebrew Satan – adversary (Mathews, 2009:810). The move from a subordinate accuser to an independent tempter was a later development of the inter-testamental period. In the Hebrew thought and therefore in the Old Testament, Satan is always subordinate to God.

Theistic or Biblical Satanism can be described as a secret society whose ideology is directed at dethroning God and enthroning the Devil. It is therefore, sometimes referred to as '*Devil Worship*'. Its members claim their reverence not to the Devil, but to Satan who, in the pre-Christian principle, is a 'force of nature', not a living quasi-deity. It is atheistic in character and holds the concept of the denial of the existence of God. Satanists are strongly encouraged to feel free at any time to commit the vices which the Christians know to be the seven deadly sins, like anger, envy, greed, sloth, gluttony, lust and pride. They insist that their subjects should commit these sins at will. That is to say; when they want to, where they want to, how they would like it to be, with whom and with what they would want it to take place. Believers in Satanism are said to engage in those shameful things with no remorse at all. That is what they designate as 'Gratification of all one's desires' ([http://\\_www.religioustolerance.org/satanist1.htm](http://_www.religioustolerance.org/satanist1.htm)).

Mathews explains that the earliest origins of the theistic concept of Satan could probably be traced from the Western idea of the Devil, which has its beginnings in the faiths of the Middle and Near East, such as the beliefs of the Egyptians, Canaanites and Persians. While the various myths of ancient Egypt and Canaan were undoubtedly influences, the main pre-Hebrew origin of Satan is found in the Persian religion, Zoroastrianism. Founded by a Persian prophet Zoroaster who was born around 660 B.C.E., Zoroastrianism is a unique development in the history of religion, as it is the first to be formed around the doctrine of ethical dualism—the eternal opposition of good and evil. Some religions later picked it from here. One example is in Christianity where the understanding of the Devil worship is, in principle, founded on the biblical world view which ascribes good qualities to the Lord (Yahweh) while

evil is attributed to the Devil (Shorter 1999:53). Shorter argues that instead of centering its worship on Yahweh (God), Devil worship centres its perspectives and concern on the Devil or Satan – the opposite of what the Bible holds dear.

Later on the Old Testament came to present Satan as a member of the heavenly court whose function is to identify evil persons and accuse them before God (Job 1). Sometimes, Satan is referred to as a demonic spirit. In Zachariah (3:1-5) and in Job, Satan plays the part of the public prosecutor of heaven. He is the adversary not of God, but of human beings. He is counted as one of the sons of Elohim. It is his task to go through the earth and to keep watch over human beings (Job 2: 1-2) (*ibid*).

Rudolf (1970:809) argues that while the concept of Satan has become a personification of evil in the history of religions, particularly in the West, it was not always so. He says the negative, pejorative meaning ascribed to the concept of Satan is a later development. Rudolf says this is seen in the New Testament where the character of Satan has degenerated and is conceived as the leader of the evil spirits who oppose God and oppress humanity. He goes on describing Satan in the New Testament as the enemy of God, whose power over humanity is only broken by Jesus' acts of healing, exorcism and ultimately death on the cross and rising from the dead, a sign of triumph over the evil of death.

### 1.13 THE EARLY CHURCH'S CONCEPT OF THE DEVIL

For the early Christians, the Devil was a reality to be avoided. In this context, Russell (cited in Richardson et al 1983:156) gives a number of names used among the early Christians: Beelzebul, Devil, the Evil one, the prince of this world, the great dragon, the old serpent, the prince of the Devils, the prince of the power of the air; the spirit that now works in the children of disbelief and Antichrist. The Devil here is presented as the founder of the empire that struggles with and counteracts the kingdom of God upon the earth. Russell says the Devil is powerful, but less powerful than Christ and His angels. Satan, he says, is conquered and doomed through Christ, but is still unfettered. Russell further contends that the theology of the fathers of the church about Satan /Devil taught that God created Satan with a good nature; he was a great angel who fell on his own free will, with many other angels who joined him. In turn, he tempted humanity to original sin. His power was broken by Christ, though he still roams till the end on the world, when he will be defeated forever. The middle ages



popularised the sense of a powerful, ubiquitous Devil. With time the belief in the omnipresence of power of the Devil increased. Until the age of enlightenment, belief in an objectivised personal Devil and his minions was universal among theologians.

#### 1.14 SATAN AND THE DEVIL IDENTIFIED AS ONE

By the composition of the Book of Revelations (cira 95 C.E.) the identification of the Devil and Satan as one entity was complete, along with the link to the *Fall*, with Isaiah's seven-headed 'Leviathan, the coiling serpent' thrown in:

And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon and the dragon and his angels fought back. But he was not strong enough and they lost their place in heaven. The great dragon was hurled down, that ancient serpent called the Devil, or Satan, who leads the whole world astray. He was hurled to the earth and his angels with him (Revelations 12:9, in Shorter,1999:54).

From the modern point of view, Satanism has been understood as a mere ideology. Mathews (2009: 204) contends that Modern Satanism is an immature, intolerant and hateful ideology that is only a philosophy of life to those who adhere to it. Just like the worst political doctrines, it transforms people into abstractions, systematically stripping them of dignity, humanity and rights. Mathews observes that Satanism's radical atheistic philosophical tradition of the nineteenth century does not evoke Satan, but simply champions satanic ideals such as elitism, egoism, rebellion, social upheaval and overturn Christian values (*ibid*:39). However, it seems that owing to some organisational-developmental aspects that surrounded the birth of the 'Church of Satan' in the 1960s in the United States, Modern Satanism somehow, began commonly to be referred to as a religion. Whatever the case was, the Church of Satan was officially registered as a religion in the U.S.A, on 1 May, 1966, with Anton Szandor LaVey as its founder (Heron, 2008:40). LaVey is explicit in regard to where his religion fits into the occult tradition. He says Satanism is not a white light religion; it is a religion of the flesh, the mundane and the carnal – all of which are ruled by Satan (Barton, 1990:97).

Mathews (2009:3) observes that with Satanism's earliest mythological origins uncovered in the Jewish / Christianity tradition, the ancient Hebrew texts are the logical place to conduct a serious search for Satan or the Devil. The Bible, he says, is not the best place to find him. Mathews argues that there is no single passage in the Bible that clearly sets out the history,

nature and role of the Devil. Rather, the story is (and has been) reassembled by scouring the scattered references from Genesis to Revelation and reading them in light of supporting legends and theological doctrines. In the works of the Hebrew Bible, Satan barely makes an appearance. There is, though, a variety of Devils, demons and dark spirits, but the being now regarded as Satan is almost completely absent.

Mathews rejects Satan's fabled first appearance in the Garden of Eden saying it is a false sighting. He observes that the snake is, in the Jewish tradition, just a snake. For Mathews, the interpretation of the famous tempter of Adam and Eve as Satan, or as an agent of Satan, has been applied retrospectively, most likely through early Christian translation and interpretation of the Torah. The association, though widely accepted by contemporary Christians, is entirely unsupported by the original Hebrew text. Aside from his falsely accredited entry into the Garden of Eden, Mathews says the Devil's most notorious appearance in the Hebrew Bible is the temptation of Job, the first of the two famous biblical temptations. In the book of Job, Yahweh's loyal servant, a 'blameless and upright man', is subjected to a series of misfortunes by Satan (known as ha-Satan), who spends his time 'roaming through the earth and going back and forth in it' (Job 1:7-8). Arguing that humanity is only loyal because of the rewards Yahweh provides, the accuser was certain that without these rewards, Job will abandon his Lord:

Does Job fear God for nothing? Satan replied. Have you not put a hedge around him and his household and everything he has? You have blessed the work of his hands, so that his flocks and herds are spread throughout the land. But stretch out your hand and strike everything he has and he will surely curse you to your face (Job 1:9-11, in Mathews, 2009:4).

Satan is represented in the Book of Job as a member of God's divine council, a lawyer who seeks out humanity's sinfulness and then acts as its accuser. Satan subjects Job to a battery of misfortunes: his servants are slaughtered, his livestock is destroyed by fire, his camels are stolen by a raiding party and finally a fierce wind brings down his house, killing his sons and daughters. Job complains bitterly of his fate but does not betray his Lord and the testing concludes.

In the Jewish / Christian tradition, the temptation of Job is the major introduction of Satan. Throughout, it is clear that Satan is loyal to Yahweh, acting holy under his jurisdiction, even as he kills an innocent man's family. As the accuser, Satan's status never exceeds that of

Yahweh's agents for evil. That is why it is necessary for him to petition the Lord when he wishes to visit further torments upon Job. This subservience to the Lord and quasi-legal role is mirrored in the Book of Zechariah: 'Then he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord and Satan standing at his right side to accuse him ( Zechariah 3:1)'. In this passage, there is again nothing demonic about Satan, for he seems to operate entirely at the discretion of Yahweh, seeking out the evil in men and putting them on trial for their transgressions. There is, however, a hint of enthusiasm in the Lord's prosecutor and his accusations against an innocent man which angers his master: 'May the Lord rebuke you, Satan! The Lord, who has chosen Jerusalem, may he rebuke you! Is not this man a burning stick snatched from the fire?' (Zechariah 3:2). Here one hopes Satan bore the dressing-down with dignity, for there was far worse to come (Mathews 2009:5).

The second biblical temptation occurs in the New Testament. Following his baptism, Christ was led into the desert where he fasts for 40 days and nights. In the depth of hunger, the 'tempter' comes to him and says, 'If you are the son of God, tell these stones to become bread'. When Jesus refuses, the Devil tries to convince him to throw himself from the top of the temple, as the Lord's angels 'will lift you up in their hands'. Refusing once more, Jesus is tempted for a third and final time:

Again the Devil took him to a very high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and their splendour. 'All this I will give you,' he said, 'if you will bow down and worship me.' Jesus said to him, 'Away from me, Satan! For it is written: Worship your God and serve him only,' (Mathew 4:3-10).

Who is tempting Jesus in the above passage, Satan or the Devil? Mathews (2009) argues that the term used in the episode of Jesus' temptations is diabolic, a Greek term implying slanderer or false accuser. Only the Gospel of Mark identifies the Devil as Satan and here Christ's use of the term 'Satan' has the generic meaning of accuser/tempter. Nevertheless, this episode shows an important confusion and mingling of the Bible's various Devils with Satan and their shifting status. For instance in the Old Testament temptation of Job, Satan is the adversary and tempter of humanity under the command of the divine, while in the New Testament temptation of Christ he is the rival of God and actively campaigning against his plans.

The change of status is revealing. Satan seems to be more prominent in the New Testament. In contrast to his minor role in the Hebrew texts, Satan's role is significantly amplified by the books of the New Testament, authored in the 70-80 years following the death of Christ. In contrast to both Judaism and Islam, the Christian scriptures seem to contain a widespread 'outbreak' of demonic activity. In the Christian Bible, Satan is mentioned by name at least 30 times and is associated with a vast number of other figures: the Devil (also more than 30 references), Beelzebub, Belial and the Serpent or Dragon throughout Revelation. If the modern Christian tradition is consistent in one thing, it is unifying a number of disparate references and names into one unique figure. A prime example is the inclusion of the morning star in the Satan mythology. In the Book of Isaiah, the following passage has gained immortality: 'How you have fallen from heaven, O morning star, son of the dawn! You have been cast down to the earth, you who once laid low the nations' (Isaiah 14:12, in Mathews, 2009:6).

The morning star is the planet Venus, a heavenly body rich in mythological resonance from prehistoric times. While this passage is undoubtedly a depiction of overreaching pride that leads to a fall, the morning star represents Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, who is named in the same chapter. In Saint Jerome's fifth-century translation of the Bible from Greek into Latin, the Greek term 'heosphorus' (literary meaning: 'down bringer,' a sobriquet for Venus) is rendered as 'Lucifer,' Latin for 'light bearer' and an astrological term for the morning star. The term 'Lucifer' already had a potent mythological and literary history, having been used by Latin poets Ovid and Virgil; similarly, 'heosphorus' appears in the Greek classics of Homer and Hesiod, as well as being associated with legend of Prometheus, the stealer of light. The outcome of Jerome's careless translation is that later Christian figured Isaiah 14:12 as referring to a rebellious archangel, Satan and his fall from grace, rather than an arrogant king and the fall of Babylon. The name Lucifer was given biblical authority by Jerome and entered the Christian tradition as being synonymous with Satan, while simultaneously associating it with a pre-existing literary and mythological tradition (*ibid*).

As a direct result of these and other emendations, Satan emerges from the Christian Bible as an almost godlike embodiment of evil, retroactively associated with the fall of Adam and Eve. This interpretation seems to be held by a number of biblical scholars and recent biographers of Satan. Henry Kelly, the author of *Satan: A Biography* (2006) is one example. He argues: "Satan as a rebel against God was not in the Bible. He is just doing his job, since

he has been appointed as governor of the world ... He is not the enemy, he is not some sort of a villain,” (<http://www.dailybruin.ucla.edu/news/2006/nov/15>). For early Christians, however, Satan was established as an adversary of both believers and God. The briefest comments in the Bible, such as ‘I saw Satan fall like lightning from heaven’ in Luke 10:18, were taken as reinforcement of the grand mythology of the eternal adversary, as Satan had become. Just like Ahriman in the Zoroastrian tradition, Satan works like a lightning rod, drawing criticism for evil away from God, when in fact it is God, the Supreme Being, that allows evil into human existence. The itinerant Satan from the Book of Job is not there in the New Testament world but is no longer merely an agent of God’s order, having become a wild beast yearning for prey: ‘Be self-controlled and alert. Your enemy the Devil prowls around like a roaring lion looking for someone to devour,’ (1 Peter 5:8, in Mathews, 2009:7).

#### 1.15 AN ACCOUNT OF SATANISM IN EAST AFRICA

In East Africa, Aylward Shorter (1999) has carried out a research which showed that there was Satanism in Kenya. He describes an extent the satanic scare had reached which led to the formation of ‘The Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the Cult of Devil Worship’. This Commission of Inquiry affirmed the existence of the cult of the Devil Worship in Kenya. Shorter reports a coincidence where, no sooner had this commission handed in its report, than hundreds of people perished as a result of mysterious secretive cult in Kanungu - Uganda (the neighbouring country). Shorter argues that the kind of Devil worship manifesting in the African context is a by-product of a number of factors that contribute to contemporary spiritualism. He says this kind of worship is ‘syncretic’ and ‘secretive’ ritualism and it positions the Devil as the ultimate source of material prosperity and happiness (Shorter, 1999: 53). Shorter sees the logic of Devil worship here to be simple and clear; it turns the Christian’s spirituality upside down. God is the source of *GOOD* and *SALVATION* in Christianity, while the Devil is the source of evil, pain and suffering. He says Devil worship thrives on the logic that: Befriend the Devil, give it its due recognition and worship, then you will be ‘saved’ from all this pain and suffering as the world knows it. Shorter concludes that Devil worship distorts the Christian beliefs by making use of Christian symbols like blood, host, candle and incense. Shorter, however, seems to present the ‘Devil worship’ in a Christian context, where it is seen as an opposing force to God, without a description of other issues characteristic of the cult of Satanism.

Another scholar who has contributed to the African-based writings on the subject is Boff. Boff (1991:50) has described Satanism or Devil worship in Africa as ‘demonic’, ‘self-absorbed’ and founded on social conditions of its devotees and paves the way for prominent materialism. He says it is confusing to its devotees to decide whether they are in the right or in the wrong because it offers ‘instant prosperity’ or fame which is inherent with evil. Boff further sees Devil worship as a type of worship that provides its clients with violent emotions under which they are often driven into committing atrocities which an ordinary person under normal sense and reason would never do. It provides a violent impulse that preys on the emotionally vulnerable, whom it captures to demonstrate its power. He argues that in this way, it attracts the angry and the powerless that then turn to secretive lives possessed by an obsessive fascination for sex, drugs, heavy metal rock and roll music and lust for power. Boff argues that this kind of worship offers people what they are denied in a Christian culture namely, *self-indulgence*. He further contends that its adherents find their reason of argument in the fact that the so-called Christians are prone to lies and corrupt tendencies at their places of work and in business. ‘Since many Christians in practice are ready and willing to compromise their conscience, to acquire and do what pleases and benefits them, this then forms the premises for the necessary appearance of an Antichrist who constitutes the key factor to the ritualism of Satanism’( *ibid*). Just like Shorter, Boff seems to have analysed Satanism in a Christian context.

Another East African scholar by the name of Nkurunziza made conclusive observation on the subject of Satanism in East Africa when he says that:

The concern about Devil worship, satanic or occult activities is not new, but something that has appeared periodically throughout history. It is a serious special concern that has been raised by the increasing number of unexplained deaths of children, secret rituals involving ‘human sacrifice’, bloodletting, exotic rituals involving nakedness and the drinking of human blood, lighting candles or incense in observance of the various evil spirits and so many other evil practices that are being introduced on the African soils and therefore, needs very critical study as well as investigation and discernment (Nkurunziza, 2000: 19).

Although Nkurunziza is not a Zambian, he echoes the need for a study like this one on the subject of Satanism.

## 1.16 AN ACCOUNT OF SATANISM IN ZAMBIA

In Zambia, the presence of Satanism seems to have been felt, amid the influence of Christianity. The following is a comment from a Zambian citizen on its feared spread:

Given that Satanism has insidiously increased around key urban areas and given that witchcraft is already widespread, Satanism would stand a good chance of sweeping into the open spaces and turn Zambia into a satanic nation. ‘Do what thou wilt’ is a key satanic injunction among its followers. Human rights as we know them will vastly transform until we become a lawless state or a republic without laws (<http://www.zambia-economist.com>).

At the expense of repetition, Satanism in Zambia has not been explored, rationalised and documented. It is a phenomenon that, sociologists, anthropologists, historians and scholars of religion have ignored. In any case, I utilise every piece of information in my attempt to understand what is going on in Zambia and Kabwe in particular. One source of information is the Digital Videodisc (DVD) released by Bernard Udelhoven through the Catholic Media Service in Zambia.

### 1.16.1 Udelhoven’s Contribution to the Understanding of Satanism in Zambia

According to Udelhoven in the DVD entitled *Satanism: An Eye Witness Account*, Satanism exists in different forms. He says in many different countries, one can find many Open Satanic churches that can be investigated. One of the biggest satanic churches is the Church of Satan that is based in America. He says that in the Western world, Satanism has a philosophical connotation where people join voluntarily and that in Africa, different groups of Satanism recruit members on internet. “There is, on the internet, a voluntary and published form designed by Satanists for recruitment purposes and those interested have accessed this form”, he adds.

It is only in the 1990s that people began to speak about Satanism in Zambia. As such, it seems to be a new phenomenon. Many of its images come from movies, especially from popular movies. Yet in spite of it being a new phenomenon, the images of the secret and hidden world, the world of witchcraft and black magic that provides power in the world based on death and sacrifice, is as old as the nation of Zambia itself ( Udelhoven, DVD, ‘*Satanism : An Eye Witness Account*’, 2012).

In Zambia, Satanism seems to add other different kinds. Besides showing itself in the outer world that could be seen and touched by everyone, it also shows in the inner experiences, in the inner world – where people’s belief and faith, heart and soul meet. This is evident in the current developments in the conception of Satanism that are arguably responsible for images of what may be taken as the ‘Modern Satanism’. Such developments generally seem to have taken place in the period roughly between the 1990s and the present day. Since the 1990s, Zambia has witnessed the proliferation of the satanic scare in a manner it has never done before, leaving one to wonder as to whether this is the period to take as the dawn of Satanism in the nation or not.

However, Udelhoven observes that there is still another perspective in people’s conception of the phenomenon of Satanism in the nation that is drawn from new experiences of inequalities in modern Zambia, a situation where ‘power’ and ‘control’ still remain hidden, breeding fears of unknown among people. People today, just like in the middle Ages, often fall back upon belief in ancient legends to deal with the phantoms of their fears. Through ancient legends, rumours of evil from the past seem to shape people’s preconceptions of Satanism today (*ibid*). Drawing from existing legends, therefore, the Zambian conception of Satanism can arguably be said to be in two points of view.

#### 1.16.1.1 **Ba-kamunyama**

Udelhoven argues that the first concept of Ba-kamunyama seems to have started developing in the colonial period, particularly in the 1930s when the socio-economic landscape of the country was distorted by the economic system that was then current. According to this system, there was for example, a lazy person in the village who found himself in town and all of a sudden his social status raised; he was able to pay hut tax and could afford other transactions which other ‘able bodied’ people were not able to do, but in his village where he came from, he was a ‘nobody’. A local term commonly used to refer to such a person is ‘*Kamunyama*’ (plural: Ba-kamunyama). Therefore, people could say such a person has sold us and our free will to the Devil, who was in this case, the white man, to be able to acquire his wealth. So among some people, even the current concept of Satanism in Zambia seems to be based on that understanding, even though this time around *ba-Kamunyama* have changed into ‘Satanists’ and instead of the white man now, it is the spiritual entity called ‘Satan’ (Udelhoven, DVD, ‘*Satanism : An Eye Witness Account*’, 2012).



### 1.16.1.2 **The Image of Satanism Resulting from Perceived Economic Inequalities**

In the second perspective, Satanism can perhaps be taken to mean a new world for something that is known all along in Zambia, namely – the power and wealth have to be shared. The phenomenon of Satanism in modern Zambia can, therefore, be linked to new experiences of inequalities, a situation where ‘power’ and ‘control’ remain hidden. The modern world brings many opportunities and benefits, but the greed for money and power, unfortunately, work to the disadvantage of the majority of Zambians who are denied chance to partake in the wealth distribution. This is linked to lack of economic transparency and jealous in societies, in the combination of which we see the world of superstition and mistrust. This breeds a world of Satanism.

In Zambia, life is changing very fast. New opportunities are on the fingertips. Dreams are awakening. There is money for some, but certainly not for others. The promises of good life remain beyond the dreams of most the people. Life is hard and access to wealth and power are not always transparent. There is a general feeling that some of the riches of this world come with a high price...the sacrifice of the beloved ones. Many of the youths are fascinated with rumours surrounding Satanism, a hidden secret of this world, which attracts power, gives status and the dark sense of special identity. In a society like this, Satanism represents a new social order with new issues. This is the new order in which modernity, wealth and power have pressed a new strength and tension on family life. Many people feel drained of their life forces. Nevertheless, Christians in Zambia believe that their country is rich; blessed by God, whose riches are meant to be shared so that all may benefit from the ‘nation’s cake’ (Udelhoven, DVD, 2012).

Satanism in Zambia is not one single issue that can be defined clearly. Satanism can mean many different things. Sometimes it stands for witchcraft, or for the manipulation of the spirits. When observing the victims of Satanism, one would find that there are many different issues involved, which really become entangled with each other. Some of these issues reach very far back, some of them go back to victims’ childhood. In some cases cited by Zambians, it was clear that people did not feel overcome by Satanism voluntarily. For example, some became withdrawn; some became promiscuous, while others rebelled from their family, or changed their lives every day, without having a sense of guilt or shame. Others simply

disappeared and nobody knew where they were. Their families could observe all these things. Often school performance for those in schools could go down rapidly (*ibid*).

The narration given above is about the outer world that can be witnessed by all. But then, in Satanism there is also the inner world involved. People who went through all these experiences narrated their vivid experiences, dreams that there were people who took them out to the other (inner) world. Now in this 'other world', ordinary people could not follow them. People just relied on their testimonies. At the same time, it remained that this same inner world had something to do with people's 'fears' and anxiety and suspicions. It also had something to do with self-images and beliefs people held. The Bible tried to strengthen people involved, helped them to gain trust and confidence. When one trusted in God, it meant that God was always there with him/her and then such an individual would start slowly trusting in him/herself. Among believers, this was why faith was very important when they were dealing with Satanism (Udelhoven, DVD, 2012).

The world of Satanism in Zambia built on yet another worldview; the world in which the Christian God fought the Devil. This worldview was being proliferated by many churches. It also fed on people's fears – and such fears led to suspicion. All groups in society became suspects. Groups of churches that were different from others become easily associated with Satanism.

Experiences with Satanism also touched psychological issues and traumas. Former Satanists testified to have gone through very difficult childhood experiences. Others spoke of having been rejected by their own families, or even abused. From childhood, they never experienced any sense of belonging to their families. While growing up, they were vulnerable to experiences of Satanism. One former Satanist recounted:

I grew up in the family of four kids where I am the first-born. My parents were married, but their marriage did not last long. My mother killed herself, she committed suicide. I never felt comfortable living in a family where I never received everything I really wanted. For anything I got, I had to fight hard to get attention from my father. My step mother never made it any better! Sometimes I could feel it was better to be dead. A number of times I could contemplate suicide, as the only way that could see me out of this situation. It really got to me because even my brothers and sisters could not help me fit-in. Every

time I was scolded for things I did not do, I really felt out of place! I did not know whether I was going right or going wrong. It all hurt, because I did not know how the situation could be corrected (Cited in Udelhoven, DVD, 2012).

#### 1.16.2 **Milingo's Contribution to the Understanding of the Spirit World in Zambia**

Another source of information I utilised in trying to understand what is going on in Zambia is Emmanuel Milingo. Ellis and Ter Haar (2004:54-55) have described Milingo as a controversial Vatican officer. As a former Catholic Archbishop of Lusaka (Zambia), Milingo was ordered to go and live in Rome because of his healing ministry and other issues. He was one of the most articulate African experts whose opinions can begin a better exploration of the spirit world in Africa. In Zambia and perhaps elsewhere in Africa, Milingo is a famous Christian healer (Ter Haar, 1992:137). In his book *Plunging into Darkness*, Milingo presents cases involving what he refers to as the 'Self-confessed' victims of the Devil. They present themselves as clients seeking deliverance from him in his healing ministry.

The first case involved a boy from a poor family background who thought of uplifting his family by getting 99% pass mark in class. The boy prayed to the Devil to hurt the one who was usually first in that class. At another time, the boy wanted to obtain 80% pass mark in class. He prayed to the Devil again. To feel the Devil's presence, the boy was told to write a letter to Lucifer on a clear sheet of paper called '*virgin paper*'. He used proper blood in writing, expressing his wishes. The letter ended with the following words: 'I am your soldier on earth'. Milingo says the boy got an answer at midnight. This was the beginning of misery for the boy (Milingo, 1978:60).

Milingo's account on the second case involves a client from one family which took holidays on the moon every year. Members of this family could only be seen taking off at the international airport, not knowing that they were ending up on the moon. Their children came back with souvenirs which cannot be found anywhere in Zambia. They are only found on the moon. However, more wonders came about when salary scales of some members of that family began rising to extremely high levels, causing suspicion among people. Milingo argues that all this had something to do with 'wise men' from the 'underworld'.

In addition, Milingo talks of many people in societies having taken loans from the Devil, who promises to multiply '3 by 10'. He contends that such people offer to the agents of the spirits the quantity of money at hand, for a promise to receive ten-fold in days to come. He says some never even see the day of the financial harvest. Others have a test of it, which gives them hope, but it never continues (*ibid*).

Milingo's firm conviction is that Africa must be accepted as a continent with its own spiritual identity. He also believes that the people of Africa can effectively communicate with a world of spirits beyond the visible (material) world. He has come to these conclusions on the basis not of dogma, but of his pastoral experiences in Zambia, which according to Ter Haar (1992:138), force him to go beyond the limits of theory and apply himself to a rather unusual force of 'participatory action research'. His experiences also caused him to concentrate on the presence of evil in Zambian society and to develop a strategy of action to combat it.

Ter Haar further notes that Milingo's view is closely related to the traditional cosmology of his fellow-countrymen, which at the same time shows the influence of newly-introduced elements. It is largely based on oral history passed on to him in discussions with ordinary Zambians and traditional religious specialists. Stuart (1979), therefore, views Milingo's thinking as showing characteristics of Chewa cosmology, as incorporated by the Ngoni and combined with biblical elements. Stuart observes that the Chewa traditional religion has been described as consisting of a vital spiritual microcosm, which formed the primary focus for human communication (Stuart 1979, in Ter Haar, 1992: 139). In this particular cosmology, observes Ter Haar, the ancestral spirits held a central place.

#### 1.16.2.1 **The Three Worlds**

In Milingo's worldview, the cosmos consists of three parts: the earth as dwelling place for human beings; the world in-between, as Milingo consistently calls it the spirit world, where the spirits of good as well as of evil are believed to be; and the heaven or 'final world' where God resides. The world in-between is seen as a meeting place for the two other worlds, bringing the world 'below' and the world 'above' together. It is, as Milingo describes it, 'a world of transformation', somewhere between heaven and earth, where the people from heaven sample the atmosphere of the earth and those from the earth can taste the delights of heaven. It is in this world in-between, Milingo believes, that the final decision is taken governing the fate of man (Ter Haar, 1992:139).

Although the cosmos is divided into three distinct parts, it is seen as an integral whole where the different categories of beings live together in constant communion. The ability of human beings to communicate with the spirit world is vital to Milingo's thinking, but in his view the spirit world is not accessible to them under normal circumstances. Such communication requires particular conditions entailing a change in human conditioning. This, in Milingo's experience, expresses itself in the sensation of loss of weight and physical feeling. The body feels calm and relaxed, displaying a 'unique suppleness beyond explanation' (Milingo, 1978, in Ter Haar 1992: 140). Entering the world in-between, Milingo feels his body acting under the control of an external power, while his will and mind are felt to remain under his own control.

In his unique spiritual experience, Milingo describes his role as a spirit medium, with his body being a 'vessel' for the Holy Spirit. His inner experiences correspond with description of possession by ancestral or guardian spirits in African traditional religions. As a medium, Milingo sees himself undergoing the experiences of trance which, in his words, means that he gets raised to a 'plain' where the use of his physical senses is suspended. Although Milingo describes such experience in a metaphysical term, his observations about trance, which he describes as a condition in which the human physical senses are powerless, conform to the observations of Western science. Ter Haar observes that modern neurobiological research on altered state of consciousness points to similar conclusions. He says science concludes that a person in a trance displays an altered state of consciousness which is accompanied by a reduction of physical control. In Ter Haar's view, possession trance can take place with or without amnesia. With amnesia, the possessed medium is believed and expected not to have any memory of the things which take place during possession. Without it, he or she is able to recall events. Judging from his personal observation, Ter Haar says Milingo seems to be aware of both possibilities and places himself in the latter category, though in this case as medium for the Holy Spirit. There seems no loss of memory, unlike mediums in most traditional African religions (*ibid*).

Ter Haar further observes that in Milingo's description of the African spirit world, there is a clear distinction between what he (Milingo) considers to be good spirits in Zambian traditional cosmology and a large category of evil spirits. Good spirits are those of the ancestors and spirits of other departed people which provide personal protection and give

guidance to the community as a whole. They are believed to derive their powers directly from God. Evil spirits on the other hand, are all seen as allied with the Devil, the personification of evil. They are believed by nature to be responsible for causing death and disorder among people. Their sole aim is to disrupt lives and bring humanity under the influence of the Devil (Ter Haar, 1992: 140-141).

Although ancestors are considered capable of causing evil, for example, in the form of illness, Ter Haar observes, with reference to Milingo's experience, that they are believed to do so only to alert their descendants to their faults so that they can adjust their behaviour. The illness ancestors cause is, therefore, seen as a sign of their care and consideration, containing the warning that the health of the relationship between the individuals and the ancestor spirits, who are believed to watch over them, is in jeopardy. As guardian of morality, the aim of such ancestral spirits is to prevent evil from entering the community. In the same way, other protective spirits may be provoked and angered by man's misdeeds, resulting in some form of evil. But the real cause of such evil, Milingo believes, lies in man, who needs only to change his behaviour to assure himself of the basic protection of these spirits (*ibid*).

In Milingo's understanding of the spirit world, evil spirits are quite another matter. In his view, unlike good spirits, the harm evil spirits cause is not in any way dependent on man's behaviour. They are evil by nature and whatever man may do will not change their character. The only means of protection is to mobilise as many benign forces as possible in order to put them to flight (Milingo, 1978, in Ter Haar 1992: 142). Milingo considers the evil spirits in the traditional cosmology in the same category as the Christian concept of devils, as demons, powerful spirits whose primary aim is to wage war against God and God's followers. They make every effort to steal men and women from the hands of Christ, tempting them with false promises. In Milingo's view, evil spirits hate human beings, because human beings still have freedom to choose God, where as God's paradise has already been closed to the evil spirits. Evil spirits or demons, Milingo believes, live hidden among people. They hide, for example, in various ailments and diseases where they try to make life as difficult as they can. 'These spirits', he argues, 'come in a person to dwell in him/her and therefore, to exercise the power of dominion'. They may use spells to influence a person and to intimidate him/her (*ibid*).

The entire cosmology of the spirits as conceived by Milingo may appear bizarre or irrational to modern Western life. But Ter Haar observes that these are the commonly-held beliefs

which Milingo found in his pastoral work in the Lusaka townships of Zambia. Ter Haar further observes that Milingo in his pamphlets describes people who, for reasons he (Milingo) does not want to reveal out of respect for his clients, claims to have made pacts with the Devil. He makes clear only that in his view, they acted so by their own choice. He describes how such pacts are conceived by those in despair and disappointed with human life and society and sees them as choices for evil that start with people's own acts of imprudence, often related to money. He hints at the nature of such acts when he refers to people in high positions, even in governments, who sink into financial difficulty. Unable to cope with what they have brought upon themselves, they become open to the enticements of the Devil; wealth and prosperity being among Satan's most attractive gifts, he readily deceives weak-minded individuals with empty promises. But once they have enrolled in the service of Satan, it appears people find it very difficult to break away. Milingo cites two examples of Catholics who had come to see him in order to be released from what they had considered a bond with the Devil. In one case the client succeeded, though at a great risk, in withdrawing from the service of Satan and returning to God. In the other case, the 'Christian witch' failed in his good intentions (Milingo, in Ter Haar, 1992: 145). These are just examples from Milingo's pastoral experiences.

Ter Haar further argues that it is the type of practical experience Milingo went through which came to overlay his (Milingo's) Christian doctrinal beliefs that has made him believe that evil spirits and witches do exist. Most of Milingo's fellow-priests who found it hard to swallow his views lacked his experience. Milingo is also aware that western civilisation strongly denies reality of such beliefs. He ascribes this to a narrow view of the world in which rationality and logic have become the only measure and which does not admit such facts of life as may exist beyond the scope of such reasoning. Milingo observes that to many people in the West, or imbued with the Western intellectual tradition, the essence of man is mental rather than spiritual and unfortunately such intellectuals also exist in the church; they are people whose mentality prevents them from conceiving of the spirit world. According to Milingo, 'the spirit world has to be left to those who allow themselves from time to time to be irrational,' (Milingo 1978: 42). One example of such individuals is himself, who has gone beyond theory, who has talked with the witches and dealt with the dead.

However, Milingo's dealing with incidents related to Satanism was incidental, for his preoccupation was evil spirits and spirit possession. First, his emphasis seems to rest more on

the 'Spirits of Possession' in general with the spirit idiom serving as a framework of explanation for illnesses, adversity and other forms of misfortune his clients faced. Milingo, therefore, sees the invocation of the power of the Holy Spirit as an appropriate intervention to adversities caused by evil spirits. This seems to have been vital in his call to healing. It is because of this background, I did not expect Milingo to provide information on 'Satanism' as a unified entity or body of the occult. As I have indicated at the beginning, though, I had to incorporate the information on Milingo's views on the spirit world in an attempt to understand the complex nature of the phenomenon of Satanism in Kabwe, a phenomenon that scholars from various disciplines appear to have ignored.

What makes Milingo's documentation on his understanding of the spirit world relevant to this study is its reflection of the spiritual beliefs of his fellow Zambians, as well as his intensive interaction with people who believe themselves to be possessed by spirits. Besides, he has managed to blend the two religious traditions (Christianity and Zambian Traditional Religion) in his analysis, by incorporating insights from the traditional spiritual world of the Zambians and conceptualise them with some of the theological insights. Above all, Milingo has demonstrated how people from the physical world can interact with the spirit world, through making a pact with the Devil for wealth and prosperity, which are among Satan's most attractive promises. His analysis of the perceived interactions between the two worlds, therefore, shows some resemblance with people's understanding of interactions involved in the 'under world' of Satanism in Kabwe.

### **1.17 Information from the Media**

The other source of information available in Zambia pertinent to this study can be sought from the media. The Zambian media has on several occasions alerted the public to incidents perceived to be Satanic acts. For instance, the *Zambia Daily Mail* of October 7, 2010 carried a story about a four-year-old boy who survived a murder attempt. At the time of reporting, the boy (whose name is withheld on ethical grounds) was battling for his life in the Intensive Care Unit at Namwala District Hospital in the Southern Province of Zambia. The Police Commanding Officer had reported that the boy was in company of two of his friends and were playing at his home when two men emerged from a nearby bush. He said the two unknown men grabbed the boy and dragged him into the bush, stabbed the infant in the stomach and attempted to cut his throat using what the police suspected to be a knife. The



Police Officer said alert members of the public only rescued the infant, after one of the boys screamed for help. The victim was left with protruding intestines and several deep cuts on the body. Something crucial to this study is the paper's remark that the police said this was the latest incident, where the police believed the suspects could be ritual killers. Incidents of ritual murder in Zambia are highly associated with Satanism.

The *Sunday Mail* of August 29, 2010 reported a different mysterious incident. This time it was a seventeen-year-old boy who claimed before the Kitwe Local Court that he mysteriously found himself before an ocean after a botched telephone deal with a friend. The boy who in this study will be referred to as Tom (real name withheld) told the court that he bought a mobile phone from his friend in the same area but had to travel to a different township to his friend's brother to collect it. Upon reaching there, the paper says a friend led Tom into a certain house in which they found a white man. The friend and the white man instructed Tom to sit down, gave him a drink and some strange food that looked like meat. Tom alleged that soon afterwards, he found himself with the friend and the white man on an expanse of water. He says while there, strange men and women offered him riches on condition that he killed someone, but he was later instructed to leave the ocean because his blood was 'bitter'. This case appeared in court because Tom's mother was sued by the mother to Tom's friend for accusation of witchcraft. The mother to Tom's friend was accused of being responsible for the disappearance of Tom for nine months through an act of witchcraft.

Meanwhile, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) 19:00 hours News of *October 13, 2010*, aired what was referred to as one of the latest ritual murder attempts. What was eye-catching from this news item in relation to this study, was the headline that read: '*Police fire tear gas on the mob in Lusaka to rescue a man accused of being a Satanist*'. The details of the news were that an unknown man, who by the time of reporting had not yet revealed his identity, had kidnapped a boy of about eight years old in John Laing Compound of Lusaka. The kidnapper inserted a piece of cloth in the boy's mouth and wrapped him in a white cloth in an attempt to kill him. By chance, the boy was rescued by suspecting onlookers. Within no time, the man found himself surrounded by an instant justice mob. In crying for help, the man pleaded that his life be spared because he did that on behalf of a certain woman, who was also hired by *bamwenye* (a term used to refer to the Indian

businessmen). The News Caster alerted the public to an increase in the number of incidents of children disappearing from what she termed ‘unclear circumstances’.

In Kabwe District, several incidents of alleged Satanism have been reported. Just like elsewhere in Zambia, many of such incidents could have passed without the culprits behind them being noticed. The knowledge about them may not even have been formerly recorded, but have survived and perpetuated through rumours. For instance, there are some buildings within the town of Kabwe that people have feared to occupy simply because they are said to have a background of Satanism. A number of businessmen and individuals have equally been rumoured to have links with Satanism.

### **1.18 THE KIND OF RELIGION SATANISM IS**

From the descriptions of Satanism given so far, one can still wonder whether Satanism is a religion or not. Perhaps I begin by analysing the term ‘religion’.

#### **1.18.1 ‘Religion’ as Conceived by this Study**

Most of the ideas found in Satanism, regardless of whether the phenomenon is a religion or not, seem to be essentially religious ideas. Indeed, many of the rumours about Satanism that circulate in Zambia and Kabwe in particular, contain an element of religious thought. This fact alone makes religion something of great importance in this study, which analyses the subject of Satanism. This of course, depends on what religion means. In this thesis, I base myself on the notion that religion refers to ‘a belief in the existence of an invisible world, distinct but not separate from the visible one, that is home to spiritual beings with effective powers over the material world’. Such a definition goes back to the nineteenth-century anthropologist E.B Tylor, who described religion succinctly as ‘the belief in spiritual Beings’ (Tylor, 1963:8). This definition has the advantage of implying the belief by people that there exists a spirit world of Satanism, in which people from this material world interact by way of making a pact with Satan, the ruler of the invisible world invariably referred to as the ‘under world’.

### 1.18.2 Satanism: a Religion of the Occult?

Some scholars (such as Johns 1969) have referred to Satanism as the 'religion of the Occult', a phrase which covers all mysterious practices which include magical powers and works of spirits. In the Christian context, such mysterious practices are referred to as acts contrary to biblical spiritualism or simply the *contrary spirits*. A close examination of Satanism seems to reveal some imitation of certain aspects from conventional religions, especially aspects like ritual practices, use of Christian symbols like blood, host, candle and incense. One can therefore understand the Devil worship as a sort of *liturgical blackmail* to the evil and malignant spirits in order to placate them and avert their anger (Mathews, 2009:105). The 'imitation' referred to here is not 'syncretism', in the sense that the beliefs and practices of Satanism are often copied from other religions, but twisted to suit the satanic interests, which are in most cases contrary to the beliefs and practices of those religions. For instance, the use of Black Mass in Satanic rituals, which is an imitation of the Christian (Roman Catholic) Mass. In this sense, Satanism appears to be a counterfeit faith of some kind, before the common religions.

### 1.18.3 Satanism as a Cult

A 'cult' could perhaps be the suitable term to refer to Satanism, where the term 'cult' is used to mean an extreme religious group, which is not part of an established religion. From the Sociology of Religion perspective, Nyaundi (2004:203) defines a cult as 'a religious movement that often lacks an organisational structure'. He observes that a cult is a religious organisation which sociologists consider to be of an amorphous structure, that is, its 'structural basis' is invisible in the correct meaning of the term. Anthony Giddens provides a similar view of the term, which may only slightly differ in phraseology. For Giddens, a cult is 'the most loosely knit and transient of all religious organisations, being composed of individuals who reject what they see as the values of the outside society' (Giddens, 2008:547). In both definitions, the focus of the cult is on individuals' experiences, bringing like-minded individuals together. According to Giddens, people do not follow a cult, but rather follow particular theories or prescribed ways of behaviours.

A cult includes the totality of ideas, activities and practices associated with a given divinity of a social group. It includes not only ritual activities but also the beliefs and myths focusing on the rites. The objects of the cult are often things associated with the daily life of the

celebrants. This study takes the conception of the term 'cult' as referring to 'contemporary religious groups whose beliefs and practices depart from the conventional norms of society.' Such cults tend to proliferate during periods of social unrest. They are mostly transient, peripheral and marked by interest in mysticism (Richardson *et al*, 1983:202). Bourdillon (1997) gives another definition when he refers to the African Cults of Affliction. He defines the term 'cults' as:

... religious beliefs and practices dominated by those who are at the periphery of the main political and economic structures of society. They express ideas, which are divorced from, or opposed to, the dominant ideology that supports them (p.153).

The descriptions of the term 'cult' given above may suit the adherents of Satanism, more so as they may be viewed in relation to followers of other world religions.

But the definitions given so far in this chapter may still not be precise in answering the question whether Satanism is a religion or not. I therefore propose in what follows, the definition of the term 'Satanism' as conceived by this study.

#### 1.18.4 Satanism as Conceived by this Study

This study, therefore, sees Satanism fitting well in the definition of the 'cult', as given above. Indeed, Satanism in Kabwe is not conceived as an established religion, neither is it taken to be part of the dominating Christian ideology.

Basing on the Devil's established faith and indeed basing on the concepts of Satan given in this study, I take Satanism to be 'the worship of the principle personified as Satan or Devil, seen in the Jewish and Christian traditions as the direct adversary of God and the embodiment of the absolute evil'. It also involves the practice by its followers, of making a pact with the Devil (*Collier's Encyclopaedia*, 1998:963).

#### 1.19 SUMMARY

In concluding the chapter on literature review, it should be noted that when viewing Satanism in relation to the conventional / main religions, it is seen as a religion stemming from the occult tradition, with characteristic features of the cult, which has incorporated some radical atheistic philosophies and ideologies. The survey of the available literature for this study on Satanism has however shown serious gaps in the information on the subject in Zambia,

suggesting a need for research. The need to fill-up gaps in the available knowledge on Satanism as revealed by the survey of literature, points to the necessity of studies like this one.

## 1.20 DEFINITIONS OF KEY CONCEPTS

### 1.20.1 Church of Satan

The Church of Satan is an organisation dedicated to the acceptance of the carnal self, as articulated in *The Satanic Bible*, written in the 1960s. It was officially registered as a religion in the U.S.A, on 1 May, 1966, with Anton Szandor LaVey as its founder.

### 1.20.2 Cult

A cult is a religious movement which often lacks an organisational structure. It is a kind of an organisation which sociologists consider to be of an amorphous structure, that is, its 'structural basis' is invisible in the correct meaning of the term (Nyaundi, 2004: 203). The term also implies 'the most loosely knit and transient of all religious organisations, being composed of individuals who reject what they see as the values of the outside society' (Giddens, 2008:547). In other words, a cult includes the totality of ideas, activities and practices associated with a given divinity of a social group. This study takes the conception of the term 'cult' as referring to contemporary religious groups whose beliefs and practices depart from the conventional norms of society.

### 1.20.3 Deism

The term 'Deism' implies the belief in a God who made the world, but has no influence on human lives.

### 1.20.4 Demonology

In cultural heritage of all societies, there exists a ready-made explanation of the origins and workings of the evil which threatens to undermine the most cherished values of a society. Anthropologists call this culturally inherited explanation of evil, a 'demonology'. By definition, a demonology is 'an elaborate set of interrelated folk beliefs about the workings of evil, which may be partly conveyed in official religious teachings and understanding'.

#### 1.20.5 **Devil**

The word *Devil* is derived from the old English *deofel*; the Latin *diabolus* and the Greek *diabalos* which directly translates to the Hebrew ‘Satan’, meaning the adversary. *Diabolus* is a term which identifies the Serpent of Genesis Chapter Three with the Devil. In Christianity, the Devil is also referred to as Satan and Lucifer. The concept of the Devil as an independent evil power no longer in heaven but ruling a demonic kingdom and heading for judgement is absent in the Old Testament ( Rudolf, 1970:809).

#### 1.20.6 **Occult**

The term ‘*Occult*’ literary relates to magical powers and activities such as those of witchcraft and astrology. This study takes the term to imply religious or supernatural practices and techniques imperceptible by the eye of an ordinary individual.

#### 1.20.7 **Occult Religion**

This is a religions that bases its beliefs on Supernatural forces and invisible events. The ingredients of the occult religions include the basic necessities for existence (Palms, 1973:7).

#### 1.20.8 **Radio Trottoir**

This concept is adopted from Ellis and Ter Haar (2004). The term refers to the kind of oral transmission of information through rumours. It is also used in this study to imply its other meaning of ‘oral discussion of current events in Africa’, hence making it something more than a rumour alone.

#### 1.20.9 **Rumours**

The conceptual meaning of the term ‘rumour’ as applied in this study is adopted from the scholars Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar (2004: 33). The duo defines the term as ‘an attempt at collective conversation by people who wish to enter their sentiments into a public discourse’. Often rumours refer to invisible beings such as aliens, or they may attribute mysterious occurrences to the machinations of an invisible force that people believe to have effected power over their lives (*ibid*:26). It is argued that rumours can be investigated through research to verify or dismiss stories they purport.

#### 1.20.10 **Satan**

In the Hebrew, the noun 'Satan' is related to the verb 'Satan'. It is a judicial term referring to an 'Accuser', 'Slander', or 'Adversary' in court (Ps 109:6). In this reference, Satan becomes a positive concept and some people have built on this Hebrew meaning of 'Adversary' to construct the whole philosophy of Satan as the questioning-self which is positive, healthy and a mother of knowledge and invention. The Old Testament presents Satan as the member of the heavenly court, whose function is to identify evil persons and accuse them before God (Job 1).

#### 1.20.11 **Satanism**

The term 'Satanism' may be defined differently, depending on the perspective from which one is looking at it. From the biblical perspective, the term may be defined as a secret society whose ideology is directed at dethroning God and enthroning the Devil. It is therefore, sometimes referred to as 'Devil Worship'. From the atheistic point of view, 'Satanism' is a direction and a school of religious beliefs that comprise a number of related ideologies and philosophical beliefs and social phenomena. They share the feature of symbolism, traditions, veneration or admiration of Satan or/and similar figures or personifications of powers or ideologies.

Other definitions or descriptions of the term 'Satanism' found in this study may not be very different from these in essence, though they may seem slightly different in phraseology.

## CHAPTER TWO

### METHODOLOGY

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#### 2.1 THE THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

##### 2.1.1 Phenomenological Approach

The main orientation of this study was phenomenological. 'Methodology' was in this study used following Plato's distinction of the term with 'Research Techniques', where the term 'Method' implies 'the logic-in-use involved in selecting particular observational techniques, assessing their yield of data and relating these data to theoretical propositions (Weber, 1947:194). 'Research techniques,' on the other hand, refers to the pragmatics of primary data collection.

In the social sciences, two main methodological paradigms dominate. One is Positivism, originating with Emile Durkheim and which seeks facts and causes of social phenomena, with little regard for the subjectivity of individuals. Within this methodological tradition, much social research and theory followed the path of the physical sciences. This resulted in overlooking the human dimension and what is called the 'inner perspective.' Attention focussed on the data of sense, neglecting the data of consciousness. The other dominant perspective in the social sciences is Phenomenology. Phenomenology is the science of phenomena. A phenomenon is 'a fact or occurrence that appears or is perceived, especially one of which the cause is in question' (Weber, 1947:195). The word is derived from a Greek verb 'to appear' or 'show' and has a long historical background.

The first appearance of the term 'phenomenology', according to Moran (2000:6), was made in the eighteenth century, where its first use has been credited to the German mathematician J.H. Lambert. Lambert applied the term to signify a science of appearance (Schein) which describes how 'appearance' can lead to truth. Moran further says the manner in which Lambert applied the term allows us to proceed from appearances to truth, just as optics studies perspective in order to deduce true features of the object seen.



Moran argues that it was Lambert who inspired Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) to use the term ‘phenomenology’ in several of his early letters. For instance, in a letter to Lambert of September 1770, Kant says that ‘metaphysics must be preceded by a quite distinct, but merely negative science (*Phaenomenologica generalis*). Phenomenology for Kant, is that branch of science which deals with things in their manner of appearing to us. For example, relative motion, or colour and properties which are dependent on the human observer. Kant’s enquiry into the conditions for the possibility of objectivity - as seen from the subjective side, was criticised by Hegel (1770–1831), the great German idealist of the nineteenth century, for failing to develop a conception of mind other than consciousness. Hegel argued that Kantian philosophy remained ‘only a phenomenology (not a philosophy) of mind’.

Hegel employed the term ‘phenomenology’ to refer to ‘subjective spirit’. He made the most prominent use of the term when it featured in the title of his 1807 *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (Phenomenology of Spirit), but this work was largely eclipsed during the nineteenth century and had little influence. Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) also made use of the term ‘phenomenology’ in writings of 1804 to refer to the manner of deriving the world of appearance, which illusorily appears to be independent of consciousness, from consciousness itself (*ibid*:7).

According to Cox (2006:9), the philosophical movement associated with Phenomenology was began by the German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859-1938). Between 1901 and 1931, Husserl developed a methodology which he believed articulated a logical and fully scientific analysis of the way humans obtain knowledge. Cox argues that the term phenomenology was not invented by Husserl, but the way in which the word has been used in contemporary philosophy can be traced to him.

It was only in the 1920s and 1930s, after Husserl’s inauguration of phenomenology that, especially in France, Alexandre Kojève, Jean Hyppolite, Jean Wahl, Merleau-Ponty and others began to look to Hegel as the true progenitor of the phenomenological method. Despite all prior occurrences of the term ‘phenomenology’, the immediate inspiration for Edmund Husserl’s use of the term was neither Kant nor Hegel, but Franz Brentano, who first employed the term in 1889. Today it is argued that Husserl’s phenomenology has its first anticipation in Brentano’s attempt to rethink the nature of psychology as a science. Brentano had proposed a form of descriptive psychology that would concentrate on illuminating the

nature of inner self-awareness acts of cognition without appealing to causal or genetic explanation. In other words, Brentano was proposing a kind of philosophical psychology, or philosophy of mind, to analyse Psychology from an Empirical Standpoint.

By adopting phenomenology as a paradigm, I began by ‘suspending’ or ‘bracketing’ my personal beliefs and I withheld my personal judgment on academic theories about what I already knew concerning the *Lenje* people of Kabwe prior to the study, especially their religion or beliefs. The idea was to get the impression of the people studied rather than my own understanding of the subject in question. I also *held in abeyance* my own views about religion and ideologies in general. In phenomenological language, this is what is referred to as ‘*epoche*’. In performing and maintaining *epoche*, I therefore, followed the following steps in this study:

- i) Suspended judgement, bracketed previous theories, opinions, ideas or thoughts about the subject under study.
- ii) Disregarded prior distinctions between the real and the apparent, true or false. In other words, this meant disregarding the question whether the obtaining information about Satanism in Kabwe were mere rumours or facts.
- iii) Allowed the phenomena to speak for themselves within the bracketed consciousness.

(Adopted from Cox 1992: 19).

In relation to the approach employed above, Husserl put up this question: What can remain over when the whole world is bracketed, including ourselves and all our thinking? (Husserl, 1931:112). The answer is found in terms like ‘pure experience’, ‘pure consciousness’ and ‘pure Ego’, through which seeing into a new realm of experience is made possible when the natural standpoint is placed in brackets. Taking this stance in this study meant that my eyes were fixed steadily upon the sphere of consciousness in order to study what was found imminent in it. That which was left over after bracketing out the natural stand point, is what Husserl refers to as ‘*phenomenological residuum*’ ( Husserl , in Cox 2006:21). This is the content of which, he argues, can become ‘the field of the new science – the science of phenomenology’. It is in this way that Cox sees the *phenomenological epoche* ceasing to operate simply as a negation, placing aside the natural standpoint, but becomes the necessary operation which renders pure consciousness accessible to us. This is what is referred to as

‘phenomenological reductionism’ (*Ibid*:22). When the phenomenological reductionism has taken place, it is possible to analyse consciousness in a new and fresh way.

To illustrate how phenomenological reductionism occurs, Husserl gives an example of a *white paper* lying in dim light in front of him. He calls the perception of the paper in its relative obscurity and particular angle with respect to his perception, as ‘conscious experience’. The paper itself, which is ‘objective’ due to its quality of extension in space and because of its particular relation to his own body, becomes ‘something perceived’. The background features which surround the white paper, such as pencil, an ink tray and books are also ‘perceived’, for they are regarded as ‘perceptually there in the field of intuition’. But by singling out the white paper for concentration, Husserl argues, the background features are in a sense, not apprehended by the consciousness. Husserl goes on to argue that the conscious experience is different from that which is perceived, because of variations involved in consciousness such as the perspective (from which angle one sees the paper when he/she moves the head in one direction or another or the changing light which might be shed on the paper) or other considerations such as the memory (how one recalls viewing a white paper in (the past) , anticipation ( how one might view it in future) or indeed even fanciful perception where one may imagine images of the paper in the dim light).

Drawing reference from Husserl, Moran (2000:153) emphasises that in each of the variations of perception suggested by Husserl, a white paper is still referred to, even if certain images are imagined on it or even if the paper does not exist at all. Moran says this is so simply because something of the very essence of a mental process is being grasped. He argues that the difference is intuitively known between that which is purely imagined, like ‘nymph’ or ‘a fairy ’ and the white paper in question. This, he says, is demonstrated further by the fact that the observer is conscious of the difference between the paper and its quality of being white, as he contends.

Clearly, something is given to the consciousness, in this case the white paper. As Cox (2006:22) observes, the white paper is grasped through a conscious experience that includes the singling out of background features and the variations in its perception. This consciousness of something is referred to by Husserl as ‘intentional experience’, because, he explains, ‘in so far as the conscious acts are a consciousness of something, they are said to be intentionally related to this ‘something’ (*Ibid*). This brings about the aspect of *intentionality*

in phenomenology. Again few scholars behind this feature of phenomenology can be cited, such as Brentano and Kruger who seem to have echoed Brentano's sentiments. In his *Psychology from an Empirical Standpoint* (1874), Brentano, sets out to do 'empirical psychology' by identifying descriptively the domain of the mental operations in terms of intentionality.

The meaning of the term '*intentionality*' could perhaps be easily understood from Kruger's usage. According to Kruger (1982:17), the term 'intentionality' is one aspect of phenomenology, applied especially to sciences that study man. One of the most offensive effects of positivistic science is that man is reduced to mere externality, implying that 'what cannot be caught in the mathematised sieve of natural science and pseudo-natural human science is ignored or even denied. This reduces man to the status of the other objects in nature, determined by causes and not motivated by reasons. This procedure misses the true humanity of man which is his subjectivity. It leaves out of account the subtle ways in which the living human being experiences his own life, his own body, his environment and his social relations. Kruger clarifies the point further by drawing reference from religious circles where one may determine how often people pray, but cannot penetrate to the core of people's own experience of prayer in their real existence and see how they live through their contact with the divine, or know the modes or nuances of their certainty that they are in contact with the divine.

In the phenomenological perspective, what was expected to be seen clearly and described adequately by this study, was how people themselves experienced their own world in reference to the subject studied, which is Satanism. It is this aspect, Kruger argues, which Phenomenology refers to as '*intentionality*'.

As a reaction to the positivistic paradigm, the phenomenological approach (with its aspect of intentionality) assumes that social reality is within us. Therefore, the act of investigating reality has an effect on that reality. I, therefore, paid considerable regard in this study to the subjective state of the individuals (respondents during interviews). This qualitative approach stressed the subjective aspects of human activity by focussing on the meaning rather than the measurements of social phenomena. Making use of the phenomenological tradition in this study, therefore, allowed the application of non logical reasoning where *experience*, *hunch*

and *intuition* replaced *precision*, *objectivity* and *rigour* as the means of investigating research problems (Collis and Hussey, 2003:52).

To varying degrees, phenomenologists believe that social reality is dependent on the mind. There is no reality independent of the mind. Therefore, what is researched cannot be unaffected by the process of the research. The research methods used under this approach were an array of interpretive techniques that sought to describe, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning and not the frequency of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world (Van Maanen, 1983:19).

Phenomenology would, of course, not demand that the researcher should simply bracket out all of his/her own input in perceiving a phenomenon. This would be impossible (Kruger 1982:18). By checking on my own assumptions, therefore, I as a phenomenologist, allowed the phenomenon studied to stand out sharply in this study.

However, there might be few exceptions to admit on the exactitude of this orientation, based on its acceptable limitations. As Petterson and Akerberg noted, 'the scholar is to a great extent committed to the ideas of his age. When he/she begins studies, he/she is already influenced' (Peterson et al, 1981:61). Talking about the researcher already being influenced as he/she embarks on research, Silverman (1994: 46) says: 'of course no one can completely distance him/herself from the beliefs and structures which he/she has grown up with or has developed. However, the researcher needs to be aware of the presence of such prejudices'.

What I sought to do in this study, therefore, was to try to minimise some admitted and recognised preconceptions in order that a fresh look at the phenomenon under study might yield new insights and achieve greater understanding. This was so, especially that the study was likely to invite the benefit of my having shared the same cultural environment with the people observed.

The adoption of the Phenomenological Approach together with its aspects of *epoche* and *intentionality* in this study was also believed to be central in the understanding of the subject studied, which is essentially subjective in nature. This is because 'phenomenology accepts along with other scientific approaches, the need to describe subjective phenomena like religion objectively (Cox, 1992:43).

### 2.1.2 Hermeneutics Method

To some extent, the study also applied the special aspect of phenomenology, called Hermeneutics. According to Collis and Hussey (2003:74), 'hermeneutics is a phenomenological method which was originally concerned with interpreting ancient scriptures'. Scholars later formalised the technique and broadened its scope. By definition, hermeneutics can be taken to mean 'the research activity of interpreting whatever in the target situation is seen, heard or sensed' (Davies, 2007:237).

The 'hermeneutic circle' therefore, consists of the original data and the interpretive transformation of it by the researcher. Essentially, this method involves paying particular attention to the historical and social context surrounding an action when interpreting a text. It assumes that there is a relationship between the direct conscious description of experience and the underlying dynamics or structures (Collis and Hussey, 2003:75). Whilst a text can provide an important description of the conscious experience, analysis and interpretation of the underlying conditions that led to the experience are also required. Hence, the hermeneutical process involves interpreting the meaning of a text through continual reference to its context.

Although it is usually associated with the interpretation of historical texts, hermeneutics has been applied in humanities and social sciences research, such as in Law where the reasons behind judgements or statutes are sought. According to Lindlof (1995:31), 'the method can be applied to any situation in which one wants to 'recover' historical meaning.

#### 2.1.2.1 Hermeneutics Method in Religious Studies: History and Phenomenology in the Hermeneutical Tradition

In the Religious Studies context, the renowned key figure in the history and phenomenology in the hermeneutical tradition is Mircea Eliade. As Cox (2006:177) notes, no figure has exercised such an extensive influence over the academic study of religions in North America and arguably elsewhere, as Mircea Eliade. Unlike other scholars, Eliade applied the hermeneutical method in Religious Studies in a much more profound manner by outlining a formal structure of religion, which, when applied to culturally specific situations, he believed

would enable scholars to achieve an accurate interpretation and understanding of religious expressions everywhere. It was by exposing the structure of religious experience that Eliade made the almost limitless number of religious symbols around the world comprehensible according to one fundamental pattern.

#### 2.1.2.2 **Interpreting Hierophanies**

Eliade (1959:91) describes the scholar of religion as a 'hermeneutist', who is primarily concerned with religious orientation around symbols of meaning. For Eliade, the key word that helps the scholar unlock the meaning of religious symbols is 'hierophany' (the manifestation of the sacred), which locates for the religious person (homo religious) points of orientation around sacred centres. Based partly on Rudolf Otto's idea of 'the holy', Eliade contends that the 'sacred' is unknown and unknowable in itself, but is revealed through manifestation in profane space and time (1987:9-10). These manifestations, the hierophanies, constitute the subject matter of the history of religion. In *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Eliade (1996:29) explains: 'This paradoxical coming together of sacred and profane, being and non being, absolute and relative, the eternal and the becoming, is what every hierophany, even the most elementary, reveals.'

Eliade's theory of religion, that which is replicated in all cultural contexts, depicts the religious person as focused on a time when the world came into being through an initial creative act of sacred manifestation. The religious person imagines a primeval moment, before the foundation of the world, dominated by the terror of profane homogeneity, where there were no indications of the sacred orientation. In a homogeneous universe, everything is the same; no point of demarcation can be located. This is equivalent to being lost, where a person cannot identify any familiar landmarks and experiences some despair and hopelessness as a result. In a like manner, for the religious person, homogeneity, the inability to recognise sacred points of orientation, result in a sense of absolute meaninglessness and total chaos. In the beginning, sacred intrusions broke into the homogeneity of space and time, revealing what would otherwise remain unknown and unknowable and providing life with meaningful points of cosmic orientation by 'founding' the world (1987:20-2). As religions develop in history, these primordial hierophanies become expressed symbolically chiefly through cosmogonic myths and their ritual re-enactments (Eliade, 1996:416). As a result, the history of religions becomes a study of the sacred manifestations, uncovering how they have

been enshrined in myths and how they are brought into the present through rituals. For the religious person, myths and ritual convey symbolic meaning and provide the scholar with tools necessary for interpreting religious experience.

Because religion is primarily about orientation, certain symbols recur in various forms throughout the world and across history. These primarily have to do with cosmic centres, which connect the layers of the world, the upper level reaching to the heavens and hence to the gods and the lower levels extending to the foundations of the earth, often inhabited by murky figures, Devils and demons, what Eliade calls 'the infernal regions' (1987:36-7). Such centres emerge from hierophanies, but Eliade explains that these, 'not only project a fixed point into the formless fluidity of profane space, a centre into chaos', they also open 'communication between the cosmic planes (between earth and heaven)' (1987:63). This enables the religious person to enter what Eliade calls an 'ontological passage from one mode of being to another'. This is why myths and symbols frequently refer to natural objects extending to the sky, such as mountains, birds, trees, sun and moon. It also explains why, the shaman constitutes such a central and universal religious figure, since the shaman primarily travels to the upper and lower worlds, in some culture, such as in the Atlantic regions of inner Asia, by climbing the cosmic tree towards the highest level of the gods (1987:190-200). Although some hierophanies do not convey meaning beyond their own cultural contexts, the universal pattern whereby the sacred discloses itself can be discerned everywhere.

As Cox (2006:178) observes, Eliade has used this model to clearly construct a dichotomy between the sacred and the profane, what he calls 'the dialectic of the sacred' (Eliade, 1989: 32). To understand this, we need to note that anything can become a hierophany, a conduit for manifesting the sacred, but not everything does. A particular entity becomes sacred precisely because it has manifested what otherwise would remain unknowable. A mountain may be selected because it is the highest in the region and hence nearest to the abode of the gods, or a tree may be identified because of its unusual shape indicating the presence of a mysterious force. Eliade explains: 'What matters is that a hierophany implies a *choice*, a clear-cut separation of this thing which manifests the sacred from everything else around it' (emphasis his) (1996:13). The sacred object also possesses certain ambivalence, since potentially it can be dangerous if it is not treated in a prescribed fashion, or if it becomes polluted by contact with profane objects. Its ambivalence is also enhanced by its mundane character; a stone or a tree remains what it is even while manifesting the 'wholly other'. By



understanding the dialectic of the hierophany, the scholar gains the insights into the way the religious person apprehends and experiences the world and thus is able, as a hermeneutist, to disclose for academic understanding the structure of the religious consciousness.

### 2.1.2.3 **Understanding Eliade's Hermeneutical Method through Re-enactments of Cosmogonic Myths and Rituals**

As already noted, the two most important categories for understanding religion for Eliade are myth and ritual, including the ways each category is linked to the other. This relationship is seen vividly in archaic and primitive religions, but less so in modern times, since modern man's originality, his newness in comparison with traditional societies, lies precisely in his determination to regard himself as a purely historical being, in his wish to live in a basically desacralised cosmos' (Eliade, 1966: ix). Eliade defines myth as narrating a sacred. As opposed to a profane history: 'A myth relates an event that took place in Primordial Time, the fabled time of the 'beginnings' (Eliade,1975:5). Its main characters are supernatural beings, who are recounted in the myth as bringing reality into existence, be it the whole of reality, the cosmos, or only a fragment of reality. In this sense, every myth speaks of origin, either cosmogonic, telling of the creation of the world, or as an origin myth, relating how humans have become as they now are, as for example in the case of the Inuit people of the northern circumpolar regions whose name is translated 'the real people' in specific cultural contexts (Eliade,1987:42-7). For Eliade, therefore, all myths relate 'how something was produced, began to *be*' (Eliade, 1975:6) and for this reason, they primarily communicate events surrounding hierophanies; they describe the various and sometimes dramatic breakthroughs of the sacred into the world' (1975:6). In this sense, myths become ontologies, defining what it means for a human to be in a world that has evolved from the sacred interventions described in the myths (1987:63-4). Because they are ontological, myths construct paradigms for human behaviour, explaining not only how humans came to be as they are mortal, sexed and cultural but also serving as 'the exemplary model for all significant human activities' (1975:6). Eliade's view of myths is entirely consistent with his hermeneutical task, which is to make clear the structure of the religious consciousness, since myth teaches the religious person 'the primordial stories that have constituted him existentially'.

If myths tell of origins and construct beings, it follows that the most important rituals bring the religious person back to the beginnings; they reconstitute life, in Eliade's words, 'fresh from the creator's hands' (1987:65). This becomes particularly clear in the way New Year

rituals are celebrated almost universally. In New Year festivals, the cosmogonic myth is re-enacted, so that participants experience an entirely new world beginning. 'Each New Year', Eliade explains, 'begins the Creation over again' (1975:41). Of course, New Year ritual diverges dramatically according to the type of societies, to which the myth relates, displaying marked differences, for example, between agriculture economies and nomadic forms of subsistence. They also vary according to the degrees of complexity within their social organisations. Nevertheless, 'there is always a cycle, that is, a period of time that has a beginning and an end' (1975:42). New Year festivals also include a period in-between when the old has not totally passed away and the new has yet to come into being. The in-between period represents a return to chaos, a time when the homogeneity of space and time reappears in the destruction of the old order before the creation of the new. Example of this phenomenon includes 'extinguishing of fires, expelling evil and sins, reversal of habitual behaviour, orgies, return of the dead, (1966: xiii). The recreation of the world then follows, usually in the form of symbols of the cosmogony, such as 'lighting new fires, departure of the dead, repetition of acts by which the Gods created the world, solemn prediction of the weather for the ensuing year'. Eliade says the simplest example of the New Year ritual is found among the Australian aborigines, where the origin myth literally is re-enacted each year. He gives an example of the rock paintings which are believed to have been painted by the Ancestors, which are painted in order to reactivate their creative force, as it was first manifested in mythical times, that is, at the beginning of the world (1975:43).

Rites of initiation provide another type of repeated and formal social activity, that demonstrate how myths of origin are re-enacted, in this case, to effect a change from one state of being into another. Eliade says such rituals are 'equivalent to a basic change in existential condition, according to which a novice emerges from the rite with a totally different being from that which he possessed before his initiation (Eliade, 1966:x). The most consistent and prominent example of this type of ritual in primitive societies is the transition from childhood to adulthood that is marked by 'series of initiation ordeals', which ensures that a young person at the stage of puberty assumes his or her role as a responsible member of the society. During the stage of transition, when the rites of initiation are being performed, the initiate learns about societal rules, sexual obligation and compulsory adult behaviour. For Eliade, instruction in the rules and mores of the society comprises just one function of the rite, but certainly not its most important one. More fundamentally, the novice learns the mystical relations between the tribe and the supernatural Being as those relations were

established at the beginning of Time (1966:x). In other words, the rites of initiation teach the young person about the society's myths of origin and thereby become, much more than instruction as it is understood in contemporary Western education.

By disclosing the structure of the religious consciousness through the dialectic of the sacred and through its primary expressions in myth and ritual, Eliade attempted to overcome what the Dutch scholar J.G Platvoet, calls the 'hermeneutical predicament', which is the problem of conveying the correct perception, interpretation and translation of the social, cultural or historical data studied (Platvoet, 1988:2). Eliade insisted that for the hermeneutical approach to generate understanding, scholars must recognise religion as a 'spiritual universe'. Without this, they simply collect data which serve to augment what he terms the 'terrifying number' of documents classified in archives, awaiting electronic computers to process them. Such recognition involves far more than acknowledging that religious people experience the world in a spiritual way, which entails the necessary insights for scientific interpretation of otherwise inscrutable symbols. Eliade calls this 'an immediate intuition', which enables the student of religion to understand religious symbols as 'ciphers' of the world (1959:98). For example, the cosmic tree, which is found widely within primitive societies, cannot be understood unless it is seen in its totality as revealing the world as living, periodically regenerating itself and because of this regeneration, continually fruitful, rich and inexhaustible. Without a sensitivity of this religious apprehension of the world, Eliade argues that the scholar will be unable to decipher what would otherwise remain hidden, that for the religious person, human life comes from 'another part', from far off; and that it is 'divine' in the sense that it is the word of the gods or of supernatural beings (1959:98).

Eliade, therefore, maintains that the structure of the religious consciousness can be made objective through the categories of the sacred and profane and in the typologies of myths and ritual, but the symbolism which infuses both cannot be grasped by the scholar nor interpreted to outsiders without the scholar adopting an entirely empathetic attitude towards the religious world view. To understand in the fullest sense, is to articulate that, for the religious person, symbols convey reality, meaning and being. In other words, Eliade says the religious person should long to be as near as possible to the sacred, to the moment when everything became new and he says the only way to do this is to re-experience the situation by telling the story of beginnings and re-enacting it in powerful and symbolic ritual drama. The scholar simply cannot communicate the potent strength of a religious symbol without understanding it

religiously: it is for him to restore to it all the meanings it has had during the course of its history (Eliade, 1959:105).

Satanism is one phenomenon that is rich in iconography or the use of symbols. Quite often, I came across, in this study, a number of suspected satanic icons alleged to have been used by Satanists, which required me to pause, interpret them and get their meaning first, in order to obtain the information that was required in the study. In such cases and indeed others that related to satanic legends, the hermeneutics method turned out to be useful for me.

## **2.2 SOURCES AND TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION**

Having outlined the theoretical orientation of the study, I now turn to the research techniques employed in the study. Since positivists and phenomenologists approach different problems and seek different answers, their research demands different research techniques. Survey, questionnaires, inventories, demographic analyses and the like, provide the positivist with quantitative data which can be used for statistical verification of relationships between defined variables. The phenomenologist on the other hand, seeks understanding through such qualitative methods as participant observation, open-ended interviewing and personal documents. In this study therefore, I used the following data collection tools and methods:

### **2.2.1 Questionnaires**

A questionnaire was the first research tool I used in this study. A Questionnaire is a list of carefully structured questions, chosen after considerable testing, with a view to eliciting reliable responses from a chosen sample (Collis and Hussey 2003:172). In other words, Durkeim (1995:126) says a questionnaire consists of simple pre-set questions, usually given to respondents in an orderly (from lower order to higher order) manner so that information can be solicited chronologically. Despite it being commonly used by the positivistic paradigm, the questionnaire is also highly associated with the phenomenological methodology.

The questionnaire, therefore, consisted of 24 questions, some of which were further broken into sub-questions (see Appendix I). It was prepared well before the actual fieldwork, with well-tailored questions in investigating issues intended by the study. The questions were also standardised and mostly unstructured (open-ended) in order to obtain qualitative data from

respondents, in accordance with the phenomenological paradigm. One hundred and fifty (150) Questionnaires were distributed to respondents in the field by my RAs and I and from this total, we managed to collect back One hundred and thirty seven (137) and analysed them. Thirteen (13) questionnaires that were not received got lost in a road accident in which one of the RAs was involve.

### 2.2.2 Interviews

The interview method was used by this study in the gathering of primary data. The guiding questions (see Appendix II) were designed well in advance and in a manner that would give the interviewer the merit of eliciting spontaneous and more detailed information from the respondents. According to Collis and Hussey (2003), this is the best way of enabling the researcher to easily get the local community's perception of the subject under study.

The use of the interview method in this study had some obvious advantages. Apart from affording me the most appropriate means of getting people's insights, interviews also permitted me to ask more complex questions as well as asking follow-up questions especially where clarification was needed. Through this way, further information was obtained. In such cases, interviews also took account of non-verbal communications such as the attitude and behaviour of the interviewee. One thing that came out prominently during interview sessions in this study was the manner in which the interviewees reacted to certain questions which mentioned the term '*Satanism*'. Such questions immediately set them uncomfortable, suggesting 'fear' in them. This prompted me and my RAs to take this very aspect of behaviour as part of the findings, such that I thought of devoting a chapter in this thesis on '*Fear of Unknown*'. All this was possible because of the merit of the interview method that allowed for taking account of attitude and behaviour of respondents during the process.

The interview method, however, was not without problems. The main problem concerned the effect the interviewers had on the interview process. For instance, there was an element of sex bias that confirmed the observation by Rosenthal (1966) that male and female researchers tend to get significantly different responses from interviewees. Most female respondents in this study were, therefore, more comfortable being interviewed by female RAs than males. Another bias was noticed where, for instance, those respondents with some formal education tended to show a significantly more positive co-operation during interview sessions than

those without. Another disadvantage was that the interviewees might have had certain expectations about the questions in the interviews and therefore gave what they considered to be a 'correct' or 'acceptable' response. Worse still, there could have been an obstacle to getting the desired information after the interviewee became aware of being interviewed, hence decides to withhold certain information. To curb these problems, I considered the suggestion by Lee (1993) to be alert to the fact that certain expectations of the respondents could distort data and consequently the findings of research. This led me and my RAs in response, to act by increasing the depth of interview sessions.

### **2.2.3 Observation Method**

Another method of data gathering which was utilised in this study was the Observation Method, which involved both 'Participant' and 'Non-participant' methods. Both methods were used in observing the people of Kabwe in various contexts and settings.

#### **2.2.3.1 Participant Observation**

Collis and Hussey (2003:171) define 'participant observation' as a method of collecting data where the researcher is fully involved with the participants and the phenomena being researched.

The use of this method in this study was considered the suitable alternative in trying to circumnavigate the inadequacy posed by interviews, such as the obstacles to getting the desired information after the interviewee becomes aware of being interviewed and decides to withhold information. The aim here was to create a natural setting where the people observed interacted and expressed their social behaviour freely. The goal was not to observe the Satanists performing at their scenes of action, for this was practically impossible and therefore, not expected. Instead, the focus was on studying people's reactions or behaviour towards incidents that caused the satanic scare in phenomena and environments so perceived as satanic, as well as their views to issues and sentiments that related to the subject of Satanism as they arose during their social interactions. My RAs and I therefore targeted such busy social places as the bars, taverns, churches and educational institutions. Other places targeted were those that came out prominently from interviews as places haunted by Satanism. These included some selected shops, one hospital, communities surrounding three houses once abandoned by occupants on allegations that they harboured some spiritual beings

who were behind certain mysterious happenings experienced there and one building right in the town centre of Kabwe which was once a temple for a certain religious group that was forced to leave Kabwe on allegations that they were Satanists. The Kabwe Urban Court was also visited in an attempt to verify a story of two coffins that were said to have been found one day in the morning in 2006 around Shoprite shopping complex area. According to this story, the police collected the coffins and kept them at the court premises where they had been until the time of the research. The aim of visiting the court premises was to gather material evidence. The RAs and I played the role of active participants in all these places.

Observation, according to Robert (2004:75), refers to day-to-day activity of studying the behaviour and trends of human beings in real life contexts. Zivenge (2009:34) has also defined observation method as a 'systematic method of data collection that relies on the researcher's ability to use his or her senses'. The use of this method in this study required my RAs and I to have a role in the setting quite different from our role as researchers. For example, becoming one of the volunteer helpers in one of the youth clubs and in charity settings, hoping to get the required information from these settings.

There are two methods involved here according to Davies (2007:172) and the nature of the topic in this study demanded that I use both methods (though at different times), depending on circumstances and the kind of information desired. The first method is one that requires the researchers to *conceal* their research functions so that they would just be what they appeared to be. This method is popularly known as 'Insider research', sometimes called 'Clandestine research'. An example of where this method was applied in this study is when the RAs observed people's behaviour while in those shops alleged to be owned by Satanists. This method was useful in soliciting delicate information about the clients' behaviours without them knowing. Another example of where this method was applied was where I attended deliverance-exorcism sessions at local churches where self-confessed Satanists were delivered.

In short, the first method was applicable in this study for such information as related to the 'undercover' activities of Satanism by devout members and when trying to prove certain allegations on suspected acts of Satanism. When it concerned such activities, it was common knowledge that the disclosure of the researchers' role would not be welcome, if not even the very physical presence at the scenes of such activities, for that would be tantamount to spying

and the unpleasant repercussions in this delicate pursuit would be very obvious. For other information so perceived as 'not risky', the second method was generally applied. It is because of the need to take care of certain perceived dangers arising from the nature of the topic pursued that I interchanged the two methods in the study, depending on the type of information required, environment and conditions surrounding the source of that information.

The major advantage of Participant Observation method was that the information required was captured from the observed in live contexts. However, the method presented the main problem of not making it possible to seek clarifications on certain ambiguities, since there was no room for questions.

The observation method in general, as applied in this study presented some limitations though. The first one was that it required a longer research period, in order to gather the required data. This required the researcher to spend much time in the area under observation. Secondly, it was practically impossible to observe the actual works of the Satanists in action ('undercover activities'), as already pointed out, owing to the very nature of the subject under study and other implications. For information that related to such acts, such as in trying to ascertain the existence of satanic acts, the study opted to use those informants who were either self-confessed Satanist or ex-Satanists or those ordinary individuals who personally expressed interest in divulging the required information, after the assurance of confidentiality by the researcher.

#### **2.2.3.2 Non-Participant Observation**

In this study, I also adopted the Non-Participant Observation method of data gathering, besides Participant-Observation. Here, as a researcher, I did not intend to be an integral member of the audience or system I was observing, but rather opted to observe from the neutral point of view. The advantage of using this technique was that I managed to minimise activism. Activism is defined as researching from the point of view of *self*, when the researcher is part of the researched, thus becoming an activist rather than collecting data from the 'on lookers' position. Minimising activism in this context warranted research with objectivity. This method also enabled me to cross-check the relevance and viability of the data that was collected through Participant-Observation.



#### 2.2.4 **Tape Recording**

Though the questionnaire, observation and interview methods were the mostly used tools in the data collection, tape recording also became useful at some stage. It was used to capture data in form of conversations in situations where interviews were not applicable during sessions. One example is where tape recordings were done in group discussions, social functions such as church crusades and weddings, drama, exorcising of evil spirits during church services, normal conversations at work places, workers' clubs and such other contexts, where the use of the above mentioned methods would otherwise not be appropriate. Besides, this method was extended to such key informants as the Self-confessed /ex-Satanists and exorcist priests where the study expected a wide range of answers. It was also used on those respondents who, during the administering of a questionnaire, had expressed interest to be contacted later for further information (the questionnaire had a provision for that).

Though the Tape Recording method afforded me some advantages some similar to those of the interviews, part of the weaknesses with it consisted its failure to identifying age, occupation, religious affiliation and residences of people recorded. This situation presented a challenge during data analysis, since only voices were recorded.

#### 2.2.5 **Archival: Documents**

The study also utilised documentary sources for secondary data. The data from this source was useful in exploring both the 'past' and the 'present' socio-economic aspects of Kabwe District, as well as its religious life.

Some of the data in this regard came from records kept in the National Archives of Zambia, the Local Archives at the District Administrative Offices in Kabwe, as well as the archives from the Local Authorities kept by Kabwe Municipal Council. These various archives contained documents with different policy statements as well as discussions on practical civic and social issues. Besides, there was correspondence in them, between the Central Administration (government), traditional leaders (chiefs and Village Headmen) and people at grass-root level from various rural communities. Correspondence such as those from the local authorities gave insights into what actually transpired among people from particular communities at the grass roots and at particular periods in the history of Kabwe.

Secondary data was also obtained from sources like the University of Zambia Library, Nkrumah University College Library, Public Libraries in Kabwe, Lusaka and Kitwe towns, churches and other religious institutions.

## **2.3 THE SAMPLE**

### **2.3.1 Snowball Sampling**

Prior to conducting interviews, some kind of a pilot survey, in forms of preliminary area truncation, snowball sampling or referrals from various people and ‘informal discussions’ was done. This began by gathering a small sample (Snowballing Sample). First, a few (ten) people who fitted in the criteria specified in the target group were identified, interviewed and then, after concluding the research-driven conversation, they were asked to suggest other people who might meet the requirements. This is what is commonly called *Snowball Sampling* (Davies 2007:147). In this way, I was able to know people in society and consequently, identified key informants. The characteristics obtained from this pilot survey were useful in identifying individuals to include in the interviews.

### **2.3.2 Sample Constituents and Size**

A sample exclusively drawn from Kabwe District was purposively (using Judgemental Method) drawn from two targeted categories, namely the rural and urban areas. The sampling process was further sub-categorised into the youth (young people aged between 13 and 19) and adults (aged 20 and above). Eligible individuals for inclusion in the sample were those who fitted in the definition of ‘resident’ of the area under study. The sample therefore, constituted 137 respondents, of which 93 came from Kabwe Urban while the remaining 44 were drawn from Kabwe Rural. The difference in the sample sizes between urban and rural settings was justified by the fact that population density in the urban area is slightly higher than that of the rural area. Locations such as congregations, parishes, fellowships and worship centres were targeted for interviews. The interviews were also extended to secular places such as ordinary households and business centres. Private and public institutions were also visited for interviews. Other categories included traditional practitioners, traditional rulers (like chiefs and headmen), government officials and ordinary residents. These served as primary units of analysis.

It was believed that a sample of 137 respondents was adequate in providing the general impression of the Kabwe residents on the subject under investigation.

## **2.4 Data Recording and Analysis**

This study considered the use of Qualitative Approach in data processing and analysis, where non-numerical methods are used. The following data analysis methods were used since they are agreeable with the adopted research paradigm (phenomenology):

### **2.4.1 Content Analysis**

According to Collis and Hussey (2003: 255), Content Analysis represents a formal approach to qualitative data analysis. Although it is associated with the positivistic approach, Smith *et al* (1991:14) argue that Content Analysis can also be used in analysing qualitative data. They refer to it as ‘the diagnostic tool of qualitative researchers, which is used when faced with a mass of open-ended material to make sense of’.

By way of content analysis, the text (data) was systematically converted to numerical variables for quantifiable analysis. This method enabled me to examine the primary data and documents, information from such sources as tape recordings. Here the recording and analysis of information that was gathered was preceded by the designing of a special ‘path of analysis’ (or simply a description) which took place well before the collection of data. The preparation of data for analysis involved coding, where the analysed material was classified into various codes, for example, using different numerical values for different types of answers from respondents. In coding, the main option to be considered was the Inductive Approach because of much qualitative information that was involved in this study. This entailed the classification of information at the end of data collection. There was not much calculation needed in this approach. The making of inferences was however vital and this was purely logical and entirely my task.

### **2.4.2 Informal Method**

Owing to the varying nature of information that was sourced by the study, other forms of data simply needed informal quantification method. For instance, in the process of examining such things as repetitive or patterned behaviour (Lindlof, 1995:216). One procedure followed by

this study depended on the frequency of something occurring. In a case where a phenomenon occurred very frequently, I omitted some reference to it to avoid repetition. This of course, relied on counting frequencies to determine which data should be omitted. Frequency was also used to determine whether an action or event normally happened or whether it was a rare occurrence.

To some extent, some form of scaling was done to determine which data was to be included. The scaling was as simple as deciding to label certain data as 'Important' and other data that was worth omitting as 'Not important' (Collis and Hussey, 2003:255). Care was taken to decide where it was appropriate to apply one particular method to make sure that I got the best of the required qualitative data.

## **2.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Confidentiality of the respondents is one of the most important considerations in conducting a research. In order to protect the subjects' privacy, fictitious names (pseudonyms) and sometimes changes in subjects' characteristics are used in the published results. This entails altering the form of the information without making major changes of meaning (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:273). At the time of administering the questionnaires and conducting the interviews, respondents were assured of confidentiality so that they would express themselves without fear or reservations during interviews. This report, therefore, respected the ethical principle of confidentiality in the sense that certain places and names of certain respondents that were associated with information deemed to be 'sensitive' were either not mentioned or were given pseudonyms. Like Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:273) have noted, 'it may be difficult for a researcher to anticipate the potential ethical and political consequences of an interview report'. Therefore, the pseudonyms Pastor Chole, Niwi, Lynn, Mr. Sookesi, Kelvin, Elder Lumunga, Bishop Chikoma and Elder Mwabi are used for some respondents or individuals who were found to be part of this study in one way or another. During the interviews, respondents were not forced into answering the questionnaires and interviews. Ethical considerations in conducting research further require that the researcher does not induce or bribe respondents to answer questions when they are not willing. In this study, not all respondents were willing to answer the questionnaire owing to the nature of the subject under investigation. Six people, for instance, refused to answer the questionnaire, showing unwillingness to share information on issues of Satanism. Knowing too well the sensitivity of

the subject under investigation, I made a provision at the end of the questionnaire for a question that asked whether respondents were willing to provide further information on issues covered in the questionnaire, in case I needed to revisit their contributions. From the collected 137 fill-in questionnaires, 46 had respondents expressing willingness to be contacted for further information, indicating their addresses. These, together with other individuals that were identified as 'key informants' by this study, constituted a list of those who were targeted for interviews.

## CHAPTER THREE

### KABWE: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND ECONOMIC CHANGES

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#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I discuss the historical background of Kabwe. The chapter begins by offering an etymological background to the name 'Kabwe' itself, before moving on to discussing the socio-economic changes the town of Kabwe has faced over time. The analysis of the socio-economic changes focuses on the three periods namely: pre-independence, post-independence and the current period. The chapter analyses the period slightly before independence as the time of economic growth and the period after independence as the time of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie phenomenon is taken as an expression of the highest level of economy the district has ever assumed. Lastly, the chapter presents the deteriorating picture, showing the shift of economy to a level that rendered Kabwe town a 'ghost town' by late 1990s.

It should be noted from the on-set of this chapter that the socio-economic history of Kabwe has largely been characterised by the mineral prospects, the influence of the Railways Company and the growth of commerce in the area. The chapter, therefore, analyses the antecedents of current socio-economic patterns and problems of Kabwe. The history of Kabwe as presented here illuminates the struggles in the nurturing of its socio-economic life through the various stages it has gone through with the passage of time. The analysis of the socio-economic history of Kabwe, therefore, helps in establishing whether there is a relationship between the economic despondency experienced in the district in the 1990s and the alleged coming of Satanism in the district.

In this chapter, I also analyse Kabwe industrial town as having grown from a simple 'new' town and its development being greatly influenced by pressures originating far beyond its locale. Here I discuss the economic growth and other developments that took place in various industries. This is followed by the presentation of a changing picture, showing the decline of the economy as years went by, a situation that culminated into the economic despondency experienced by the district.

The rural setting of Kabwe district is equally essential in this study. In developmental terms, the study describes the rural and the urban areas of Kabwe as being in partnership in the socio-economic development of the district, for both urbanites and rural residents have benefitted economically from the town's industrial activities.

### 3.2 Kabwe Town

Kabwe town, which is the Provincial Capital of the Central Province, is 137 kilometres north of Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia and 200 kilometres south of the Copperbelt Province. It is the geographical centre of Zambia. According to Kabwe Chamber of Commerce and Industry (KCCI) Business Bulletin (1973:11), Kabwe town derives its name and existence from the rock of its Zink and Lead Mines, as it is reflected on the Kabwe District's motto: 'From the Earth We Derive our Being'.

The term 'Kabwe' has its etymological background based on the history of mineral exploration in the area. 'Kabwe' is the short form for '*Kabwe ka Mukuba*' which means '*The Stone of Ore*' or 'The Place of Smelting'. Here T.G Davey, a mining Engineer on the lookout for signs of copper, stumbled on a curious shaped hill known to the local people as '*Mutwe Wa Nsofu*' or 'Elephant's Head'. Exploring the head more closely, he discovered rich outcrops of lead and zinc. The formation of the deposits was similar to that in the Broken Hill mines of Australia. The temptation, therefore, to re-name the place 'Broken Hill' was for him too great to resist. Kabwe became Broken Hill for the next 65 years. In 1967 however, the residents who had always referred to the place as '*Kabwe*' were glad to see its pristine name restored officially. The name 'Kabwe' therefore, has some economic implications in its etymology.

In 1967 the Rhodesian Broken Hill Development Company began exploiting this ore by opencast mining. High-grade lead, zinc, later vanadium and silver were also excavated. There were however, some troubles in the early days, when the deposits containing lead and zinc could not at first be economically separated. The mine closed down in 1968 due to high operation costs. Nevertheless, the elephant raised its head, for elephants never die (KCCI Business Bulletin, 1973:13). The mine reopened the following year. The farming industry also began to grow to serve the town. The Railway Company made Kabwe its headquarters. Locomotive sheds and marshalling yards were established. The Central African Road

Service, too, then the largest road passenger and haulage company in the country, set up a department and made Kabwe its headquarters. If ever the dream of a highway from Cape to Cairo became a reality, Kabwe would be already on it. As it is, the Great North Road now turns off to Tanzania and Kenya just some 60 kilometres north of the town. The Public Works Department had its headquarters in Kabwe too (*ibid*).

The town of Kabwe carries a rich heritage. A skull of primeval man, dating back to 50,000 years BC was unearthed here during mining excavations in 1921. The skull is at present in the British museum. A plaster cast, however, may be seen at the mines.

Kabwe town is also popularly regarded as the cradle of Zambia's Independence. The once dedicated and dynamic ruling party in the First Republic – the United National Independence Party (UNIP) was born here. Crucial decisions leading to independence in 1964 and peace, prosperity and progress thereafter, through a strong, stable, democratic government, have been made at the Mulungushi Rock of Authority, a few kilometres to the North of the town. Important conferences affecting the destinies of the nation of Zambia continue to be hosted there.

Declared a Village in 1915, a Township in 1930, Kabwe became a Municipality in 1954. With the coming of independence in 1964, Kabwe eventually became a district. The government naturally organised in Kabwe its administrative headquarters for the Central Province (*KCCI Business Bulletin*, 1973:10).

### **3.3 KABWE'S SOCIO-ECONOMICAL HISTORY**

#### **3.3.1 Kabwe Before Independence**

Turner (1979:78) observes that just before independence in 1963, Kabwe's population had grown to 58,000, a 29 per cent rise in eight years. Unfortunately, available employment did not expand with the population. While municipal and railway employment rose considerably, mine employment dropped drastically from 4,200 in 1951 to 1,763 in 1962. There was some growth in the town's commercial and small industry sectors, but the employment they provided was minimal. Certainly, employment opportunities did not match exploding population. Consequently, competition for good jobs became fierce and jobs turnover declined drastically.



Rapid population growth combined with a stable, well-paid non-growth labour force produced two distinguishable classes, namely the employed and the unemployed. The employed had relatively good pay, good housing and a share in the power structure through the union. The unemployed consisted of those who had recently arrived in the town or of the young who could not find a job in their hometown. The unemployed were not, however, necessarily set apart from the employed geographically. While the 'squatters' became increasingly evident during the 1950s and glaringly so after independence, many of the unemployed lived in the houses of their employed relatives. Consequently, the unemployed were scattered throughout Kabwe's industrial compounds, as well as being concentrated in squatter compounds. These constituted a frustrated class of people who were socially and politically volatile.

During the post war period, the population of Broken Hill (now Kabwe) grew rapidly. In 1960, the District Commissioner used the reported figures on employed men to estimate that there were 29,300 Africans in Broken Hill, of whom 17,350 were over puberty and 11,950 under puberty. The number of school age children was estimated at 5,000 but there were school places for only 2,500. Meanwhile the government had in place the policy of repatriating children to the villages. But this time around, this repatriation effort was futile. In 1960, only 120 children were sent back to their villages. Meanwhile the population continued to grow. By 1963, it had reached 45,000, a 54 per cent increase. A number of factors can explain such a huge increase in four years. One of them is that the 1960 figure was based on 'employed men' and probably an underestimation that did not take into account the unemployed and self-employed. But it is also very likely that the population grew rapidly, encouraged by more married housing to accommodate families, better medical care and a general atmosphere of new prosperity in the town (*Ibid*).

### **3.3.2 SOCIAL CHANGES**

#### **3.3.2.1 Emergency of New Social Institutions in Kabwe**

This study found it necessary to examine new social institutions that emerged during the early decades of the history of Kabwe, since, in Turner's view, these provided the Zambians present at the time with an 'entry into the power structure of the town'. Besides, this will set

ground for the discussion of the religious life of the people of Kabwe, for among the social institutions said to have been formed, was the church affiliation (Turner, 1979: 81).

The emergency of new social institutions in the Broken Hill seems to have been the phenomenon of the 1940s and 1950s. During this period, churches, welfare societies, unions and political parties provided new social institutions and in some instances, an entry into the town's power structure. However, the power structure of the town remained largely inaccessible to the ordinary African citizens until the late 1950s.

As African labour in the Broken Hill (Kabwe) gradually developed from an amorphous labouring mass into a more highly stratified working community in the 1950s, competition among urban Africans began to grow. There was competition for good jobs, garden plots and housing. Meanwhile the same period saw the increase in the degree of self-sufficiency as among the requirements for one to survive in Broken Hill. Most of those who found a job in the mines or the railway were provided with housing and other amenities. The necessities of life were provided for most of people, such as food and housing, which were supplied in varying quantities not only by the Railways and the Mining companies, but also by the small employers. However, the situation could no longer be contained when families began to grow larger. Such large families had great difficulty getting on housing and food allotments. These new circumstances forced many new urban migrants to provide housing, food and clothing for themselves almost totally by their own initiatives, perhaps with help from a few relatives.

The above-mentioned situation brought about a scenario in Kabwe where African migrants began to survive by such desperate measures as hawking, petty trading, domestic labour and medicine-making. The only social connections that remained vital for these people's survival were the kinship and 'homeboy'. Since they did not have steady employment for them to belong to unions, most of them either established wage-earning relations in town or made church affiliations and in some cases, both. It is perhaps at this point that we begin to see a tendency towards formation of new social intuitions in Kabwe.

### 3.3.2.1 Church Affiliations

As Broken Hill was assuming socio-economic growth and development on one hand, there were also some religious developments taking place on the other, mostly as a result of

missionary presence. The presence of missionaries in Kabwe district had at this moment already provided alternatives to the existing faith tradition in the area, which in this case was the Zambian Traditional Religion (see chapter four for details). Affiliation to churches was, therefore, another option for people searching for a vital force that would afford them an entry into the town's power structure (Turner, 1979:78).

### **3.3.3 Kabwe During Independence**

Turner (1979) observes that with independence in 1964, Zambians were permitted to migrate to the towns more freely. Despite Broken Hill's relatively slow economic growth, a whole new generation of rural migrants were attracted to the town in search for a more affluent life. This new generation of rural migrants settled in rapidly expanding 'squatter' locations which were superimposed on the mine and railway farm areas, which later continued to expand outwards. These new migrants were either unemployed, underemployed or had relatively uncertain terms of employment. Their housing was relatively impermanent, their water supply distant and their sanitation facilities non-existent. Rural contacts were much more important to these people than to the established town residents because their urban livelihood was far from secure. Their rural ties were much fresher and provided them with a greater measure of security than for the relatively established urban dwellers.

### **3.3.4 Kabwe After Independence**

By 1972, the idea of developing 'Site and Service' areas earlier advanced by the government through Municipal Council had come to fruition. The Site and Service Schemes were areas where Zambians could build their own houses on land that had been serviced with water and sewer lines. The famous population growth of 1972 happened in the manner that it spread out in these new 'Site and Service' compounds and in a variety of industrial locations situated next to the appropriate industry and 'Squatter Compounds'. Consequently, the owners of homes in these areas spent a considerable amount of their time travelling to work or on shopping trips in the central town of Kabwe. Bus service was quite poor until new buses arrived towards the end of 1972. Large squatter townships had grown up on the mine's five-acre plot and were already extending past them by late 1972 (Turner, 1979:79).

Because the town was spreading out now, no feeling of community developed in Kabwe as a whole. Rather, people belonged to a series of smaller communities that had their own

identity. People who moved from one community to another when they changed jobs, retired or built their own houses lost contact with neighbours they once knew. Industrial affiliation and social class subdivided the older parts of the town. But this was not the time of the new 'squatter' communities and parts of the 'Site and Service' areas. These were rather organised according to village and ethnic origin. For example, a community of anglers and their wives would have existed in one 'squatter' area. The wives looked after the home and the sale of fish and helped one another while their husbands were away fishing at Lukanga Swamps (KCCI, 1973: 9).

With the passage of time, the Kabwe's African families began to change, as they became more and more integrated in urban working and consuming patterns. This is because their residential pattern became more susceptible to occupational and class pressures and less inclined to the need to live next door to a fellow villager or fellow tribesman. Living in a comfortable company house, or in a house of one's own became more important than living in close proximity to one's 'home boys'. This shift in emphasis was subtle and had taken place over a long period, but the older residents of Kabwe became more individualistic in their outlook, more concerned with occupation, class and urban interest groups and less concerned with communal ties (*ibid*).

Turner observed that during the first two decades of Kabwe's development, the African migrant had to struggle with the anonymity, involved in working with strange colleagues for nameless masters in a transitory situation over which he had very little control. Local rural ties were grasped only as an element of familiarity and support (Turner, 1979:80).

### **3.4 Kabwe Becomes Capitalist**

The period during the 1990s accelerated the advent of capitalism in a Zambian economy, which was traditionally a socialist. The discussion here focuses on the historical and religious roots of the phenomenon of capitalism which can be traced as far back as during the era of colonialism, where colonial masters worked hand-in-hand with early missionaries in changing the economic outlook of the nation in their capitalist disposition. It could be argued that the adopted modes of production and economic orientation of the colonial / missionary era in Zambia was that of the capitalist.

Eventually, Capitalism become a dominant economic ideology in Zambia in general and in Kabwe in particular. Capitalism assumes that individuals work the hardest when they are working for personal gain, but this is ultimately to the benefit of the entire community. However, this argument holds only in theory. In a purely capitalist system, individuals gain often at the expense of others. The result is that the gap between the rich and the poor widens as the poor becomes poorer and the rich becomes richer.

The accompanying consciousness that poor people are poor because they are lazy and lacking in aggressiveness is false in the eyes of those who may hold contrary views. One traditional view is that an individual in society may be rich simply because he or she belongs to the 'right' ethnic community, sex, class and religion that one advances on the social ladder in a corrupt society. This traditional economic view is challenged by capitalism, which places an individual at the centre of everything in society (Noyoo, 2008:79).

#### **3.4.1 Competition as a Route to Capitalism**

Competition as viewed in an economic sense is an essential element of capitalism. The competition for resources and power in Africa differs from one country to the other. This difference can be traced back to the colonisation of the continent. Prior to the advent of colonisation, traditional African societies operated a system of division of labour based on age and sex. Within this system, labour was fairly distributed. The means of production as well as the product of labour were communally owned. Land which was the main means of production was familial property, so were cattle, goats and camel (Aguilar, 1998:3).

In Zambia, the introduction of title deeds and land demarcations, coupled with the introduction of money economy were most likely responsible for the introduction of the concept of individual ownership of property and consequently individualism. Individualism happens to be another essential element of capitalism, where individuals seek to acquire as much as they can regardless of the means.

Prior to the coming of the first white settlers and their Christian religion, Zambia had a society characteristic of a 'rich' African Traditional religion. Mbiti (1982:1) observes that 'Africans were notoriously religious in the sense that religion permeated all departments of their life'. Besides, religion for Africans was a communal activity. This made the societies

communalistic in all aspects. Hence, property and power were communally owned and shared.

In pre-colonial Zambian societies, ethnicity as a doctrine of exclusion of other rival ethnic groups was rarely applied. This is because ethnic groups lived in isolation with little association between them. It is however not true that contacts between one ethnic group and another were not unknown. Barter trade necessitated by the need to exchange essential commodities was practiced among various communities. Indeed, cattle raids between some communities such as the *Tonga* and *Lozi* of today's Southern and Western Provinces respectively, were common. But these were not ethnic wars as such. They were merely cattle raids that rarely involved serious destruction of property and human life.

Then came the advent of colonialism. During this era, Christian missionaries introduced the concept of individual or personal religion. This put focus on the individual, sometimes at the expense of other individuals. Hence the cooperation which characterised traditional societies was replaced by competition. Besides, colonialism awakened and deepened ethnic consciousness as a 'process by which a community sees itself as distinct from others, with a group identity and common interests' (Aguilar, 1998:4).

### **3.5 KABWE'S INDUSTRIES AND ECONOMIC CHANGES**

The changes experienced in the economy of Kabwe during the 1970s on-wards were much to do with the growth and developments that took place in the areas of Mining, Railway Company and other commercial activities taking place in the town at the time. During this period, the economic growth and development that began slightly before independence had assumed high levels, resulting in the general socio-economic boom the district has ever reached.

#### **3.5.1 Growth of Kabwe's Economy**

During the 1970s, there were a lot of developments taking place in Kabwe, which can be described in terms of the expansion in the industrial base, in which case the district experienced the coming up of more industries, other than the Mines and the Railways. Apart from the increase in the number of industries, those industries already in existence had also

experienced some considerable expansion. This ultimately led to the district's economic growth.

### **3.5.2 Geographical Factors in Favour of Kabwe's Industries**

Kabwe is uniquely situated to become the industrial hub for Zambia. It is almost a geographical centre of the country. The infrastructure was already well developed by the year 1973. At this period in time, the already serviced large and small industrial sites were readily available (KCCI Brochure, 2009: 8).

Kabwe has been the headquarters of the Zambia Railways. The rail route to Der-es-Salaam was completed during the 1970s, ensuring easy access to export and import markets. Excellent road and rail access to the internal markets is another advantage to the district. Midway between the major internal markets of Lusaka and the Copperbelt, Kabwe is the ideal location for servicing these markets. Turner (1979:361) observes that being in an established farming and industrial area, Kabwe had as far back as 1970s an abundant supply of skilled labour with more being trained at the local Trades Training Institute at Mukobeko. The industrial plots available within the Municipal limits had by this time been serviced with water and sewerage. Electricity was readily available from the network of the Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation.

### **3.5.3 Influence of the Mines, Railway and Commerce on the Socio-Economic Life of Kabwe**

In his longitudinal study of the socio-economic history of Kabwe, Turner (1979:1-2) observed that from the beginning, the nature of Broken Hill (Kabwe) was greatly influenced by the manner in which the mine, railway and commercial interests carved out their separate domains. Each domain contained work place, residential and recreation areas for its European and African residents. For both races, the workplace became the focus of life and allegiance. The town's physical and social development was segmented rather than unitary. Although these divisions were not absolute, they had continued to influence Kabwe's social organisation right up to 1972. The segmented African and European communities coalesced on a racial basis at specific times of celebration or crisis. However, the two segments, each divided into African and European sectors, developed inward-looking allegiances and foci for action.

Turner (1979) further notes that even though the mines and railway were not always financially strong, they had more financial might than any other segment of the town, including the local government. For many years, these two industries provided the only services available for Europeans and Africans alike. The territorial government prompted this state of affairs as long as it could in order to keep the colony's administrative overhead to a bare minimum (Broken Hill in 1979 was still a colony). Being aware that its European population and economic base were very small, the territorial government was primarily concerned with monitoring African grievances and pressure from the companies and the town to improve their services for Africans so that serious disturbances might be avoided. African organisations were permitted insofar as they served as a pressure valve, but it was never intended that they should gain any power. When industrial organisation was permitted, it was under the theory that the industrial organisation could satisfy the workers and keep them away from political movements. In Kabwe, this theory proved to be largely correct (Turner, 1979:362).

Because Europeans encountered Africans in a pre-industrial culture, they assumed that Africans' abilities were minimal. Africans were given minimal training, almost no opportunity to advance and were castigated regularly for not immediately understanding their masters' unexpressed assumptions. Europeans' attitudes towards African workers resulted in Africans having a low self-image of themselves. For Africans, to exercise initiative was to risk error and Europeans' contempt. Because of this, Africans were taught not to think of initiatives and many others decided there was no point in doing more than absolutely necessary. Thus, African workers held the most menial jobs and frequently performed these jobs at a low level, although some workers became quick experts in time. As a result, Europeans believed that their prejudices were justified and confirmed and a vicious cycle of misunderstanding, contempt and inferiority became deep ingrained in black-white relations. While this analysis is almost stereotypical in itself, its proof was still painfully present in Kabwe after independence (*ibid*).

Turner (1979) further observes that the ability of Africans to adapt to Kabwe's cash industrial society was influenced greatly by the economic and social aims of the white power structure. The industry's objectives were to have a steady supply of cheap, relatively efficient labour. Labourers were paid enough to be attracted to the town but not enough to enable them to set



up households. Neither government nor industry wanted permanent African urban settlements which would require extensive urban administration, regulation and material infrastructure. Yet industry perceived the necessity to provide workers with a steady diet. It was both cheaper and more efficient to supply workers with food than to give them the money to buy their own. Similarly, it was cheaper to provide them with housing. Consequently, most African workers in Kabwe did not learn to provide themselves with their basic needs from their cash income. By the 1950s the African workers did not undergo transition and become fully integrated into the cash economy, but remained on its periphery.

Just as African labour had not been fully absorbed into cash urban society, it had not been absorbed into industrial or commercial urban society either. The European monopoly on skilled and semiskilled jobs for most of the colonial period meant that the opportunity for Africans to gain a better understanding of the milieu in which they worked was very limited. Starting with no understanding of industrial work, they were given little encouragement to expand their abilities beyond the most menial tasks. Only where the European labour was short, or when Europeans found that they could get Africans to do the work they themselves were paid for, did African workers get the chance to expand their abilities. Not until the onset of independence did the mines and railways make some concerted effort to train Africans in skilled work areas and to promote them to areas of responsibility (Turner, 1979:363).

The situation was similar in the area of enterprise. The European merchant community kept its trade to itself and only grudgingly yielded some of its less attractive trade to struggling Asian newcomers. Commercial experience, financing and support were almost non-existent for Africans who were left with the door-to-door trade opportunities that better financed merchants found uneconomical. Limited aid for a very few African merchants in Bwacha township was provided by the town in the 1950s. However, African experience in Kabwe's commerce generally remained very low right into the post-independence period (*ibid*).

Turner further observes that the stories of inter-tribal strife in the early years of Broken Hill's industrial and town compound abound. Though such conflicts existed, ethnic jealousies had been overtaken by other concerns. As Kabwe's families became more integrated into urban working and consuming patterns, their social and residential patterns became more susceptible to material pressure and less bound by ethnic or kinship ties. Three large tribal groupings namely the Lenje (Tonga), Bemba and Nyanja and several smaller ones were

represented in Kabwe's work force. While some tribes had become identified with particular occupation, the major tribal grouping seemed to have become able to work and live together in the major industrial compounds during the period of industrial organisation. The common industrial and domestic concerns had increasingly overshadowed ethnic divisions.

While both the Europeans and African communities originally thought of African workers as temporally migrants in a European world, the stay of individual Africans in Kabwe became increasingly lengthy. A number of factors determined the length of Africans' continuous stay in Kabwe. Throughout the decade, there was the attraction of wealth. The attraction may have been strongest in the 1920s and earlier when it was novel and in the 1950s and 1960s when organised African labour won compensation that opened such a large gulf between the urban and rural workers. The African worker's length of stay was determined by his familiarity with and acceptance of urban life, the availability of jobs and the desirability of job compensation. During the 1940s, Africans were accustomed to being able to obtain jobs easily. Job turnover was high because urban living conditions were strange and uncomfortable. A man could earn some of the new wealth and retire to his village and family with a reputation for achievement. While compensation was poor, urban employment was the only source of industrial goods to which African society, both urban and rural, had become increasingly accustomed (*ibid*).

Those who were able to keep their jobs during the periods of contraction or to find new jobs with the painfully slow growth of the later thirties were loath to let them go even temporarily. During the years of World War II, the rapid expansion of the mining industry made jobs relatively easy to get, though compensation remained at depression levels. Consequently, turnover was higher as workers oscillated between town and village, or between different towns in a search for better compensations. During the 1950s, compensation and family housing became much better, but the number of jobs available was steady. Workers remained at their jobs for longer periods and lived with their families in greater stability. This appears to have been true of European workers as well as of African workers. During the early sixties, an exodus of commercial Europeans began. Asian merchants expanded into the vacuum left by the Europeans. With independence, the migration of rural Zambians to Kabwe and other Zambian towns increased rapidly. 'Squatter' townships expanded greatly and the competition for jobs increased. Newcomers used various means of earning a livelihood, some of which were more desperate than others (*ibid*: 364).

#### **3.5.4 Kabwe at its Economic Pinnacle**

Several positive and encouraging developments took place in Zambia, especially in the 1980s. For instance, the Zambian government had, during this period, targeted investment, trade and export promotion in the manufacturing sector. Kabwe which was uniquely situated to become the industrial hub of Zambia stood to benefit much from the government's economic policy of the time.

During the 1980s, the country experienced good economic growth rate for almost an entire decade, which was boosted by increased investment in mining industry. For instance, towards the end of the 1980s, copper output levels had risen up by 24 per cent and earnings from copper tripled. Favourable prices for most of Zambia's minerals on international market had resulted in the economic revival of the country. Improved fiscal policy can also explain some of Zambia's success at the time (Noyoo, 2008:70).

During this period Kabwe experienced maximum growth in its industries, commerce and business enterprise, which made them record maximum profit they had never achieved before. This also meant more jobs to be found both for local people as well as those from other provinces of the country. Kabwe therefore became third richest province in Zambia, after Copperbelt and Lusaka (Turner, 1979:365).

#### **3.6 SOME POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS THAT WERE PRECURSORS OF ECONOMIC CHANGES**

Chiluba (1995) offers a fair account of what happened in Zambia in the years between the gaining of independence and the beginning of the Third Republic, especially the period 1972 - 1990. In his work that focuses on the democratisation process in Zambia from colonial times, Chiluba describes the political life in Zambia under the one party state and offers a unique insight into the genesis of the Third Republic.

Chiluba observes the process of democratisation as a phenomenon that has been continuous in some countries over many years. In the case of Zambia, he argues that the process has suffered disruption and was only recently resumed. Before independence in 1964, he says, the country was characterised by political pluralism, the feature that all theorists of liberal democracy agree is vital to democratisation. There were

two major parties comprising mainly Africans, The African national Congress (ANC) of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula and Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independent Party (UNIP). He further observes that there were two other parties, the Liberal Party led by Sir John Moffat, which had some sympathy among Africans and the United Federal Party led by John Roberts and Sir Roy Welensky and which was mainly for whites.

Following the attainment of independence in 1964, plural politics was retained and the procedures of democracy were established so that in the 1968 general elections, for instance, UNIP won eight one seats and the ANC increased its representation to twenty three seats in the legislature. This pattern reflected the will and the spirit of the people at that time.

The year 1972 will be remembered in the political calendar of Zambia as the year in which the democratic hopes and aspirations of the people were dashed. In December of that year, President Kaunda introduced what he humorously called the 'one party participatory democracy'. This imposition on the people was decided without even first seeking and obtaining agreement in cabinet. Political pluralism was proscribed. Existing political parties were banned, except for UNIP, and formation of any new parties was forbidden in a country that was used to enjoy political alternatives. This presented the death of democracy in Zambia (Chiluba, 1995).

Whereas the First Republic (1964-'72) allowed competition between parties and the opportunity to choose between programmes and policies, the Second Republic allowed only for the change of certain levels of leadership. Polices remained unchanged and were unchangeable, because they were the polices of the single party.

The turn to plural politics in Zambia was a major milestone in the political history of Zambia. This began with multi-party elections for the Presidency and National Assembly on October 31, 1991. Chiluba (1995:2) observed that this development signalled the recapture of the lost spirit of the early years, and marked the resumption and return to the process (of multipartysm) which had been interrupted and disrupted at the introduction of the Second Republic.

### 3.6.1 ECONOMIC CHANGES IN ZAMBIA

#### 3.6.1.1 Ideals of Privation in Zambia

During the Second republic, the Zambian economy was characterised by a strong presence of government in business through the parastatal sector, which was estimated to represent over eighty per cent (80%) of the industrial and commercial activities in the country (Sakala, 2001:36). Zambia was devoid of policies aimed at creating investor confidence and reducing government expenditure on unprofitable business activities.

Towards the run up to the 1991 multiparty elections in Zambia, the majority of the parastatal companies in Zambia were almost grinding to a halt, due to insufficient re-capitalisation by government, as well as gross inefficiency on the part of management and staff. The companies were heavily indebted and continued to incur unbearable losses (Sakala, 2001).

An evaluation by the MMD of this retrogressive economic disposition proved that the parastatals were not contributing to the sustainable economic growth in Zambia. The subscription to the government treasury was negligible in relation to the huge investment that they represented. These entities called for continuous government financial support and yet gave little or no return for the assistance. Government was drained of its limited resources through subsidies to the parastatal sector backed by non-payment of taxes by the sector. The trading sector was a calamity with empty shelves, while the manufacturing sector produced sub-standard goods and services for a monopoly market protected from foreign competition. The copper production was declining and there was no re-investment in Zambia's major foreign exchange earners, the mining industry. Most of the parastatal companies were operating at less than fifty per cent (50%) capacity and of all these companies, only ten per cent (10%) were profitable on a sustainable basis, while a significant number had a negative worth. The productivity of parastatal companies was low and unable to compete on the international market (ibid: 36).

Sakala (2001) further observes that under capitalisation, overstaffing and inefficiency epitomised the operations of state owned companies. The UNIP had neither the financial nor the administrative ability to improve this scenario. The management of state owned enterprises was grossly undermined and crippled by excessive political interference.

An immediate need for change of government therefore arose in Zambia, leading to the birth of the MMD, the campaign for multipartyism and the subsequent presidential and parliamentary elections of October 1990, which ushered in the MMD government.

The new government was endowed with fresh ideas, policies and strategies aimed at steering Zambia into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. The government pledged to reverse the status quo through the promotion of the private sector as the primary impetus for economic growth. The privatisation of state owned enterprises (SOEs) became imperative on the agenda of the MMD government. This programme was directed at optimising resource utilisation in order to enhance the productivity and profitability of the private sector and assisting in the reduction of government deficit. The initiative was also aimed at strengthening government's ability to provide social services such as health and education. Government's role was to create an environment in which initiative, entrepreneurship and massive effort could thrive. The government also undertook to establish a stock market as a matter of urgency to facilitate privatisation (pp.36-37).

Through the above measures, the government aimed at removing the economy away from the hand of state control, patronage and inefficiency to a scenario filled with opportunities for competition and investment. This led to certain transport companies, such as the United Bus Company of Zambia (UBZ) and the former flag carrier, Zambia Airways being liquidated during the Third Republic due to their inability to settle huge local and international.

### **3.6.1.2 Kabwe's Economic Downturn: 1990s and Beyond**

During the 1990s, Zambia's investment, trade and export promotions experienced hard knock because of the privatisation policy that was part of the Structural Adjustment Programme imposed externally by the International Monetary Fund /World Bank on Zambia's economic activities. The result of this was the closure of some industries and leaving some of the parastatal companies to the private sector. There were also external sanctions imposed on Zambia whose results might have contributed to the famous economic despondency of the 1990s the nation experienced.

A country that was in the rank of the richest on the continent and that fared remarkably well with other countries in the world would plummet to one of the poorest in just one decade

(Noyoo, 2008: 98). By the late 1990s, Zambia's economic situation had worsened so badly that citizens could barely meet their basic needs. Noyoo observes that during this period, even Zambia's educated cadre: technicians, scientists, academics, doctors, teachers, nurses, pilots, engineers, accountants and a host of other professionals left the country in droves for greener pastures. The country was depleted of valuable human resources and the results were devastating. For those that remained, life was a struggle for survival. This time the Zambian government's development strategies were defined by IMF/World Bank-led economic reforms. These measures had effectively hastened social dislocation in the country.

The concept of 'Open Market' was one economic phenomenon that was introduced and championed in Zambia by the IMF/World Bank polices. In spite of the seemingly free movement of capital and trade, the concept of Open Market has more often than not, been detrimental to the development of Least Developed Countries (LDCs) (Noyoo, 2008:96). Furthermore, the main agents of globalisation such as the World Bank and the IMF had compounded human misery through so-called Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), which negated the whole notion of human development at economic austerity measures. One of such measures introduced was an export-led economic growth strategy. What was indicative of globalisation as regards international trade was the fact that an export-led growth strategy would lead to a trade-poverty relationship in the LDCs or Zambia in particular, where there was mass poverty with most people living at or below income levels sufficient to meet their needs.

As a result of the above, Kabwe being one district in Zambia that drew its prosperity mostly from industrial prospects was badly hit by the economic despondency that followed soon after the closure of major manufacturing industries and putting of other companies such as the Zambia Railways on concession, in response to suggestions dictated by IMF/World Bank.

### 3.6.1.3 **Implications for this Study**

From the discussion given in this sub-chapter, a number of issues have emerged that can be used in the analysis of the supposed link between Kabwe's socio-economic and political lives and the alleged appearance of Satanism.

For instance, it is arguable that the treatment received by an African from the whites who managed the industries during the colonial period in Kabwe, has a bearing on the current image some people have developed about Satanism. Limiting an African's ability to expand his initiative in an economical sense resulted in lowering his experience in commerce, therefore resulting in him leaving all the management or control of wealth to the white man. This enhanced the creation of separate camps of the 'haves' (in this case the whites) and the 'have-nots' (blacks/ Zambians). The few blacks who often betrayed fellow Zambians and joined the camp for whites were dubbed 'Ba-kamunyama', a local term denoting betrayers. This picture of the social evil is still applied by people today, except that it is now used to describe Satanism as a current social evil, where the Devil stands in for the white man and the Satanists being referred to as *ba-kamunyama* (see Chapter Seven for a detailed analysis of this conception).

As Turner (1979:1) observes, the current situation is not simply the result of urban growth since independence, but of the pattern of life established during the colonial period. Among the predetermining factors that were set for the Africans during the colonial period are; the preconditioning of the Zambians in a situation where they failed to fully integrate into cash economy and secondly, into a condition that did not allow them to expand their abilities. Since these two conditions are essential for integration into the current global economy typical of a capitalist society, it may not be surprising seeing Kabwe residents today facing difficulties in coping with the prevailing economic despondency.

The changes in political life and their subsequent effects - some of which resulted in some socio-economic changes, subjected the Zambians to some stressful experience that, I argue, contributed to the escalation of the satanic scare like what was experienced in Kabwe at the time of this study. Some researches carried out elsewhere by scholars have proved satanic rumours being rampant among people who experience stress and/or anxiety. Smelser (1962:163) for example, observes that the past research in the United States of America suggests that rumours usually arise in groups of people who experience anxiety due to some source of stress they share. He further observes from the past studies of rumours that suddenly increased economic stress has very commonly been a source of threat rumours that blame scapegoats for life's problems. He suggests that it is important to find rapid changes in many people's lives that cause misfortune and frustrations.



Smelser quotes the findings of research published by the United States' Population Reference Bureau in 1988:

... the poverty rate for the 54 million Americans who live in rural areas has climbed to 18 per cent , 50 per cent higher than in urban areas. By 1986, one out of every five young rural families was living below the poverty line... Almost one-third of rural families headed by someone between the ages 18 to 29 were poor in 1986 (William, 1988 in Smelser, 1962: 163).

According to Smelser (1962), the above experience America went through was the source of the sharp increase in economic stress in small towns and rural areas of the United States in the late 1970s. He observes that the new rural poverty fell particularly hard upon parents with children, many of whom had inadequate education (high school or less) to find decent jobs. He says these parents were precisely the ones who were most likely to take the satanic cult rumours seriously and communicate them to others.

Smelser also observes that the region where the rumour-panic took place was part of the economically declining 'rust belt', where industries that used to pay good blue-collar jobs were rapidly disappearing. He says much of employment in western New York and northern Pennsylvania was in small manufacturing companies that no longer existed. This, he notes, was the foundation for the widespread, free-flowing anxiety in the region which bred the satanic cult rumours, which in most cases seemed to have been used by people as scapegoat for other causes of the socio-economic problems they went through (*ibid*:164).

Zambians have been faced with some challenging political and socio-economic changes as noted above. Going by Smelser's analysis, it can be argued that the economic downturn Kabwe District experienced in the 1990s most likely bred the satanic scare, not only because it forced people to join Satanism in order to avoid the subsequent poverty that it caused, but also because people found in the situation like the one experienced in Kabwe during the period in question are more likely to use Satanism as scapegoat for the stress and anxiety they experience owing to the harsh effect of the economic despondency.

Victor (1996: 55-56) observes a common tendency in the history of most cultures, for socio-economic tensions to become translated into moral-religious ideology, rather than to be expressed directly in terms of some purely economic ideology. I tend to agree with Victor, with regard the particular case of Kabwe. It has been a common tendency in Kabwe to blame

financial difficulties on individual personality traits rather than impersonal social forces. The translation of problems of the 'public sphere' of life (national economy, politics) into problems of the 'private sphere' of life (religion, morality, family relations) should not be a surprise in Kabwe.

Rumours, allegations and claims about Satanism may also have been a symptom of an emerging moral crisis in Kabwe society, as increasing numbers of people experienced the effects of economic stress and its subsequent effect of family disintegration. In this case, if the economic decline of Kabwe accelerated as more and better paid (blue-collar jobs) disappeared, it was more likely that people would fantasise more conspiratorial threats and seek to find more scapegoats for their anxieties.

Finally, the emergency of Kabwe, first from a mere village into a small town, which later became a municipal council and eventually into a provincial town and a district, was largely because of its economic development. At the centre of Kabwe's economic development were the Mines and Railway Companies assuming major shares of influence. It took time for the Zambian government to begin assuming control of these two companies, implying that the companies were for a long period under control of colonial masters, who managed all business affairs in a capitalist manner.

The capitalist ideology that the society of Kabwe adopted arguably shares a link with Satanism, a phenomenon that is based much on the ideology of individualism. Though Satanism values teamwork, there is at the centre of every individual Satanist, the desire for personal riches or gains, which breeds a capitalist outlook in the phenomenon.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE LENJE PEOPLE AND THE RELIGIONS OF KABWE

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#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by analysing the anthropological and historical background of the Lenje people, before moving into discussing the religious aspect of their culture. A brief overview of the history of the Lenje and the Tonga people is given in trying to locate Lenje people's cultural and religious background. This background is essential to this study that is focussing on the phenomenon of Satanism. This is because of the interactions that exist or perceived to exist between the two religions (African Traditional Religion and Christianity) and the phenomenon of Satanism.

#### 4.2 THE LENJE PEOPLE

The Lenje people are the inhabitants of the Central Province of Zambia, which spreads from Kabwe in the north to as far south as Lusaka and some parts of Lukanga swamps. History links the lenje to the genealogy of the Tonga people. The Tonga are said to have been found in Zambia before the other Bantu immigrants came. With archaeological evidence proving their existence for at least 900 years in Zambia, they believe themselves to be the true 'owners' of the nation. The Lanje of Zambia have a population of 175,785, with the Ci-Lenje language spoken by at least 171,000 people in the Central province. This group of people is found only in Zambia. They belong to the group of people known as the *Bantu Botatwe*, meaning the 'Three People' or the 'Three Tribe People'. These are the Tonga and Ila in the Southern Province of Zambia and the Lenje in the Central Province (<http://mvzambia.Com/Engelbrechts/The%20Tonga%20People.html>).

Like the Tonga, the Lenje also descended from the eastern *bantuspeaking* people, who moved down the western side of Lake Nyasa now Lake Malawi into lower Zambezi. This is said to have happened before the Luba migration from Congo took place, some time before 1550 AD. The Lenje are also called *Bene Mukuni* people. They are given this name because they are believed to be the people of the traditional *Chief Mukuni*. Oral traditions say that *Mukuni* quarrelled with his father *Mulopwe* and moved out of Congo Southwards into the Lukanga swamp. He moved further south where his followers became known as the *Leya* tribe.

*Mukuni* did not return and *Munsaka* became the chief of the *Bene Mukuni* that had remained at Lukanga swamp, though the name *Mukuni* was retained as the name of the senior chief. His subjects were called the *Lenje* ([http://www.ischool.zm/media/history/the lenje.pdf](http://www.ischool.zm/media/history/the_lenje.pdf)).

#### 4.3 THE TRADITIONAL RELIGION OF THE LENJE

The primary religion (Traditional Religion) of the Lenje people is said to be ethno-religion, which means the system of religious practices closely tied to the identity of the ethnic group ([http://www.people\\_groups.org/Explore/groupdetails.aspx?peid.](http://www.people_groups.org/Explore/groupdetails.aspx?peid.)). Because of having a common descent with the other two tribes in the ‘*Bantu Botatwe*’ group, the Lenje ethnic identity seems to have much in common with that of the Tonga and Ila, with whom they share a lot in terms of culture and that includes religion. The traditional religion of the Lenje, therefore, seems to characterise the life of many people residing in the rural area of Kabwe District. In the absence of documentation specifically referring to the traditional religion of the Lenje people and because of the Lenje’s ethnic identity and/or culture that is similar to that of the Tonga, I will, in this study, rely on the works of Elizabeth Colson, on the religion of the Tonga in general.

Little has been documented on the traditional religion of the Tonga people in Zambia to supplement what appears to be the only most reliable information provided by Elizabeth Colson. In her research work on the *Tonga Religious Thought* that was began some fifty-six years ago, Colson (2001:8) identifies various religious institutions that made up the entire fabric of the Tonga traditional religion. The first one centres on the cult of the *mizimu*, the ancestral spirits (spirits of the dead) and the ordering of the lives of their kin. The second one is the cult of the rain shrines and the *basangu*, the spirits associated with matters that affected communities living together on the land. A small difference on the two cults lies on their levels of influence. While the *mizimu* and their cult limits their influence to the village and/or household level, the influence of the *basangu* spirits is rather extended to the district level.

##### 4.3.1 The Mizimu and their Cult

The term ‘*Mizimu*’ (single *Muzimu*) is usually translated by anthropologists as ancestral spirits, but here the native term shall be used since the translation does not seem to cover the various ways in which the Tonga (Lenje) use the term and an adequate English equivalent cannot be found (Colson 2001:9). The *Mizimu* cult, as an institution, seems to have followed

the order and the organisation of the people's (adherents) social structure. This cult concerns only members of an individual family.

The Tonga ( Lenje) hold the belief that the dead family members still remain part of the family and as such they are commonly referred to as 'the living dead'. When a person dies, two spirits are believed to remain, one the *muzimu* and another the ghost. The ghost is always a newly created spirit and it is said that it originates in the dying breath. Not all the people produce a new *muzimu* when they die. Once created, the *mizimu* (plural) are not immortal like the ghosts who are independent of the devotion of living people for their continued existence. When the living ceases to remember the *mizimu* and no longer call upon them by name, they become nameless spirits wondering at large, who now work only for evil. 'They have become like ghost'. Over these the living have no control, for in forgetting the names they have lost the means of summoning or appropriating the spirits. Only sorcerers have direct control over ghosts. A sudden dangerous or mortal illness is, therefore, usually attributed to ghosts. According to Colson, the *mizimu* are not actively evil. They may cause injury to the living, but this is not their primary purpose nor are they free like the ghost to cause injury to anyone with whom they come in contact (Colson, 2001:10).

Colson also observes that the *mizimu* are dependent upon the living for their own continued existence and they cause injury to keep their memory alive in the living so that they (people) may provide the offering on which they depend. If the living refuses to listen to their demands, then they are thought to enlist the aid of the ghost to inflict more drastic punishment. Some Tonga say that the *muzimu* travels always with the ghost which originated with it on a person's death and which acts as its intermediary with other ghosts. The *mizimu* are therefore thought to be concerned that they should not be forgotten and so they send sickness and other misfortune to the living as a reminder that beer and other offerings must be provided. They are anxious that the living should maintain the customs that they (*mizimu*) practiced when they were alive and therefore, they punish departures from custom. When the *mizimu* get offended by people who either neglect them or fail to comply with certain demands, then rituals are performed to appease these affected spirits. In return the *mizimu* offer to the living some protection against other spirits and against sorcery. They also assist the living to obtain the good things of life – children, good harvests, herds of cattle and an orderly existence. These in turn permit the living to procure grain for beer, to marry wives who will brew the beer for offerings and to perpetuate their (*Mizimu's*) names. In this strict

sense, therefore, the *mizimu* are believed to serve the function of guarding and/or protecting the living from many adversities. This is better understood in the purposes of the rituals of offerings people make to them.

#### 4.3.2 Shrines as Places of Appeal and Offering

Adherents of the Tonga Traditional Religion usually never built temples. Zahan (1979:19-20) suggested a number of possible reasons why this was so. One of them was the climate that made a shelter unnecessary when people gathered for public rituals. The second reason consisted of the fact that even though the Tonga (Lenje) were peasant farmers who would settle in one area, they still kept on moving to new places after some years, once the land they occupied lost fertility. The unwillingness of people to expend efforts on building when they knew they would move on, made them not to see a need for constructing permanent temples.

When people appealed for rain, they indicated that the participants' exposure to the sun was essential: it guaranteed the truth of their cry of suffering. With their feet on the earth, they studied the sky for any signs of rain, while they appealed to *basangu* spirits roaming the bush. Despite the lack of imposing structures, certain sites were regarded as appropriate for an approach to spiritual entities. Colson (2006:66) refers to these as *shrines*. *Shrines* were natural sites associated with power, or tiny hut-like structures built either at the grave sites of former leaders or in the courtyards of the homes of *basangu* mediums or indeed a symbolic gate built within a homestead. Community or territorial shrines were places of appeal to *basangu*. *Leza* had no shrines until missionaries instituted the building of churches in the early twentieth century.

#### 4.3.3 Magic and Witchcraft

The Lenje culture is rooted in witchcraft and magic that make essential elements of their religion, worship of ancestors (as shown above in their veneration of *mizimu*) and occultic practices.

##### 4.3.3.1 Magic

Magic is one essential element found in the African Traditional Religion, through which the mystical power of the universe can be utilised or manipulated by human beings. Essentially, magic refers to 'the science and art of causing change to occur in conformity with will'

(Crowley, 1998:126). It can also be defined as ‘a ritual performance or activity that is thought to lead to the influencing of human or natural events by an external and impersonal mystical force beyond the ordinary human sphere’ (Gehman, 2005:87).

Hamilton (2001:50) offers an observation on the concept of magic. He says the concept of magic belongs to a particular cultural tradition (of a particular setting) which other cultures may or may not share. Different societies may possess different concepts of magic and may have no notion of a distinct category of it with its connotations of special and mysterious forces. Hamilton adds that in many societies the practices which would be inclined to be categorised as magical on the grounds that they have no sound empirical foundation, are regarded as perfectly ordinary empirical techniques involving no extra-mundane forces.

Gehman (2005:85), for example, reports that Malay anglers burn incense on the prows of their boats to attract fish to their nets. This, he says, is not seen in any way as a magical act. Although the Malays do have a concept of magic similar to other societies, this particular practice does not belong to it but is in their eyes an ordinary mundane technique that just works. People may be led to believe that this does not work, but Gehman contends that it would be quite wrong to treat it as an instance of magic because this would mean imposing categories and therefore meanings, upon the practices which are quite alien to those it has for its practitioners. It would imply that it is an action which makes use of extraordinary and mysterious powers and techniques beyond the everyday world and modes of operation in it. Gehman further argues that if we were to seek explanation of the practice, we would not get very far, for we would be seeking an answer to an unreal question. The result, he says, could only be a distorted understanding of the belief and the practice.

In most African societies, many techniques are used which to the eyes of Westerners might appear magical but while not appearing the same to the practitioners. In the similar manner, some methods that would be considered magical may be seen by Westerners as mundane. To take a more Western example, Vogt (1952:73) has argued that water dowsing is seen as a form of magic but is viewed as a rational technical process and can be best described as a kind of folk-science or ‘pseudo science’.

Hamilton, therefore, argues that the belief in magic is not due to ignorance of cause-and-effect. African traditionalists, for instance, may understand the skills necessary for effective

farming, hunting and warfare. But this culture goes beyond the cause-and-effect and asks the question, 'Why?' Bowker (1997: 598) says this is what Evans-Pritchard observed when studying the Azande in the 1930s. The Azande would ask 'why' something happened to one person and not to another; and the explanation was the presence or the absence of mystical powers.

Several elements are included in magic: First, there is a firm belief in mystical powers that pervade the universe. These powers are available for one's benefit if they can be appropriated. Secondly, means are used to tap those powers. These means include ceremonies, rites, spells, the use of charms and 'medicines'. The nature of these medicines varies, but may include body parts such as hair or nail clippings, objects that were once in contact with the person, roots, herbs or animal parts. The specialist who dispenses these 'medicines' is called 'the medicine man' (traditionally known as 'witchdoctor'). Thirdly, there is a specialist who may inherit his powers from the ancestors or he may purchase them for personal gains, or he may learn the secrets through apprenticeship through another specialist. In order for magic to be effective, the specialist must be ceremonially pure and fully observant of all taboos (ibid).

The Lenje Traditional religion seems to utilise the magic in the context discussed above.

#### 4.3.3.2 **Witchcraft**

Suspicion, especially suspicion based on witchcraft is common among the Lenje, just like on the other two tribal groups of the *Bantu botatwe*. Colson (2006: 210) observes that only children, who are said to have no malice, are exempt from suspicion. While some say witchcraft runs in families or lineages, Colson argues that among the Tonga, any adult is a potential suspect. Men are said to be prone to witchcraft because of their competitiveness; and to have the most dangerous medicines because they have the mobility and resources to seek them out. As they grow older and become more ambitious, they also become more envious of the good fortune of others and more fearful of attack if they themselves prosper. They try to obtain medicines to protect themselves and their dependents and to obtain wealth. Some people alleged to obtain medicines from kin, like the hunting medicine which one can obtain from grandparents with instruction that a man must activate them by having sexual relations with a woman of his lineage - mother, sister, or sister's daughter, or he must kill a near



relative whose ghost (*ceelo*) then works with the medicine. In either case, he empowers himself by acts that violate the basic rules of kinship (*ibid*).

In associating men with witchcraft, the Tonga resemble the Lungu of Northern Zambia rather than the majority of other Zambians who commonly accuse old women. Willis (1999:129) observes that women most commonly are accused of using medicines either to hold their husbands or to harm co-wives. She further notes that it was in the late 1990s, when the Gwembe Valley Tonga women began to build up cattle herds and engage in business, that they became targeted by witch finders and the accusations were accepted as credible, reflecting the Tonga suspicion of all who succeed. She notes that among the Tonga, the labour to build successful enterprises is thought to be supplied by ghosts of those the witch has killed or by the captured life force of other victims and that success in any field, is suspicious among people of this tribal group. On the other hand, those who are poorer than their fellows, or who suffer from some disability may also be suspect because, it is assumed, they will be full of resentment and envy and will find ways to harm the fortunate. In practice, suspicion usually focuses on close associates: kin, neighbours or fellow workers (Colson, 2006:211).

Some situations seem to generate tension that end in accusations of witchcraft. Colson notes that rural schools have become 'flash' points for many reasons. Parents become angry when children are disciplined or fail examinations. Badly paid though the teachers are, they are thought to live at a standard above that available to most local people and they use their salaries to hire people to work in their fields. They quarrel with one another over space and workloads. Many feel out of place in a rural area where they have to live among strangers and without the town amenities they hoped they would have after their training. Frequently they are accused of being witches, or they think themselves attacked by the witchcraft of the people of the area. As a consequence, schools are often closed or poorly staffed because many of their teachers have fled. Colson cites one scenario at a school in Lusitu village, where only one teacher remained. The others had 'fled the ghosts that came from the village and were sent to the teachers. These ghosts come at night to the houses of the teachers. People are afraid of dying. Sometimes these strange *things* were only seeking food in the houses and had been sent to eat at the school' (*ibid*).

Colson (2000:87) argues that in the past, despite all talk of lineage solidarity, men of one's own lineage were prime suspects. Competition to become spirit inheritors and controllers of lineage property, or headmanship, led senior men to suspect both their contemporaries and younger men who might seek to supplant them. Junior men suspected seniors of trying to prevent their rise. Colson notes that since the 1980s, fathers have become prime suspects. She observes that this is associated with plough agriculture and cropping, especially of cotton with its heavy labour demand, which have led men to take advantage of their right to control and benefit from the labour of wives and children. According to Colson, this has led, in turn to much resentment and feelings of exploitation at a time when young men find it difficult to find jobs or land elsewhere. When people search for the person behind some affliction, they try to remember suspicious actions. They also remember all the occasions on which they have been at odds with others and all whom they suspect of having a grudge against them. So co-wives accuse each other of attacks on themselves or their children. Women think of men they have scorned. Employees think of fellow employees who may be their competitors, while Christians consider others in the same congregation who compete with them for leadership. Dreams may show the witch in action. Divination then, helps them to sort through the various possibilities to find the most likely causes of their trouble.

#### **4.4 THE CONCEPT OF THE SUPREME BEING AMONG THE TONGA / LENJE PEOPLE**

Despite the strong emphasis on the 'lesser spirits,' the Tonga (Lenje) also believe in a 'Supreme Being,' who is somewhat above these spirits in terms of power and authority. This being is called *Leza*. This belief had been there even in the time prior to the coming of a white man and his Christianity in the area. The concept of *Leza* has been shifting as people thought and rethought their experience which included exposure to missions and mission schools. One result was that ideas about *Leza* were becoming more firmly linked with Christian definitions of God. Coincidentally, only *Leza* of all the spiritual forces (such as *Mizimu*) recognised by the Tonga was accepted to the missionaries who chose *Leza* as the term for the Christian God (Colson, 2001:2). The existence of the *basangu* (spirits of rain shrines) was denied by the churches, or they were recognised only as demons to be combated, servants of Satan (a spiritual force previously outside the Tonga experience). Only *Leza* in the guise of the Christian God has been absorbed into the dogmas of Zambian Christianity. It is somehow difficult to fathom the nature of *Leza* among the Tonga (and Lenje) because *Leza* dwelt in the minds of people while their rituals focussed on other forms of spirits. One could

attend consultations with *basangu* mediums and the rituals at community shrines and people could describe what should be done there. One could be present at divinations when the *Mizimu* were consulted and attend offerings poured over the living and hear the words with which they were addressed. One could watch *Masabe* victims and enact the nature of the possessing spirits in the dance drama associated with it. But there is no place, no occasion, where one can see and hear people engaged with *Leza*. *Leza* has no shrines, no priests, receives no visible offerings. People relate to *Leza* on personal, intellectual and emotional levels.

In the absence of priesthood, there is also an absence of authorised dogma. There is no one set of beliefs formulated to which everyone is expected to adhere. *Leza* stands behind the *Mizimu* or ancestors as a guarantor of the rightness of a way of life. The Tonga are also aware of how minimal their efforts to change their environment are against the overwhelming order of nature as created by *Leza*. Finally, the Tonga do not personify or make representations of *Leza* or any other spiritual force. They make no masks, effigies or paintings. There is nothing to encourage them to think of *Leza* in material form.

#### **4.5 THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY TO AFRICA AND ZAMBIA IN PARTICULAR**

Several factors facilitated the missionary enterprise, that is, the sending out of missionaries to other lands, particularly Africa, beginning in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These included the fact that the world at that time was becoming more clearly understood; that commerce had extended to other parts of the world and transport and communication had made the outer world more accessible. So, through colonial expansion and industrial revolution in Europe, a way had been paved for the spirit of adventure (Bwalya, 2005:12). Bwalya argues further that in many instances, mission work in Zambia was regarded as the arm of the colonial government, especially as the government could be seen supporting the missions in the areas of education and provision of medical services. In such a situation, local people could not help associating the church with the colonial government. It was clear that the missionary enterprise was nourished out of commercial and colonial expansion. It has been said, therefore, that the missionary enterprise was part of the British, French, Portuguese or German empires. After all, during the First World War, the time when the world became mad, the Colonial government used many missionaries in its battlefield. As Oldham (1917:52) observes, ‘many

members of the missionary staff, especially the medical missionaries, were called up by the government for war work.

Bwalya (2005:13 ) notes that the missionary enterprise began with the burning spirits of Christians in England, Wales, Scotland, United States of America, France, German, Netherlands, Belgium and other inspired countries, for missionary work. They became convinced that this missionary work was to be done as an obligation of all Christian believers, in obedience to the Lord's commission 'go out and make disciples of all nations'. He argues that the cardinal point that set the missionary movements to other lands was when Rev. William Carey had emphasised the importance of the missionary work in his '*The Enquiry*', a great document that formed the basis for the missionary enterprise. This missionary spirit was, to a large extent, engendered during the Christian revival by organised concerts for prayers in Europe. The concerts for prayers were meetings mostly of only a number of committed and enthusiastic Christians. These enthusiasts were largely rebels otherwise called non-conformists: they were those Christians who did not conform to the Roman Catholic administration and teachings, the Protestants. They wanted to pray, read the scripture and discuss together a number of challenging issues concerning the Lord's commission to all believers. The concert for prayers, therefore, gave a deep impact on the lives of many. For instance, after listening to a sermon preached in Hackleton Meeting House by a Congregational minister, Rev. William Carey was prompted to make a decision to join missionary work. Later, out of his own sermon on the theme: 'Expect great things from God, attempt great things for God', many people who listened to him were inspired to go out with him and preach the gospel in Africa and other parts of the world which were considered heathen at the time.

The Christian revival resulted in the formation of many missionary societies. Among them were the Baptist Missionary Society (1792), the London Mission Society (LMS) (1795), the Netherlands Mission Society (1795), the Scottish and Glasgow Missionary Societies (1796) and the Church Mission Society (1796). All these missionary movements were evangelical in outlook and this evangelical atmosphere, qualified by conversion, was the most important part of the missionary movement then. Moreover, the term conversion had a special meaning at the time. An unconverted was one not serious in life, not concerned as much as possible about the outreach, the vision for mission. Rev. John Wesley hence became convinced of 'justification by faith' intellectually, but was not converted until at the age of 45. Rev.

Thomas Hawies, an Anglican rebel, proposed qualifications for a missionary candidate. These were simply that such a candidate was to be: a plain man with common sense, a man well read in the Bible, for which formal education was unnecessary, a man full of faith, a man of the Holy Ghost, a man of any trade. It was on such qualifications that the LMS, which he later joined, mainly sent their two first groups of missionaries to the Pacific, which records indicate, proved a dismal failure (*ibid*).

The missionaries, therefore, came to Zambia as to other lands on mission, burning with zeal, carried evangelical messages and in an evangelical spirit. It was not all just for adventure that they came, much as most of them were young, with mixed feeling of overseas. Moreover, it was not easy for one to get on ship to an unknown land labelled 'dark continent', or 'heathen country' without sacrifice, determination and strong faith. They were determined and humble men who had passed through the discipline of rough tongued and short tempered masters and were now prepared to serve with Jesus Christ, their new master. Under his authority, they had formed missionary societies in Zambia with humility, which laid the basis for the coming of Christianity in the country (*ibid*: 15).

According to Snelson (1974:6-7), the first missionaries to enter the country belonged to the Paris Evangelical Mission who, under leadership of Francois Coillard, set a mission station at Sefula (Western Province) in 1885. They were followed by the Primitive Methodists who settled at Nkala in the Kafue Game Park in 1893, led by John Fell. Next to arrive were the Church of Scotland who opened a mission station at Mwenzo among the Namwanga people in 1894, under the leadership of Malcolm Moffat. The fourth missionaries to enter Zambia were the Dutch Reformed Church, who established stations at Magwero and Fort Jameson (Chipata) in 1899. These were followed by the London Mission Society in 1900, who penetrated Zambia from South Africa and established a station at Mbereshi among the Mambwe, Bemba and Lunda people. The Jesuit Fathers (Roman Catholics) came in 1906 and founded their first station at Chikuni Mission among the Tonga in Monze District, through Father Joseph Moreau. In the same year, William Anderson, a member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church began building a mission station at Rusangu, a few kilometres away.

Other missionaries who came to Zambia include the Brethren in Christ with their first station opened at Macha - Choma in 1906; the South African Baptist Missionary Society who opened their Kafulafuta Mission station near Ndola in 1916; the South Africa General

Mission who opened a station near Solwezi in 1910 and Universities Mission to Central Africa who opened their first Anglican station in Livingstone in 1910 and later at Mapanza among the Tonga people in 1911. Another missionary society that was established in the Tonga land were the Salvation Army, who built their first station at Ibwe Munyama in 1927 and later at Chikankata in the same year.

#### **4.5.1 The Short History of Christianity in Kabwe**

In Kabwe, the first missionaries to come were the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1918. They established a station at Keemba in the western part of the Lenje Reserve, under the leadership of Henry Loveless and Douglas Gray. These were followed by the Roman Catholics through the White Fathers, who came to establish a mission station at Mpima, right into the expanding mining town of Kabwe. They were led by Fr. Francis Johanny, Fr. Stanislaus Siemiernski and others and began their pastoral ministry in earnest in the year 1925 (Murphy, 2003: 303-304).

Eventually, other missionaries extended their pastoral works to many places within Zambia, such that today, for instance, Kabwe has many Christian church denominations representing different missionary societies.

#### **4.5.2 THEOLOGICAL CHANGES IN ZAMBIA**

##### **4.5.2.1 The Birth and Growth of the Indigenous Charismatic Movement in Zambia**

The birth and growth of the Charismatic movement in Zambia can be attributed to such factors as Global influence, Theological tensions in the mainline churches, the theological shift in local churches, the starting of new ministries by strong individual leaders and poor leadership in certain churches.

It is crucial, though, to stress the fact that there has been little scientific documentation on the growth of Indigenous Charismatic movement in the nation, but that unprecedented oral information is available from those who have played key roles in the shaping of this movement. This includes personal experiences and engagements from which information has been derived.

#### 4.5.2.2 **Global Influences of the Charismatic Movement**

The Charismatic movement is a late entry into a Zambian Church. It is a by-product of the worldwide Charismatic movement. As a nation affected by globalisation, it is important for this country to be left unaffected by the other trends that accompany globalisation, such as different forms of religion and particularly of Christianity. Zambia has not been spared by the global Charismatic influences, especially those stemming from the United States of America. As the Charismatic movement reached its peak in the USA, with preachers monopolising the electronic media, Zambians and people of Kabwe in particular, were given a glimpse of the Charismatic movement and its influences in the United States of America, Latin America and populous countries in Africa such as Nigeria.

The charisma of the preachers, the financial power, the attention and the outstanding productivity were enticing. Churches in East Asia, such as those in South Korea ( for example , with Paul Yonggi Cho's church) and with other leaders such as Kenneth Hagin of Rhema Ministries, Morris Celluro, Derick Prince, John Osteen, Oral Roberts Ralph Mahoney and John Wimber in the USA, became icons of the Charismatic movement in Zambia. It is almost impossible to find current Charismatic leaders who, with over 20 years in the ministry, have no knowledge of the above-mentioned leaders in the Charismatic movement. At one time or the other, they would have been exposed to the ministry of these aforementioned leaders through electronic media or literature. They represented a model of modern church, an inspiration for the emerging Charismatic pastors. They also set the standards for the modern church; a powerful, wealthy institution, belonging to a powerful wealthy God, the creator of everything. The Charismatic movement, though indigenous, is extremely dependent on the outlook and operations of the Charismatic movements in the USA and Western Europe. By attending some of the conferences organised by these ministries, Zambian ministers were brought into close proximity to a new wave of modern Christianity under the veil of the 'charismatic' movement.

At the time the movement was entering the nation, the latter's leader, the first Republican President, Kenneth Kaunda, who held a humanistic ideology, did not see the need for the proliferation of the church and thus halted the registration of new churches. Most of the Charismatic churches and interdenominational ministries, therefore, began to emerge in mid 1985 when the registration rules were eased. At the same time, a migration began in the

mission Pentecostal churches as the pastors and lay leaders moved out to begin their own ministries. This resulted into church ‘splitting’ among Pentecostal Mission churches which became the order of the day. Most of those who left Zambia found new home in the existing Charismatic institutions in North America or Western Europe.

#### 4.5.2.3 Theological Tensions in the Mainline Churches

As more church leaders were exposed to the Pentecostal movement, their own spiritual encounters as individuals challenged their theology. This, in particular, represented the pneumatological disposition and the interpretation thereof. As leaders in their given constituencies, they exerted an influence over a number of their followers whom they later exposed to the same teachings and experiences as their own. However, this resulted in a conflict of interests.

The leaders were required to uphold the theology and articles of association as required by the institution in which they served while being true to their own spiritual experiences. The followers too found themselves in the same predicament and this situation gave birth to the independent churches across the country, particularly along the railway line. Better-known examples are those such as Grace Mission Ministries International. In September 1993, Grace Ministries came into existence, though not as a desired outcome. In 1990 young people, who were largely meeting for times of fellowship in the Lusaka area, began to experience encounters with the Holy Spirit in ways unacceptable in the United Church of Zambia, a mainline Presbyterian Church. The church has a strong evangelical theology background, but with liberal outlook and practice in comparison to other evangelicals in Zambia.

As the current Bishop of Grace Ministries, Bishop Ng’andu, narrates, the more such ministries gained the centre stage in the United Church of Zambia, especially in Lusaka, as a candid expression of the move of the Holy Spirit in the lives of individuals, the more discomfort was created among conservative church members. Ironically, some of the leaders within the church felt comfortable with the occurrences among the young people and, therefore, embraced the teachings and experiences.

In 1992, at a youth camp in Kabwe, young people petitioned the United Church of Zambia leadership to start making adjustments in order to accommodate the movement within the



church. A 'revival' committee was formed to engage with the leadership in Lusaka. Evans Chibesa Kunda, a young leader in Saint Andrews United Church of Zambia congregation in Lusaka, played an instrumental role in this process. Although he was one of the leaders in this influential congregation, he embraced the developments since his personal experiences could not be wished away. Besides him, a missionary by the name of Govern Elliot also approved of the occurrences. As the meetings continued in the small groups, people from other churches began to attend them and this increased the numbers, making it impossible to meet in small groups in homes. A large venue was eventually solicited and Saint Andrews Church was used to accommodate the meetings.

This movement infuriated the main leaders of the church who opted to expel the leaders who had embraced the 'rebellion' and their followers. The leaders in the new movement challenged this expulsion but the matter could not be resolved amicably. Thus, the courts became involved to try and solve the problem legally. This led the second Republican president, Dr Chiluba to intervene in solving this issue without involving the courts. The reader should be interested in observing the reason why President Chiluba was brought in.

First, the United Church of Zambia had enjoyed the attention of the state during the leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda. In many ways, it was perceived as a state church. For example, during the reign of Kenneth Kaunda, the patron of the women's wing of the United Church in Zambia was his wife Betty Kaunda. During the time of Chiluba's presidency this was no longer the case. The privileges obtained from the state house and the attention had drastically diminished and soon the Charismatic and Pentecostal movement were receiving both. Even though this was the case, President Chiluba, who was a long-standing member of UCZ in the Chifubu local congregation in Ndola, was views as the best person to resolve the dispute. Despite embracing Pentecostal / Charismatic teachings and experiences, he had not relinquished his position as a leader and member of the UCZ.

Another example is the birth of Christian fellowship in Zambia. In 1982 in the Christian Fellowship in Many Lands ( CMML) a theological conflict started brewing among the 'missionaries', after some missionaries had been exposed the Charismatic movement in England after their own personal experience of the Holy Spirit. This created a theological conflict in this church. With tension arising and theological matters causing a rift, Gordon Surcklin and his cohorts left the CMML to begin Christian fellowships in Zambia.

With all the conflicts that went along changing church affiliations and formation of other churches, one clear resulting effect was the theological tensions that that constituted a major factor contributing to the development of Charismatic churches emanating from mainline churches.

#### 4.5.2.4 **Starting of Ministries by Strong Individual Leaders**

Another characteristic feature of the indigenous Charismatic movement is the creation of new ministries by individual leaders. Among the Charismatic, this is the commonest way of starting churches. An individual, being certain that God has given him/her 'vision' to start new work, proceeds to do just that. The move normally occurs in a harmonious manner rather than as a result of theological or forceful removal. Others would leave to be trained for pastoral work and on their return opt to start their own ministry other than operating with the church with which they had previously worked.

An outstanding example is Dr. Nevers Mumba of Victory Ministries in Zambia. Although he had been a member of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (Maranatha Church in Kitwe), he emerged as forceful Charismatic leader in Zambia. After being trained in the United States at the Christ for the Nations Bible Institute, he returned to begin his own work. Dr. Mumba became the first television evangelist in Zambia and captivated the nation with the 'Zambia shall be saved' television casts. Within five years (1984 to 1990), Victory Ministries had established branches all over the country (Kabwe inclusive) and beyond its borders with its headquarters in Kitwe. In the history of the Zambian church there has never been such a preacher who had such a large following from non Pentecostals and Pentecostals alike. Currently, Victory Ministry is a shadow of what it used to be 15 years ago. It has disintegrated as its leader became consumed with national politics, with a vibrant church only in Kitwe, led by Paster Lubuto Nsofwa, while the others are merely average.

Another church which began in this manner, was the Gospel Outreach Fellowship founded by Pastor Helmut Reutter and his wife Esther. The two felt God was challenging them to start a vibrant church. In 1992, together with a number of people (most of them from the couple's previous church, the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) in Longacres Lusaka), the started Go Centre.

#### **4.5.2.5 The Entry into Zambia of Charismatic Churches**

When Zambia was declared a Christian nation in 1991, the international Christian community, especially the Pentecostal / Charismatic movement, was delighted and held Zambia and the then president Fredrick Chiluba in high esteem. The country opened itself to Charismatic invasions, especially from West Africa, in particular Nigeria.

The Nigerian Charismatic movement holds to a strong mission outlook and enjoys a significant presence in the sub-Saharan countries, including Zambia. Churches such as Deeper Life, Winners Chapel, Christ Embassy and many others, have found a place in the country, as well as others founded by Europeans and South African Churches. Currently, the Zambian Charismatic movement has adopted the identity of the Charismatic movement in Nigeria. This is evidenced in most of the annual conferences of the Charismatic Churches in Zambia where Nigerian ministers are invited as guest speakers.

#### **4.5.2.6 The Pentecostal Movement during the Tenure of Dr. Fredrick Chiluba**

By mid 1990, an alliance of Kaunda's opponents had put together a movement to begin opposing the Kaunda government. A call to return to democracy was to be put to a referendum. But this move was contested and challenged vigorously and Kaunda was obliged to shelve the idea. However, this did not abate the struggle to reinstitute democracy in Zambia. As momentum built, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD) was formalised and registered as a political party in readiness to oppose Kaunda. Fredrick Chiluba, the then leader of the Zambian Trade Unions, was emerging as a probable leader of the movement and eventually was appointed leader of the MMD to contest the parliamentary and presidential elections. Because of the pressure from the opposition, Kaunda gave in to the calls for elections and October 1991 was declared a voting month. During this time Kaunda was losing face with the church. It must be noted at this point that Kaunda, though aligned with the eastern block and entertaining socialist ideologies, was still viewed as a staunch Christian as evidenced in his interaction with the church community.

The history of the Kaunda family, therefore, contains the Christian faith as an important cornerstone. It was well known that Kaunda's father was a committed Christian, closely linked to the early missionaries in the Chinsali area in the Northern Province. Christianity in Zambia was never viewed as a threat, as in the former Soviet Union and China and other

communist states. The United Church of Zambia (UCZ) was even seen to be a 'state church' because of its strong ties with the state house. Eventually, this view was eroded as Kaunda began to invite leaders of the mystical Eastern religions, as witnessed during the 1980s when he openly linked himself to a Dr. M.A Ranganathan who helped him establish the David Universal Temple at State House. He further caused matters to deteriorate when he brought the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi to the country to revolutionise the agriculture sector in Zambia, coining the slogan of the project as "heaven on earth". As a result, the church no longer viewed Kaunda as a true Christian, but rather as one who was trying to bring a demonic curse on the nation, especially among the evangelical pastors. This caused the churches to change sides. They looked to Chiluba who represented a new wave of politics and a hope for Zambians, like Moses, who would lead the nation into a new dispensation. But the church needed to carefully charter the new troubled waters. Anticipating violence in the coming elections, the church united to ensure that voting took place peacefully.

#### 4.5.2.7 SUMMARY

In summary, I have in this chapter, discussed the anthropological and historical backgrounds of the Lenje people, with a view to analyse the cultural and religious aspects of their life. From this analysis, the traditional religion of the Lenje people seems to occupy the whole person, perhaps more than the universal religion of the Christian God. This is simply because the religion of the Lenje seems to strongly attach adherents to life and consequently to society. Though they worship lesser spirits, the Lenje people also believe in the existence of a Supreme Being who is responsible for all sorts of moral conducts and a creator of everything. This *Being* commonly known as *Leza* is regarded as the most great god under whom exists the lesser spirits (such as the *muzimo* and *basangu*). The supreme god, however, trades no direct involvements in the affairs of people, as does the lesser spirits. People reach out to him in their daily petitions and all manner of worship indirectly through the lesser spirits.

Another characteristic feature of the Lenje religion includes its tendency to have many superstitions and the absence of authorised dogma. The absence of the formal recognised priesthood and the beliefs and practices such as the use of charms, amulets, herbs, seeds, powder, skins and feathers in evoking and placating ancestral spirits are other features of this religion. The African Traditional Religion in Kabwe is, therefore, common in the countryside, though its presence and influence can still be evidently felt or seen even among

individuals in the urban area, who have converted to Christianity. For instance, it is not surprising in Kabwe to see a Christian wearing a string around the wrist, fastened with some substance believed to be curative or protective medicine, sourced from diviners. This implies that for such people, they can worship the Christian God while paying allegiance to the spirits of their ancestors.

From the analysis given in this chapter, witchcraft, suspicion and accusations are presented as essential elements of the Lenje Traditional Religion. It may be argued that in this current era with rampant belief in Satanism, people in the Lenje society (Kabwe) will be more likely to utilise the witchcraft paradigm in their rationalisation of satanic rumours, claims and accusations. This is because in Satanism, there are also accusations based on suspicion similar in pattern to those in witchcraft.

With the coming of the Christian missionaries, the Lenje people seem not to have faced difficulties in converting to Christianity because of their already-rich concept of *Leza* that in most respects is identical with the Christian God. As Christianity, being a second religion kept on growing in the area, it brought about some unforeseen challenges among people, in the form of theological changes that were experienced in the area. These theological changes brought about tension within the church. Here I further argue that the tension people of Kabwe experienced because of some contentious issues arising from theological changes also contributed to escalation of the satanic scare. This could have been because of people seeking scapegoats to blame for the problems they faced, where the Devil / Satan figure usually carried the blame. Hence, when hit with problems, people sought explanations to the problems faced in terms of the work of the Devil/Satan.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE SPIRIT WORLD AND SATANISM IN KABWE**

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#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

People in Zambia understand and interpret the ‘Spirit World’; a realm which can be argued that in constitutes their ideas of the world of Satanism, to be largely based on their general conception of the cosmos. Satanism itself is a new phenomenon in Zambia, for there seems to have been no indigenous equivalent “Satan figure” resident in ATR in the Broken Hill / Kabwe before the coming of Christian mission. At the expense of repetition, Satanism might not have just come to Broken Hill / Kabwe from without, but from traceable roots. One of the roots through which an indigenous “Satan figure” can be traced is through the works of Emmanuel Milingo. This chapter therefore, sets to discuss the conception of the Spirit World, taking special reference to the experiences and views of Milingo. It also draws reference to Evangelist Mukendi’s views of the spirit world, being another figure in Africa whose views on the spirit world can be used to complete Milingo’s. Though the duo has not made specific reference to the subject of Satanism, their insights may be beneficial to this study whose theme hinges on Satanism, a phenomenon of the spirit world.

#### **5.2 MILINGO’S UNDERSTANDING OF THE SPIRIT WORLD**

Ellis and Ter Haar (2004:53) have described Emmanuel Milingo as one of the most articulate African expert on matters of the Spirit World. Milingo’s formal religious education consisted of sixteen years of orthodox Catholic training in church schools and seminaries, originally in Africa and later in Europe, almost exclusively at the hands of white missionaries. His interest on the popular views of the spirit world arose only after he had been appointed archbishop of one of Africa’s major cities, Lusaka (Zambia’s capital), when he came into close contact with parishioners who contacted him about various forms of sickness that they ascribed to evil spirits. These were problems for which his training had not prepared him. So, after a period of reflection, Milingo decided to familiarise himself with the spiritual beliefs of his fellow Zambians. Since then he has written numerous books and pamphlets that reflect not only his extensive study on the subject, but also his deep interaction with people who believe themselves to be possessed by spirits.

As an orthodox Catholic, Milingo was intent on finding a way to reconcile this new knowledge with conventional Catholic dogma. Ellis and Ter Haar (2004) observe that this led Milingo to contextualise some of the insights of the Catholic Church, notably concerning the Holy Spirit, not for academic purposes but in order to help people who believed themselves to be affected by evil spirits. He concluded that the church, intent on spreading the Western view of Christianity via its missionaries, had made no effort to understand the spiritual beliefs and needs of Africans and in particular the growing tendency to ascribe sickness and other problems to the presence of evil spirits. For many Zambians, Milingo had realised that the spirit idiom served as a framework of explanation for illnesses, adversity and other forms of misfortune.. Traditionally, in order to restore balance, a healer must identify which spirit is causing the disturbance and needs to be propitiated. Milingo decided that he could invoke the power of the Holy Spirit to cure his patients by liberating them from evil spirits. This made him popular as a healer in Zambia. As a result, his fame spread throughout Africa and other parts of the world.

Although African traditional religions have always taken account of the troublesome spirits, older techniques for dealing with these by exorcising or neutralising them have generally ceased to be effective for reasons connected to changes in the nature of religion in Africa generally (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2004:54). Besides, where as people once considered spirits to be morally neutral forces that could be used for particular purposes in a form of negotiation between the spirit and the person interacting with it, today many have come to see traditional spirits as being harmful by nature. As a result, traditional techniques for dealing with spirits have become less effective. This was the gap that Archbishop Milingo proposed to fill. For him, as for thousands of people who seek his help, it is self evident that the spirit world really exists and this forms the basis for all his healing activities.

### **5.3 MUKENDI'S ACCOUNT OF THE SPIRIT WORLD**

Among the many popular pamphlets circulating widely in Africa today is the memoir by Evangelist Mukendi, a born-again preacher from the Democratic Republic of Congo. According to his account (cited in Kaniaki and Mukendi, 1994), Mukendi was weaned by a mermaid and pledged to Satan by his father, a witch.

Mukendi's short book entitled *Snatched from Satan's Claws* contains a story relating his visit to the place where witches are believed to live which, he writes, is reached by going under water. In this 'underworld', he claims there are institutions created and used by witches, including universities and an international airport directly underneath the city of Kinshasa, capital City of the Democratic Republic of Congo. This is not exceptional because, he maintains, 'every town or village in the world has some hidden activities under the water nearby'. It is believed to be in these underwater locations that the spirits of people who in life were controlled by fallen angels congregate and communicate with the witch doctors, sorcerers and magicians that still live on earth. In their underwater dwellings, these agents of the Devil feast on human flesh. They promote sorcerers, magicians and witch doctors to high positions in the towns above the ground, in the visible world. Underground, they manufacture diabolic objects including cars, clothes, perfumes, money, radios and television sets, which they peddle on earth to try to distort and destroy the lives of those who purchase such items. There are even underground scientists employed by fallen angels. Mukendi claims to know all this based on personal experience. He says the ultimate purpose of all these underground activities is to steal, kill and destroy.

According to Mukendi, some major underground cities are located in Congo, one near the Inga dam and another near Matadi (The Inga dam is an enormous dam on the Congo River, notorious as a failed 'white electricity plant' development project; Matadi is the country's seaport, located at the mouth of the river). Here, Mukendi contends that there are diabolic underground conference centres where many decisions affecting the countries and continent of Africa are made. Mukendi claims that these places are close to an underground highway to other parts of the Democratic Republic of Congo and to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean in America. He says there is even a very busy international airport for all sorts of sorcerers and magicians, flying in and out. Some of the travellers there are described as 'magicians', being witches who transform themselves into white people:

...these false white persons will then get out of their 'planes' and enter into bigger ones awaiting at Mukamba Lake [the international sorcerers' airport] destined to Europe, America or any other countries of the world. Their purpose is to acquire jobs in those countries posing as specialists or expatriates, to earn big salaries to be used for the international organisation of sorcerers of the world (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2004:50).



Mukendi claims to have taken part in such trips while he was still a witch. To judge from his personal account, Mukendi is convinced that the visible world is intimately connected to the underground domain of evil which contains the same features as the material world, but in malign forms that are inversions or perversions of their visible representations.

Mukendi clearly does not regard the spirit world as metaphor for the 'real' or visible world, but as integral part of reality, in fact it's most important part, since this is where vital decisions are taken that affect people's lives. No wonder, then, that it is of great importance to individuals, especially in African contexts, to try to influence the decision-making process through interaction with the spirit world. Relations with the latter are an extension of the social fabric into the realm of the invisible. Many Africans today who continue to hold beliefs derived from their traditional cosmologies apply these to everyday life even when they live in cities and work in civil service or business sector. For them, religious world-views do not necessary diminish with formal education.

The spiritual world that most Africans believe to exist may be inhabited by all kinds of invisible beings, but spirits of various sorts undoubtedly hold a prominent place in it. As described by Milingo and Mukendi, the spirit world resembles the visible one and is deemed to have many of the characteristics of the physical world. According to Mukendi, it has universities, scientists, an airport and all the other features of the modern city and the 'underworld' inhabitants can even infiltrate international organisations. The invisible world is described by Mukendi as peopled with 'witches', who have their own government, organised as in the visible world, except that those in charge are women. In this and many other respects, the invible world is a mirror of the visible one, an accurate reflection, except that everything is the wrong way round. Since Mukendi's story is a treatise on evil, the striking prominence of women in the world beneath the water suggests that they are considered potential agents of the Devil on the visible world, a reminder of the connection often made between women and witchcraft (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2004:52).

The aspect of accessing the 'underworld' via water is one of several features of Mukendi's account that has a clear resemblance to older traditions, recorded over a long period throughout the area of Central Africa inhabited by the *Bakongo* people who live in parts of the modern republics of Congo-Kinshasa, Congo-Brazzaville and Angola. The figure of the mermaid (female water spirit) is a very familiar one that is itself a subject of popular

literature. The idea that water contains the entrance to the spirit world is widespread throughout coastal areas of West and Central Africa and into Southern Africa, transcending different cultural groups. It is a good example of one of those African religious traditions current over very large areas. In this respect, Mukendi's story is of a type well-known to many people and resounds with a variety of ideas in wider circulation, possibly permeating Congo's neighbouring countries like Zambia.

Ellis and Ter Haar further note that one of the most remarkable religious developments in the continent today is that of Christian revivalist movements, often referred to as neo-Pentecostal or charismatic movements, whose most notable feature is the belief in the active presence of the Holy Spirit. Such movements can be situated in the long tradition of African independent churches that proved so vital over the years (Ter Haar, 1995: 161). It is also reflected in the growing influence of charismatic movements within the former mission churches and is present in the *Sufi* tradition of Islam that is long established in Africa. In short, many of the numerous religious movements and organisation flourishing in Africa show the same propensity towards a belief in the existence of distinct spirits, conceived of as entities that are invisible, yet real. In African traditional religions, the representation of spirits as real beings emphasises the personal rather than the metaphorical aspect of the relationship between the visible and the invisible worlds. In light of this widespread tendency to consider spirits as individual beings with a personal identity, spirituality is not an abstraction, of interest only to theologians and philosophers, but becomes the power within the reach of all. Similar ideas are current in many other parts of the world. In the West, too, people sometimes personalise invisible forces by giving names to and talking about them as if they were people with personalities, such as when they discuss recent climate changes with reference to an invisible force called *El Nino*, or when they give personal names to hurricanes. The personalisation of whatever invisible powers people believe to exist is characteristic of a spirit idiom (*ibid*).

It seems that much of the recent literature on religion in Africa suggest that belief in evil spirits has become so common as to lead to a general preoccupation with evil in the broadest sense. Evidence of this can be seen in the tracts sold all over Africa, in markets and on street-corners, describing experiences of evil like Mukendi's descent into the 'underworld', or recommending methods of self-protection. People ascribe to evil spirits such typically modern problems as unemployment, lack of money and marital strife. They realise well enough that the immediate cause of losing a job may be a new management or a downturn in

the economy, but these are not regarded as sufficient explanations. Why these misfortunes should occur at a particular juncture, creating a sense of despair felt as a force within is often explained as a consequence of an evil spirit dwelling inside a person (*ibid*:162).

In the West, however, under that modern influence of rationalism, individuality and consciousness of the self, combined with a general increase in the comfort and predictability of life for the wealthiest part of the world's people, the concept of evil has become increasingly less tangible and has been reduced to little more than a metaphor. It is interesting to see, however, how it may be revived under certain conditions. An illuminating example is the murder in May 2002 of the Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn, which, according to press and the public in the Netherlands, was the result of his 'demonisation,' meaning his representation as the living epitome of evil. In this case, the final responsibility for his death was attributed to those rival politicians and other critics who are held to have created a climate in which it became conceivable that society had to be freed of the 'demon' named Fortuyn, if necessary by killing his spirit (Ter Haar, 1995: 171).

A study of rumours concerning satanic rituals and child abuse in 1980s in Britain also suggests how, even in societies that are highly secular in many respects, potent mechanisms may still exist for identifying certain people as agents of an evil force with an individual name and personality. The point of interest in these comparisons is the people's beliefs in evil forces that may become personalised if and when a social need arises. From such a perspective, the personification of evil apparently meets the need of a great variety of people to come to grips with the 'enemy', to actually locate and expel him. Common practices, such as the burning of effigies during public demonstrations, are similar manifestations of this belief (*ibid*).

In Kabwe, the scenario has not been an exception, except that there is a tendency today by people to perceive the evil spirits more in terms of Satanism, thereby, ascribing much of the modern problems people face in life to Satanism. Satanism has been blamed for causing some misfortune among businessmen as it is believed to work to advantage its members in business ventures. Problems caused by some economic recessions in society, unemployment and marital strife, somehow find their explanations in terms of the works of the Devil through Satanism. Consequently, people have staged demonstrations at times, as they come to grips with agents of what they consider as the society's 'enemy' (Satanism), whom they try to

expel or kill as a way to rid the society of evil. A good example of such demonstrations is the Chambishi Anti-Satanism riot that took place in September 2012 on the Copperbelt Province of Zambia, where four suspects were burnt to death. This is discussed in detail in Chapter Eight of this study.

#### **5.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR THIS STUDY**

There is a lot that can be said about the similarities between people's beliefs about Satanism and their belief in the spirit world in general, which suggest that Satanism fits well with witchcraft and other aspects of the occult in the spirit world. In the background to Chapter One of this thesis, it is mentioned that aspects of the occult religion are also alive in Kabwe (Zambia), either operating independently or within the main-line religions, implying that a great deal of the conception of Satanism by people reflects their views about the spirit world in general. More examples can still be given from the findings of this study to substantiate this observation. Just like other accounts obtained in this study, Mukendi's book is an example of an abundant African popular genre on human involvement in the spirit world. Many readers of such accounts may conclude that they are bizarre and puzzling tales that hardly merit serious attention, even if the authors of the texts believe that they are recounting 'true' stories or discussing 'real' occurrences. Another account similar to Mukendi's in this study is Kabila's experiences of the 'underworld', discussed in Chapter Eight. In this research, such personal experiences and beliefs on which authors appear to be based are taken as starting points for inquiries. As Ellis and Ter Haar contend, religious ideologies, after all, deserve to be examined just as much as secular ideologies, since both represent ways in which people view the world.

Besides, the need to study the specific content of religious beliefs was long ago noted by Clifford Geertz, the doyen of American anthropologists. The 'Anthropological Study of Religion' he wrote over forty years ago, is 'a two-stage operation: first, an analysis of the system of meaning embodied in the symbols which make up the religion proper and, second, the relating of these systems to social structure and psychological processes'(Geertz 1966.42). Geertz went on to express his dissatisfaction with so much of contemporary social anthropological work in religion at the time he was writing, not because it concerned itself with the second of these two stages, but because it neglects the first and in so doing taking for granted what most needs to be elucidated. In Geertz's view, texts such as Mukendi's works

should be considered first in the terms that the authors apparently intend them to be understood: as true stories, written to be believed.

## 5.5 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I have discussed the aspects of witchcraft and evil/demonic spirits as perceived by Milingo and Mukendi, in an attempt to show how people relate their understanding of the spirit world to the way they have come to conceive the phenomenon of Satanism. Indeed, the chapter has attempted to demonstrate how people's conception of the three phenomena (witchcraft, evil spirits and Satanism) are interwoven in their understanding of the general fabric of the spirit world, upon which people today may have arguably used Satanism as a paradigm of understanding.

As the cases of Milingo and Mukendi reveal, Africans may attribute a great deal of physical, psychological and spiritual ailments to the influence of evil spirits. There may be differing views on how to react to evil spirits, with a new generation of neo-pentecostal Christians regarding traditional forms of propitiation as unacceptable. It may be argued that this has resulted in the great interest today in the practice of exorcism in many of the new churches. In Kabwe for instance, exorcism has become a common activity in many churches. Much of the current religious attitude of people, just like elsewhere in Africa, suggests that belief in evil spirits has become so common as to lead to a general preoccupation with the general concept of evil. People ascribe to evil spirits even such typically modern problems as unemployment, lack of money, marital strife, and so forth. They may realise well that the immediate cause of losing a job may be a new management or a downturn in the economy, but these are not regarded as sufficient explanations. Why these misfortunes should occur at a particular point in time, creating a sense of dejection that people feel as a force within, is often explained as the consequence of an evil spirit inside a person. This creates an underlying belief in society, in evil forces that may become personalised if and when a social need arises. In this particular study, the social need is perceived in terms of the high poverty levels experienced in Kabwe district in the 1990s when the economy was in deep recession. This could arguably be taken as a factor in the creation of the 'Satan figure' in Kabwe.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **RUMOURS AND LEGENDS**

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#### **6.1 BACKGROUND**

Although Kabwe District has been associated with many strange and vicious happenings, there seems to be little evidence justifying such incidents to be acts of Satanism. During the study, I had to put together a number of clues to what had happened in order to gain an understanding. One of the clues required me to focus on the claim makers as well as their claims. The analysis of rumours, claims and allegations about alleged satanic practices and crimes, as well as the examination of objects of the crimes were the other clues I used. Consequently, it became apparent that this study required the sociological understanding of rumours, contemporary legends and social movements. It also required a historical study of the origins of the identified legends from a distant past. Some of the legends dated as far back as the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The belief in the existence of Satanism is arguably just another of the spiritual beliefs that many people today have spread through rumours. In Kabwe district, several incidents of alleged Satanism have surfaced. Some of such incidents may, unfortunately, have passed without culprits behind them noticed. The knowledge about them may not have been necessarily documented or on any form of formal record, but it has survived and been perpetuated mainly through rumours and suspicion. For instance, there are some buildings within the town of Kabwe that people have abandoned simply because they are said to have a background of Satanism. A number of businessmen and individuals have equally been rumoured to have links with Satanism. Certain rumours have only survived for short periods of time, while others have survived long enough to form legends.

This chapter therefore provides a discussion of theories on 'rumours' and 'legends'. By analysing the theories on these two phenomena, this chapter will serve as a prelude to the subsequent chapter that will discuss the actual research findings from Kabwe district on alleged satanic incidents. It is hoped that the analysis of the theories will provide the basis for the understanding of circumstances surrounding the satanic rumours obtaining in the district and the conclusions drawn by people based on such circumstances. Through exercising rumour control, this study tried to justify alleged satanic happenings in the district.

## 6.2 THEORIES ON RUMOURS AND LEGENDS

Scholars such as Stephen Ellis, Gerrie Ter Haar and Jeffrey Victor have carried out research on rumours and legends and their findings make considerable contribution to studies on the two phenomena.

Victor (1996:3) for instance, begins with a concern on ‘what makes a mere story a rumour’. In common usage, he says, a story is referred to as ‘just a rumour’ when it turns out to be false. However, this way of defining a rumour is impractical. It is impractical in the sense that it may take several years of careful investigation in order to determine the truthfulness of some rumours. Worse still, the accuracy of some stories may never be determined. Victor gives an example of how stories about a conspiracy to assassinate President Kennedy abound and how it may never be possible to ascertain their truth or falsehood, with a high degree of certainty.

The structure of an elaborate rumour is usually false, in the sense that it may convey many misperceptions, distortions and complete fabrications of actual events, even when it may recount many events which did actually occur. However, the truth or falsehood of a story is not the central defining characteristic of a rumour.

A story can be identified as a rumour if it is a collectively shared story which is believed in the absence of any manifestly obvious evidence to substantiate it. A rumour story is widely believed to be true, but cannot be confirmed by unquestionable evidence at the time. Rumours are created and disseminated not only through word-of-mouth conversations but also through news papers, magazines, radios, television and privately owned printed material.

Rumours usually arise when something unusual or unexpected happens and there is no easy explanation available. A sociologist Tomatsu Shibutani (cited in Ralph, 1980:578), contends that rumours originate as a substitute for ‘hard news’. Shibutani suggests that rumours are a collaborative attempt to find an explanation for a disturbing and ambiguous set of events. They usually arise when people do not trust official sources of news. If people lose faith in the authorities, they may even regard bizarre and frightening rumour stories as being plausible because it might seem dangerous to simply disregard them. When rumours

proliferate, many people feel ‘there is no smoke without fire’ and begin to take rumour stories seriously.

A rumour persists when it offers a reasonable explanation for people’s shared anxieties. According to Victor, several conditions can make rumours seem plausible. He says that rumours gain credibility when their stories offer many dramatic details, hence giving them an aura of authenticity (Victor, 1996:58). Victor sees rumours as something that grows through ‘snowball’ process, as more and more people contribute supportive details to the collective story.

The most crucial support for rumours comes from eyewitness testimonies. Victor contends that there are always people who volunteer eyewitness accounts, which seem to verify even the most bizarre rumour stories. They may do so to satisfy a variety of personal motives, such as to obtain attention and prestige, to express their own fantasy fears, to attack some group they hate, to amuse themselves or others, or to express some kind of mental delusion. Victor however admits that the collective creation of rumours cannot be fully explained solely based on these personal intentions. His conclusion is that rumours need to be regarded as a social process of collaborative story telling which expresses people’s desire for a consensual explanation of ambiguous circumstances (*ibid*).

Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar (2004) provide another contribution on the subject of rumours. What makes the duo’s work relevant to this study is that it provides for consideration and justification of rumours in research. Although Ellis and Ter Haar have not specifically dealt with the subject of Satanism, they have this to say about rumours:

... in most African societies, rumours seem to flourish and circulate in political and social environments that endorse them with far more importance than in industrial countries where information is highly organised commodity and traded by professional elites via high-technology that reach every corner of the world (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2004:28).

The authors’ assertion seems to befit the African village life (like that of Kabwe rural), because rural Africans are statistically less likely to read newspapers, or to watch television than people in other continents and hence less likely to be exposed to these sources.



Ellis and Ter Haar have opted to use the term '*Radio trottoir*' to refer to the kind of oral transmission of information through rumours. Though the term may imply gossip, or *rumour mill* (commonly known as grapevine), it includes an over-plus meaning. It also means 'oral discussion of current events in Africa', which makes it something more than a rumour. The duo further defines the term rumour as 'an attempt at collective conversation by people who wish to enter their sentiments into a public discourse' (*ibid*: 33).

Pertinent to this study is Ellis and Ter Haar's statement that stories about the workings of the invisible forces appear to be a universal way of attributing cause to otherwise inexplicable events, even in countries where the provision of public information is dominated by powerful corporations and where institutions of learning offer scientifically validated explanations. Rumours, like any other expressions of popular belief, tend to be shared even in elite circles. Ellis and Ter Haar further contend that even in highly secularised European countries and the United States, many people find appealing rumours that claim to offer explanations for certain events. Something closely related to this study again, is the authors' assertion that:

Often such rumours refer to invisible beings such as aliens, or they may attribute mysterious occurrences to the machinations of an invisible force that people believe to have effected power over their lives (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2004:26).

The rumours that have surfaced in Kabwe may be fairly typical examples of *radio trottoir* stories in the sense that they are mostly transmitted by word of mouth. Though Ellis and Ter Haar argue that stories contained in radio trottoir may or may not be true, they raise three points which seem crucial to this study.

The first one is that rumours, whether factually based or not, are repeated by people who believe them to be true in some sense. This sounds a vital point, implying that the initial question to be asked about any rumour is why people find it believable.

Another point to take from Ellis and Ter Haar consists in their suggestion to liken rumours contained in *Radio trottoir* to the conspiracy theory. Here they argue that many rumours in African Radio trottoir, amount to an elaborate conspiracy theory, largely because they provide a form of explanation for whatever is thought to have taken place. The duo adds that rumours, like a conspiracy theory, function as a 'scapegoat mechanism' by identifying a

person or group of people conceived as ‘the mysterious them’, thought to be responsible for life’s misfortunes. They refer to the witchcraft accusation that abounds in Africa as one example of the widespread tendency by people to identify the hidden hand behind observable reality. They liken this manner of uncovering the hidden reality to the role fulfilled by the Freemasons and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the Western World.

## **6.2.1 Factors that Breed Rumours**

### **6.2.1.1 Rumour Consensus**

Under rumour consensus factor, Victor (1996:42) observes that the simultaneously shared belief in a frightening story among thousands of people cannot be explained because of personality characteristics of individuals, such as personal motives like the desire to impress others with bits of interesting gossip, or personality traits like gullibility. He notes, in his experience with rumours of Satanism, that the thousands of people who took seriously the threats of a dangerously satanic cult had a multitude of differing individual motives, personal beliefs about reality and personality traits. He observes that a consensus of belief, or shared belief among thousands of people, required some kind of unifying bond among them. The most basic bond among human beings consists of symbols (usually verbal ones) which people come to share. Communication is the link between one person and the other, while the content of the shared symbols is the bond, whether between husbands and wives in marital relations, in work organisations, or in communities. Therefore, in order to understand why so many people can believe a frightening rumour story, Victor suggests that people must first understand the process of communication and then the contents of that communication.

Victor (1996:43) narrates one woman’s experience to illustrate how the communication process operated during the rumour-panic in James town (United States of America). He narrates that Marcie was a psychology major students at Jamestown Communnality College and seemed to be a very rational and reasonable person. She also happened to be a very attractive, blond, blue-eyed nineteen-year-old. One Friday morning, Marcie overheard people at the office where she worked discussing the rumour that ‘the cult’ was planning to kidnap and sacrifice a blond, blue-eyed virgin. Her initial reaction was one of sceptical amusement. Later that day, while at home, her mother repeated the same rumour story to her, angry that dangerous criminals could be on the loose in the community. The story was no longer silly and amusing gossip for Marcie. She began to seek more information and called some of her

friends. They too had heard the story about 'the cult'. Marcie then became increasingly anxious and tense. When her parents had left home the following evening, Marcie asked to know the whereabouts of the family gun, just in case something happened. Later that evening, as her fears mounted to near panic, Marcie called Victor to ask if he had any facts about the rumour stories. When Victor answered the telephone, Marcie was so ashamed by her unsubstantiated fears; she immediately hung up (*ibid*).

#### 6.2.1.2 Natural Factors

There are rumours or claims in which no verifiable evidence can be obtained to justify their existence, but whose proliferation can otherwise be justified through 'natural explanations'. Such rumours that can be explained away through natural accounts cannot easily be linked to the prevalence of Satanism. Examples of such rumours are those that attribute Satanism to people manifesting at church crusades and those that cite people being found naked in the early hours of the morning. These represented some of the alleged incidents associated to Satanism, whose narrations people can easily receive as 'gospel truth' without bothering to seek evidence.

An anthropological school of thought offers one explanation on natural factors behind certain satanic rumours. This school of thought views spirit possessions and confessions from ex-Satanists (especially those who go into deep trance during exorcism) more broadly as culturally patterned forms of thinking and acting, which regulate certain unusual mental capacities (Victor, 1996:90). In other words, people who are victims of these experiences (spirit possessions) are said to have altered states of consciousness, which make them to comprehend and express themselves through 'pre-existing cultural guidelines, whether these be beliefs about demon possession and witchcraft, or beliefs about Satanism. Victor argues that the contents of what these people experience in their altered states of consciousness is shaped by prevailing cultural explanations of their experience. According to this psycho-cultural conception of the spirits possession, the phenomenon has a complex combination of causes: (1) an individual's inherited biological capacity to easily enter trance states; (2) deeply disturbing emotional traumas most likely experienced during childhood; and (3) culturally shared learning which shapes the contents of the ideas the person expresses (Kluft, 1985:29). However, Kluft admits being left with a dilemma: are confessions from satanic

possessed individual's actual revelation of their life traumas, or are they mirror reflections of popular cultural beliefs?

Martin Segal (in Victor, 1996:89) argues that certain testimonies from people experiencing various unusual states of consciousness are as a result of their memories during trance states which are constructed from their current interpretation of their past experiences and vivid imaginations designed to please others. He further contends:

In my personal opinion, based upon what I have gleaned to date, unless there can be corroborating evidence, such as cross-referenced dates, events or testimonies from such victims are worthless. Regressed memories are definitely not infallible. There always remains the possibility of hallucinations, fantasy and, above all, the possibility of contaminating the testimony by improper questioning.

### 6.3 SUMMARY

This chapter has shown that theories on rumours substantiate the need for using rumours as a methodological tool in a study like this one. In order to appreciate the workings of rumours, the researcher requires the sociological understanding of rumours and their historical studies.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### RESEARCH FINDINGS

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#### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present the results, based on the research conducted in Kabwe district during the period 2010-2013. Section 7.2.1 presents the results obtained from the analysis of biodata of respondents who took part in the study while Section 7.2.2 and other subsections that follow present the analysis of field results mainly obtained through the questionnaire. The results that were obtained from testimonies and ‘lengthy’ interviews that were conducted in order to augment or clarify certain aspects of the information obtained in the search for evidence and /or understanding are presented in Section 7.2.8 and its subsections, which also give the bigger picture that goes beyond these results.

#### 7.2 RESULTS

##### 7.2.1 Respondents’ Participation in the Study

This study targeted a total number of 137 respondents, who constituted the sample population drawn from the two categories, namely, ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ areas. Out of the total sample, sixty-eight per cent (68%) of the people approached for interviews were from urban area while the remaining thirty-two per cent (32%) came from the rural area, as shown in the table below.

TABLE 1: **RESPONDENTS’ PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY BY RESIDENCE**

<b>Category of Residence</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Urban	93	68
Rural	44	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

As already explained under Methodology, the justification for the imbalance in the sample selection was given in terms of the difference in the population density between the two categories, where the Kabwe urban, just like any other urban areas in Zambia, generally records a higher population density than that of the rural.

In terms of gender, the analysis from the study population presents a picture of males dominating with fifty-two per cent (52%) over the female folk who were at forty-eight per cent (48%). See the table below.

**TABLE 2: RESPONDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY BY GENDER**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Males	71	52
Females	66	48
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

The seventy-eight per cent (78%) of the sample were in the category of 'adults', fifty per cent (50%) of whom were young adults of less than 35 years old, while twenty-eight per cent (28%) were mature adults with years ranging from thirty-five to sixty. Teenager participation in the sample was at thirteen per cent (13%) and only nine per cent (9%) constituted the category of the 'Aged' with sixty years and above.

**TABLE 3: RESPONDENTS' PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY BY AGE**

<b>Age Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Teenagers	18	13
Adults	107	78
The Aged	12	09
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

Respondents' level of education was another factor in the analysis of the sample constituents. The picture portrayed by the study was such that most of the respondents had attained formal education, with the majority forty-five per cent (45%) having gone up to tertiary level. This was followed by those who attained Secondary / High School and Primary levels at forty-two per cent (42%) and nine per cent (9%) respectively. The remaining four per cent (4%) had no formal education at all and these mostly came from the rural area. The table below gives the summary of the analysis:

**TABLE 4: LEVELS OF EDUCATION ATTAINED BY RESPONDENTS**

<b>Level of Education</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Tertiary	62	45
High School	58	42
Primary	12	09
No Formal Education	5	04
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

As regards religious affiliation, the majority of people interviewed (69%) were Christians who believed religion was something of value to their lives. This category also acknowledged the existence of the Devil or evil forces, which they believed were contending with the God in whom they believed. Those from other main religions present in Zambia, such as Islam, Buddhism and Baha'i Faith constituted the category of 'other religions' and were collectively at six per cent (6%), while twenty-three per cent (23%) affiliated to the Traditional Religion. Besides, the study also revealed that a few respondents (2%) did not believe in God and said religion had no value in their lives. When asked further to comment on whether the Devil or evil forces existed, their response was that they (Devil or evil forces) never existed at all. The results are presented in the table below.

**TABLE 5: RESPONDENTS' RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS**

<b>Type of Religion</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Christians	95	69
'Other Religions'	08	6
Traditional Religion	31	23
No religion / Atheists	03	2
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

### 7.2.2 WHAT SATANISM MEANT TO THE PEOPLE OF KABWE

The study also sought to get views from people on what Satanism meant to them. A variety of responses was given. To most of the people (46%), Satanism meant 'Devil Worshipping'. This was followed by the twenty-five per cent (25%) of the respondents to whom Satanism implied an 'Anti-Christ religion'. Other respondents took Satanism to mean the evil sort of science, a practice where human blood is either drunk or used for sacrifice (11%). There were also those who saw Satanism either as a practice of un-holy things or as a kind of religion with hidden doctrines (8%). Nevertheless, there was still another category (7%) that

constituted people who conceived Satanism as a mere religion, just like any other religion of this world. Satanism also meant an application of evil powers for love of money. Other meanings of the phenomenon included: a cult that practices evil; a religion that deals with evil forces; the mockery of Christian rites or manipulations of the Devil to deceive people that he has power over humanity.

**TABLE 6: DIFFERENT VIEWS FROM PEOPLE ON THE MEANING OF SATANISM**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Devil Worship	63	46
Anti-Christ Religion	34	25
Evil Practice that thrives on blood	15	11
Religion with hidden doctrine	11	8
A religion just like any other	10	7
Other meanings of Satanism	04	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

Indeed, the findings from this study indicated a variety of views from people on the meaning of Satanism.

Drawing inferences from the above responses, it seems that the notion of Satanism among some of the respondents was inclined to the ‘theistic’ concept of the biblical Devil worship, a phenomenon that in my view, suggested an influence of the dominating Christianity in the area. Nonetheless, a good number of respondents gave a contrary view that Satanism was different from the biblical worship of the Devil. Some of the reasons advanced here were that Satanism involved practices such as killing of people by their fellow human beings (Satanists), sacrificing of blood and drinking urine and blood, the practices which, in the respondents’ views were not associated with the biblical Devil worship. Besides, they said the Devil worship in the Bible never involved such acts as the practice of people ‘flying at night’.

There is a controversy today concerning whether or not Satanism is a reality or a mere fiction. When asked to comment on this aspect, respondents gave varied responses that are summarised in the following table:



**TABLE 7: VIEWS OF PEOPLE ON WHETHER SATANISM IS A REALITY OR A FICTION**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Satanism as a Reality	121	88
Satanism as a Fiction	5	4
Not Sure / Did not know	11	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

Most of the respondents (88%), said Satanism was a reality in this world and only the minority 4 per cent (4%) held a contrary view that it was fictitious. Eight per cent (8%) said they did not know. Most of those who said it was a reality based their convictions on confessions from victims they witnessed from various churches during deliverances or exorcising sessions and incidents of ritual murders that had occurred in Kabwe, to which they seemed to have attributed Satanism. Their responses reflected evidences based on eye-witnesses at scenes of action, where for instance, they cited examples of people who were found dead with private parts removed, dead bodies that were found in Kabwe Town's Mine area and two coffins found near Shoprite Shopping Complex right in the Central-Business area of Kabwe town. Other reasons cited included people becoming rich abruptly, a scenario where one becomes rich 'overnight' (individuals cited were held anonymous by the study on ethical grounds). Confessions made by victims who got exposed following expulsions from the cult of Satanism because they failed to follow instructions or fail to observe its etiquettes were also cited among the reasons that made people believe Satanism was something not less than a reality. People seemed to be ready to believe everything said by such victims, who were free and ready to divulge the secret operations of Satanism once they were evicted from it.

Coming to a more specific question of whether Satanism prevailed in Kabwe or not, responses obtained from the interviews indicated that people were convinced that the phenomenon was rife in Kabwe. Out of the eighty-eight per cent (88%) majority who acknowledged Satanism to be a reality in the world, at least the eighty-four per cent (84%) of then said the phenomenon was actually prevalent in Kabwe. They cited reasons or incidents that made them believe that what was obtaining in the district was not mere witchcraft, magic or indeed any of their nuances, but Satanism.

### 7.2.3 PEOPLE’S KNOWLEDGE OF SATANISM AND THEIR OPINIONS ABOUT WHAT PROMPTED ITS COMING TO KABWE

On the question whether the respondents had ever heard of the term ‘Satanism’, majority (96 %) responded in the affirmative, with only the six per cent (4%) minority saying they had never.

The study also investigated on what people felt were the factors that prompted the coming of Satanism to Kabwe. Various responses were given as contained in table 8 below.

**TABLE 8: FACTORS PERCEIVED TO HAVE TRIGGERED THE COMING OF SATANISM IN KABWE**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Poverty / Economic downturn	92	67
Unemployment	18	13
Immigration	10	7
Ignorance	7	5
Mulungushi Rock of Authority	5	4
No response or did not know	5	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

The table above shows poverty, which most of the respondents had attributed to the economic downturn that the district had experienced in the 1990s emerging prominently as a factor that triggered the coming of Satanism. This constituted sixty-seven per cent (67%). Unemployment (13 %), immigration (7%), ignorance (5%) and the presence of Mulungushi Rock of Authority in the district (4%) were the other factors cited (The Mulungushi Rock of Authority is a stretch of rocks believed to harbour evil spirits, at a place that is about fifteen kilometres from Kabwe town along the Great North Road). Those who either did not know or never gave response constituted four per cent (4%).

#### 7.2.3.1 The Question about the Time People of Kabwe First Became Aware of Satanism

While some sources of information indicate that Satanism entered Zambia during the early 1990s, this study only showed thirty per cent (30%) of the respondents admitting becoming aware of the phenomenon during this period. The majority (41 %) said they became aware of the prevalence of Satanism either during the year 2000 or after, while eighteen per cent (18%) said they first heard of the prevalence of the phenomenon prior to the 1990s. The remaining

eleven per cent (11%) did not know exactly when they first became aware of the presence of Satanism. Nevertheless, this analysis suggests that most of the people approached for interviews took Satanism to be a recent encroachment on the soils of Kabwe - a phenomenon that was not more than three decades old in the district at the time of the study. Based on these findings, it can be deduced that Satanism became a common phenomenon in Kabwe during the period between late 1990s and early 2000. The tables below give the summary of the findings.

**TABLE 9: THE TIME PEOPLE BECAME AWARE OF SATANISM**

<b>Time / Period</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Prior to 1990s	25	18
During 1990s	41	30
During and After 2000	56	41
Un known time	15	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

#### 7.2.4 SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT SATANISM IN KABWE

When asked about the sources through which they first became aware of the presence of Satanism in the district, twenty-nine per cent (29%) of the respondents mentioned the *spoken sources*, while those who first heard of it from Churches constituted nineteen per cent (19%). Another nineteen per cent (19%) came to know about the prevalence of the phenomenon through electronic and print media. Other sources mentioned were the various institutions of learning and work places, which took seven per cent (7%) and three per cent (3%) of the responses respectively. The rest did not know. The table below summarises the findings.

**TABLE 10: SOURCES THROUGH WHICH PEOPLE CAME TO KNOW SATANISM**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Rumours	44	32
Churches / Clergymen	34	25
Institutions of Learning	27	20
Work Places	19	14
Internet /Electronic Media	13	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

Given these findings (above), we get an impression that rumours (*radio trottoir*) played a pivotal role in the manner people of Kabwe became aware of the prevalence of Satanism at

its encroaching stage. This of course, is not to downplay the roles played by other sources, for putting all parts played by different sources together, implied a proliferation of the satanic scare in the area within a short period of time.

**7.2.5 FACTORS THAT MOTIVATED PEOPLE TO ENTER INTO A PACT WITH SATANISM**

Investigations were extended into obtaining respondents’ views on the factors that could have motivated some people in Kabwe to enter into a pact with Satanism. The craving for more wealth and desire to get out of the poverty situation came out from respondents as prominent factors, with forty-four per cent (44%) and twenty-three per cent (23%) respectively. The understanding of the difference between these two factors was that those who craved for more wealth included some individual who might have been already rich but just wanted some more wealth, where as those stricken by poverty wanted a way out of their situation using Satanism.

Fifteen per cent (15%) of the respondents said people got initiated into Satanism unconsciously, through the various luring methods Satanists used, while seven per cent (7%) cited the need for power and status as factors that led people into a pact with Satanism. Other factor cited were Peer Pressure (2%), lack of the knowledge of God (2%), Satan’s desire to depress Christians (1%) and the Devil’s pleasure in destroying people’s lives (1%). Those who either did not know or never gave a response constituted 5 per cent (5%). Table 11 below summarises the findings.

**TABLE 11: FACTORS THAT PROMPTED PEOPLE TO ENTER INTO A PACT WITH SATANISM**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Poverty / Desire for more wealth	60	44
Poverty	31	23
People initiated unconsciously	21	15
Craving for power and/or status	10	7
Peer pressure	3	2
Lack of the knowledge of God	3	2
To depress Christians	1	1
Pleasure in destroying people’s lives	1	1
No response or did not know	7	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

### 7.2.5.1 Kabwe's Economic Despondency and the Alleged Coming of Satanism

Getting views on the economy of Kabwe was another area of interest in this study, because of the supposed link between Kabwe's economic despondency of the 1990s and the growth in the awareness of the alleged Satanism that dated back to this period.

The study first sought to examine the performance of the economy of Kabwe during the period before and after the 1990s. Respondents were asked whether they were in agreement with the fact that Kabwe's economy had registered a decline in the 1990s. The findings were that seventy-eight per cent (78%) of the respondents agreed that the economy had declined, while six per cent (6%) disagreed. The remaining sixteen per cent (16%) either did not respond or simply did not know. See table 12 below.

TABLE 12: **RESPONSES ON WHETHER OR NOT PEOPLE WERE IN AGREEMENT WITH THE FACT THAT KABWE'S ECONOMY DWINDLED IN THE 1990S**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Agreed	107	78
Disagreed	08	6
Did not Know / No response	22	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

Among the reasons advanced by those who acknowledged the decline of economy was the closure of the mines in Kabwe, which came out prominently, taking sixty-two per cent (62%) of the responses. This was followed by the nineteen per cent (19%) of the interviewees who put the blame on the selfishness and negligence of political leaders from the government of the day. The national poverty and inadequate investment in the district were also cited as reasons, taking six and nine per cent (6% and 9%) of the responses respectively.

When asked whether they perceived any relationship between the decline of economy and the coming of Satanism in Kabwe, sixty-three per cent (63%) of the respondents acknowledged the relationship while twenty-four per cent (24%) said there was no relationship at all. Those who either did not know or never gave a response constituted the remaining thirteen per cent (13%). The table below gives a summary on the responses.

TABLE 13: **KABWE’S ECONOMIC DESPONDENCY AND THE COMING OF SATANISM**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Affirmative of relationship	86	63
Denial of relationship	33	24
Not certain or no response	18	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

The difference between the responses affirming the relationship between the poor economy and the tendency by people to respond towards the spirit world, which were in the majority and the few in denial of the relationship, was quite big. Such a difference was enough to suggest a general perception by people of Kabwe that the economic despondency experienced in the district in the 1990s could have played a part in the flourishing of the satanic scare.

#### 7.2.6 **EXAMPLES OF INCIDENTS THAT WERE CITED AS ACTS OF SATANISM**

The examples of incidents which respondents cited as examples of the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe were so many that for the sake of ease analysis, I divided them into three main categories namely ‘rumours regarding death or disappearance’, ‘rumours regarding strange incidents’ and ‘rumours regarding unexplained prosperity’.

##### 7.2.6.1 **Rumours Regarding Death or Disappearances**

Under this category of rumours, the study found a variety of stories from respondents. One story concerned a man who was said to have been killed by youths for money within the Central Business area of Kabwe town. There seemed to be two different types of explanations to the cause of death of the man in question. The first explanation was that the man was killed by youths after failing to honour what he had promised them. Rumour had it that this man had hired youths to kill a certain woman for ritual purposes. The detail of this rumour was that the man had hired the youths to remove the tongue of the woman while she was still conscious, as was a requirement in the ritual for which the man wanted to use the organ. According to the rumour, the youths had successfully carried out the mission. The incident was reported to have occurred in Ndola, a town over hundred kilometres away from Kabwe, but the man was killed in Kabwe where his attackers (youths) found him hiding.

The other explanation was that the youths were hired by Satanists to kill the man and get vital body parts for rituals. According to rumours, the body of the man was found with a deep cut around the groin and both eyes plucked out.

Stories of coffins that were found in public places within Kabwe town were equally fascinating aspects of rumours on this category. A good number of respondents ( 13%) from both the questionnaire and interviews made mention of empty coffins that were found at different times and sites, first in front of the Shoprite Store and secondly, behind one prominent businessman's shop, who has been held anonymous by this study. Another rumour concerning the same businessman was that sometime in the year 2011 he fell sick. In his critical condition, a few minutes before his death, rumour had it that people heard him cry foul in a bargain, as the Devil was taking him.

Other rumours on this category included one concerning a person who was killed in one of the Indian shops within the town of Kabwe; inexplicable deaths of people in Kabwe district, especially in the months of September and October; mysterious disappearances of people; people being murdered and their body parts found missing as well as the story about the serial killer by the name of Brian Chilala which was cited by many respondents.

#### **7.2.6.2 Rumours Regarding Strange Incidents**

Respondents also recounted a number of stories regarding strange incidents in Kabwe. Such stories which were allegedly linked to Satanism constitute another category of rumours - namely the rumours regarding strange incidents. The most prominent stories in this category were those concerning the two buildings from two different sites within Kabwe district that were rumoured to have been formerly used as prayer houses for Satanists. One of the two sites is where the Town Centre SDA Church is today. According to respondents, a strange incident happened sometime in the 1990s at this site. When the premises were bought by the SDA church, people who were hired to clean the surroundings at the site found human hair, finger nails and some literature written in a strange language. The other site is at Luanshimba, along the Great North Road between Kabwe and Kapiri-mposhi. According to rumours, one day the occupants of the farm house at this site deliberately set their house ablaze so that they would die in the inferno and that a lot of mysterious discoveries were made by people who rushed to the scene in an attempt to put out the fire. The alleged discoveries made at the

above two sites made people suspect the previous owners of the locations to have been practicing Satanism.

During interviews, respondents also cited the high rate of road accidents occurring along the Great North Road between Kabwe and Kapiri-mposhi as well as between Kabwe and Lusaka with regard to this category. According to them, accidents that occurred along these areas did not just happen. It was believed that there was always a hidden force behind the road accidents, which was from Satanism. It was rumoured and believed that Satanists planned the road accidents as one way of obtaining blood from perishing human bodies, which was required for their rituals. Some of the respondents added that the road accidents planned by Satanists along these areas did not only target human beings, but dogs as well. A number of dogs that were bashed by vehicles along these particular areas were believed to be sacrifices to Satanism. It was believed that the blood from bashed dogs was used in satanic rituals.

The other story on this category was one concerning a residence within Kabwe town where there was what was commonly referred to as *the haunted house*. One interviewee (whose name was held) gave the following remarks about *the haunted house*: 'If ghosts are spirits of restless and unhappy people, the Jumbo residence in Kabwe, with its bloody history, has reason to have countless numbers of them roaming within houses'. According to the narration given by this respondent in the interview, a lot of mysterious things happened at the house of Mr. Jumbo (not real name). The interviewee said one day people witnessed a person, who was probably a relative of Mr. Jumbo, being whipped by unseen hands. On a separate incident, a boy was reported to have been pulled out of the same house by an invisible *being* and relatives only managed to get him back into the house through prayers. The interviewee further said some mysterious happenings at Mr. Jumbo's home began some years ago when one of his sons was found dead in his bedroom, with his body lying in a pool of blood and a knife beside it. Soon after that incident, Mr. Jumbo's niece who had gone missing was found dead after two days behind his ( Mr. Jumbo's) residence, with a deep cut on her throat and two toes, one on each foot, missing. 'Mysterious happenings involving people dying under unclear circumstances at Mr. Jumbo's residence continued for some time', he added. According to the interviewee, the annoyed spirits of Mr. Jumbo's children in the form of ghosts haunted the house, causing a lot of disturbance to people in the house. In conclusion, the interviewee said a gossip had gone round the town of Kabwe that Mr. Jumbo had joined



Satanism, in which he had made a covenant with the Devil to be sacrificing his children and dependants to the cult, at a fixed time interval.

Other stories recounting strange incidents included one about a pupil who started losing blood after lending a pen to a stranger and women who developed maggots inside their vagina after having sexual intercourse with a strange man who was suspected to be a Satanist at one of the guesthouses in Kabwe. Some respondents also cited a story about a bus driver in Lusaka who hit an apparition in its guise as a pedestrian.

#### **7.2.6.3 Rumours Regarding Unexplained Prosperity**

The third category of rumours according to the findings of this study was the one concerning certain people's inexplicable prosperity. One example here was where respondents cited businessmen in Kabwe who became rich 'from nowhere', therefore suspected to have their sources of wealth linked to Satanism. One of the cited sources of wealth believed to be mysterious and which some businessmen were alleged to have used included going on an initiation trip to Dubai, one of the towns in India. Another one was through satanic rituals that used black magic.

Those who chose to undertake an initiation trip to Dubai were believed to have been led by local Satanists from Zambia to Tanzania, where they would meet other Satanists who would guide them into various satanic options of acquiring wealth before getting to Dubai. One option mostly cited by respondents required individuals to give part of their years of life on earth to Satanism (selling years, as it is commonly called), in exchange for wealth. In this case, it was believed that Satanists had a way of calculating the number of years their clients had to live on earth before death. Upon being told the remaining number of year to live on earth, the clients would decide how many they would be ready to give away to Satanists in exchange for wealth. In such a transaction, the more the years one would surrender to Satanists, the more the wealth s/he would be given. According to respondents, this explained why certain people would disappear from Kabwe for a while and only to come back with a lot of wealth to surprise others. They would, for instance, come back with expensive vehicles and various kinds of souvenirs.

Those who did not want to transact in years, probably because they did not have enough remaining to live or they simply did not want to disturb their longevity, were given an option of making a Blood Covenant with Satanists, where they were supposed to sacrifice a family member at an agreed fixed time interval. In the respondents' view, this explained why there were higher death rates in certain households than others within Kabwe. In this case, those who died (usually mysteriously), were simply being sacrificed for what is commonly referred to as 'Blood Money' by their family members who had joined Satanism. The term 'Blood Money' simply implied the cash one would acquire from Satanism in a transaction that involved human life.

The use of black magic in satanic rituals as a way of acquiring quick wealth was another strategy cited by respondents to have been used by alleged Satanists. Some respondents cited one prominent businessman within Katondo Shanty Compound area of Kabwe, whom they said was found asleep inside a coffin one morning, when it was known that he had left for Lusaka the previous day.

The use of a coffin in a similar manner was cited in a story where one shop owner at Green Market within Kabwe town was said to have kept a coffin in his house which he used in satanic rituals to make money through black magic. A coffin was cited a third time in yet another story where other respondents told a story of a house wife who found her husband inside a coffin when it was known that he had gone on a business trip to another town. In the last example, it was said that the couple were in marriage for three years and within their matrimonial home, was a room in which the husband forbade his wife from entering. On this material day, the wife took advantage of the husband's absence and opened the room, to discover what she was denied to see all the years of their marriage. She found a coffin lying in the middle of the room and upon opening it; she was surprised to find her husband inside it.

According to respondents, through the power of black magic, the coffins would be filled with money at the end of each satanic ritual.

### 7.2.7 EFFECTS OF THE SATANIC SCARE ON PEOPLE’S LIVES

This study also sought to find out whether the beliefs people held about the alleged prevalence of Satanism had effects on their lives in general. The results were as tabulated below:

TABLE 14: **RESPONSES ON WHETHER OR NOT THE SATANIC SCARE HAD EFFECTS ON PEOPLE’S LIVES**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	106	77
No Effect	22	16
Not Sure / No response	09	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>100</b>

The table above shows that most of the respondents (77%) admitted that Satanism had effects on people’s lives in Kabwe. Only few respondents (16%) denied the effects. The remaining seven per cent (7%) were either not sure or never gave a response. Most of those who did not give a response simply did not know the answers.

Respondents advanced a number of reasons in justifying the findings above. Examples of effects of alleged Satanism on the lives of people cited by those respondents in the majority who acknowledged the existence of Satanism are analysed under the following subheadings:

#### 7.2.7.1 **Setting Limits to People’s Economic Aspirations**

One of the effects of Satanism in Kabwe cited by respondents was that it caused certain people not to aspire to certain socio-economic levels. This could be explained in terms of the belief in and fear of Satanism setting economic limits, especially among young people in rural areas, where acquiring of wealth was concerned. This created an ‘artificial’ economic conditioning where certain developmental endeavours were left only to those so perceived as ‘worth’ of taking them, as if they were not for all. This is because young men who ascended to riches abruptly usually were believed to have involved Satanism for them to succeed. Since everybody feared Satanism for its pejorative implications, the economic handicapping of young men explained by their reluctance in ascending to certain levels of economic status for fear of being labelled ‘Satanist’ therefore, constituted one effect of Satanism, established by this study in this regard. The economic adage of ‘the sky is the limit’ for those who

wished to get higher in wealth accumulation seemed not to be applicable in those societies of Kabwe where the belief in Satanism was more rampant.

Responses from the rural area were very much in line with the above perception. This was because people's perception of mystical power seemed to play a great role in the regulation of economic activities among people in the countryside, than among those in the affluent area. In the rural area, an accusation of Satanism was often made against a person whose sources of wealth seemed inexplicable and who was therefore assumed to have used mystical powers of Satanism to become rich, probably at the expense of others, therefore in an immoral manner. In most cases, young people were identified as victims here, often as they emerged successful in society by virtue of their being skilful, industrious and initiative in their various local entrepreneurship. As far as people from this side of society were concerned, whatever means of acquiring wealth one would think of, was supposed to be objective and justifiable and in accordance with expectations or standards set by the community. Those people whose means of ascending to riches, especially within a short period, were judged and found wanting by such standards, were considered mysterious. To such individuals, accusations of having links with Satanism often abound.

The economic relations among people in the countryside were also inclusive of social relations, such that the impression established by this study was that wealth was not only being reckoned in terms of material acquisition, but also in spiritual terms. Those members of the community who were advanced in age and knowledge were, therefore, perceived as having accumulated spiritual wealth too. At the same time, ascending to certain levels of age (old age) and acquisition of extraordinary (above average) levels of knowledge were commonly shrouded with mystery. People in this category were often accused of being Satanists too. This implied linking of wealth to Satanism where, not only were the adventurous young individuals accused of being Satanists, but also a few old folk.

A further illustration of the above perceptions can be given, to show people's materialistic and spiritual outlooks to wealth and how they associated these with Satanism. The general perspective to life by some people of Kabwe, especially those in the rural area, seemed to be both materialistic and spiritual. The material component consists of those involvements and transactions which were objective and whose outcomes people were able to predict. For example, Mr. X who was a hard worker and who dedicated much of his time working on his

farm would usually be expected to have a great yield and make good profit from the sale of his crops at the end of the harvest season. The wealth Mr. X would accumulate in this manner with the passage of time usually would not cause people to 'raise eyebrows'. Such a route to wealth acquisition normally did not bother people. In their eyes, it was a normal way, which was objective and predictable.

Mr. X's case however differed from Mr. Y's, who might have ascended to riches through means which were unpredictable in as far as people were concerned, especially where they might fail to see anything objective to constitute a material justification in explaining Mr. Y's manner of acquiring wealth. Unlike Mr. X, Mr. Y might not have been in possession of any means of production in an economic sense, or be seen engaged in some kind of entrepreneurship or ventures that would enable one acquire wealth. More often than not, the justification people would give for Mr. Y's case would be one that would find an explanation or conclusion in terms of involvement in the 'other world', which in this case, is the spirit world. The whole undertaking of Mr. Y would, therefore, be perceived as something 'extraordinary' and 'mysterious' and the obvious conclusion would be that he could have involved spiritual powers from the secret and invisible world in sourcing his wealth.

As already noted above, one effect of Satanism most of the people dreaded was to be accused of being a Satanist, for this often received serious pejorative regards from society.

#### **7.2.7.2 Hindering Development**

Where the effect of *socio-economic limiting* was more prominent, there was likely to be a subsequent effect of underdevelopment, in an economic sense. Informants in the rural area of Kabwe related another effect of Satanism on socio-economic life of people, which was the hindrance to socio-economic development. This was depicted from insights got from informal discussions done in the rural area, where informants gave narrations that implied scenarios where government efforts in taking development to certain typical points in remote-rural communities were sometimes frustrated because of unfounded perceptions of local people who misconstrued the sources of such efforts to be satanic. For instance, because of the growing satanic scare, attempts by the Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to extend aids to rural areas were frustrated in certain places, where people were hesitant to receive such aids, suspecting it came from satanic sources.

### 7.2.7.3 Effects of the Satanic Scare on the Traditional Religion in Kabwe

What came out of this study concerning the effects of the alleged Satanism on the Traditional Religion were that people practicing Satanism hide in the name of the Traditional Religion. This was more so because the practice of magic and the worship of ancestral spirits done in the Traditional Religion were also done more or less in the similar way as in Satanism, through black magic. Some people, therefore, became scared of practicing certain traditional rituals for the fear of being misconstrued to be Satanists, while others feared to visit herbalists or traditional healers thinking they were Satanist. This brought about fear that the beliefs and practices of the Traditional Religion would consequently begin to die out, therefore, making the religion weak.

### 7.2.7.4 Effects of the Satanic Scare on Christianity in Kabwe

From the findings of this study, majority of the respondents said Satanism had effects on peoples' lives. Those who said Satanism affected Christianity gave a number of reasons to justify their point. One justification given was that Satanism made certain people live double standards, where on one hand they claimed to be Christians and on the other, they practised Satanism. The other reason was that Satanism negatively affected church attendance, as Christians defected from Christianity to Satanism. The belief that Satanism led to mushrooming of unnecessary and false churches with false doctrines was another reason people, while the belief that Satanism attacked Christians spiritually, creating confusions that eventually brought divisions and misunderstandings among them, was another. It was also believed that Satanism affected Christianity through the presence of Satanists right in the *House of the Lord* (church), which was thought to have brought confusions, since their influence was perceived to have interfered with Christian values. People also saw the effects of Satanism through individuals who became more committed Christians in their defence against its *contrary* forces. The other effect cited by respondents was that Satanism had instilled fear in people, which encouraged many to turn to the church for the strengthening of faith in fighting the fear. In this case, Satanism seemed to have become a threat to Christians, shaking their levels of faith. Besides, Satanism was held responsible for the performance of many false miracles, which had become common in the district. "It has become something difficult for Christians to discern the power of God through miracles when they are not certain of the source of the power behind such miracles," said one of the respondents.

The responses above showed that Satanism affected the Christian Church, either through church members defecting to Satanism or through increasing people's commitments to their Christian faith in their defence against the satanic scare.

#### **7.2.7.5 The Effect of Instilling Fear of the Unknown in People**

Among the observations I made in this study was the manner in which people conceived the subject of Satanism with fear. The fear people expressed could be viewed positively or negatively, depending on the context in which one looked at it. For some people, the fear of Satanism kept them away from getting involved in situations which they perceived as indulgences likely to render them vulnerable to becoming Satanists. In this kind of fear, there was also a sense of alertness to vices of satanic nature, which made people develop consciousness about such vices.

Nevertheless, there also seemed to have been other dimensions in which people channelled their fear of Satanism as observed by this study. One example is in the context where some people were prevented from seeing things objectively, in the whole realm of satanic scare operating in so many ways. One kind of fear noticed was the fear of facing up to the existence of pure evil. Here people did not only fear Satanism because it could subject them to mysterious things, but they also feared because to them, being a Satanist amounted to involvement in pure evil one could ever think of. People also feared Satanism because they thought once involved in it, one was viewed as superstitious or crazy by other people. People also detested Satanism for fear of being the object of demonic curse, while for others, Satanism instilled the fear of getting involved with something they could not cope up with.

It was also noticed in the study that among the elites who took part in the interviews, were some who exhibited the fear of the unknown. They feared that recognising or citing the existence of satanic abuse in a particular case they knew could involve them in some criticism, which would ultimately endanger their career. This made it somehow difficult for me to make follow-ups of certain cases in search for evidence on speculations from certain workplaces. It seemed that people shunned revealing evidence in such cases because this could have subjected them to fears for their personal safety and that of their families. They might have well thought that if satanic curses had some powers, then it would be better not to be on the receiving end of them.

Fear, as noticed in this regard, went further to operate in other ways. For example, some people did not give certain information on Satanism for fear of being blamed if something went wrong; fear of anything getting into the press; fear of getting involved with cases which would take up much time and energy; fear of one's health being affected (to a less degree, even the RAs expressed some of the above fears during the data collection process). Indeed, the fear, especially fear of the unknown, was perceived by this study as one factor which most likely could have worked to prevent an objective view of the phenomenon under investigation. Consequently, this made it a huge task on my side, in deciding whether certain cases were Satanic or mere imagination or indeed, inventions of 'unbalanced people'.

For other people within the Kabwe society who could have faced the same problem of judgement, the other reason could be that they thought it would be imprudent to get personally involved in investigating matters of Satanism either because they were busy with other things, or because of the sensitive nature of the phenomenon under investigation. In this case, three things came forth as a result: denying the society an objective conception of the phenomenon of Satanism and secondly, the desperately needy people who were victims of consequences of the satanic scare would not be helped. The third possibility was that more people would continue to become victims of the incredible cruelty arising from the alleged Satanism if the phenomenon was not exposed and studied.

In schools, people, especially students, were afraid of being initiated into Satanism against their will. For instance, some stopped eating food provided by the school authorities for fear it could have been contaminated with Satanism. Some had gone to the extent of burning their cloths, for fear they were satanic. Many parents were worried about their children. One parent said:

With these rumours of Satanism in schools, we have fears as parents. The friends and peers to our children seem to have more influence over them, than we parents. We only hope and pray that our children find true friends at school (Kabwe town resident, interview, April 17, 2012).

Indeed, the nature of such fears needed to be analysed in order to enable people get more informed and determine the credibility of the satanic scares that prevailed.



Another thing I observed was that people's conception of the alleged Satanism seemed to depend much on the communities around them; the more the community was convinced Satanism was there, the more action cases happened. However, the more the community began to look realistically on what happened, the more the fear went away. When the fear diminished, the action cases of Satanism also diminished. It, therefore, followed that everyone involved in the crusade against Satanism should have aimed at reducing fear; fear in churches and societies at large. Why should one be afraid of the Devil if s/he trusts in God and believes that God is always there around him/her?

The fear of the alleged presence of Satanism also affected people's faith negatively, especially among the Christians. This was because they seemed to have put more emphasis on Satanism than the Christian faith. Unfortunately, some pastors used the fear of the Devil as a tool to attract people to their churches. Others were fascinated by testimonies of delivered Satanists, the 'underworld', the oceans, the hidden factories and the current powers that Satan promised to give. Others remained sceptical: 'Are we dealing with objective facts or we are dealing with stories, with dreams, hallucinations or with mental sicknesses? Is there an element of cheating or manipulation ... how can we know?'

In some instances, people blamed the demon for the breakdown of their marriages, for failing examinations, or for failing to excel in business. Demons were commonly blamed when life did not progress. They were also blamed for problems related to health, like High-blood Pressure, for Diabetes, even for HIV/AIDS. Demons were equally blamed for nightmare and dreams.

With so many dangers, many people still looked up to the church for help. In this study, people felt that they needed protection from God to combat the dangers of Satanism, as Pastor Chole said:

There is no reality, really, which is outside the control of God. Even if you call for an experience where you feel satanic fear is in your life, even if you go to an experience where you feel Satan comes to you in nightmares... God is more powerful ... you are never outside the realm of God and when God allows something to happen, it means it has a purpose in your life. Sometimes we think that we just pray things away, or sometimes we think that God is acting on our terms; God is giving us what we really want. But things may not always happen in the line we think. Sometimes we need to have patience even if we go through difficult times in our lives, God knows

where we are. It is very important for us to inspire trust in God, trust in our faith and then we look at God, God's kingdom (Paster Chole, interview, April 11, 2012).

The kind of views like the one given by the pastor above encouraged people to have faith in God as a provider of everything, including protection from the influence of the alleged Satanism or satanic scare. Some people prayed for good life, some for school fees, while others prayed for children and jobs or to be healed. Some asked for God's blessings. However, God sometimes seemed to be slow to answer these prayers and when He did not give them what they wanted, they wondered 'maybe the Prince of this world could help'.

In many churches within Kabwe, many people gave testimonies presenting themselves as former Satanists. Some claimed to have been under the inner world or under the oceans before they came to be delivered from the powers of the Devil. One ex-Satanist Christian testified:

When something goes bad, we always look at it that it comes from the Devil. But sometimes it is just because we are not being patient to see the message that is behind it. And now because we so look at the Devil as though he is the second God, we tend to give the Devil too much power and so much control over our lives (Ex-Satanist, interview, April 16, 2012).

The Ex-Satanist expected Christians to believe that God's reign is supreme and that God has power to bind the power of Satan and to bring deliverance. By following Jesus Christ, she said the power of his cross and resurrection becomes a reality within people's lives. She added:

In our Christian spiritual life, there is prayer of confidence. Then there is also prayer of fear. And because of the issue of Satanism, many Christians' prayer life has become fearful. For example, when I go on a journey, I pray, not because I trust that I am truly a child of God who cares for me, but because I fear if I do not pray, Satan will come and turn around the bus. I eat food, but before eating I pray, not because I trust that God is there all around me, but because I fear if I do not pray, the Satanists will come around 01:00 A.M and find that I have not prayed and then will get me. Now, Jesus never taught us the prayer of fear. Jesus taught us to always pray in confidence (*ibid*).

#### **7.2.7.6 Atrocity Incidents Resulting from Satanic Rumour**

Respondents also cited riots or demonstrations by people as effects, in communities where suspicion and accusations against the alleged presence of Satanism occurred. One of the examples cited was the demonstration by pupils at one of the Basic schools in Livingstone against one teacher who was accused of being a Satanist, thereby causing him to take a forced transfer to a different school. Another example was the Chambishi incident on the Copperbelt where an anti-Satanism riot resulted in the death of people.

#### **7.2.8 THE SEARCH FOR EVIDENCE AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE SATANIC CLAIMS**

Part of the effort in this study was dedicated to the search for evidence and understanding of the satanic claims, in view of certain information that came forth. This was done in order to augment or clarify certain aspects of the information obtained. The search for evidence and understanding, therefore, constituted part of the findings.

In an attempt to seek credibility of the obtaining rumours and claims on the prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe, I adopted the approach suggested by Victor (1996) and used personal interview method where possible, to get information for evidence. In most of the sites visited, I used the 'Insider -research' method and it must be stated that this was quite dangerous, as it was equated to undercover work carried out by police, or the secret service.

Follow-ups were made on those issues that became prominent or which became more frequent among the responses from the interviewees and which in my view, were pertinent to this study. Some of the prominent information that scored high among the responses and which could be used in the search of evidence were: (1) The story concerning an old structure within Kabwe Town Centre, where some equipment and symbols believed to have been used by Satanists in their worship were exposed to the public, (2) Information pointing to the intervention or presence of the Police at most of the reported scenes of Satanic nature, such as places where ritual murders and ritual sexual abuse were reported to have taken place, (3) Some discovered equipment believed to be instruments for satanic rituals said to have been collected and kept by the security wing of the government and (4) The interactions between the clergy and victims of Satanism during deliverance prayers or exorcism.

Because of the nature of the supposed evidence which was hoped to be solicited from the above sources, the following were targeted for interviews: the Police officers, the clergy, ex-Satanists and other ordinary individuals believed to be ‘key’ in clarifying certain information.

The informants cited above were visited for further information through interviews because in my view, they were potential sources of evidence that was much needed by this study to justify rumours and claims on alleged Satanism.

#### **7.2.8.1 Seeking Understanding of People’s Concept of Satanism in Kabwe**

The first attempt in the search for information was undertaken to understand people’s conception of the phenomenon of Satanism. As noted under the findings, eighty-eight per cent (88%) of the respondents admitted that Satanism was a reality in Kabwe. The following information obtained from interviews provides a picture of how people conceived Satanism, its organisation and operations. The interviewee was Bishop Chikoma, one of the residents of Kabwe.

##### **7.2.8.1.1 Organisational Structures under Satanism**

Bishop Chikoma said the kingdom of the ‘underworld’ had a well spelt organ or operational structure, just like any other ordinary/earthly governance system with hierarchical structures like Community government, Local government and the Central government, headed by the Head of State.

##### **7.2.8.1.2 The Governance Structure**

The governance structure of the Kingdom of the ‘underworld’ is believed to have three main sub-structures namely the Supremacy, Disciplinary Committee and the actual Administration of Satanism, as presented below:

###### ***i)* The Supremacy**

The supreme figure in the Kingdom of darkness, who is the Devil, is said to have his own throne. With the power he assumes there at the helm, he claims to be the ruler of the ‘under world’.

ii) **Disciplinary Committee**

Below the Devil's throne is the Disciplinary Committee. This is composed of a body of those angels biblically believed to have followed him after he was chased from heaven. This committee disciplines the offenders in the kingdom of darkness, including those Satanists who break covenants.

iii) **Administration of Satanism**

Thirdly in the hierarchy comes the Administration of Satanism in general. Within Satanism are many other organisational structures operating as a system in achieving the overall objective of the organisation. One of them is the Church organisation.

**Church Organisations:** In Bishop Chikoma's view, this is one example of the sub structures in the administration of Satanism. He said there are so many churches that have mushroomed especially in this current era and it is projected that many more are yet to come. However, he was quick to mention that not all churches that are in existence today are for Jesus. A good number of them have been known to have allegiance with Satanism. Today Satanism is said to have gone into some church denominations, or created its own 'churches' in the disguise of ordinary churches. These churches may not necessarily be organised satanic cults in that strict sense, but usually appear ordinary to other people who may not know that they have links with Satanism. Bishop Chikoma talked of one Church in Lusaka (Zambia's capital), which he said organises other smaller satanic churches. He said within such churches are pastors who hide and pretend to use the name of Jesus, when in actual sense they are not for Jesus. These churches can be identified by their strange doctrines with all sorts of beliefs contrary to those of the conventional /main religions in Zambia. The bishop admitted the presence of a number of such churches in Kabwe too (though he did not mention their names for fear of being misquoted).

7.2.8.1.3 **Operational Ministries under Satanism**

According to Bishop Chikoma , Satanism operates under the following fourfold ministries of darkness:

**Sacrificial Covenant Ministry:** Bishop Chikoma said this was perhaps a common ministry in Satanism and a number of people are involved in it. He said it was under this ministry where,

for instance, one is told to sacrifice members of his own family at a fixed interval of time, such as yearly. Under the same ministry, there is also the use of mirrors called Sacrificial Mirrors. These mirrors are used in locating and observing victims. Basically, this type of covenant involves Satanists killing their own family members and not any other person.

**Blood Shedding Ministry:** The covenant under this ministry involves those Satanists who choose to shed innocent blood. Bishop Chikoma said most of the phenomenon of Satanism falls under this ministry. He said there were those Satanists on small-scale businesses and those involved in transport industry that ascend to riches through sacrificing innocent blood. One way they do this is by going to roadsides and make traps to cause accidents, killing people in mass numbers. In Bishop Chikoma's view, blood shedding is a command; blood must be sacrificed and these sacrifices are done at fixed time intervals, such as yearly or every six months. He said that in Kabwe, Satanists perform blood sacrifice mostly between 1<sup>st</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> October every year, a period referred to as Satanists' Major Season. The Bishop also said there is what is referred to as Blood Mass Season, which is the period from 24<sup>th</sup> to 26<sup>th</sup> December of each year. During this period, people are sacrificed in large numbers through accidents. A third major season is what the bishop called the 'Horror Season', which spans from 1<sup>st</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> January of each year. He described this time as the most dreadful of all satanic seasons. This season is mainly characterised by incidents involving ritual murders, where many people are found dead with vital organs on the dead bodies, such as the heart, lungs and the genitals removed. Another special time observed by Satanists is the Friday of every month, beginning from April and ending in August. This is the initiation period for Satanist, when many people are recruited into the 'underworld'.

**Blood Heart Covenant Ministry:** The Bishop described this covenant as one where Satanists use or employ other people to shed blood of innocent people on their behalf. People employed to carry out this task are usually paid money or promised anything valuable in return for the services rendered. Satanists under this covenant are neither allowed to shed blood nor touch it. In most cases, those Satanists bound by this covenant are also vegetarians and are usually economically rich people coming from affluent areas of society. The category also includes Satanist in senior government positions and civil servants who, by virtue of what they are, simply make orders to kill people for them. Since they are rich, they afford to pay for the hired services.

**Anti-Marriage Ministry:** This ministry involves blocking people from getting married. There are three anti-marriage spirits involved in this undertaking and a Satanist joining this ministry has to identify himself or herself with at least one of them. The three spirits are called Bella, Cinderella and Darling.

*Bella* is the queen of the past and operates among women through their hair, which they regard as an essential element of their beauty. The bishop added that this was the reason why those women who were cautious of the presence of Satanism in Kabwe prayed first before wearing the artificial hair with the brand labelled 'Bella' which they bought from hair salons.

*Cinderella* is the second wife of the Devil, also called the Queen of the Oceans. Just like Bella, she is also rumoured to be involved in women's hair business. In short, the two spirits use the artificial hair branded with the famous 'Bella' label as bait for recruiting the women folk into Satanism. Some of the Bella hair bought are therefore believed to be Satanists products and once a woman buys one of them and applies it without praying ( in the bishop's view), she automatically and unconsciously gets initiated into Satanism.

*Darling* is considered the Queen of the Heavens in the 'underworld'.

All these spirits are against marriages and work to destroy marriage bonds among married couples. They have specialities in this regard, for instance, Bella is the one in charge of breaking marriages mostly through divorces and Cinderella is in charge of facilitating abortions, while Darling causes women to be barren.

There are also three other lesser spirits working in conjunction with the three spiritual queens above, namely Makabaso, Marrian and Maligan. Makabaso spirit is an agent of Bella, while Marian Spirit works under Cinderella and Maligan Spirit is controlled by Darling. The bishop narrated that there were a number of married women in Kabwe who were possessed by these spirits, causing them to abort mysteriously, have miscarriages or become barren. When these misfortunes perpetuated among the victims, divorce would then follow as a result and finally the Devil fulfilled his mission.

#### 7.2.8.1.4 Satanic Industries

In an interview, Bishop Chikoma narrated his personal encounter with a certain Nigerian pastor in his (Chikoma's) ministry. Before he became a pastor, the Nigerian pastor had served in Satanism for fifteen years under Industries Ministry. The information provided by the Bishop on Satanic industries and satanic products here is, therefore, drawn from experiences of the Nigerian pastor when he was still serving under Satanism.

According to Bishop Chikoma, Satanism, which is also called the Kingdom of the 'underworld', is believed to have industries too, under the umbrella organ called NISCO.

**NISCO:** It is believed that the kingdom of darkness has an established organ to which all of its companies affiliate and this organ is called NISCO. The acronym 'NISCO' stands for 'National Industries for Satanic Companies'. NISCO is said to be an international organisation, with its headquarters based in the United States of America. It has branches all over the world. Bishop Chikoma said there were a number of companies known to belong to NISCO in Zambia and Kabwe in particular. These companies could be identified by their logos. The power of darkness was believed to work in such a way that, for instance, a student would buy a book manufactured by a NISCO affiliate company and upon reading it, his/ her mind would divert and start thinking of some other things in the line of Satanism. The pens and pencils from such companies were also believed to have an effect of making students write things contrary to what they intended to.

The Bishop said it would be something shocking to realise that among the industries operating in Kabwe, a good number of them belonged to the 'underworld', therefore affiliate to NISCO. How then would someone distinguish a Satanist industry from the ordinary one? The Satanists industries, according to the Bishop, would easily be identified by the Trade Mark, which is also referred to as the Mark of Conformity by Satanists. A Trade Mark is in other words a Computer Mark. Every product from each 'underworld' industry has the conformity of the producing company and no other companies from the ordinary world can use these trade mark numbers, lest such companies attract a curse.

The Bishop explained one way of identifying Satanists products. He said today every original branded or pre-packed products sold on the market bears a 13-digit number. If one is to sort



out products from the ‘underworld’, all he/she needs to do is to analyse the thirteen digits on the Computer Number (trade mark) borne on the product. If the first digit on the mark is **6** and another **6** follows after three digits, which is again followed by the last **6** after the count of five digits, such as in the mark 61236123456 , then the product bearing this mark, according to Bishop Chikoma , belongs to the ‘underworld’ industry.

Products from the ‘underworld’ were believed to have spirits in them, such that once one consumed one of them, the spirit in the product would automatically get into that individual. If one took a ‘Fanta’ soft drink produced from the ‘underworld’, for instance, such a person’s thinking capacity would be affected, to an extent of either having memory lapses, or losing the entire memory. The Satanists’ products were also considered effective in the recruitment of people into Satanism, because of the influence of the possessive spirits they emitted, which had potential of incarcerating the human mind. It is this same effect, in the Bishop’s view, which also made the consumption of Satanists products an effective luring method used by Satanists in Kabwe to trap people from Christianity in an attempt to draw them to the Devil. He said one way this happened was where a Satanist would, for instance, offer a Christian friend a soft drink which would make him or her dose off during the church service. He added that such experiences would be used in explaining why people possessed with demons would not notice how and when demons entered them and would only discover at the point of manifesting. This could also provide an explanation for the forces at work behind people who are believed to have joined Satanism unconsciously.

The industries operating in the ‘underworld’ were believed to be in classes and the following were cited as some of them:

**i) Cream Making Industries**

People buy various lotions from market places on daily basis. But not all products bought are considered safe. There is a belief that certain products bought from common markets and shops come from the ‘underworld’. Commenting on Satanists products during interviews, Bishop Chikoma had this to say:

... those ladies especially in Kabwe Urban who use lotions with strong chemicals to bleach their skin should be warned to take caution and trace the sources some of such products come from. This is because

some of our ladies have been possessed with the Satanic demons of prostitutions through lotions (Chikoma , interview, February 8, 2012).

He cited some names of lotions and hair creams common on the Kabwe market which he said were products of the ‘underworld’ (names of lotions were kept anonymous by this study). He said among the ingredients in those lotion were fats extracted from dead babies. Most of such lotions and creams were imported from some overseas companies. The Bishop added that there were some industries abroad which were licensed to buy still-babies, which they would grind and extract from them the fats and other staff they needed for their products. Finally, lotions and creams would be processed and they would export some to developing nations like Zambia. He said some Asian businessmen in Kabwe were known to be in the business of promoting this kind of business as agents.

Bishop Chikoma added that the lotions from the ‘underworld’ were therefore considered as spirits on their own (probably haunted with spirits of the dead babies) such that when one applied them on the body, it was as good as applying spirits to her soul. Eventually people would notice a victim start changing in character slowly, behaving in an inhuman way.

The bishop warned that one thing people should not forget is that Satanists are initiators and that among Satanists are people one would least expect to be in links with the ‘underworld’ These include such people as teachers, lecturers, nurses and doctors. They disguise themselves in performing the civil services, but deep in their hearts they have a strong dedication to seize every opportunity at their work places to work for the Devil.

Very similar to the insights in Bishop Chikoma’s warning and observations were the contributions from another interviewee who gave her observations on Satanism in the civil service. She said in taking advantage of an innocent and helpless client for instance, a teacher who is a Satanist may give a pen to his/her favourite pupil and that pupil will consider it a rare pleasure to receive a pen from his/her teacher, not knowing that it is from the ‘underworld’. It is believed that there are computers in the ‘underworld’ which immediately reflect the image of one in possession of Satanists products (such as a pen in this case) and then a certain spirit will start following that person. In this way, a pupil will automatically get initiated and become a new client in Satanism (Shelly, interview, April 21, 2012).

In hospitals, there is also a strong belief that links doctors and nurses to Satanism. It is normal for people to die in hospitals, but there are also times when health personnel are held accountable for what is considered 'unclear death', arising from unacceptable nature or circumstances in which certain patients die. In such cases, suspicion abound, that doctors and nurses are responsible for such deaths. It is alleged that the Satanists serving in hospitals as doctors or nurses sacrifice patients under Sacrificial Covenants. Similarly, there is another belief that behind those patients with problems of anaemia or blood loss are some Satanists draining blood from their bodies, which they (Satanists) in turn sacrifice to their Grand Masters in the 'underworld'.

#### **7.2.8.2 SEARCHING FOR EVIDENCE ON RUMOURS REGARDING INEXPLICABLE PROSPERITY: PEOPLE FINDING BUSINESS IN SATANISM**

On several occasions, local News Paper columns have been carrying cases of gruesome ritual murders. One example of such cases is contained in the *Zambia Daily Mail* of July 15, 2012, about the gruesome killing of a 19-year-old Ruth Mbandu in Emmasdale residential area of Lusaka. Ruth's naked body was discovered in the early hours of Saturday, July 14, 2012 with eyes gouged out and other body parts removed. The *Times of Zambia* of December 21, 2012 also carries a case similar to the one above, in which a taxi driver was murdered horrifically in a suspected ritual killing and in which the assailants gouged out an eye, tongue and throat before dumping the body in Roma Township of Lusaka.

Some of the reported cases involve victims' bodies being mutilated and marked with symbols believed to be of Satanists' black magic. According to the Commissioner of Police, cases of ritual murders seem to have taken a new direction in recent years, with most of the discovered dead bodies of victims missing vital parts. The Commissioner of Police said Satanism seemed to be a big business in Zambia, with Satanists having gone to the extent of employing agents to hunt human body parts, especially in the rural areas (The Commissioner of Police in Kabwe, interview, April 9, 2012).

##### **7.2.8.2.1 The Case of a Woman from Mumbwa**

To the question that required respondents to cite examples of incidents that people perceived to be satanic, the case of a woman from Mumbwa appeared fifty-nine times on different

questionnaires, which prompted the need to include it among the cases that were followed up for evidence. One respondent from Chief Chaamuka's Kafulamase area within Kabwe district summarised the story as follows:

We had an incident involving a woman from our area, who had gone to live with her husband in Mumbwa. She had come to visit her relatives here in Kabwe and one day while in Kabwe, she felt unwell and requested to be escorted to the hospital for medication (Kafulamase resident, interview, March 29, 2012).

According to this story, a pregnant woman who was being escorted by relatives to Kabwe Central Hospital for treatment got involved in the tragedy organised by men perceived to be agents of Satanists. These men had strategically parked their small car at the 'car rank' by the roadside, pretending it was for hire. When the woman (victim) and her relatives approached the driver of the car to request for transport, they were told there was only a space for one person in the car, preferably the patient, who needed urgent medical attention. The woman, therefore, went ahead in the car leaving the two relatives behind to chance for other means of transport. The two relatives managed to reach the hospital in town later the same day, but much to their surprise, they could not locate their patient at the hospital. They tried to describe the type of the car that carried their relative, but no one in town seemed to know the kind of vehicle matching their description.

Two days later, the dead body of the expectant mother was found disposed by the roadside between Kafulamase area and Kabwe town, with the face peeled off and eyes plucked out. Other body parts found missing were the genitals and the breasts.

Through the concerted efforts of local people working with the police, the culprits were caught and arrested. When subjected to intensive torture by the police, the culprits confessed and pleaded for forgiveness saying they simply worked as agents under directives from a certain Indian businessman. They revealed that the Indian businessman resided in Lusaka and that he had just opened a retail shop in Kabwe town. The culprits further confessed that they were in big business with the Indian for a long period and that he ( the Indian) paid them handsomely for every successful operation. They also disclosed that the Indian belonged to a secret religious society whose details they could not give, saying they had no idea. Asked why they had entered into this kind of business arrangement with an Indian, they said it was all for the reason of getting rich.

#### 7.2.8. 2.2 **The Chibombo Case**

The *Post News* paper of February 28, 2012 reported a case similar to the one above in Chibombo area, some sixty kilometres away from Kabwe town. The victim in Chibombo case was a teenager girl aged 13, who was murdered by a youth aged 33. Both the victim and the culprit came from the same village.

The paper reported that on the material day, the parents of the girl had gone to attend a funeral somewhere within the neighbourhood, leaving the girl and her two siblings at home. The killer who seemed to have already had ill intentions on the girl seized this opportunity and took advantage of her helplessness. He had all the time during the day to organise himself and waited for the night to fall. At what he had considered a right time, he went and entered the house where the girl and her two siblings were sleeping, strangled her to death and dragged her out to some tall grass a few metres away from the house. To his misfortune, the little brother of the victim was awake and had recognised him when he (culprit) entered the house. The groaning sound made by the victim as she was struggling for her life was also enough to awaken people from the closest house at the next village. The two children from the fateful house immediately went to the house of the neighbour to alert elders about the incident and the person behind it. People rushed to the spot, but unfortunately found the girl dead by the time they arrived. The dead body of the poor girl was found with a deep cut around the genital area and the heart removed. The culprit was on the run.

The hunt for the culprit began immediately, taking the whole night. By the time the police arrived at the scene the following morning, they found that men in the village had already caught the culprit, whom they simply handed over to the police in his blood-tinted clothes. Investigations during trials that followed revealed that the culprit was given a colossal sum of money and promised some more by some individuals from Lusaka, to hunt for vital human body parts on their behalf. The culprit further disclosed that the people who sent him to commit murder belonged to some secret organisation.

Two explanations generally came from respondents (on both the questionnaire and interviews) concerning the use or demand for vital human body parts by Satanists. The first and more pervasive one is that human flesh is used for special sacrifices during satanic rituals. The second one consists of an explanation that the human flesh is used as a bait to

trap special species of fish from big oceans. Such class of fish normally swallow small stones containing gold underneath the ocean and once trapped, people (Satanists) extract and sell off the gold from fish. This kind of business is believed to have made many people rich.

### **7.2.8.3 SEARCHING FOR EVIDENCE ON RUMOURS REGARDING DEATHS OR DISAPPEARANCES**

The claims about people disappearing and ritual murders in Kabwe, just like elsewhere in Zambia, have raised concern of some prominent Anti-Crime advocates, such as the police, though some people have expressed dissatisfaction on the performance of such activists, accusing them of being involved in corruption and that they compromise their findings after receiving bribes from perpetrators.

#### **7.2.8.3.1 Cases of Missing People**

The general term ‘missing people’ seems to have emerged as a common social concern in Kabwe, as people are time and again exposed to information about people whose whereabouts are unknown to relatives. Most of these reminders are aired by the local radio station called Radio Maranatha. Unfortunately, the term ‘missing people’ can be misleading in the sense that it covers a rather broad range of different situations. The rubric includes: abduction by family members, as a common tendency for children in divorce cases; people who have gone missing through accidents; people who have been thrown out of their homes or abandoned by their relatives; as well as children who have fallen victims of abduction by strangers.

Whilst referring to the broad term ‘missing people’ during investigations and /or information gathering, care was taken not to evoke the stereotype of kidnapping of people ( especially children) by strangers or through internal motives, for not all cases of kidnapping would be linked to Satanism. It must be stated, though, that the reliable information on situations of various kinds of ‘missing people’ was not easy to obtain, in the absence of reliable database on people going missing in the district. Through the following up of some cases in this study, however, it was noted that there was a burst of concern that followed the series of incidents of people going missing by the time of the study.

The study relied on two sources of information on the missing people; the police records from two local police posts to be precise. From the two sources, cases whose informants would easily be traced and were available for interviews were selected. Besides, these were cases that seemed to have a high possibility of being linked to Satanism. Choosing to analyse only the Satanic-linked cases, however, did not totally imply disregarding those other cases without perceived satanic motives behind and consider them invalid. This is because there were still claims from other sources, of cases that involved runaway teenagers, for instance, who were murdered and later their remains found with certain body parts missing. The common and strong belief that Satanism thrives on certain vital organs of the human body led some people to suspect that such runaway children fell into the trap of Satanism.

From the identified sources of information, this study was able to pick cases for further analysis, in an attempt to seek evidence and understanding. What follows, therefore, are samples of such cases that could be used in justifying the claims of the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe:

#### **7.2.8.3.1.1 The Case of Niwi**

On March 14, 2010, a case involving disappearance was reported at Lukanga Police Post in Kabwe. A fourteen-year old girl by the name of Niwi was reported missing from home, within Kabwe town. Niwi was last spotted at school after classes by her schoolmates on Thursday March 11, 2010, which meant that a.maathe girl, had been missing for two days at the time the case was reported. Family members looked for her in all possible places within town, but all was in vain. On Saturday, March 14, 2010 in the morning, the family members gave up their frantic search after being convinced that the girl had gone missing. They were on the verge of reporting the case to the police and the local radio station for any possible assistance in the search, when news came from Lukanga Police Station calling upon the public to identify a lost-but-found teenager girl in their custody. I was privileged to be part of the team that was found at Lukanga Police Post following up Niwi's case that day.

The case reached the police through one businessman, whose anonymity was held. According to this man (who was also approached for interviews), the girl was found in the early hours of Friday (about 5 A.M) on March 13, 2010, standing behind his shop. She was found wearing school uniform and holding a school bag in her hands. He narrated that the girl at first looked

not to be herself, as though she just dropped from another world. She could not talk or respond to questions, such that it was difficult for him at first to get any information from her. At this stage, the only option that came to his mind was to take the girl to the nearest police station. As he was arranging for this, the girl eventually spoke to him, pleading that she did not want to be taken to the police station because this would ultimately lead to her being discovered by her family members. Finally, he decided to take the girl to his home where some interrogation with her continued, now that she had opened up. At all costs, the girl insisted on avoiding getting back to her home, a reason which partly explained her protest to be taken to the police. She explained to the man that she would appreciate any assistance in seeking residence elsewhere other than her home, saying that she would rather commit suicide than going back home. The following morning (on March 14, 2010), however, the businessman decided to go against the girls protest and went ahead in taking her to the police station, where he also reported the whole incident.

While at the police station and now in the presence of a few family members, the girl was further interrogated before the police finally handed her over to her family. She was asked where she had gone before she was spotted at the shop; how she spent her two days out; how she moved all the way up to the shop and by what means, among other questions. The girl never gave any other response to these questions, than saying 'I cannot remember anything.'

Through investigations by the police and family members, it happened that Niwi's two-day disappearance from home uncovered salient issues pertaining to her life that went unnoticed for at least some time. These issues became of interest to members of her extended family, just as they would be of interest to anyone with curiosity to know.

On the part of Niwi's family, it was not until this revelation that other family members (other than those who were keeping her) were afforded chance to know what was seemingly Niwi's secret life. Niwi was not kept by her real parents in Kabwe. An aunt, her father's elder sister, kept her. This was because Niwi's father did not have a formal job to earn a living and so he led his life as a peasant farmer in one of the rural areas in the Southern Province of Zambia. His elder sister (Niwi's aunt) was fortunate enough to acquire good education and employment that later made her a breadwinner in the family of seven. She therefore got Niwi



from her parents at a tender age, promising that she would take care of everything about her and that included her education. That is how Niwi ended up being in Kabwe.

According to Niwi's aunt, Niwi began exhibiting some strange behaviour when she was doing her fourth grade, at the age of eight. She started by getting into trance-like state of consciousness, similar to experiences of those possessed by demons. During such moments, she could neither talk nor do any house chores. Eventually this kind of behaviour became periodical. When it became too much for her aunt to contain, she (aunt) decided to seek some spiritual intervention in the form of prayer, because she was convinced the girl could have been attacked by 'evil spirits'.

Such developments sounded interesting to members of the extended family because, the aunt to Niwi continued to struggle with Niwi's problem to the extent she sought external intervention from churches without informing Niwi's parents or any other members of the extended family. Information had it that Niwi's aunt was a baptised member of the Seventh-day Adventist church, but because of the many Protestant Churches in Kabwe that proclaimed spiritual healing in occult related problems, she decided to take the girl to one of the newly founded church in the area, which had recently become famous in handling similar problems.

When Niwi's aunt was asked to comment on the girl's two-day disappearance, she said probably the only unusual aspect of it was the length of Niwi's absence from home that time around and that the rest of the developments were not strange to her. She recalled some moments when the girl could mysteriously lose her way home and ending up getting to residences of strangers. She further narrated an incident that happened one day at church while the girl was being prayed for. That day after a full-day prayer session, she said Niwi went into some kind of altered state of consciousness. Under the control of a spirit, Niwi confessed and revealed that she was the Queen of the Ocean, residing deep under the water and that she had seven children under that world. The spirit in Niwi said it could not at that stage let her be taken to any place away from Kabwe especially on the pretext of healing, threatening that it would cause her either jump out of whatever means of transport that would be used and die, or cause fatal road accident to that means of transport. The spirit further said Niwi was on a net-work with several other Satanists in Kabwe, including those that initiated her in the 'underworld'. Apart from Kabwe, some towns in Zambia cited on the network

included Mufurila, Livingstone, Lusaka and Nakonde. Besides, the manifesting spirit in Niwi said the local network of Satanists was linked to the international spirit worlds.

The aunt of Niwi added that Niwi's life from the time she fell victim of spiritual attack at the age of eight, up to the incident of March 14, 2010, was characterised by periodic attacks from spirits. She had marked the period around mid month of March (especially the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> days of the Month) every year as crucial periods in the life of Niwi, when she (Niwi) manifested strange spiritual behaviour. She therefore related the incident of March 14, 2010 to her observation. Niwi's aunt had now arranged to take Niwi for prayers at intervals to one of the spiritualists' churches she had identified. According to her, the kind of life the girl now led was that of prayers all the time. If there was any relaxation in the girl attending prayer sessions at the identified church, the spirits from the 'underworld' would quickly bounce back on the girl. Part of her aunt's justification for what had happened on March 14, 2010, therefore, was that there was a lapse in the girl's commitment to prayer life.

As a consequence of some misunderstanding that arose from the March 14, 2010 incident, which included the mistake by Niwi's aunt of keeping her relatives ignorant about the problem affecting Niwi, Niwi was taken away from her aunt, by another family member within town. That also meant transferring her to a new school. While at her new residence, Niwi was taken to the Seventh-day Adventist pastors for some spiritual counselling and prayers. Since then, Niwi had never shown any strange manifestations as those made at her former residence. She was now leading a life just like that of a normal girl who was dedicated to schoolwork and home chore.

Certain aspects revealed in Niwi's case may raise curiosity in anyone concerned with what had transpired. For instance, while appreciating the fact that the girl might have been under the influence of Satanism, probably after hearing the confessions she made during prayers, the cause of the spiritual attack on the girl would be one thing deserving adequate investigation. It would not be enough to rely on the girl's responses such as: 'I was initiated by Satanists within Kabwe', as the case is here. During the search for evidence and understanding, this study was highly expectant of information leading to the cause, which did not come forth. Besides, in the same district where a good deal of rumours have been heard concerning businessmen involving Satanism in running their business, the case of Niwi makes one question the innocence of the businessman who appeared in this story to be a

‘good Samaritan’ by picking Niwi behind his shop. There remains a possibility that the businessman could be responsible for what happened to Niwi.

Secondly, there seems to have been strange things about the church to which Niwi was taken for prayers. Niwi’s uncle, who willingly availed himself for more information on the matter, narrated his observations to me, about what happened a day they went to seek permission for the girl to discontinue the prayer sessions because of her change of residences. Niwi’s uncle disclosed that one unusual thing about the church concerned the manner in which it was organised or run. He said the church appeared to be one of the unpopular churches in Kabwe, and was only identified as one of the branches of the Pentecostal churches, that operated under a home-based doctrine. He narrated further that the church fitted well in the description of a ‘Spirituality Church’. The leader was a woman; a widow who had come to settle in Kabwe town after the death of her husband in Luapula, one of the provinces of Zambia. She had two assistants to help her in various positions: her young brother and another man who was once her garden-boy. The woman claimed to be a soothsayer and an exorcist at the same time, and that is why Niwi’s aunt decided to take Niwi’s problem to this church. The leader of this church had also foretold many things that she said would happen in future in Niwi’s entire family.

In the interview, Niwi’s uncle ended up with a caution that ‘People should be careful about which church to go for spiritual help, because of an increasing presence of Spirituality Churches in the district purporting to offer help’ ( Niwi’s uncle, interview, March 24, 2012).

#### **7.2.8.3.1.2 Mysterious Disappearance of a Baby at a Shop in Town**

There is one renowned and prominent businessman in Kabwe, whom, if all businessmen in the town were to be ranked according to their success, he would be among the first ten on the list. According to interviews with one Kabwe town resident, this ‘prominent’ businessman was among the bourgeoisies of the 1990s in Kabwe. His success in life was, however, shrouded with mystery. History has it that sometime between late 1990s and early 2000s, a mysterious incident occurred at one of his business premises, a shop to be precise. On this material day, perhaps something could not have been done well in his secret rituals, hence exposing his secret world and at the same time affording people a rare chance to confirm the rumours and allegations surrounding him. It was one of the afternoons as normal business

was going on in his shop, that a woman entered the shop through the usual entrance, with a baby of about three years old on her back. Everything appeared normal to this poor lady as she least expected any unusual thing to happen in broad day-light (around 15:00 P.M). Whilst in the shop, the lady did not notice or feel the black magic at work between herself and the baby, but only realised that the baby was not on her back while she walked on the corridors of the shop. Something had happened; the baby was mysteriously taken from her back by the Satanists, leaving only the piece of cloth she had used to hold the baby on her back. The loud cry from the woman drew attention of people in town. The businessman tried to use force at first to drive the woman away from the shop premises, saying she was insane, as he denied that she had entered his shop with a baby. However, he failed to compromise with the gathered mob of people who sympathised with the woman and pressurised him to reverse his spells to bring back the baby. The angry mob had threatened to lock the businessman inside his shop and set the shop ablaze in order to burn him alive. According to the interview, it was at this point that, from nowhere, people just saw the baby on the corridor of the businessman's shop crawling in the direction of her mother. This surprised the on lookers (Kabwe town resident, interview, August 7, 2012).

#### **7.2.8.4 SEARCHING FOR EVIDENCE ON RUMOURS REGARDING STRANGE INCIDENTS**

##### **7.2.8.4.1 The Town-Centre Old Structure**

In searching for evidence to verify rumours concerning the Town-centre structure, three separate interviews were carried out; one involving a police officer, while the other two interviews involved individuals especially identified by the study as key informants. All the people targeted for interviews said they had witnessed what transpired at the site, a day when several alleged satanic materials got exposed to the public.

##### **7.2.8.4.1.1 Acquisition of the Town-Centre Structure by the SDAs**

The Town-Centre SDA Church acquired the old structure in Kabwe town-centre in 2005. Before this time, the Church that only existed as a 'branch' since its inception in 1993 used rented rooms at then Kabwe Adventist Health Institute, a site that is today used as an Adventist School. Somewhere between 2003 and 2004, it was realised that as a result of the ever-increasing number of new members coming to join the branch, the borrowed room at the site was not big enough to accommodate all the people in attendance, especially during the

Sabbath services. Some of the Sabbath services could only be held outside the building, a situation which was not conducive especially during the rainy season. Elder Mwabi, one of the SDA serving Church Elders at the time, and who was approached for interviews, gave the following narration:

... so the room for church services was so inadequate at the former Health Institute, so that some of the services could only be held outside the small Church building... and so it became apparent that we should look for a new place and that is how a small group selected to spearhead the search for a new site was constituted (Mwabi, interview, March 28, 2012).

Elder Mwabi further narrated that the decision and the move to buy the building were started some time in 2004, when there was a Church Crusade within Kabwe Town Centre. One of the pastors from within the Seventh-day Adventist church called upon the Church Elder (who in this case happened to be the interviewee) and indicated to him that there was a building on sale within town. 'Where is that building?' the Church Elder asked. The pastor pointed at the abandoned Town Centre Structure, which made the Church Elder shudder, in a way that made it clear to the pastor that the Church Elder was shocked at the choice. 'But pastor, we are looking for a building, decent enough to call it the house of the Lord... but not that old structure!' the Church Elder responded hesitantly. 'Do not worry, we will take possession of it in the mighty name of Jesus', the pastor assured the Church elder.

According to Elder Mwabi, the owners of the premises who were suspected to be Satanists abandoned the building in question some time in 1998. Because of the suspicion that they were satanists, people had stoned the building, causing some considerable destruction at the site and that is how the owners of the structure and those who were noted to be linked to it relocated to some other towns, some within the country, while others went abroad. Because of insecurity that arose from the angry mob within town who threatened to kill them, the owners of the structure just abandoned it, leaving some equipment inside.

So, as the decision to purchase the structure materialised, the pastor suggested the need to go and see a certain Indian man, who was left to take care of the structure. The Indian led the small team of the SDA officials who were mandated to carry out this task. Upon reaching the site, the team found the structure in a state as if it was just abandoned in the midst of a certain

ritual service. Though the place looked dirty and dusty due to the passage of time, it appeared as if everything was set for the service. In Elder Mwabi's own words:

... and objects were still there, we could also see for instance where there is the pulpit now, that it was the high table for His Worship - the Grand Master. At the far end corner, were seats for other ordinary people. In the centre, the floor was tiled in black and white, in a rectangular-like manner... and I am told that is where people [new members] were being initiated. Since I had heard a bit about some kind of worshipping that took place at the site, I could easily tell that there was a service going on at the time of the disruption (*ibid*).

The team was told that among those who were left to take custody of the structure was a secretary, a doctor who resided in Lusaka at the time, where he was also running a certain firm. The Indian gave the team the telephone number of the secretary so that they could contact him. When they tried to contact the secretary at first, they were told he was out of the country and that he would ring them upon arrival. Finally, after few days, the secretary was back into the country, but instead of him ringing the SDA officials, the telephone call came from their Lawyer in Luanshya town.

From the above account, one can make at least two inferences: first one being that the organisers of the religious organisation that met to worship at the site in question were not in Kabwe at the time of the sale of the building. According to information obtained from interviews, the owners had left because of the insecurity on their lives that followed the exposure of their secret activities. Secondly, such a group of people seemed to have had a well-organised structure in their operations. This was evident in the manner they run their affairs; like in this case they had their own lawyers and secretaries.

In short, it was the lawyer from Luanshya who gave the price for the building to the SDA Church. He sold it at Ten Thousand United States Dollar (K 30 Million Zambian Kwacha equivalent), non-negotiable. He also facilitated the transactions of the premises.

Since the local SDA Church in Kabwe did not have enough money to buy the building, they referred the whole matter to the higher authorities at the Conference in Lusaka, the Church's National Headquarters. A team was constituted which included twelve (12) members; pastors and Administrative Elders in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Before the team left for Lusaka, a preliminary meeting was held to brainstorm on the issue. It was decided during the

meeting that while in Lusaka, the delegation would express the intention and seek permission to purchase an alternative structure, as is procedure in the SDA Church. Should permission be granted, part of the objective for seeking audience with superiors at the Headquarters was to solicit for financial assistance.

Officials at the Conference tabled the issue and after examining the request, justified the need for the group to opt for an alternative place for worshipping. The Church Elders from Kabwe were then asked how much initial amount they could afford before the Conference would come in to help, and they responded that they only had Three Million Zambian Kwacha (K3,000,000). According to the interviewee, the seemingly high price of the building was another reason why people in the town were not expressing interest to buy it at the very moment it was announced to be on sale, apart from rumours that the building was once a Satanists' den. Thirty Million Kwacha was probably too much for the dilapidated structure of the kind.

After the SDA Church purchased the building, took possession of it and were now using it, there was a lot of talk among Kabwe residents about what had happened. Both the believers of the Seventh-day Adventists Church and ordinary people who got concerned about the church's move to take over the ownership of the building talked about it. Another interviewee had this to say:

...when we got the building, there was a lot of finger pointing, both within and outside the church. Some people got surprised that we could go to that building, while others thought we were restarting the whole business [the secretive worship] that was done by the previous owners...I remember one old man who was also an Adventist telling me one day that we were being followed by people, including the Security Wing (Kabwe Central SDA Church member, interview, March 28,2012).

The interviewee added that they (SDA members) on few occasions received visitors secretly, who said they had seen the SDA Church's interest in the kind of worship that was going on at the centre and asked whether they (SDAs) were also interested in taking back some of the items that were taken from the building at the time of the disruption. These secret visitors told the SDA members that they knew a few individuals within the town of Kabwe who kept such items and that they would be of help in bringing them back to the building. The new owners

of the building (SDAs) were secretly visited because they were mistaken to have taken over the activities that once went on at the centre.

#### 7.2.8.4.1.2 **An Interview with the Central Province Commissioner of Police**

In a search for evidence, the Central Province Commissioner of Police was approached for interviews on April 9, 2012. When asked to comment on the prevalence of occultism in Kabwe, the Commissioner of Police hinted on one of the issues that came prominently from most of the respondents in this study, and that was the issue concerning the old structure within town centre. In confirming the contents of rumours collected by this study on this aspect, the Commissioner of Police opened up with the following words:

... in fact, there are practical examples here in Kabwe concerning suspected occultism and it must be to your interest to learn that you are coincidentally talking to someone [*meaning himself*] who was once in the organisation of the visit by police at one of the suspected site. I am sure you have seen that church building for the Seventh- day Adventists in the town centre ...it was formerly owned by people suspected to be Satanists.... and part of it was used as a temple for their rituals and worship...( Central Province Commissioner of Police, interview, April 9, 2012).

The Commissioner of Police narrated the whole incident leading to the exposure of the clandestine activities that, to people, seemed to have been going on for decades unnoticed at the old town-centre building (which is now the temple for the Seventh-day Adventists).The incident began slightly before the sale of the structure to the SDAs and only materialised after the legalisation of the transaction:

...now as the decision was made to sell that building to the Seventh-day Adventists, there was already some hopelessness among members of that secret society ...it so happened that some hidden things were exposed at the site some time back, after a tip-off to the police and the general public on a few individuals who were involved in the secret organisation. This brought about fear and insecurity among its members because some were pursued and viciously murdered, resulting in some of them secretly fleeing the district

Another interview with one senior resident of Kabwe Urban, who was also a staunch member of the SDA Church at the time of the incident, disclosed that the despondency among members of the organisation could have started building up well before the sale of the structure to the SDA Church and that even their decision to sell their building was partially as



a result of that despondency. According to this respondent, a time came in the mid 1990s when the general public in Kabwe, especially the town dwellers, began to speculate about some hidden activities that went on at the site. Eventually the growing suspicion found its expression in rumours and once the rumours augmented, the situation became unbearable on the side of the members of the supposed secret organisation, for they were either pejoratively treated socially or secretly pursued. This led to some key members of the organisation fleeing the district to other places either within or outside the country.

Satanism in Kabwe is a feared phenomenon, unlike in other countries such as those in the West where it has been legalised. Any news of its presence threatens the social security of people and as such, invites the intervention of the Security Wing of the government. This is why when asked how exactly the revelations of the clandestine activities that went on at the town centre structure was made to the public, the interviewee echoed a similar response to the one cited by many respondents, that the Security Wing (The Police) could have been tipped, which could have resulted in putting the secret organisation in question on surveillance.

Another interview with one SDA Church Elder who was involved in decision and negotiations to buy the structure confirmed that the real owners of the building were no longer in Kabwe at the time the SDA Church bought the building.

#### **7.2.8.4.1.3 Police Involvement in the Case**

The Police Commission said the plan to involve the police in a visit to the newly bought structure by the SDA was because of a discussion held at the church's Headquarters in Lusaka, in a meeting that consisted the SDA members and police staff, where the Police Commissioner was also invited. The real purpose for the presence of police at Lusaka Central Seventh-day Adventist Church Headquarters clearly unfolded during interviews with the Commissioner of Police, who happened to be the leader of the team from the police that went to meet the Church officials. While in Lusaka, the pastors told the Commissioner of Police that he was called at a meeting, in connection with one issue that had transpired in Kabwe and in which the Seven-day Adventist Church was involved. They told him that the church had bought a certain structure within Kabwe Town Centre, opposite the so-called Green Market and that they needed the presence of police officers at the time of assuming

possession of the same, because of certain weird items the structure was rumoured to have shielded.

The Commissioner agreed and the same night he alerted the forensic experts (a section in the police service that deals with crime) in Lusaka about the issue, silently got some police officers and left for Kabwe. They reached the site in Kabwe as one team comprising the Seventh-day Adventist pastors, together with Church Elders from Kabwe, Policemen from both Lusaka and Kabwe and some staff from the Office of the President.

The team expected to find at least three coffins, human skeletons and human hair as items that were so much rumoured to have been hidden somewhere inside the building ( these items were also mentioned by respondents in most of the questionnaires). According to rumours, the coffins were used for satanic rituals. It was further rumoured that during their rituals, Satanists would get inside the coffins and while enclosed inside, some senior officials would do some satanic ritual chanting and incantations.

The team failed to obtain adequate evidence to substantiate the claims from rumours. Instead, the only peculiar observations that attracted attention of the delegation were some complicated drawings and strange writings, which were seen on several parts of the walls and ceiling boards of the building. These looked like were symbolic expressions, which seemed to convey a great deal of messages and carried deep meaning essential to the secret organisation's beliefs. Apart from such strange observations, what was found at the site was evidence pointing to the possibility of the premises having been a former Freemasonry site. Such evidence was contained in paper work, such as books and fliers, which contained some literature pertaining to Freemasonry.

Nevertheless, because of the extent of the satanic scare that had resulted from rumours in connection with the building, the police ordered the structure to be demolished and be reconstructed. That was why by the time of the study, the Seventh-day Adventist Church was involved in some demolishing and reconstruction works at the site.

#### 7.2.8.4.1.4 Apartments of the Building and Their Functions

Three respondents in separate interviews gave a description of the building's apartments, their functions and some of the items recovered from it. These were people who had witnessed what transpired on the day the site was attacked by the mob. One of the three respondents approached for interviews was Mr. Lumunga.

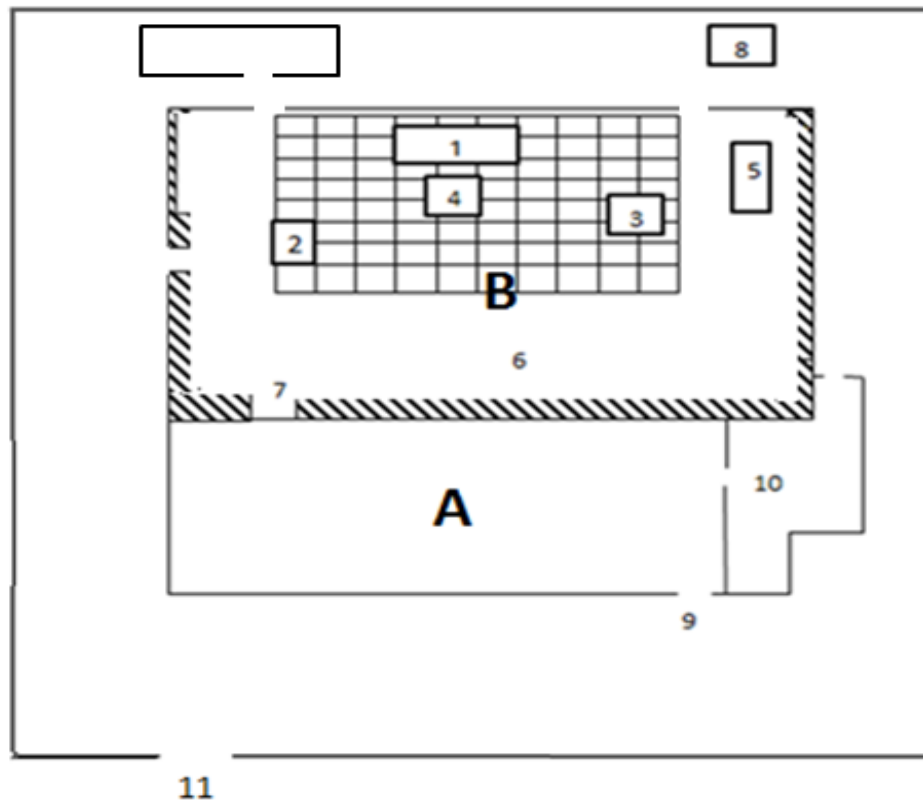
Mr. Lumunga, one of the members of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, gave the first narration of the building. He began by giving a brief picture of the premise. He said that 'prior to the 1998 revelations that later led to the exposure of some clandestine activities at the site, the ordinary people of Kabwe knew the site as an ordinary centre, a hub of various social activities or some kind of a pub. When asked to describe the nature of the building in question, he said the building had two major sections as shown in fig.1 below.

According to the informants, part 'A' was used as a restaurant, while part 'B' was a temple. The Temple had six other sections, labelled 1 to 6. Part 1 was an area reserved for the Grandmaster and this part had a throne-like seat with a tag 'GM' (for Grandmaster) written on it. Part 2 was a reserve for Stewards and at part 3 was the seat for the Temple Secretary. Behind the seat for the secretary was a metal cabinet, in the design of a safe (Part 5). This was a place where the records and various documents pertaining to the running of the Temple were kept. At the time the Seventh-day Adventist Church received handovers of the premises, minutes in form of a book taken during some sessions in the Temple were found inside this cabinet. Some minutes were dated as far back as 1930s. The part labelled 4 was an altar, while part 6 was the reserve for the audience.

Demarcating the restaurant and the Temple was a double walled structure. In between these two walls was some material that looked like cork, which, according to the outcome of investigations, served as sound proof so that people in one room could not hear what was going on in the other. The similar strategy was applied to the ceiling board, which was well designed with sophisticated sound absorbers. Part 7 was an aperture, some kind of a small window made of black-tinted glass material. This little window was designed in such a manner that someone in the Temple could easily see what was going on in the restaurant, but not vice versa. Through this aperture, people in the Temple would easily monitor all activities

going on in the restaurant and parts of the outside. According to rumours, the aperture was used for spying on who entered the building.

**Fig 1:** Sketch-Map of the Old Town Centre Building, with its apartments mentioned in the text



The part of the floor surrounding the 'High Place' (Grandmaster's seat), Stewards and Secretary's seats up to the altar, was covered with tiles in black and white colours, making an appearance similar to that of the chessboard. Behind this design was a belief that linked the game of chess to Satanism and rumours had it that the design had a symbolic interpretation in the satanic world. Another unique feature about the Temple, according to the interviewee, was that the inside of the building was all painted black. At the other side of the building was a special reserved place for braii. While the impression given to ordinary people was that braii at this spot involved ordinary meat like beef and chicken, rumours had circulated that at times during occasions specifically held by the secret worshippers at the site, the braii involved human flesh.

**Plate 1:** View of the Inside part of the building, where there was a stage.



**Plate 2:** Showing part of the demolished old structure and the initial reconstruction works (in portal frames) by the SDA Church.



**Plate 3:** An Aperture, the part labelled 7 on the sketch-map, after undergoing modifications by the new occupants (SDAs).



**Plate 4:** The toilets, outside the main building.



**Plate 5:** View of the outside part of the building, seen from few metres away.



**Plate 6:** The dilapidated part of the building, seen from one of the rooms (part 10 on the sketch-map).



**Plate 7:** The remaining part of Ceiling Board.



**Plate 8:** Inside view A





**Plate 9:** Inside view B



**Plate 10:** Inside view C



Plates 8, 9 and 10: Show the inside views of the remaining part of the building, used by the SDA Church today for their worship services.

**Plate 11:** The outside view of the building, seen from the neighbouring premises.



#### 7.2.8.4.2 **The Luanshimba Case**

Another evidence sourced from the police concerned one incident which shocked most of the people of Kabwe. This incident, which even today is still described by many as inexplicable, took place in a community called Luanshimba, after Mulungushi University, which is some forty kilometres after the town of Kabwe, along the Great North Road. Within this community was one farmhouse, which was occupied by Asians who were known by that community to have led a solitary life. One day in the month of June 1997, the report reached the police that the Asian farmhouse at Luanshimba was on fire and the police rushed to the scene immediately. Unfortunately, the building had become an inferno by the time the Fire Service team and the police staff arrived at the scene. They found almost half of the house completely burnt, except for two rooms from which they managed to save some items. When the fire was finally put out, it was found that the two residents of the farm house were burnt beyond recognition in one of the bedrooms. There was something incomprehensible about the death of the duo. According to the police report, there was something pointing to the evidence that the two had committed suicide, because the room where their remains were found seemed to have been locked, suggesting that they locked themselves to die in the blaze. Besides, the discoveries from one of the rooms from which a few items were rescued also suggested the same evidence. The items found in this room and the way they were arranged suggested some kind of a ritual activity that was going on before the onset of fire. Some

equipment and literature were found in this room, which were thoroughly analysed in the search for evidence. The photos below show some of the items rescued from fire at the site:

**Plate 12:** The ‘Masonic Gear’, the term bearing on the packaging containing all items collected from Luanshimba Site.



**Plate 13:** Some kind of a scarf with a symbol on a metallic triangle at the end.



**Plate 14:** Another type of a scarf found at Luanshimba site.



**Plate 15:** The Front View of an Apron, believed to have been worn during the ritual observations, mostly by those in charge of rituals or ceremonies.



**Plate 16:** A Full View of the front part of an Apron.

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**Plate 17:** After using it, an apron could be folded to take the shape of a bag, as shown in the photo below.



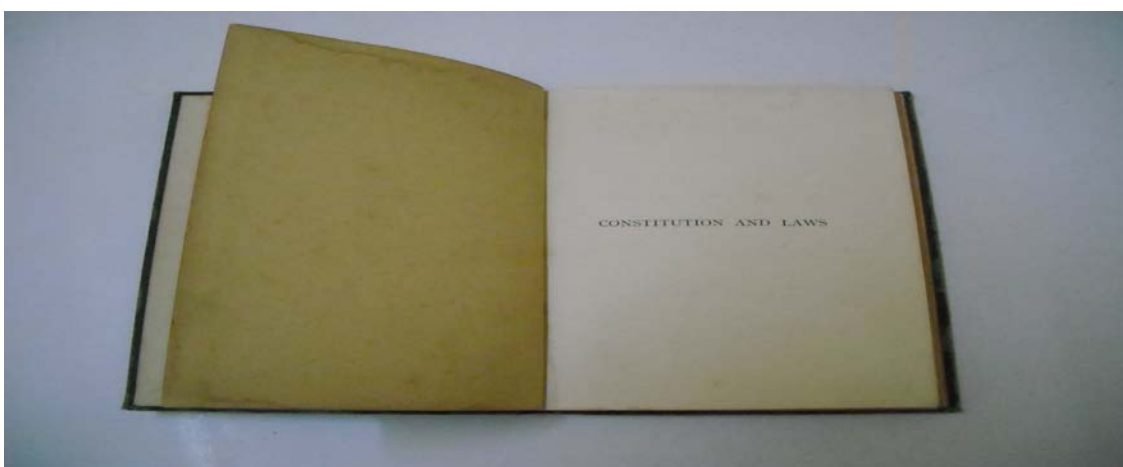
**Plate 18:** Shows the appearance of the apron when completely folded.



#### 7.2.8.4.3 **Some Literature Obtained from Sites Suspected to be Satanists'**

Other items collected from the two sites (Old Town-Centre Building and Luanshimba Farm House) suspected to belong to Satanists were pieces of literature, which were in various forms, ranging from leaflets to books. Some of the books collected contained obscure writings and/or information that was difficult to read and understand, as some were in symbolic expressions. Others, however, contained some writings that could be read and understood. Below are photos of some items collected from the two sites:

**Plate 19:** The Constitution and Laws Book for Freemasons.



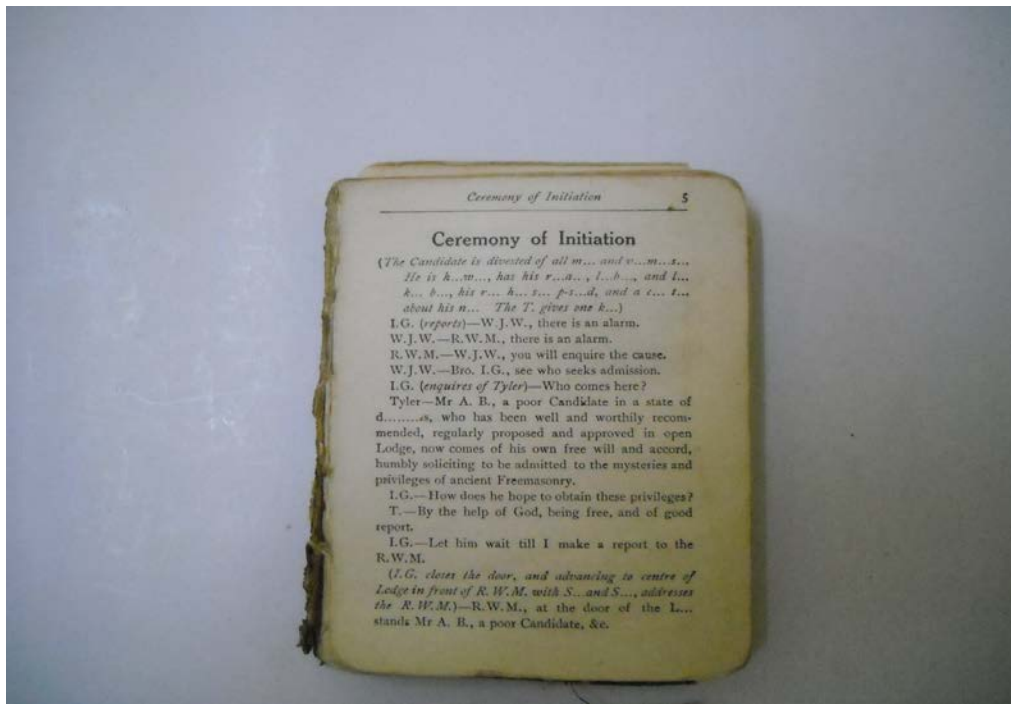
**Plate 20:** The Constitution Book



**Plate 21:** The Outer Cover of the Constitution Book .



**Plate 22:** A Book of Ceremonies of Initiation - Containing guidelines on various kinds of initiation ceremonies for the Freemasonry organisation.

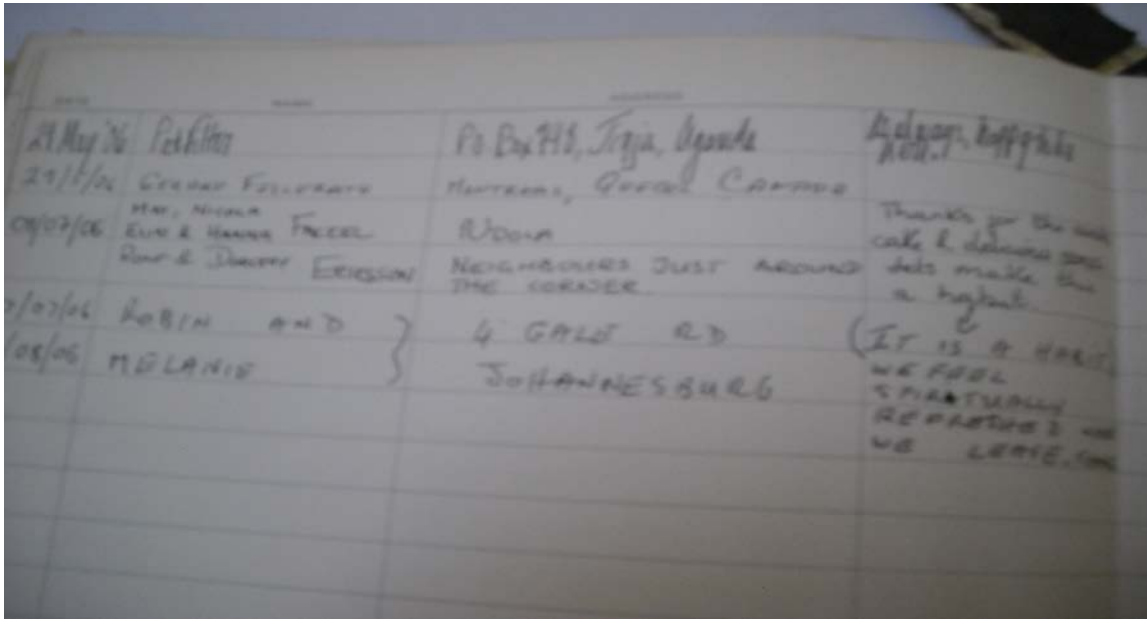


**Plate 23:** The Outer Cover of the Visitors' Book for Freemasons.

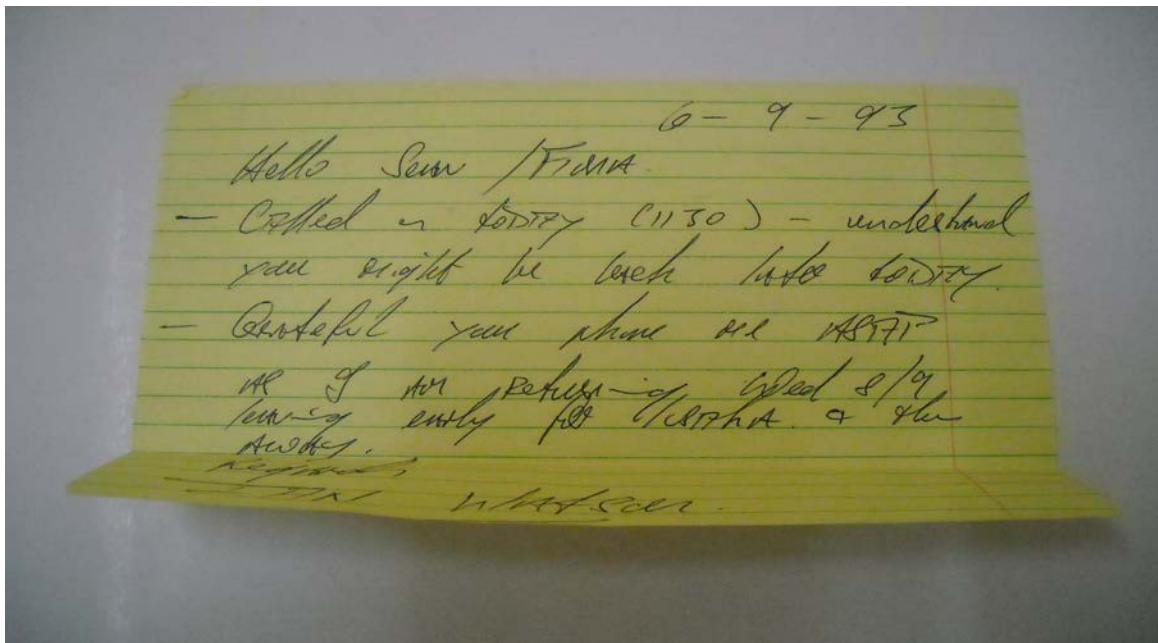




**Plate 24:** A page from the Visitors' Book, showing recorded details of visitors at the site.



**Plate 25:** The date on some of the writings collected gave the researcher a clue on the approximate period the site was in operation (like in this case, September 6, 1993).



Just like the case concerning the discoveries at the Old Town-centre Building was, the information and symbols contained in the photos above clearly suggest that even the items collected at Luanshimba belonged to the Freemasons.

#### 7.2.8.4.4 **A Short History of Freemasonry in Kabwe**

In simple terms, Freemasonry can be defined as the system and practice of Freemasons in their secret society, where they help each other to become successful member and communicate using secret signs (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, p.642).

##### 7.2.8.4.4.1 **The Book of Minutes**

A short historical account of the Freemasonry in Kabwe was obtained from the Book of Minutes, one of the documents found at one of the suspected sites. In terms of appearance, the fifty-two paged little book looked somewhat ancient in design, but well typed in the old typewriter fashion. It bore the title; ‘A Short History of the Broken Hill Lodge No. 1374 - Minutes Book’ on the front page. The book contained minutes of a series of over twenty-five meetings that were held by members of the Freemasonry between the period 1930 and 1983. After going through the contents of the Minutes Book, I was able to put together scattered pieces of information in an attempt to build up an understanding of the activities of the society in Kabwe. The book, therefore, provides information on the history of freemasonry in Kabwe. According to the information contained in this document, the first ever meeting of the Brethren (Freemasons) in Kabwe was called on July 15, 1930, to form the Broken Hill Lodge. This date and the event that took place can be taken to mark the beginning of the society of Freemasons in Kabwe. The minutes were in a form of a report, given by the secretary.

According to the information that was obtained in parts from the contents of the book, the first meeting the society held took place in The Rail Ambulance Room, probably because of lack of a designated building (or ‘Lodge’ as the Freemasons would prefer calling it), at this initial stage. The minutes further read:

... apart from the meeting of July 15, 1930, there had obviously been previous meetings at which the question of forming a Scottish Lodge had been discussed but this must have been prior to the formation of Lodge Luangwa of the English Constitution in 1926. Unfortunately we have no record of such earlier meetings, but to substantiate this statement, reference is given to the History of the Masonic Movement in Broken

Hill [Kabwe] in an address to those present at the meeting of July 15, 1930 and recorded in the minutes of that meeting were the attendance of Scottish Freemasons who were in the majority, but that after serious discussions and many difficulties, the Luangwa Lodge was founded under the English Constitution...(p.6).

From the above quotation, certain information pertaining to the history of the Masonic Movement in Kabwe become apparent. First, it can be deduced that the early strives to establish the movement in the district began in the 1920s and secondly, that the pioneers of the movement most likely, were foreigners (in this case, the Scottish). Perhaps the founding of Luangwa Lodge under the English Constitution was to facilitate the formation of the local movement.

Other developments that took place in the same year (1930) include, among others, the meeting of September 3, 1930 where the first 19 officers of Lodge Luangwa were elected which included the Senior Steward and four other Stewards; the Committee Meeting that was held on the October 17, 1930 where the Acting Secretary produced the Provincial Charter.

By 1932 Lodge Luangwa had already started initiating new member in the movement, in addition to the 28 Founder Members of which 18 were from Scottish Lodges, 4 from Irish, 3 from English and 1 from the Netherlands. Of these 28 Founder Members, 17 were Railway Employees, 8 Mine Employees and 3 unknown. By the end of its first year of operation, the Lodge had held 12 regular meetings and 4 emergency meetings at which 4 people were initiated and 4 Brethren affiliated.

Luangwa Lodge, which was also referred to as the 'Broken Hill Lodge' seemed to have worked in liaison with other Lodges within Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), for the minutes read in part:

... during this year, the Broken Hill Lodge was instrumental in establishing the Mark Degree in Lusaka and ... the visit to Lusaka Lodge was of great importance as we were able to work and establish the Mark Degree there. The colleagues we found there welcomed us and were very happy to work with us ...(*ibid*).

From 1956 until 1983, the Broken Hill Lodge (or Luangwa Lodge) appeared to have gone fairly smoothly and some statistics can merely be quoted for certain periods of the years that followed, as well as for information on certain items of interest from the minutes:

1956 to 1966: 122 regular, 14 emergency and a number of special meetings were held at which 76 new members were initiated and 22 Brethren affiliated. Average attendance including visitors was 187.

1967 to 1977: 141 regular, 10 emergency and a number of special meetings were held at which 39 applicants were initiated and 29 Brethren affiliated. Average attendance including visitors was 171. Besides, the period also recorded 4 Funeral Lodges. One unique development during this period was the holding of Annual Masonic Golf Tournament, which happened for the first time. The period 1975/76 was characterised by irregularities in holding of meetings due to state of emergency imposed by government in Zambia.

1978 to 1983: Only 72 regular, 3 emergency and 4 special meetings were held at which 19 new members were initiated and 10 applicants affiliated. Average attendance including visitors was 97. No initiation of applicants and no affiliation of Brethren took place in the period 1982/ 83.

Unfortunately, the Book of Minutes only captured information about the Freemasonry up to the year 1983. However, among the discoveries made at Luanshimba Site, was some written work dated September 6, 1993, giving an impression that the society had existed up to this date ( see plate 25). The fact that there was neither initiation nor affiliation of members in Lodge Luangwa in the period 1982/83 could perhaps imply the beginning of the decline of the Masonry movement in Kabwe, which could have characterised the rest of the years that followed up to 1998 when the Freemasonry abandoned the town-centre building. This, then, seems to be the period when the Freemasonry movement ceased to exist in Kabwe. It is then, most likely that the Luangwa Lodge being referred to here could have been the same structure today called the Old Town-centre building or Town-Centre SDA Church.

The Book of Minutes also mentions the Freemasonry Lodges having existed in other towns of Zambia by the 1950s, such as in Choma, Luanshya, Mufulira and in Lusaka. However, it is only in Lusaka and Mufulira where the existence of the society can easily be traceable today, with even Lodges being seen.

#### 7.2.8.4.5 **The Case of Mr. Sookesi**

Mr. Sookesi's case is contained in rumours under the category of 'strange incidents'.

Satanism sometimes operates through the traditional paradigm of witchcraft or black magic. In this study, I had an opportunity to interact with one self-confessed ex-Satanist (Mr. Sookesi), through interviews conducted on March 27, 2012, in one of the rural areas of Kabwe. Witchcraft or sorcery is believed to be more rampant in this part of the rural society compared to the affluent areas of the district. The findings from the respondent here, whose real name was held and therefore only referred to as Mr. Sookesi, add something to the strange happenings of the satanic nature, based on his esoteric life characterised by his witchcraft background.

'I had been a Satanist for seventeen years....,' said Mr. Sookesi in an audio interview. 'My great-grandmother was a witch and so were several ancestors of mine and when I joined Satanism, I simply lived to promote my new cult in the disguise of witchcraft, my inherited tradition', he added.

Mr. Sookesi's case represented a number of similar sentiments or tales obtained in the field, of people who alleged joined Satanism in the similar manner. In most cases, such people claimed to have traced a family heritage in the esoteric (just like Mr. Sookesi), though they might portray differences in attitude, conviction and life style. Some of the individuals identified by this study as being occultist leaders seemed to have some history of involvements in witchcraft prior to their current revival. Some (like Mr. Sookesi) openly claimed to have had a direct relationship with the earlier occultist generations of witches.

The life of Mr. Sookesi as an occultist leader reveals something of the satanic nature in Kabwe. Mr. Sookesi for instance, testified to having used his power of clairvoyance. He had claimed to be a healer too. With his special training in the arts of witchcraft, he also claimed to have been one of the most powerful witches in Kabwe's rural society at one time. The esoteric powers Mr. Sookesi claimed to have possessed seemed to have made him command recognition, fear and/or respect from people in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Sookesi further narrated that he was initiated into Satanism in 1995 at the age of twenty-six, by one of the business women within Kabwe. At initiation, the woman threatened him that he would die mysteriously if he gave away the secret life (Satanism). From that time on, Mr. Sookesi was introduced to the forces of Satanism. As a young and ambitious man, he demanded / requested that his satanic forces bring him power, wealth and pleasure and he said he surely did receive all these. He described his first few years in Satanism as a period of alienation, where with his gradual detachment from intimate relations with his ordinary members of the society he lived in (as this was the dictate of his new spiritual world), he could only exercise intimacy living mostly with three members of his new world (Satanism) which included his initiator.

Mr. Sookesi's later years, therefore, saw him moving back and forth between the excitement of being able to utilise satanic magical power for his personal gains and the loneliness of not being able to find fellow Satanists to associate with. He said when he finally gave up his ordinary life style in totality and dedicated himself to a serious pursuit of satanic arts, things began changing for his happiness. When asked what he precisely meant by 'dedication to pursuit of satanic arts', he responded: ' ... like a missionary in training, I sought for more knowledge and practices of Satanism, preparing for the time when I would be privileged to join others in the main business of promoting Satanism.'

Mr. Sookesi was able to remember and cite the development of events prior to his engagement into a larger association of Satanists. He revealed that his work began in earnest after a thirteen-day fasting and seven-day purification rite. He described the climax of the purification ritual as a giddy feeling, a combination of being slightly sick, being somewhat silly and feeling excited. He narrated that during his initiation ritual, he saw some letters being inscribed on the ground in front of him about two metres away from where he was poised, listing the names of special spirits. He was instructed by a senior member in that spiritual organisation to call upon the names of the spirits. After each respective calling, a voice responded telling him the kind of assistance and speciality that particular spirit would offer him, in line with the demand / request he made (apparently these needs or demands were the motives behind his entering into a pact with Satanism). This experience was his commissioning and, with time, he was to be an expert enough in the cult to assume recruiting others using similar procedure.

Asked whether he attained seniority in initiating others, Mr. Sookesi gave an emphatic ‘yes’, as he went on giving details:

The first persons I initiated were a married couple of devoted Christians, who appeared to be of revivalist type. Since I knew they were already interested in talking with ‘angels’, the task would be easy for me because they were more likely to be open to my instructions in the rituals and other aspects of the satanic nature I was going to give them (Sookesi, interview, March 27, 2012).

The couple was seeking more insights into the spiritual world and to be more precise, were craving for a gift of clairvoyance, which they thought they would acquire under the tutelage of Mr. Sookesi. Being new in Kabwe, little did they know the extent of involvement Mr. Sookesi had reached into the spirit world. Misguided by whoever they consulted, they ended up becoming victims by being recruited into Satanism through deception. Mr. Sookesi disclosed that the couple was seeking assistance in acquiring spiritual power that would enable it predict the future and be able to do some fortune telling. The couple’s aim was to use such powers profitably in its church and not to the contrary as things turned out to be. With the rise in Spiritual Revival Ministries in Kabwe that has seen the mushrooming of protestant church denominations, especially among the Pentecostal churches, it has become a common tendency for people to plan to earn their living through commercialising spiritual attributes for their personal gains. People may give different views to this incident; some may say the couple got their deserved price from their selfish endeavours.

#### **7.2.8.4.6 Strange Events Recounted by Clergymen**

Following the rumours that pointed to churches as sources that exposed people to issues and knowledge of Satanism, it was considered appropriate in this study to target the clergy as well in the search for evidence. Through this approach, a number of strange revelations that happened right in Kabwe were recorded by way of interviews.

##### **7.2.8.4.6.1 Interviews with Elder Mwabi**

Elder Mwabi was one of the clergymen approached for interviews, from the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

When asked to comment on the presence of Spiritualism or Occultism in Kabwe, Elder Mwabi said the two were rampant in the district, adding that the two existed alongside superstition. For instance, he said there were people within Kabwe who were known openly to be practicing Satanism, two of whom he said he had a personal encounter with. As a church, the elder said they had prayed for people who were under influence of such ‘contrary spirits’, as he put it, as they presented themselves to the church in need of spiritual help. Normally, he said, these were people who had admitted to having problems. They had not prayed for those who had not opened-up or not volunteered to be helped.

Asked about whether Satanism was a reality in Kabwe or not and how much its rumoured presence could have affected people, the Elder admitted that the phenomenon was something one would not take to be a fabrication or fictitious, though he admitted the difficulty in estimating how much its presence had affected the people. He said this was because some of the people who were affected did not come in the open to ask for help. The Church Elder added that some Satanists went into it deliberately, while others got involved in it unconsciously and that his church had been affected so much.

From his experience, having had interactions with victims (those who sought help from the Seventh-day Adventist Church), Elder Mwabi noted that it was a common tendency for the actual ‘culprits’ - those who practiced Satanism not to come out in the open and that those who came out in the open were either those who were indirectly affected through their relatives being victims of the phenomenon, or those who were at the ‘confessional stage’ and directly brought themselves for deliverance.

Elder Mwabi had his own way of categorising those he interacted with for spiritual help, whom he said were in two categories namely the ‘Demon Possessed’-who got possessed with demonic spirits without choice, and the ‘Spiritualists’ - who practiced spiritualism. He identified Satanism with the latter. Contrary to the former, he said the second category involved one making a deliberate decision to join the practice. ‘Whether or not they got out of it at one time, the truth remained that they willingly got into it’, he added.

Meanwhile it so happened that various SDA Church denominations within Kabwe were asked to form Prayer Bands, in which interested and willing individuals joined. These prayer bands met regularly for intercession prayers, praying for the sick. It was however realised that



there were still some cases that could not be dealt with by the established Prayer Bands, such as those involving praying for people possessed with ‘contrary spirits’ (like demon possession and Satanism). It was for this reason that the elder, together with three others, teamed up to form a special three-member Prayer Band to cater for the cases in omission.

Out of all the cases he experienced, the Elder was able to single out one of the recent cases involving the Satanists, in which he played a part in the deliverance process.

#### 7.2.8.4.7 **The Case of a Girl called Lyn**

On one special occasion Elder Mwabi was called by one of his colleagues who said there was a special case before the prayer band:

When we gathered there, I saw a strange girl seated. I was later on told that the girl came from Kitwe, she used to go to Hellen Kaunda school. The story was that one day while at school, a friend by the name of Kati gave her a boiled egg. Meanwhile, her aunt who kept her had earlier on warned her never to take any food from anyone, be it a friend or not. Because of this, the aunt always made sure that she packed enough food from home each time the girl went to school (Elder Mwabi, interview, March 28, 2012).

The Elder narrated the whole story, based on what he got from the girl (Lyn) and the aunt to the girl who was also her guardian. The Church Elder said when the girl was offered an egg by her friend, she was at first very sceptical about the offer, as she remembered her aunt’s advice. Finally the girl hesitantly accepted the offer, but she could not eat the egg. She could not throw it away either, but simply kept it. When she arrived at home, she unfortunately decided to eat it. And from that day she ate the egg, every time she slept in the night, she dreamt of partying.

The girl could dream that each time they are at a party, they were having a braai and drinking red wine. So she started wondering what was happening. She then decided to narrate all her experience to the friend who had offered her the egg and asked her about the meaning of all that she was going through, especially that it started immediately after eating the egg. In response, the friend shouted ‘Welcome to the club my dear!’ ‘But what club is that?’ Lyn asked. The friend answered: ‘Don’t worry, I will come and get you in the night and introduce

you officially to the club'. The girl remained mute for a while and in this quietness she was wondering how possible she would come out of the aunt's house knowing very well how strict her aunt was. As if knowing the question that was bothering her, the friend (Kati) quickly assured her: 'Do not worry about the manner you will come out of the grip of your aunt, we shall take care of that.'

Somewhere around midnight and while asleep, Lyn just felt a hand touching her and when she looked around, she found that it was her friend Kati, right in the bedroom which she shared with a twin sister. The friend said: 'Follow me!' The two walked out of the house through the closed doors, toward Chingola Road Cemetery in Kitwe. When they reached there they found a party going on, with all sorts of amusements and entertainment such as drinking and dancing. Since that time she got into it. She was introduced to the 'underworld'. At that time Lyn was still in her tender age, about 12 years. She was also introduced to a boy called Kelvin while in the pact with Satanism (what the Elder did not know was whether the name 'Kelvin' was the boy's real name or was an 'underworld' name). She later learnt that the boy was actually the son of Lucifer. So she got married to Kelvin and eventually they had two spiritual children - a set of twins and one ordinary child. The girl also instantly acquired a car (a real car) which she parked at the home of her best friend Kati, the one who initially led her into the pact. This was simply because her aunt would not let her park the car at home. When Kati was asked by her parents about the car, she told them that it belonged to her friend's aunt (meaning the aunt of Lyn). But when she was further asked why it was not parked at her friend's residence, she answered that it was not secure there, since their home was just in the open without a fence. Unfortunately, Lyn's guardian did not know that Lyn was initiated into Satanism. As time passed on, Lyn acquired a house, a real house in Nkana East within Kitwe town, where she lived with her husband. Apart from this, she had several other houses under the water of Kafue River, which cuts across the northern part of Kitwe Township.

Unfortunately, Lyn's aunt was not aware of all these developments. She neither knew anything about her niece's acquisition of a car, house, or the spiritual houses under water. Besides, she never knew anything about Lyn being married to someone. 'It was too bizarre to be believed', said the Church Elder. 'I did not believe it at first ....I looked at the girl, then at the aunt who brought her to us, as I visualised the plausibility of the story', he added.

According to the information provided to the Church Elder, Lyn was a double orphaned girl, who survived under the care of her two aunts. One of her aunts who lived with Lyn in Kitwe brought up the girl (Lyn) in the New Apostolic Church. Somehow, it was not until Lyn came to Kabwe to visit the other aunt that it was discovered she had spiritual problems. As a way of intervention, she was first taken to Ebenezer Church (one of the Pentecostal Churches in Kabwe), where she was prayed for. Some spirits had left her after this first attempt in prayers; but some remained. The guardian later decided to take her to another church - the Salvation Army Church within Kabwe, where they continued with prayers. After some days of prayers at the Salvation Army Church, things began to happen. She made confessions and in the midst of those confessions she revealed to them some of the spiritual children she had acquired while in the pact, which the Church Pastor had to cast out immediately. Unfortunately again, not all the spiritual children were cast out from her. This was now the point at which her guardians decided to take Lyn to the SDA Church for the attention of Elder Mwabi and his team in particular.

When she was brought to the SDA Church, one thing Elder Mwabi and colleagues noticed was that the girl could not talk much and on certain aspects, Church Elders had to rely on what they were told by her guardians.

The Church Elders prayed for the girl for about three hours without any success. Then it happened that someone (who was later revealed as a maid) came from home to collect the baby that was with Lyn's aunt. While the aunt had left the prayer session briefly to hand over the baby to the maid, things behind began manifesting, so that when she came back, she found her niece (Lyn) in the midst of opening up the discussion with church Elders and disclosing the hidden side of her life.

Lyn's aunt was very shocked by what she learnt from the discussion, because she did not expect most of the issues that Lyn brought out. At this moment, the girl was in a state of confusion, at one moment she could cry, at another, she appeared struck with shock. These developments motivated the Church Elders to pray for the girl even the more. Then at one point Lyn told the gathering that Kelvin, her boyfriend in the satanic world, had put some marks on her body and she pointed out to the part of the body where those marks were. Her guardians however, could not see those marks, which the Church Elders later said were embedded on the girl's body and could not be seen with naked eyes.

The second revelation Lyn made while in her semi-trance state was that she was moving with a ring, which her boyfriend Kelvin placed on her vagina. She disclosed that the ring hang like an earring from her vagina's labia and that she used it in recruiting men into Satanism through sexual intercourse. According to her, the mission assigned to her using this ring was simple: to woo the sexually weak men and anyone who slept with her was automatically initiated into Satanism. She revealed that the assignment she was given to use the ring in her private parts was actually the second one. It was given to her as an alternative after she failed in carrying out the first one, in which she was asked to kill one person she loved most in her family. This person would be the same aunt with whom she lived. She had failed on this assignment because it was found that her aunt was very prayerful.

The family Lyn found when she came to live in Kabwe consisted of her two aunts (since the aunt in Kitwe had come to join her sister in Kabwe) and two cousins - a son and a daughter of one of her aunts. Later on Lyn changed residence and went to live with her paternal grandmother somewhere around the 'Fire Brigade' area of Kabwe town. There she found two cousins, daughters of the sister to her late father, who were still attending school. At this time Lyn had just sat her Grade 9 Examinations and was waiting for results.

One day Lyn decided to go to the Fire Brigade road junction to wait for her two cousins so that she could meet them there on their way from school. But as usual being a Satanist, Lyn could find an opportunity to recruit more people into Satanism wherever she went. So it happened that as she stood there at the crossroads waiting to meet her cousins, there arose an opportunity. A boy appeared from a short distance, walking along the road towards the direction where Lyn stood waiting. Upon meeting Lyn, the strange boy instantly fell in love with her. After a mere chat that was preceded by a greeting, the boy advanced a love proposal to Lyn who also without wasting time, accepted (according to Lyn's narration after deliverance, Satanists under this kind of mission never say 'No' to love proposals). So the boy later (on the same day) demanded that Lyn takes him to her home, but Lyn declined, with a suggestion that they wait for the two school girls to come first so that they could get home together. That day the boy made sure he passed through Lyn's home in the company of her and the other two girls before he proceeded to his home.

After four days the boy came back to pick Lyn and took her to his home. While at his home, the boy served Lyn with a drink, which could have had either some alcohol or drugs in it, because after she took a glass, she fell asleep. Before she could realise, the boy had sex with her. Coincidentally, this boy was also a Satanist. He too, was looking for a prey, someone to initiate. When they met during sexual intercourse and during that intimacy, they made a bond and discovered each other. As part of the satanic ritual, the boy asked to place a ring in Lyn's private parts. The ring Lyn received was labelled with a mark LD/LHd. This meant that she would now carry two rings in her body, the first being the one her spiritual husband Kelvin had inserted into her.

The above narrative was part of the confession made by the girl during the deliverance process at the SDA Church. As a way of finding out how true the girl's confession was, the Church Elders asked whether she could feel those rings in her private parts right there and the girl answered 'Yes'. The prayer session which had begun at around 17:30 hours was now getting into the third hour. The three Church Elders however, did not tire. They continued praying. Somewhere about 20:30 hours, the girl made some more confessions. She confessed to the Church Elders that she was fed-up with the kind of life she was leading. 'This is because whatever I do, I pronounce a curse to someone, even when I do not intend to do so', she said. She gave an example of what happened one day. On this day the aunt was at home preparing a meal and she told the aunt that she did not like the meal that was being prepared. So the aunt simply directed her to the other end of the kitchen where there were some eggs, tomatoes and green paper and asked her to be free to prepare herself a meal in the manner she liked. One of the girls (cousin of Lyn) also shouted: 'I also want to eat the meal Lyn has prepared!' In response, Lyn said it was okay and the two had a meal together. Eventually, in the process of eating that meal, Lyn's little cousin unknowingly got initiated into Satanism. 'That is why I am fed up of this kind of life', she said after narrating the story. She pleaded that she wanted to lead a new life and according to her, that was the reason why she had gone to church for help. 'Are you sure you want to leave the satanic life?' one of the Church Elders asked. The girl said 'yes'. As she gave this response, her fingers started trembling and she began rubbing her two palms together. When she was asked what was going on with her hands, she said that was a dial-phone for communication. She told them that at that moment she was communicating to the one who initiated her into Satanism - her friend from Kitwe by the name of Kati. Meanwhile the prayers were intensified. At this moment, one of the Church Elders asked the aunt to Lyn to insert fingers into Lyn's private parts and remove the two

metallic substances. After a while the Church Elders enquired on the progress from Lyn's aunt. The aunt responded:

...I cannot take them out. They are not there, but I can feel the marks where they were. Through these marks I can feel, yes, that there was something shaped like a ring and that this ring had something rectangular in the centre. These I am able to tell, but it seems the actual rings themselves are no longer there...( Narrated by Elder Mwabi in an interview, March 28, 2012)

The Church Elder said the two rings had been removed. As prayers continued, he said the girl at times could scream as if she was on fire: 'Napya, napya...!' meaning 'I am on fire, I am burning...!' as satanic spiritual things were coming out. She was also heard saying:

...bana bandi namisha, teti munkonke oko ndeya...shaleni po nomba.  
Shaleni po naimwe bene bantu bakwa yesu!

Meaning:

... I have left you my children; you cannot follow me where I am going, farewell, farewell my children. To you people of God, I say farewell too...

The manifesting spirit bade farewell to her spiritual children and to the Church Elders.

Prayers continued up to close to midnight, when finally the girl fell down and said she had felt 'free'. She said she had experienced a kind of relief in a manner she had never felt before and that all the satanic possessions she once had, had been destroyed except for the physical house and one spiritual house.

When asked how she had managed to live in the 'physical house' she had acquired while in Satanism, Lyn said the house and the yard surrounding it were just a common sight that would not attract anyone. It was just an ordinary house, not nicely kept, but again not too dirty or rough to attract attention in the negative. People just considered the place to be an ordinary residence. She said the property belonged to her and her (now former) husband Kelvin and that this implied that it was only 'posh' to the two of them, while in the eyes of ordinary people it was just any other house. The occupants (Kelvin and herself) too, appeared to be ordinary as just other people than the Lyn and Kelvin they knew.

When asked to comment on the vehicle she earlier mentioned among the list of the possessions she had in the ‘underworld’, she described its make as Toyota Carina, maroon in colour - a preferred colour in Satanism which she said symbolised human blood. She added that this was a vehicle one would even see physically as she drove it around. She said she had a driver’s license which she obtained from the ‘underworld’, with the aid of her husband Kelvin. Using this license, she could go driving anywhere, passing through different traffic check points without any problem, as she said:

In fact at traffic check points, they would never harass me and they could only harass people like you. Quite often, I passed through many checkpoints without being asked any question... traffic officers simply gave me signs to proceed, whilst toughening lives for ordinary people like you. The rare occasions when they asked me to produce a driver’s license, I simply flashed it out to them... it appeared real and ordinary in their eyes (*ibid*).

#### 7.2.8.4.8 **Strange Incidents Recounted by Bishop Chikoma**

Bishop Chikoma is one of the famous clergymen in the Central Province of Zambia and one of the informants approached for interviews. People with problems related to spiritualities, such as those possessed with demons and those under the influence of the alleged Satanism often call upon him for spiritual interventions. The current rise in the satanic scare which has emanated from the perceived prevalence of Satanism in the area has made Chikoma’s reputation grow, making him one of the famous psychic medium, a prophet as well as an exorcist of today. During the interviews conducted at different times, Bishop Chikoma was able to give various accounts of Satanism as experienced from his almost daily interactions with victims. Normally, these were either people who called at his residence seeking deliverance, or those who attended the various occasions where he was invited to minister spiritual deliverances. Bishop Chikoma recounted a number of incidents of Satanism, involving mysterious happenings in people’s lives, especially within Kabwe.

In February, 2010 while at his home in Kapiri-Mposhi, Bishop Chikoma received a client, a lady who was a teacher at Mondake Basic School, within Kabwe district. The lady was a member of the Jehovah’s Witness (J.W) congregation. She came with a problem of ‘losing blood’ in her body, a problem which had persisted for over one and half years. She had tried all possible interventions but to no avail. Among the places she had gone in search of

interventions were hospitals, because there was also a growing suspicion that probably she could be suffering from HIV/AIDS. Each time she sought medical attention, blood samples were taken and other necessary medical check-ups in trying to diagnose the cause, but doctors could not find anything.

The lady was already in a hopeless situation at the time she thought of approaching Bishop Chikoma, because the problem had continued while medical diagnosis could not show anything wrong in her system. It was at this point in her despondent situation and on this particular day that the Bishop and his team intervened. When Bishop Chikoma asked the lady if she could permit him and his fellow intercessors to accompany her to her home, the lady agreed. In the company of the victim, the team immediately left for Mondake Basic School, the client's residence. This was because the bishop had received a prophetic message concerning the victim, that there was something at her home that was *holding things* from her life.

As they approached the lady's home at Mondake, the Bishop 'sealed' the home using what he called the 'Single Casting Oil', a substance that was against powers of darkness, which also enabled him connect to the spirit world and make the invisible things of the dark side of the world be seen by ordinary people. This meant that all the people present at the scene would be able to see the objects of Satanism, as they would be revealed. The team conducted an intercessory prayer that lasted for a while in the house of the victim, as was their tradition. While engaged in this process, things began to reveal from the hidden world. In the Bishop's words:

There was something that was there in form of witchcraft, which was taking the lady's blood. I instructed people to get into the house and search. The search took a considerable time, until finally we located what was in the house. Something was brought out, an object of the power of darkness, wrapped in a black cloth (Bishop Chikoma interview, February 8, 2012).

All the people present at the occasion were able to see the retrieved object. The victim, for the first time, though in a mixed feeling of relief, fear and shock at the sight of the disclosure, was availed chance finally to see what had been the cause of the mystifying predicament in her life. Some inquisitive people within the audience failed to control the mounting curiosity



in them. They demanded that they touch the object, at least to have a feel of it, as one local adage goes; *'I see, I doubt... I touch, I believe'*.

The Bishop recounted that when one touched the object, it could electrocute, just like the experience of electricity shock one would get from the contact with an insulated live electric wire. The object gave those who touched it a sharp pain, an experience that made some scream. Bishop Chikoma went on:

I explained to people that what was coming out of the object was the power of magic and that Black Magic was one among the several powers of darkness employed in Satanism. I immediately commanded that the object be brought to me. Immediately it was brought, I tore it apart and found inside some kind of a plastic and inside this plastic was fresh blood and something like a stick in different colours. At one end of the stick was tied a cotton thread, while at the other was a little piece of magnet. Among other contents found was a penny, a coin and unit of money used in Zambia a long time ago during the Colonial era, when the country was still called Northern Rhodesia. There were also other assorted substances found which were inexplicable ... they looked like little bombs (*ibid*).

The victim was told that the blood found in a little plastic among the discoveries was actually her blood and that the Satanist who owned and used the confiscated object had drained that blood from her body. She was instructed to take this blood to the District Hospital for testing the following day, where it was confirmed that it was her blood. People wondered how this blood found itself in that mysterious scenario, which gave the bishop a task to explain to them the powers of magic, Black Magic in that case.

With the return of the blood sample from the hospital where it was taken for verifications, intercession prayers were continued. This was the second day. As prayers were going on, the bishop ordered the burning of the little container with the blood in it. Through prayers, the powers of darkness began to break and as the object was burning, it started growing until it reached the size of the 750 mils bottle. Both the burning process and prayers took almost two hours. The other contents of the object confiscated from the dark powers were deprived of magical power and are still in the possession of the bishop to date, in their special room set

aside as private museum, where various repossessions from the kingdom of the darkness are kept for interested people to see.

In Bishop Chikoma's view, the above revelations were nothing but examples of the clandestine operations that Satanism uses through powers of darkness.

#### 7.2.8.4.9 **Kabila's Written Testimony**

One among the common personal testimonies that has also come out to be media hype was that given by Kabila in his unpublished memoirs. Kabila's account is a written testimony that seems to have made an influence in the manner people in Kabwe have conceptualised the phenomenon of Satanism. According to his testimony, Gideon Mulenga Kabila was born on April 1, 1983. As a first-born son, it was believed Gideon was born by permission from the Devil. He was born in Lusaka, from a Zambian father and a Namibian mother. His mother initiated him into Satanism at a tender age, shortly after she divorced his father. Nevertheless, he stayed with his mother until the time he was assigned to kill all his father's relatives. During those assignments, Kabila met different challenges that even made him become advanced in satanic activities. One of the memoirs he has written contains his experiences during the time he was serving the Devil. Gideon claims to be a repentant Christian, after going through deliverance (Kabila, *n.d.*:7).

Gideon Kabila begins by describing how people get initiated into Satanism. He contends that many people have been initiated into Satanism through various ways. He says he was educated on the various means of initiation when he was at what he referred to as the 'University of Wickedness'. Through those various ways of initiation, Gideon says many people have joined Satanism and today they are dancing to the tunes of this spirit world and are killing many people, including members of their families. He cites the following as methods through which people end up into the kingdom of Satanism:

##### i) **Secret Letters**

Gideon says one of the ways used by the Devil to trap people into his kingdom is by using letters. Agents from the 'underworld' send letters to attract many people with wealth. Usually people receive these letters after being given conditions on how to obtain them. Letters are

tied with conditions that upon receiving the offers contained in them (such as money), the recipient is commanded to kill a family member shortly afterwards.

#### ii) **Food**

Food has also been cited among the means used for trapping people and initiating them into Satanism. It is alleged that through foods, people get possessed with satanic spirits. The foods are sold in market places and by buying and consuming them, many people have been made to join Satanism unconsciously, through spells. Gideon confesses to have used this method while at school, when he initiated his fellow students and caused them to misbehave. He says this also explains why some students go back home during holidays possessed with strange spirits, because they have been initiated into Satanism at institutions of learning. Gideon, therefore, implores parents who observe strange behaviours in their children not to hesitate taking them to pastors for counselling and prayers.

#### iii) **Clothes**

This is another cited way of initiating people into Satanism. There are certain clothes that have been dedicated to the Devil and if anyone wears them without praying, it is automatically that he or she is going to be initiated into Satanism. Gideon implores people to pray for all the clothes they buy from shops, especially those with letters D, E, S and K. These letters make the word **desk**, which he says implies that those individuals wearing such clothes are contributing to the people who are on the 'desk' of the Devil. He says the meaning of the acronym is as follows:

*D* - Death, destruction, divorce, danger, disappointment

*E* - Evil.

*S* - Satan.

*K* - Killer.

#### iv) **Water**

Gideon says this is the easiest way of initiating people into Satanism. According to him, people do pray for all things, but it is not easy to pray for water. He says most of the people have been initiated through water because they take it (drink) without prayer. He adds that there are many things that are done in the water that is why people need to live by prayer.

v) **Friendship**

A good number of people have been initiated through friends. Gideon warns that some of the people one would call friends are actually agents of the Devil on assignment. He requests people to examine their friendships, adding that most of the friends he had, for instance, are today serving the Devil in Satanism.

vi) **Families**

Gideon says some people have been initiated into Satanism through the lineage of their ancestors. They are connected to lineage of the ancestral spirits, which connects them to the Devil's kingdom. In such families, one must die almost every year.

vii) **Poverty**

Poverty has caused many people to join cult religions, where they seek help. In this way, some people have found themselves serving the Devil and are therefore killing people including members of their families. Gideon contends that some of the religions people see today are affiliated to Satanism.

viii) **Businesses**

Failures in business have caused some people to seek help from the agents of the Devil so that they may attract many customers. Many people today are killing their relatives and innocent people in the name of businesses. Gideon calls this kind of dealings, which he says is now found wherever one goes in Zambia as 'Blood Money Business'.

ix) **Witchdoctors**

Witchdoctors have been quoted to have contributed to the crisis that is going on around the nation (Zambia). They have initiated many people into Satanism. Most of these witchdoctors do not offer permanent solutions to people's problems.

x) **Love Potions**

Marital problems people experience have also contributed to some joining Satanism through the 'love potion' system. This normally happens when people are seeking help for marriage and ends up with the witchdoctors. Gideon says this has caused many premature deaths to people. It is like putting one's husband or one's wife on the contract table of Satan.

#### xi) **Tattoos**

Gideon contends that the system of tattoo drawing on people's skin has also contributed to Satanism by connecting people to the forest spirits. He says those people that have been given tattoo marks on their body need to know that they had made a covenant with spirits of the forest through the tree. Therefore, if the tree is cut, that is the beginning of troubles in their life.

*(Cited in Kabila, n.d.:8-10).*

#### 7.2.8.4.9.1 **Kabila's Initiation into Satanism**

In his memoir, Gideon Kabila gives a narration of how he got initiated into Satanism. He says Satanism in his mother's family was like a generation of curses. He started seeing some of these curses at the age of seven in 1990. His mother and father divorced when he was still young and Kabila followed his mother to Namibia where the two lived together for some time. When he reached seven, his mother started revealing her secrets to him, that she was a queen while himself was a prince. At first, he did not understand what she meant and so he could not respond. One day, she began the same revelation, now with a smile while asking him to look into a mirror where there was a picture of people eating human flesh. When he looked at her mother, she simply laughed and told him that he was living in the foreign land (Kabila, n.d.:11).

Nevertheless, time came when Gideon started his grade one and each day he went to school his mother could give him blood to carry. He knew that it was blood but he did not realise because a 'squad of demons' accompanied him. One thing that surprised him a lot, though, was that he had no friends at school and every time he contributed in class, classmates laughed at him. This made him develop bitterness and he stopped contributing in class. Gideon has a simple explanation to this. He says when a person is demon possessed, the demons can even hinder his/ her friendship with others. In this situation, he did not know that he was demon possessed; friends hated him to an extent of running away from him. One day he went to his mother to explain what had happened to him at school. She simply laughed and told him that he was living in a foreign land. He had no peace at school because he did not know what was going on in his life. Then he demanded from his mother to know where his place was. In response, his mother got the Bible and quoted the story of Abraham; when God was telling him to go to the land which was prepared for him (Gideon adds a comment that

this account can also serve as an example of the way Satan can train his agents on how to twist the Bible). The mother further said every person has his/her own land and that Gideon did not belong to this world, but the one under the sea. She continued by saying the ‘underworld’ was the land of the living spirits. Then Gideon asked how he could get there and if he could find people who could associate with him. She answered him: ‘tonight we will be there !’. He went to his bedroom and started packing his belongings. It was one hour before school time, so he decided not to go to school. His mother became very furious when she found out what he was doing in the bedroom and she slapped him, telling him to stop immediately. Then he went to school. While at school, Gideon wanted to tell his teacher that he was leaving for another world, but he could not. He says another simple lesson to draw from this is that when Satan finds an open door in one’s life, he becomes the partaker of his/her plans and that if one is in his kingdom, he/she cannot run away by self means, because that is his (Devil’s) territory. All one does is to dance to the tunes of the Devil’s persecutions. Gideon adds that one cannot prosper in life with such bondages, as was the case with him (*ibid*).

#### 7.2.8.4.9.2 **The Midnight Hour**

Among his experiences in the world of Satanism, Kabila ( *n.d.* : 12) also gives an account of what he refers to as the Midnight Hour. He says this is the most dangerous hour to all the people. It is the hour when thieves become very notorious; witches go to covens (community of witches), death rates in hospitals rise and numbers of accidents in people’s homes and on roads rise too. Whilst a Satanist, he says this was a time when they saw powerful Christians wake up to involve themselves in spiritual warfare, where the power of the Devil get destroyed. This was the hour they (with fellow Satanists) could see fire on top of some houses that were protected by God. Gideon says Satanists avoided going to such houses because they were dangerous. He says the angels of God protected His own, because this is the time when the Devil becomes more crafty in his attacks.

It was at this hour one day (whilst in Satanism), that Gideon heard strange voices of people, whispering outside. He switched off the light and the room became very dark, in a manner he never expected it to be. Then he saw a very dark figure, huge and tall, drawing close to his bed. The huge man (probably an apparition) opened up his voice and said ‘Time has come to go to another world’. He was told that he needed no transport because it was going to be a

spiritual journey, into the spirit world. Gideon was commanded to hold the huge man's hands in readiness to leave and he complied immediately. The two disappeared and eventually Gideon found himself into another world which illuminated with some form of electricity. He says it was the world of the dead. Residents there welcomed him as the prince of the coast. At that moment, he did not know what that implied, not until he saw his mother dressed in a red and black garment, with a sword in her hands. She surrendered him to one of the fat giants who was called the Grandmaster, who took him to a certain room where he was told to make a covenant.

While under Satanism, Gideon was one day among the team that was assigned to go and cause a road accident in order to get blood for the Satanic Blood Mercy. They were assigned to kill thirty people. They decided to go for 'Spiritual Mapping' on Kabwe-Lusaka road. When they reached Lusaka's Independence Stadium, he felt uncontrollably thirsty that he needed to take water. He then told one of his colleagues who was driving to stop the vehicle, so that he could go and refresh himself at one of the roadside shops near. Immediately he entered the shop, the thirst was gone and he heard a strange voice telling him to runaway. He had thought it was a voice of the demon since he was very sensitive to evil spirits. He therefore obeyed and decided to runaway, not even caring about his friends. As he was running away, he was filled with fear since he did not know where he was going. Suddenly, he entered one of the churches building. It was a training centre for pastors. Whilst inside there, Gideon went through a strange experience in a manner he had never done before. He began revealing all the things he was involved in. At this moment he feared because he thought he was dying. The pastors who were training asked him to wait outside until they finished their programme. He, therefore, waited while trembling amid so much fear. He felt so paralysed that he failed to sit on a chair that was offered to him.

Gideon narrates that the pastors attended to him with wisdom. During interrogations with pastors, however, he found it difficult to reveal that his mother initiated him into Satanism, because he was scared of dying and as he put it, 'not knowing that the Devil was a loser'. So, this made him to cheat 'men of God' who were there to help him. Nevertheless, this day was final; he had no option but to surrender his life to Jesus Christ. He eventually thought of confessing with all his heart and without caring what was going to happen, because he was aware that many people were against what he was doing (*ibid :12-13*).

His mother had told him that Satanism was one of the religions of this world, oblivious that she was defiling his mind. He grew up with that in mind and thought it was normal. The pastors prayed for him, to cast all the evil spirits in him in the power of the Holy Ghost. In the process, he vomited blood and according to him, that was the first day of his turning point. The pastors kept Gideon for a good time, though they received some threats from other men of God whom he attacked and disturbed in their churches. He was named Gideon by one of the women of God. He was baptised at Milima Prison River in Kasama (Northern Province of Zambia), an experience that he described as more exciting than his birthday.

#### 7.2.8.4.9.3 **Conclusion on Kabila's Testimony**

Though Kabila is not based in Kabwe, his written testimonies seem to have made a great influence on the way people come to understand Satanism in the district. The fact that much of the current genre of Satanism in Kabwe seems to draw much from the insights of his testimony, is an indication that it has made a considerable influence in people's current conception of the phenomenon. His symbolic representations of the Kingdom under the oceans (commonly known as the 'underworld') where the Devil is the ruler and the descriptions he offers on the operations of this kingdom are some of the aspects common in the satanic rumours contributing much to the on-going satanic scare in the district. Kabila was, however, not reached for interviews to seek credibility of his testimonies as was done on most claim makers based in Kabwe. His claim about the existence of Satanism in Zambia, though, seems to share some common ground with that of Bishop Chikoma on several aspects. Just like Chikoma, Kabila had a Christian background, which arguably might have influenced his perception of Satanism. In his written testimony which gives an account of his life as a Satanist prior to his deliverance, he, like Bishop Machiko, alludes to Satanism as a secret society operating under various institutions and through many agents. It is worth noting in concluding Kabila's testimony that his experiences in Satanism had potential of making people consider it credible. Since I could not reach him for interviews, I had merely used his written testimonies to provide an example of people's understanding of the world of Satanism and to indicate some source of the claims people make for its existence, without offering any judgement on its credibility.



#### 7.2.8.5 SATANIC CLAIMS ON THE MEDIA

One observation made in this study was the growing publicity of satanic literature in the media that was presented in the most attractive manner to readers. One common thing that was immediately apparent to me in this study was the difficulty faced in trying to obtain verifiable facts from sources of such literature that was mostly presented as ‘gospel truth’. Nevertheless, the fact remained that such publicity, which was mostly in the form of articles on the internet, contributed much to the satanic scare that was ongoing especially in Kabwe town at the time of the study. It most likely contributed to escalating rumours with the potential of creating urban satanic legends.

It was observed too, that behind such publicity were the ‘zealots’ who probably felt a need to find an unpopular scapegoat for what they perceived as an immoral society. Some clergymen from certain church denominations within Kabwe were known to have constituted this category of people. A few individuals who claimed to be Christians, especially from breakaway churches or those in the habit of promoting ‘home-based’ doctrine studies seemed to have incorporated the satanic threats in their skilful methods of winning new converts, in an exaggerated manner. They had mainly used the mass media and distributed attractive literature on the supposed prevalence of Satanism. Upon observing an increase in the number of people affected with problems related to Satanism, such people had equally claimed healing and redemption to those seeking deliverance from alleged Satanism. One would see this as an effort simply made to meet human / personal needs by exploiting the uncertainty of the time. What would be used to distinguish between the sources of information from ‘zealots’ and the factual ones is the difficulty or easiness one would face in trying to attempt a corroboration to obtain evidence. Confirmation would usually be difficult on the claims from ‘zealots’ compared to the factual sources.

##### 7.2.8.5.1 Lifwekelo’s Story

Lifwekelo’s story circulated among internet users in Zambia for some time, between the months of November and December 2012. With its title *CAUTION TO MOTORISTS AND OTHER DRIVERS*, he called it a true story. The story recounted a mysterious incident that he said happened along Mumbwa road, a short distance away from Lusaka, Zambia’s capital. It was contained in a letter which he had addressed to the editor as follows:

Dear editor,

Some strange phenomena are happening on our roads. Last week my driver who was driving one of my buses was involved in an accident on Mumbwa Road. According to the driver and other passengers who were on board, a man suddenly appeared in the middle of the road near St. Anne's Funeral Parlour and my driver hit him on the right side and the bus ran over the man.

Everyone on board screamed and the driver applied emergency brakes. As it was late in the night, he decided to make a U-turn and surprisingly, when he reached the accident scene, there was no sign of the man. Therefore, everyone on board decided to disembark and started looking everywhere for the man, but to no avail. Surprisingly, there was not even a single drop of blood seen at the spot. Finally, after searching for close to an hour, the passengers and my driver decided to jump back on board, still puzzled as to what could have happened to the "pedestrian". Then as the bus made another U-turn heading back to town (Lusaka), they saw the same man running towards the bus with his fists in the air and without a shirt. Everyone was really scared and screamed at the driver to speed off.

I was called a few minutes later and when I met the driver and passengers at Lusaka Central Police, people were too terrified to talk anything sensible. We went back to the accident scene with the police and after searching for over an hour with the police, we still could not find anything. Then one of the police officers got a call from a friend, advising that we leave the place immediately, as what the bus had hit was not a human being. The caller added that there was another report a week earlier of another bus that overturned at the same spot, after the driver noticed the same man who fitted the description my driver gave the police.

Back at the police station, senior officers started telling my driver how lucky he was to have been alive, as Satanists had invaded our roads causing accidents in this fashion. He was told that if he had attempted to swerve, he would not have been alive to narrate his story. Therefore, my hope is that this incident will be a wakeup call to somebody to be very careful, especially when driving at night. Be prayerful all the time as that is clearly the work of the Devil and his demons.

Today my driver is alive to tell his story, but there are many who never had a chance to tell us what happened. To us they are just statistics or even labelling them as having been drunk and over-speeding.

By Edmond Lifwekelo.

... ended the letter.

Source: Lifwekelo (2012). < [http:// us.mc 1217.mail.yahoo.com/mc/](http://us.mc1217.mail.yahoo.com/mc/)>.

Lifwekelo's story represents many similar stories that had contributed much to the genre of Satanism or rather the satanic scare in Kabwe at the time of the study. Whether such stories carried some substantial credibility or not, the satanic scare they caused remained something undeniable.

#### 7.2.8.6 **SUMMARY**

Whilst it was discovered in this study that claim makers in Kabwe had perceived the above cited incidents to be acts of Satanism, there were no credible evidence justifying these stories as facts. They seem to have been false stories, either exaggerated or fabricated by 'Zealots'. In short, they seem to have been merely pious legends. It should be noted, therefore, that believing in pious legend, as the case was with the informants in this study, may not necessarily turn what is believed into a fact. What came out clearly, though, was that stories such as those cited or narrated above led to the satanic panic that had characterised the social life of the people of Kabwe at the time of the study, to the extent of causing emotional hysteria among some people.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS**

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#### **8.1 INTRODUCTION**

The obtaining information on the subject of Satanism in Kabwe as revealed by this study was mostly a good deal of rumours that were devoid of facts. From almost all the sources of information established, it was found that the speculative information making stories about Satanism in Kabwe first began as rumours. In a few cases, people who felt bold enough to confront the alleged 'secret world' of the Satanists probed the rumours. This chapter, therefore, draws on the findings of this study on rumours or claims about the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe district and offers a discussion. The discussion focuses more on the claims and speculations about the prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe, the sources and the effects of the satanic scare on people's lives in Kabwe'.

#### **8.2 CLAIMS AND SPECULATIONS ABOUT THE PREVALENCE OF SATANISM IN KABWE**

The fact that most of the respondents in this study (88%) acknowledged the prevalence of Satanism as a reality in Kabwe District means that it was true there were claims and speculation about the alleged prevalence of the phenomenon. Both elites, some of whom had attained high levels of education (with 45% of them having attained tertiary level of education) and those without formal education acknowledged these claims. Most of them were Christians (69%) who admitted the influence of the Devil in their claims and speculations about the satanic scare. However, people expressed divergent views about what Satanism meant to them. While most of them (46%) took Satanism to mean the worship of the Devil, others (25%) understood Satanism as an Anti-Christ religion. It can be argued that these two views reflected the influence of Christianity on people's conception of Satanism. Other views people had on the meaning of Satanism as reflected in their claims included 'the evil practice that thrives on blood', 'a religion with hidden doctrine' and 'an independent religion just like any other religion'

### 8.3 SOURCES OF THE SATANIC SCARE

Even though the eighteen per cent (18%) of the respondents said they had known Satanism prior to the 1990s, the majority said they came to know the phenomenon during the period 1990-2000 and after, suggesting that the phenomenon was new in the district.

Most of the people (32%) came to know about Satanism through rumours. Although other people acquired the knowledge of Satanism from other sources, rumours still influenced the manner in which that knowledge was transmitted from one person to another. There were, therefore, a number of rumour stories citing incidents alleged to have been acts of Satanism in the district.

### 8.4 EFFECTS OF THE SATANIC SCARE

Despite the diverse views respondents expressed on the meaning of Satanism, most of them (77%) thought Satanism had affected them, causing a scare on their socio-economic lives. The satanic scare caused some people not to aspire to certain socio-economic levels for fear that they would be accused of having used satanic means to attain such levels. In this case, the satanic scare was seen to set socio-economic limits in people's aspirations, which ultimately resulted in people taking Satanism to be an obstacle to their development.

Another effect of the satanic scare was seen in Christianity, where it was alleged that it either caused Christians to defect from their religion or made some believers become strong in their faith in defence against alleged satanic forces. Besides, the satanic scare caused many people to be insecure or lose confidence wherever they were or in whatever they were involved, thinking that Satanists were there at all times perusing them.

#### 8.4.1 Rumours as a Methodological Tool

Ellis and Ter Haar have suggested a possibility of using rumours as a methodological tool in a study like this one. One point and perhaps the most relevant to this study, is in their argument that with an effort at corroboration, such as by interviewing 'key informants', it might be possible for a researcher to verify or dismiss stories from rumours (Ellis and Ter Haar, 2004:35. Though Ellis and Ter Haar's work is not specifically concerned with Satanism, their theory on rumours in general seems to be relevant to studies like this one.

One scholar who has carried out research specifically on Satanism is Jeffrey Victor. Based on his research carried out in Chicago, a city in the state of Illinois in the United States of America, Victor (1996) has advanced ways of searching for evidence from rumours surrounding bizarre activities of the organised Satanists. For instance, he found out that the therapists who believed in the 'survivor' stories about Satanism pointed to the following forms of evidence from self-confessed ex-Satanist: (1) their clients' stories were internally consistent, (2) their clients told their stories with evident emotional pain, (3) their clients revealed the same stories while under hypnosis and (4) clients from various parts of the same country reported very similar stories (Victor, 1996:86).

Victor further contends that pieces of evidence similar to these listed above have been used by psychiatrists in the past, who claimed to have discovered Multi Personality Disorder patients around the world, who were able to report stories of past lives in which they died painful death centuries ago. This kind of evidence is also similar to that used to support people's reports of being abducted by aliens. It is possible, according to Victor, that some people have been reincarnated, that some have been abducted by aliens and that some people have been ritually abused and killed by organised satanic cults (*Ibid:87*).

Victor, however, asserts that claims like these must be supported by the kind of evidence that is capable of verification by careful examination and that can be used to rule out alternative interpretations of the testimonies. This kind of evidence, he says, is what may be expected to be found in the transmission of a contemporary satanic legend. He argues that the burden of proof should always be upon conspiracy theorists to provide corroborating evidence. Otherwise, fear and suspicion become substitutes for rational evidence.

What kind of corroborating evidence would support the rumours, claims and testimonies of satanic cult activities? Victor (1996:89) contends that it is obviously the discovery of remains of body parts of the many infants and adults supposedly murdered that would be useful, as would be the identification of missing people in the communities where the murders were supposed to have occurred. The third evidence Victor suggests is that of tracing some of the secrete Satanists and their links with each other. This would also be useful in establishing the veracity of the obtaining stories. He observes that the history of past secret organisations indicates that they rarely remain secret for very long, especially if there are a great many people involved. He sees this to have been true of the secret criminal organisations such as

the Mafia and organisation of spies and terrorists and even secret religious groups like the murderous Thuggee of India. Information on the arrests and convictions of some of the alleged murderers and accomplices to murderers in these supposedly well-organised groups is another evidence Victor advises to utilise.

I therefore adopted Victor's premise in analysing the incidents that obtained in Kabwe. In addition to the direct way of trying to trace secret Satanists as suggested by Victor, this study also adapted an indirect way of tracing secret Satanists through their works. In this regard, I based my search for evidence on the reported incidents of ritual murders, occurrence of strange or scaring incidents alleged to be acts of Satanism and testimonies from the self-confessed Ex-Satanists which I analyse under the following subheadings:

## **8.5 FABRICATED STORIES ABOUT SATANISM**

This study established a number of claims which people linked to Satanism, but whose veracity was not established during the search for evidence. This category includes the claims linking the Town-Centre SDA Church and one farmhouse at Luanshimba to Satanism. I followed up these claims in an attempt to discover establishments of secret Satanist, as the two locations were rumoured to have been former sites for Satanists. The claims about the presence of Satanism at these two sites in Kabwe were largely found to be false by this study, because they lacked a definitive feature that could link them to satanic sites. Instead, the items found at these sites pointed to the possibility of them being former sites for Freemasonry. As regards the Town-Centre Structure, the items like some waste-paper work that were found at the site contained terminologies used by Freemasonry. One example was the *Book of Minutes* whose contents kept on referring to the 'Grandmaster', a term common among Freemasons. The items found at Luanshimba farmhouse provided even more proof beyond doubt that the alleged Satanist sites in Kabwe were actually Freemasonry Lodges.

### **8.5.1 Elder Mwabi on the Case of the Town-Centre Building**

The interview with Elder Mwabi provided me with information on two separate cases; one concerning the Town-centre Older Structure that was alleged to have been a building for Satanists and the other one, concerning Lyn's incident where he said he participated in delivering her from Satanism.

On both cases, Elder Mwabi's tone during interviews was so consistent in portraying a conviction that there was Satanism in Kabwe. Contrary to his conviction, though, it turned out from my investigation that the Town-Centre Old Structure was actually the Freemasonry Lodge. The allegation that linked the structure in question to Satanism constituted one of the most widespread rumours about the satanic scare in Kabwe, if not Zambia as a whole. The concern here is that people need to be careful about the sources of information contained in the claims about Satanism, whether such claims come from reputable sources such as clergymen or not. Secondly, looking at how wide-spread the rumour was, my first feeling was that there could have been something about the Freemasons' Society in Kabwe (when it was still there) that could have linked its adherents to Satanism. Through informal discussions with people in Kabwe, however, what I gathered was that people knew very little about the Freemasonry Society, its organisation and operations. Most likely, this could be due to its characteristic feature of being a secret society, where its members meet and do everything in secrecy. This perhaps could have been one of the reasons peoples linked it to Satanism, which in this case, could be explained in terms of people's tendency to link inexplicable phenomena or situations in society to Satanism.

## **8.6 DOUBTFUL INCIDENTS**

Many justifications can be given to explain the occurrence of doubtful incidents alleged to be acts of Satanism in Kabwe. Looking at the society of Kabwe from the sociological point of view, for instance, one would find the existence of evil in the form of everything that is deviant from a society's moral values, which can be argued to have been due to the influence of Christianity in the area. One explanation, therefore, could be that the society of Kabwe is becoming predominantly Christian, in which the Christian ideology tends to influence people's conception of evil. Therefore, Satan and human agents who do Satan's work are likely to be attributed as the ultimate source of evil. Belief in the existence of the Devil and his active involvement in human affairs tend to increase during times of social turmoil and moral crisis.

### **8.6.1 The Doubtful Presentation of Satanism by Bishop Chikoma**

The manner in which some people conceived Satanism in Kabwe followed a certain unique and common presentation of the phenomenon, which the interview with Bishop Chikoma as well as Reverend Kabila, Lyn and Niwi's testimonies seem to reflect. This is where the



phenomenon of Satanism took the form of an organised system in terms of governance structures, with its ruler at the centre being Satan himself. The so called ‘Satanists’ therefore, were his followers and those people who are lured to join Satanism appear to have been understood as ‘new converts’ who added to this ‘huge’ number of Satanists, in that context. Bishop Chikoma claimed, for example, that ‘the Kingdom of the underworld’ had what he referred to as ‘a well spelt governance structure’ which he likened to that of the earthly political system of government. One thing about Bishop Chikoma and the other three informants mentioned above is that they share a common ideological background, influenced by Christianity which places the Devil at the centre of all that is evil.

There seems to be a tendency by people of Kabwe to consider the Devil as the ultimate source of evil. In a sociological perspective, such a tendency by people appears to be the case in almost all societies. The sociologist, Anson Shupe, refers to it when he talks of people being in the habit of constructing evil in society especially during times of moral and socio-economic crises. He observes that when the basic moral values of a society are in crisis, the people of that society seek to explain what is happening to them by attributing the cause to some agent or force, which embodies all the evils that are the opposite of their highest value (Shupe,1987:203). In the cultural heritages of societies, there exists a ready-made explanation of the origins and workings of the evil which threatens to undermine the most cherished values of a society. Anthropologists call this culturally inherited explanation of evil, a ‘demonology’ (Stevens, 1991:21). A demonology is usually an elaborate set of interrelated folk beliefs about the workings of evil, which may be partly conveyed in official religious teachings and understanding.

Given the particular cultural heritage of the people of Kabwe, so many of whom regard the Devil as an active reality in the world, it should not be surprising that Satanism and its agents (Satanists) have been socially constructed as scapegoat deviants to blame for the social turmoil and moral crisis in society. The possible existence of earthly agents of Satan is consistent with the ideological fears of religious traditionalists. It does not require a leap of faith for many of them to believe that agents of Satan are at work behind much of the immorality and perversion in society.

Bishop Chikoma’s claims about the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe, therefore, leave certain questions unanswered, which make them doubtful. First, his alleged satanic

paraphernalia discovered at Mondake which he said were used to drain blood from the victim (a teacher), would have been taken as evidence reasonable enough in justifying the prevalence of Satanism if there was a clear accompanying evidence attributing the discoveries to the presence of Satanism, such as a Satanist being found at the scene. The question here is: can these discoveries be used as evidence for the prevalence of Satanism in the district? As long as the discoveries by Bishop Chikoma were devoid of solid evidence linking them to Satanism, they remain doubtful claims that worked to accelerate the satanic scare.

Another concern arising from interviews with Bishop Chikoma was his claim of possessing ‘mystical power’ that revealed the alleged acts of Satanists from victims, a revelation which seemed rather difficult to distinguish from the works of ordinary magicians. The concern here is that the current satanic scare, in the manner it appeared to be in Kabwe, is a new phenomenon that, arguably, has flourished since the 1990s. However, the use of magic in causing things to happen is a phenomenon embedded not only in the culture of the Lenje people of Kabwe, but also in other Zambian ethnic groups present in Kabwe. It is among elements of their Traditional Religion. To consider such revelations as those made by Bishop Chikoma to be acts of Satanism then, requires some more evidence that would justify them beyond doubt that they were something more than the works of witchcraft or magic that people knew to have existed, in order to clear off some doubt. From this background, therefore, Bishop Chikoma’s claims about the prevalence of Satanism appear to be a mere demonology, failing to provide a fine distinction between acts of Satanism and mere magical manifestations.

The impression from the information provided by Bishop Chikoma in an interview would be that his claims take the label ‘Satanism’ loosely to mean a wide assortment of mysterious events people experience in their lives. This is also true of many other clergymen found in his position, such as those who gave ‘strong’ false testimonies about the alleged presence of Satanism at the two specified sites in Kabwe. Such doubtful or false claims from the clergy reduce them to the role of those who promoted the satanic scare in the district. This is especially so because people are naturally more inclined to the view that the information provided by clergymen is correct, because of the authoritative positions or office they hold in religious circles.

### 8.6.2 The Story about the Jumbo Residence

Another doubtful story concerns the Jumbo residence within Kabwe town, commonly known as the 'Haunted Home', where mysterious happenings have been reported to have occurred. According to rumours, an unseen hand one day whipped a person. Still at the same home, a boy was reported to have been pulled out of the house by an invisible being. It was alleged that the disturbances at this home were caused by the annoyed spirits of people who died under unclear circumstances and that their ghosts had haunted the home. The story concerning Mr. Jumbo's residence is doubtful because it generalises Satanism by implying that it comprises ghosts or spirits of the dead and their works. Besides, there was no 'clear' kind of discovery, such as those suggested by Victor above, as evidence in linking the story to Satanism.

### 8.6.3 Lyn's Case

The information provided by Elder Mwabi about the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe was not only baseless because of his claim about the presence of satanic sites that was proved wrong. But his submission of personal conviction about the presence of the phenomenon in the district through Lyn's case was also found to be doubtful by this study. Elder Mwabi participated in praying for Lyn in the process of delivering her from Satanism.

Lyn's case is one strange incident that appeared to suggest some fundamental findings among the satanic scares in Kabwe that was also used in assessing the prevalence of Satanism. During the prayer in the process of delivering her from Satanism, Lyn testified that she had rings hanging on her vagina's labia, which she used in her satanic assignment of recruiting men to Satanism through sexual intercourse. The claims in the story were justified by the physical presence of her aunt who served as witness. Besides that, her aunt inserted fingers into her (Lyn's) vagina, in verifying the alleged presence of rings and felt the marks where the rings were said to be hanging on the vagina's labia.

I, as a researcher took interest in finding out more about the case of Lyn in Kabwe town, during my informal discussions with people after the interview with Elder Mwabi. I was particularly concerned with confirming certain information that came out from the interview, such as whether the girl and the family that kept her were really in Kabwe. The information I got was that the family of the girl was still there in the Fire Brigade Area of Kabwe town.

Many people appeared to have been aware of Lyn's case in the town, though the girl who apparently was reported to have been a 'born-again' Christian in the New apostolic Church, had since left Kabwe for Ndola, one of the towns on the Copperbelt.

The findings from Lyn's case, however, were doubtful on their account of failing to provide sufficient evidence that could be used in justifying them as acts of Satanism. The claims about Satanism contained in this story, therefore, seem to provide nothing but clear indication of pious legend that can be said to be a common occurrence everywhere in societies today, concerning the demon possessions and mere works of magic.

#### 8.6.4 Niwi's Case

Niwi's case adds to the alleged stories of Satanism in Kabwe that were doubtful. Just like Bishop Chikoma and Lyn's respective claims and other incidents that fell short of adequate evidence in justifying the alleged presence of Satanism, a number of incidences can be cited from Niwi's story in search of evidence to support the claim. For instance, the study did not, in this case, only rely on the victim's testimony about her experiences while in the 'underworld', but also on police report because the police got involved at the stage when Niwi was discovered after her disappearance from her parents' home for two days. Apart from interviewing the victim (Niwi), her guardians and police officers at the Police Post, I personally participated in most incidents that followed, where Niwi either testified about her experiences in the underworld or manifested strange behaviour.

Under the control of the spirit, Niwi confessed and revealed that she was the Queen of the Ocean, residing deep under the water and that she had seven children under that world. During the time she was under attack by satanic spirits, Niwi either exhibited some unbecoming behaviour or disappeared from home to places her guardian did not know.

Despite the nature of evidence cited in Niwi's story, the incident remains doubtful and seems to join Lyn's case in failing to provide plausible evidence linking it to Satanism. In a case like Lyn's, it would be difficult for one to tell the difference between what is being recounted in the story and the common phenomenon of demon possession.

### **8.6.5 Other Doubtful Stories**

Other stories recounting strange incidents that are doubtful include one about a pupil who started losing blood after lending a pen to a stranger and women who developed maggots inside their vagina after having sexual intercourse with a strange man who was suspected to be a Satanist at one of the guesthouses within Kabwe town. The two stories did not have any supporting evidence and my attempts to find out about the possibility of their having taken place in Kabwe proved futile. Just like the story about the Jumbo residence, discoveries like those suggested by Victor would be useful in linking these stories to Satanism.

## **8.7 THE SATANIC SCARES**

### **8.7.1 Atrocity Stories**

Atrocity stories are capable of creating environments that can breed false rumours. Some emotionally powerful satanic accusations and rumours that had no basis for evidence in this study had links to acts of violence and cruelty that eventually found their explanation in Satanism. People usually conceived imageries of evil and cruelty from the media and rumours. Many newspaper articles and television shows about the threats of Satanism rely heavily upon atrocity stories and are usually offered as unreliable evidence for the existence and dangers of Satanism. These include emotionally disturbing stories about murderers and serial killers who have been publicly labelled as Satanists. In Kabwe, some of the acts of violence have been attributed to Satanism, therefore, making Satanism being blamed for committing atrocity against the civilian population. Examples of the rumours found to belong to this category in this study were; (1) a man who was killed by youths for money, (2) inexplicable deaths in public places like bars and pubs and (3) the high rate of accidents between Kapiri-Mposhi and Kabwe. There is a common tendency for people to rush to associating incomprehensible and mysterious acts of this nature to Satanism.

### **8.7.2 The Story of Serial Killer**

Images of savagery and evil acts may not always come from the media, but from acts of people within society as well. A story is told of a serial killer by the name of Brian Chilala who caused a great scare especially in the countryside of Kabwe in the 1990s. According to respondents in the interview (conducted at Manyumbi village and Kabwe Town respectively on June 19, 2012), Chilala led his life from childhood as just a normal person, who even grew

up into a responsible man in one of the rural agriculture society of Kabwe, earning his living as a peasant farmer. All of a sudden, the close relatives of Chilala began noticing some detestable behaviour in him. He had turned into a violent man, causing trouble in the homestead he lived. One day Brian picked a domestic quarrel with his wife, which ended up in a fight. He then locked his wife in the bedroom and started beating her. When his parents came to the aid of the woman (Chilala's wife) who cried for help, Chilala turned round and beat his parents as well. The neighbours who had come at this stage to intervene rescued the parents.

The incident was a clear example of gender-based violence whose consequence Chilala knew very well. He knew quite well, for instance, that he would be jailed for assault on both his wife and his parents. This made him to run away immediately into the bush where he disappeared for almost a month, to lead a rebellious life. He was, however, occasionally spotted by people when he visited his home at times when there was no one present, to collect some foodstuff after which he would sneak back into the bush. The community was getting worried about the unusual behaviour in Chilala's life and was at the verge of organising some local men to conduct a search for him in the bush when something tragic happened.

On the fateful day, Chilala's wife had gone weeding in her groundnuts field and no one was at home because his parents were also weeding in their maize field the other side of the village. Having monitored their movements, Chilala knew very well where his wife and other family members were at that particular moment. He, therefore, passed through home, picked a pick-axe and followed his wife to the field. He hit her in the head with the instrument, killing her instantly. Without wasting time, he rushed to the other side of the village where he also found his parents weeding in the maize field and instantly hit both his mother and father with the same instrument. He then got back home with the intention to clear off the entire family. Upon reaching home, he found his young brother, who fortunately managed to escape from his (Chilala's) wrath. Turning round again, Chilala saw a dog behind him, which he equally struck with the same instrument. He then collected all the dead bodies, dug shallow graves and buried them just close to the doorsteps of his parents' house.

The incident about Chilala captured attention of the entire nation; with police sending warning messages to the public to be careful about Chilala who was now a fugitive. The police promised lucrative rewards for anyone who would provide information leading to his

arrest. Chilala then came to be known as a Serial Killer, whose frightening existence did not only affect Kabwe, but the entire Central Province of Zambia, because of the subsequent stories which alleged that he was spotted by people in various places.

Atrocity stories such as the one above paint an impressionistic picture of a growing menace in society and validate the need to take action against it. This kind of rhetoric stories has a powerful effect on audiences that are not prepared to be critically analytical. Because there was no formal critical analysis, the forces behind Chilala's detestable behaviour were not known. Whatever the causes, people found an explanation to Chilala's behaviour in terms of Satanism. When atrocity stories are conceived by people, what follows next are their effects, as what is in people's mind manifests itself into action.

### 8.7.3 The Chambishi Anti-Satanism Riots

An example of the effects of atrocity stories can be given from what transpired in Chambishi Township on the Copperbelt Province in Zambia (a neighbouring province to Central province, where Kabwe is). The *Times of Zambia* Newspaper of September 3, 2012 carried an article involving irate residents mobilising anti-Satanism riots. According to the reporter:

A cloud of uncertainty continued to hang over Chambishi Township on the Copperbelt Province after the irate residents went on rampage for the second time in two days, this time setting ablaze a market in Zambia Compound as part of their continued protest against alleged acts of Satanism by some local businessmen (*Times of Zambia*, September 3, 2012).

The rampaging residents, who had in the past three days left a trail of destruction when they rioted in the same township where they set on fire a number of shops and burnt to death four people whom they suspected of involving themselves in ritual killings, had this time mobilised again and destroyed more property. Police had arrested 110 residents of Chambishi, mostly women and children, after the property destruction and killing of the four people. The situation continued to be volatile for some time, with the business community living in fear of attacks and destruction of their property. This attracted a heavy presence of the police in the area to ensure security.

‘The situation right now is calm but this can change any time just like last evening when we were knocking off from work. The shop next to us was intact but when we came this morning, we found it had been destroyed,’ said Mr. Nyirenda in an interview with Times Reporters. George Nyirenda, one of the people who owned shops at the market in Chambishi Mining Township where the residents damaged shops, added that uncertainty surrounded the township as violence was imminent. He said the violence that rocked the town had adversely affected business as people were afraid of shopping at the market.

A mob of people found gathered by the Times Reporters at one of the drinking places at the market said they were forced to take the law in their own hands because of alleged failure by the police to arrest and prosecute those allegedly involved in the acts of Satanism. They also demanded the release of their 110 colleagues who were arrested in connection with the riots and the killing of four businessmen.

The Chambishi incident represents one of the results of atrocity rumour-stories, which are not backed by reliable evidence for the existence or claims of Satanism. When incidents such as the Chambishi one abound, it is always difficult for the police and other law enforcement agents to take sides with the complainants in the absence of some objective evidence. The whole story surrounding what happened in Chambishi incident seemed to have been backed by rumours that built up in the area concerning some businessmen whom local residents suspected to have involved Satanism in the running of their businesses. Those businessmen were blamed for many things, such as being responsible for other people’s failure to prosper in business, for it was alleged that those suspected to be Satanists were using some black magic to collect money from their colleagues’ businesses, therefore, making themselves excel at the expense of others. Another allegation made about the suspected Satanists in Chambishi was that they (Satanists) were behind several incidents involving mysterious disappearance of people, especially children from the community, whom according to rumours were abducted and turned into spiritual beings through satanic rituals. The spiritual beings were alleged to have been used by Satanists to collect money from other people’s shops. It was also alleged that the suspects were responsible for the unbecoming anti-social behaviour among youths, such as burglary, promiscuity and ritual murders since these anti-social behaviours were believed to have been engineered by Satanists in the area. This had eventually resulted in some kind of a popular satanic legend shared in the area, which was rich in atrocity rumour stories. Behind the obtaining legends were always moral crusaders who had assumed the role



of advocates for anti-Satanism within the township. The Chambishi riot, therefore, seems to have been an expression of avenge to what people had considered a social evil manifesting in the area.

Concerning the rhetorical claims of moral crusaders, a scientist researcher by the name of Michael Reich has observed that the claims of moral crusaders serve to construct a definition of a new form of deviance through rhetorical devices rather than through careful scientific investigations. He says the rhetorics of moral crusaders tend to have similar types of content, regardless of the particular kind of evil being attacked, whether it is environmental pollution, the sexual harassment of women or ritual murder (Reich, 1971:107).

#### **8.7.4 Scaring Rumours about Death**

Rumours concerning people dying mysteriously, or simply disappearing from the community often made news in Kabwe. Such rumour added another form of a satanic scare in the district, often as they were linked to Satanism. People had observed an increase in the ‘physical’ deaths and believed that some people, through mysterious powers, were able to go through some kind of transfiguration into other forms or beings, mostly spiritual beings.

Concerning the physical death, it is common knowledge that once born, one must die. However, among some people in Kabwe, just like any other people elsewhere, accepting what death had bestowed for them was something difficult. To them death had been the greatest human fear. It had caused some social disruption, which had not been easily resolved. Death was always awesome and a touching incident. It implied a familiar voice going forever. It was also a circumstance of high emotions and was characterised by agony. As such, few people, if any, were eager to die.

At the time of this study, the death rate in Kabwe (Zambia in general) was high. Cancer, Tuberculosis, Asthma, Cardiac Failing and malaria, were common diseases that had claimed many lives. The current advent of HIV/AIDS had even made the situation worse. In short, death in Kabwe was usually caused by sicknesses of which there were broadly two types; ‘usual’ and ‘unusual’. However, in the current era of alleged Satanism in the district, death was often said to be caused by agents other than ordinary sickness, such as through people willingly giving away their lives to Satan, ritual murders through which vital human body

parts were taken from victims for satanic use and draining of blood from victims for Satanic sacrifices. Death that occurred in this way was considered 'unusual' and contributed to the satanic scare. In Satanism, however, it was believed that physical death might simply mean the end of one phase and the beginning of another.

## **8.8 INCIDENTS THAT SUGGESTED THE PREVALENCE OF SATANISM**

### **8.8.1 Incidents of Ritual Murder**

There were two cases of ritual murder discovered in this study, that were singled out for analysis, to represent many other similar cases under the same category, which propagated the rumours about Satanism. One involved the pregnant woman who had come to Kabwe town for a short visit from Mumbwa while the other involved a teenager girl at Chibombo. The two cases presented traces of evidence that linked them to Satanism. In both cases (which happened at different times), people notified the police, who immediately moved in to apprehend the culprits and carried out investigations. Victims in both cases confessed that they were hired to kill and obtain human body parts by people from outside Kabwe, who promised to give them money for the successful operations. The police sources could not indicate whether the 'sponsors' of ritual murders in both cases were interrogated. However, this study relied on the evidence from confessions made by culprits that the people who hired them to commit ritual crimes were businesspersons from Lusaka, who belonged to some secret religious groups.

People of Kabwe witnessed the two cases, which also drew the attention of the Gender-based Violence Activists. The Chibombo case in particular, caused great concern to the government resulting in the First Lady and government officials attending the funeral procession of the victim.

However, two major problems emerged in seeking credibility of the rumours linking these stories to Satanism. The first problem consisted in the difficulties faced in determining the reliability of the confessions from culprits, especially that the alleged sponsors of the crimes were not approached for interrogations. The second problem lies in what seems to be the inconsistency in the explanations of the motives behind human killings found in the ritual murders. While it was known that Satanists kill for the human flesh and blood that were essential elements of their rituals, there were still yet another explanation behind the human

killings that occurred in Zambia and Kabwe in particular, which was provided by local legend. According to this alternative explanation, the human organs extracted from dead human bodies are used as bait in trapping a special species of fish that carry small stones containing gold in its intestines, which it swallows from the ocean base. It is believed that people make a lot of money from selling the gold they extract from the fish.

However, it seemed that both the religious people and secular people that were approached for information in this study tended to use both explanations (given above) to justify the satanic ritual murders. Even secular professionals (including the staff from the police) see evil at work in acts of ritual murder. They have believed that some of such acts are products of Devil worship, especially where there is sufficient evidence to justify their belief.

#### **8.9 KABWE'S ECONOMIC DESPONDENCY AND THE FLOURISHING OF SATANISM**

Economic despondency takes place when the poverty levels of a given society or nation reach a stage of hopelessness. This is a stage Kabwe's economy had reached during the period after the 1990s.

Among the crucial questions dedicated to this research and which were among the objectives of this study was one concerning Kabwe's economic despondency and people's motivation to enter into economic arrangement with the spirit world. Given the dwindling economic situation Kabwe experienced in the 1990s, the study was concerned with finding out whether there was a relationship between the poor economic status Kabwe had experienced and the alleged coming of Satanism in the district.

According to Mulwa (2009:90), the causes of poverty and impoverishment as understood in socio-economical development paradigms are 'exogenous', that is, emanating from societal factors external to the victim. These, in his view, include inadequate social awareness and therefore, disorganisation among the affected; poor, corrupt and unaccountable leadership, as well as unfair and unjust trade relations. Other *exogenous* causes he cites include poor governance with non-democratic practices, insensitive and inefficient service structures and unpopular public policies. He also argues that the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a few can also bring about poverty and impoverishment.

### **8.9.1 External Factors Behind Kabwe's 1990s Economic-Melt-Down**

External factor also referred to by Murphy (2000:341) as 'exogenous' factors or societal factors external to the victim, are aspects quite familiar in most Zambians' economic understanding, as was easily noted from respondents in this study. In Kabwe, therefore, most of these economic factors are those that find an explanation in the closure of the mines and mines-related industries; closure of the Zambia Railways company and other industries within the district, such as the Mulungushi Textiles. The closure of these companies / industries in the 1990s was as a result of external economic sanctions imposed by the International Monetary Funds (IMF) and the World Bank on the Zambian government, an undertaking done to most developing nations (and other European nations) since the 1970s.

The above observations seem to relate well with those made by Ellis and Ter Haar (2004) on the general relationship between religion and economy in society. Ellis and Ter Haar, have pointed out a number of examples which suggest this kind of relationship in people's life experiences, which this study sought to analyse with a view to providing an understanding of the supposed relationship between Kabwe's economic-melt-down and the flourishing of Satanism in the area.

### **8.9.2 Underlying Sources of Stress Caused by Economic Decline**

Smelser (1962:164) argues that satanic rumours usually arise in groups of people who experience anxiety due to some source of stress they share. He suggests that it is important to find rapid changes in many people's lives that cause misfortune and frustrations. Smelser further observes that the regions where the satanic rumour-panic is rife in most cases are those with declined economies.

### **8.9.3 Summary**

In summing up the discussion on the supposed relationship between Kabwe's economic despondency and the alleged coming of Satanism, it should be noted that the economic depression experienced by Kabwe district in the 1990s and the increasing presence of Satanism in the area is not a mere coincidence. Two possible explanations can be offered here. The first one is a possibility that the poverty situation in which people of Kabwe found

themselves during the period in question prompted some individuals to enter into a pact with the secret world of Satanism, because it promised sudden riches. The second explanation is that there could have been some underlying causes of stress experienced by people of Kabwe which sought explanations through satanic rumour scares. Smelser (1962) refers to the second explanation under the theories of rumours in chapter seven. He observes that satanic rumours usually arise in groups of people who are experiencing anxiety due to some source of stress they share and that the suddenly increased economic stress has very commonly been a source of threat rumours that blame scapegoats for life's problems.

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

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#### **9.1 CONCLUSION**

The focus of this study was to investigate the claims about the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Zambia, with a particular reference to the Kabwe district.

In my methodology, I used different approaches, owing to the complexity of the subject under investigation. What turned out to be a multi-perspective study, therefore, combined the sociology, anthropology, theology and psychology, with my own first-hand observations of the rumour-panic and anti-Satanists in action, while taking into context the historical and the socio-economic aspects of lives of people in Kabwe District. A corroborative analysis of rumours was used as a methodological tool, based on conceptual frame-works of theories of rumour by Victor, S.J. (1996) and Ellis, S. and Ter Haar, G. (2004) respectively. Apart from the Observation method, other methodological tools I used in searching for evidence from rumours were the questionnaire and interviews. Throughout the study, I had adopted the phenomenological approach and its hermeneutical aspect as my theoretical orientation, especially in the analysis and drawing of inferences from the findings.

The prevailing rumours about Satanism in Kabwe district were investigated. The claims about the alleged prevalence of Satanism and the satanic scare were found by this study to be a reality in Kabwe, with eighty-eight per cent (88%) of the respondents acknowledging the alleged prevalence of the phenomenon. During the search for evidence, I identified a number of different incidents purported to be acts of Satanism, based on rumours. I divided these incidents into four broad types in terms of analysis, namely; Fabrications, Doubtful incidents, Satanic scares and Incidents that suggested the prevalence of Satanism.

It became apparent that some rumours or claims about the prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe were mere fabrications. This category constituted one of the most widespread rumours, about the alleged presence of two satanic cult centres; one commonly known as the Town Centre Old Structure right within the town of Kabwe and another one being the Farmhouse at

Luanshimba along the Great North Road, about forty kilometres after the town of Kabwe. This rumour was discredited by this study, which found out that the sites mentioned above were actually the Freemasonry Lodges.

There were also other incidents alleged to be acts of Satanism that this study found to have no sufficient evidence. Such incidents included Bishop Chikoma's claims about the prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe. In his claims, Bishop Chikoma loosely took Satanism to mean a wide assortment of mysterious events, without giving a fine distinction between the events he cited (such as the discovery of blood he had claimed to have been taken from a woman by Satanists) and works of the ordinary magic or witchcraft. His claims, therefore, appear to be a mere demonology.

The story concerning Mr. Jumbo's 'haunted residence' provides another claim that lacked sufficient evidence. The claim in this story is doubtful because it generalises Satanism by implying that it constitutes the works of ghosts or spirits of the dead. Further evidence was, therefore, required to qualify the works of ghosts said to have taken place at the haunted home of Mr. Jumbo, in order to qualify them to be acts of Satanism.

The case of Lyn and the story about Niwi were equally discredited on the similar grounds of lacking sufficient evidence. In a fascinating story about Lyn, it was alleged that she got involved in Satanism through a friend who used an egg to initiate her in the underworld world. Lyn gave a self-confessed testimony of her experiences in Satanism after Church Elders prayed for her at one of the SDA churches in Kabwe. Her testimonies pointed to some fundamental discoveries, such as the satanic rings that hang on her vagina's labia. The presence of rings on Lyn's vagina was verified by her aunt in the presence of Church Elders during deliverance prayer sessions. This was after Lyn confessed that she was carrying rings, which she was given while under Satanism on her assignment of recruiting men into Satanism through sexual intercourse.

Niwi's story recounts another fascination incident that linked Niwi to Satanism. Niwi had disappeared from home for two days and after she was discovered, she testified that she had gone to the 'under world' where she was the Queen of the ocean, residing under water and had seven spiritual children from that satanic world. I had a privilege of being present at the

time Niwi gave a testimony, while the whole incident had been reported to the police who followed it closely, especially during the part Niwi had gone missing.

Other examples of doubtful rumours include a story about a pupil who started losing blood after lending a pen to a stranger; women who developed maggots inside their vagina after having sexual intercourse with a strange man who was suspected to be a Satanist at a guesthouses in Kabwe town and the claim that some deaths in hospitals were caused by Satanist medical staff who sacrificed patients to Satanism.

There were also mere satanic scares that appeared to have originated from the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Zambia in general, which people in Kabwe shared. Examples of alleged satanic incidents that resulted from satanic scares in this study include the story of Brian Chilala (Serial Killer) and the Chambishi Anti-Satanism riot. On both incidents, it was difficult for the police and other law enforcement agents to take sides with complainants in the absence of reliable evidence justifying the acts to Satanism.

The fourth category of rumours established by this study concerned those incidents that suggested the prevalence of Satanism. This category included the two cases of ritual crime discovered in the study. These were the Chibombo case of murder involving a teenager girl and another incident of murder involving a woman from Mumbwa. On both cases, culprits confessed during interrogations by the police that they were hired by other people to kill and obtain human body parts from dead bodies and that those people who had hired them belonged to some secret religious groups. While these cases of ritual murder seemed to provide the kind of evidence that would be satisfying in linking them to Satanism, the problem of inconsistency in explaining the motives behind the ritual killings weakened the justifications.

Coming to the most basic question of whether Satanism prevailed in Kabwe, this study confirmed the prevalence of the satanic scare in the district, while most of the rumours behind the observed satanic panic were found to be a mere collection of 'pious legends' devoid of facts. Concerning the question on what caused people to join Satanism, most of the respondents cited poverty and / or desire for more wealth as factors. However, interviews with the self-confessed ex-Satanists suggest that there were also people who got initiated into Satanism unconsciously, through luring methods Satanists used.



With regard to the supposition that the district's 1990s economic despondency had triggered the coming of Satanism, this study found that the poverty situation experienced by people of Kabwe during the period in question could have been among the factors that contributed to the satanic scare in the district. This is because satanic rumours normally arise among groups of people who experienced anxiety due to some sort of stress from the rapid economic decline.

This study also explored the effects of Satanism or satanic scare on the lives of people of Kabwe. It was established that Satanism affected people's socio-economic lives, by causing fear in them to aspire to certain levels in wealth acquisition, because of people's association of riches to Satanism. In this respect, people's fear of being dubbed 'Satanists' was seen to hinder development.

Satanism also affected people's religious life where, for instance, it had threatened to shake the levels of faith among Christians. The alleged prevalence of Satanists and the perceived manifestations of satanic miracles in Kabwe District which is predominantly a Christian Society caused confusions and disbelief among some Christians who saw it difficult to discern the power of God in miracles. This is because they were not certain whether the power behind certain miracles was from God or Satan. The effects of Satanism could also be viewed differently among Christians, such as in cases where some people became more committed Christians in their defence against the perceived satanic forces. Satanism was also seen to have affected the Traditional Religion. This was where the religion became associated to Satanism because of the perceived use of magic found to be a common element in both. This caused the fear to visit herbalists or traditional healers among some people in Kabwe.

## 9.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Although this research has revealed information on alleged Satanism in Kabwe and has advanced informative discussions, there were a number of interesting areas that remained void. It is hoped that this study will stimulate further research in the areas of Satanism; its prevalence and effects. Since there had been inadequate formal enquiries made on important aspects of this phenomenon, rumours seemed to have taken over as the main mode used in explaining out the satanic related issues in Kabwe. It is, therefore, hoped that the new studies that may stem from this one will provide facts in order to lessen the dependence on rumours or speculations. In this case, more anthropological studies on rumours are required, to provide people with an understanding of the workings of rumours in general and explain out the circumstances that breed rumours, especially in cases where rumours are devoid of facts.

Other areas where this study offers grounds for further research are those that were found to require further research. For instance, a study needs to be done on the subject of *Spiritual Interventions in times of Economic Despondency* in the lives of people of Kabwe. Besides, an inquiry on the establishments or locations for Satanists within Zambia is another relevant undertaking to stem from this study.

Other researches may also emerge, to investigate the prevalence of the same phenomenon in other localities within Zambia, but from different theoretical bases, to enhance the understanding of the phenomenon of Satanism in those environments and consequently, Zambia as a whole.

It is also hoped that this study will be used as a basis to further constructive studies relating to Satanism and the main religions of Zambia in general. In this case, this research recommends a thorough investigation of the influence of Satanism on Christianity and other 'minor religions' in Zambia.

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- Interview with Bishop Chikoma, Kabwe town, February 8, 2012.
- Interview with Niwi's Uncle, Mukobeko Prisons - Kabwe, March 24, 2012.
- Interview with Sookesi C., Chibanda Village (Kabwe rural), March 27, 2012.
- Interview with Elder Mwabi, Kabwe Central SDA Church, March 28, 2012.
- Interview with an SDA member, Kabwe Central SDA Church, March 28, 2012.
- Interview with Kafulamase resident, Kabwe, March 29, 2012.
- Interview with the Commissioner of Police, Zambia Police -Kabwe Central Division, April 9, 2012.
- Interview with Pastor Chole, Nsangani Village (Kabwe rural), April 11, 2012.
- Interview with Ex-Satanist, Kabwe Town, April 16, 2012.
- Interview with Kabwe Town Resident, April 17, 2012.
- Interview with Shelly H., Kabwe Urban, April 21, 2012.

Interview with Manyumbi resident, Manyumbi Village (Kabwe Peri-Urban), June 17, 2012.

Interview with Mr. Chiputa K, Kabwe Urban, August 3, 2012.

Interview with Kabwe town resident, August 7, 2012.

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## APPENDICES

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**APPENDIX I**

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**QUESTIONNAIRE**

**INTRODUCTION**

This questionnaire seeks to gather data on the alleged Prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe district. The information got from this questionnaire will be used only for academic purposes and shall be treated with a high degree of confidentiality. Therefore, your contribution to this exercise will be highly esteemed. Thank you in advance for your time and co-operation.

.....  
.....

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**INSTRUCTION:** Express yourself freely by writing in the spaces provided for your responses. If you need more space for writing, you can write overleaf.

**A. PERSONAL DETAILS**

1. Village name or Township: .....

2. Period of residence in the area:.....

3. Sex: ..... 4. Age: .....

5. Level of education attained (Tick where appropriate):

No formal education..... Primary education.....

Secondary education ..... Tertiary .....

6. Do you believe in God / god?.....

7. If your response to Q.6 is 'yes':

a) Which religion do you belong to?.....

b) Are you a regular worshiper?.....

**B. GENERAL INFORMATION AND OPINIONS ON SPIRITUALISM AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF PEOPLE**

- 8. Has religion been of any value in your life?.....
- 9. Do you acknowledge the existence of evil forces or the Devil?.....
- 10. Have you ever heard of the term ‘Satanism’? .....
- 11. If your answer in Q.10 (above) is ‘yes’,

a) When did you first become aware of the term and from which source?

.....  
.....

b) How would you define it?

.....  
.....

c) Do you think there is any difference between the Devil worship as cited in the Bible and Satanism ? (Give reasons).....

.....  
.....  
.....

12. People have commented on the alleged satanic incidents obtaining in the world. In your own view, is Satanism a reality or fiction? (Give reasons to your response)

.....  
.....  
.....

13. Would you, personally, say there is Satanism in Kabwe? .....

(Give reasons for your answer).....

.....  
.....

**If the response to Q.13 (above) is ‘yes’, proceed to the next questions:**

14. a) Would you be in a position to cite examples of incidents that have happened here in Kabwe, believed to be Satanic?

.....

- .....
- .....
- b) To what extent do you consider these to be true? .....
- .....
- .....
- .....
15. Do you see the prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe affecting people's lives?..... if so, in which ways?.....
- .....
16. To what extent has Satanism affected people in the ways you have cited above?.....
- .....
- .....
- 17 In your own view, do you see the presence of Satanism in Kabwe affecting the local religions ?.....
18. If your answer to question 17 is 'yes', in which ways has Satanism affected:
- a) Christianity? .....
- .....
- b) The Traditional religion? .....
- .....
19. In your own view;
- a) What could have triggered the coming of Satanism in Kabwe?.....
- .....
- .....
- b) What do you think makes people join Satanism? .....
- .....
- .....
20. a) Do you agree to some people's view that the economy of Kabwe has shown a decline when we compare the periods before and after the 1990s ?.....
- .....
- b) If your response in (a) is 'yes', what in your view, led to the decline in economy?
- .....
- .....

.....  
c) How do you compare the conditions of living among people of Kabwe between the two periods cited above?

.....  
.....

d) During which of the two periods would you say Satanism flourished (give reasons to your answer) .....

.....

21. a) Do you see any relationship between the declining economy of Kabwe and the coming of Satanism in the district? .....

.....

b) If your response in part (a) is 'yes', what do you think were the factors linking the poor economic situation of Kabwe to the coming of Satanism in the district ?

.....

.....

.....

22. Do you feel something should be done to the prevailing Satanism in the district?.....

23. If your response to Q. 22 (above) is 'yes':

a) why do you think something should be done?.....

.....

.....

b) What would you suggest to be done?.....

.....

.....

24. Anything else you may wish to say on the subject of Satanism in Kabwe?

.....

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.....

**NB:** In case I need to revisit your contributions, would you mind indicating below, the means of getting back to you (i.e. address; phone number)?

.....  
.....

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*End of interview*



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## APPENDIX II

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### RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF KABWE

#### Guiding Questions for Interviews with Legal Practitioners and the Clergy

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1. Would you comment on the prevalence of occultism in Kabwe?
  2. What would be your comments about the prevalence of cases of Ritual Murder and Ritual Abuse?
  3. I have been fascinated with stories pertaining to existence of Satanism in general and I would like to get to the bottom of them. Now, in both your professional and Spiritual lives, what has been your experience and impression over the prevalence of Satanism here in Kabwe?
  4. From your experience, would you say Satanism exists in Kabwe? (Justify your answer).
  4. How do you mix the Spiritual and legal matters in your Profession?
  5. Has your department handled similar mysterious cases here in the Central Province?
  6. What has been your extent of involvement in such cases, if at all there are any?
  7. Any attempt towards establishing objective facts (evidence) behind claims of spiritual nature?
  8. Any possibility of accessing records of obtaining cases, where your department has been involved?
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