

Chapter 4

Of Miners and Preachers

‘Miners are not used to drinking *chibuku*’, asserted the man next to me.¹ ‘They drank bottled beer’, he added. I was sitting next to a committee member of Mpatamatu’s Buseko Recreation Club on the club’s premises near the main road leading into the township. Two large trees provided shade for the men drinking a few metres away from us. Our conversation was interspersed with observations about the play of light and shadow on the dusty ground in the afternoon sun, the ‘shaky’ economic prospects of a town like Luanshya, which was still dependent on the mine, and the group of men, many of them former mineworkers, each sipping from a plastic cup filled with *chibuku* from a shared white plastic bottle. ‘We cannot blame the government, we cannot blame the Chinese investors. We can only blame the price at the London Metal Exchange’, continued the committee member, reflecting on the current economic situation.²

It was May 2016; the copper price remained below US\$5,000 per metric ton, and the Baluba underground mine was still closed. However, my interlocutor wanted me to pay attention to something else: social decline. We were sitting in a former miners’ club. Buseko had been the epitome of the mineworkers’ status as a labour aristocracy. Now things had changed dramatically: the men sitting in front of the decrepit club building would not buy a bottle of *chibuku* for themselves. Common situations in the past, when mineworkers drank lager from glass bottles in exclusive areas and were given amenities in kind at the club, had vanished into the white plastic bottle like a genie. The interplay of material and social ruination had many faces in Mpatamatu. At

the Buseko Club, it was present in the material state of the club building, the loss of its central status under corporate paternalism and the everyday practice of consuming beer.³

This chapter opens with alcohol consumption as a form of after-work leisure in the African mine townships of Luanshya. I look at beer drinking from two different perspectives: as a social institution brought to urban areas by its migrant residents, and as a corporate attempt by the mine to gain control over the labour force. Beer halls and social clubs marked the beginning of a corporate infrastructure dedicated to leisure. From bars and clubs, I go on to discuss sport and its respective material sites in Mpatamatu. I continue my analysis of corporate paternalism and how it materially penetrated social life in Mpatamatu. However, at this point I also ask to what extent the structured provisions of leisure were accepted by the township population and were effective for purposes of corporate social control. Prayer houses represented alternatives to the leisure facilities provided by the mine. The presence of Pentecostal churches has been growing steadily in Mpatamatu since the mine abandoned the township and its former corporate infrastructures. It is no wonder that several former social welfare buildings, among them a tavern and the sports complex, have been turned into houses of prayer. In this sense, the preachers I write about in this chapter followed the teachers mentioned in Chapter 3 by taking over buildings that had previously been reserved for the privileged workforce of the mine. Moreover, some mine-workers have themselves become clergymen.

Miners Drinking

‘Beer halls’, also called ‘beer parlours’ and later ‘taverns’ or simply ‘bars’, constituted the starting point for the Copperbelt mines’ infrastructure of leisure. According to Ambler and Crush (1992: 2), the corporate practice of using alcohol and its distribution as a means of social control became established among mining companies throughout colonial southern Africa. Corporate and municipal authorities saw the consumption of alcohol as a source of revenue and social control, but also of social unrest. The urge to direct the drinking behaviour of Africans has to be seen in connection with corporate and government attempts to establish new ‘temporal and spatial orders corresponding to the requirements of capitalist industrial development’ (Ambler and Crush 1992: 21). Drinking was permitted *at* a beer hall *after* work.

The beer halls were tightly controlled locations meant to centralize an everyday practice within a delimited place of leisure in a mine township. During his fieldwork in Broken Hill (now Kabwe) in 1939/1940, Wilson documented the authorities’ attempts to control beer consumption by providing alcohol only at a beer hall under European supervision.

Owing to the correlation between beer-drinking and crimes of violence in town the authorities supply a mild brew and do not trust the Africans to drink even this by themselves. They attempt to ensure that drinking is carried out in a beer hall under the eye of a European manager, with the police at the other end of the telephone. The necessity for constant European supervision makes the provision of more than one beer-hall uneconomic, since each new hall would need a separate European manager. The laws against home brewing and the possession of beer, finally, are retained in the mistaken idea that an ineffective law is better than none. (Wilson 1942: 33)

Women were integrated into Luanshya's African mine township Roan through agricultural subsistence work. Roan Antelope Copper Mines (RACM) introduced tribal elders to represent the community and solve domestic disputes (Epstein 1958: 26–47). Beer halls established another link between the mine townships and rural areas. Richards (1969: 76–77) described beer drinking among the Bemba in Northern Province as providing not only a foodstuff rich in vitamin B, but also a 'kind of entertainment' and 'the essential way of fulfilling social obligations' that was at the centre of communal festivities, an assessment also made by Moore (1948: 51) two decades earlier. Ambler and Crush (1992: 2) asserted that the availability of alcohol at the beer hall established 'a continuity of social and ritual life between the countryside and the town'. This connection between the labour force's rural origins and urban residence was considered 'essential' by RACM's first African compound manager, Spearpoint (1937: 30).

The mining company's awareness of the social meaning of beer drinking resulted in the construction of a separate beer hall in the African mine township of Roan. It emerged that beer halls were not merely drinking places, they also represented 'social centres' (Moore 1948: 51) that produced 'a distinctive African working-class leisure culture' (Ambler 1992: 348). In Roan, Epstein (1958: 10) observed how men and women met right next to elders discussing tribal issues and the gossiping of the urban elite. The beer hall fused the material and social aspects of rural life with the centralization of both alcohol and its ethnically diverse consumers in an urban setting. Township residents had their own ideas about how beer was to be consumed. Spearpoint recalled the following episode of 'natives' complaining about the spatial order of the company's beer hall:

I have had natives state that, as the drinking of beer is a friendly and social function, it is distasteful and unnatural to have to consume their beer in the presence, and very close proximity, of people with whom they have perhaps had a row or fight, or, in some instances, people of some tribe with whom they are not too friendly. (Spearpoint 1937: 31–32)

The company reacted by compartmentalizing the beer hall. Different types of rondavel were constructed. Epstein (1958: plate II) found brick-walled and reed-thatched ones in Roan, and I myself saw the remains of brick-walled round benches with metal umbrellas above and reed-thatched rondavels in Mpatamatu (see Figure 4.1).⁴ However, the accommodation of people's ideas did not prevent individual and collective social unrest breaking out in the beer halls.⁵ Furthermore, decentralized 'illicit' home brewing continually challenged the centralized provision of alcohol. Ambler (1992: 345–46) argues that mining companies never managed to control the drinking practices of their African labour force. His claim can be substantiated with research on the diverse economic practices of women, including beer brewing, in mine townships that I elaborated in Chapter 2.

Collings and Schaerer's development plan for Mpatamatu included the provision of 'Beer Halls' in the 'overall requirements' (RACM 1957: 4). The 'main Beer Garden', later to be called Kansengu Tavern, was opened in September 1962 and sited just opposite section 22 in the centre of the eastern part of Mpatamatu (see Map 0.1).⁶ Both 'native beer', that is, *chibuku*, and bottled beer were sold (RST Roan Antelope Division 1964d: 1). Apparently the centralized provision of alcohol at one beer hall as noted by Wilson and observed by Epstein was abandoned by RACM. Mpatamatu was to receive several taverns spread among its sections. They were located on spacious plots and built with the mine houses around them. These conditions showed that they were planned as locations with a wider social function for the township residents. The social aspect, in fact, survived the abandonment of the taverns by the mine. This was illustrated to me by the group of men sharing a bottle of *chibuku* above. In the following passages, I revisit Mpatamatu's four surviving taverns.

Boniface Mwanza, a former sampling supervisor at the Geological Department of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines' (ZCCM) Luanshya Division, first introduced me to Mpatamatu's social welfare buildings in April 2016. On a tour with him,⁷ we looked for Kansengu Tavern's sitting tenant. Felix Matobwe lived in one of the former mine houses in section 24. He had been a mineworker since 1976, labouring underground at the 28th and Baluba shaft. In 2015, he retired from CNMC Luanshya Copper Mines (CLM). He showed us around the tavern.⁸

Kansengu Tavern was in a desolate state, ruined by time and climate, and broken by ransacking. However, the name sign had been freshly painted. In contrast to the few people around, there was a strong stench of alcohol. Walking through the dim light of the main room, past broken furniture towards the sales lady at the counter offering *chibuku*, I got to know the tavern as a broken relic of the mine's provisions for its workers. Felix Matobwe explained to me that he rented out parts of the building. Rather than generating an income, this was an attempt to stop the looting of the building after business hours. Ransacking



Figure 4.1. Kansumbi Tavern in section 25. Photo by the author.

had become a way to appropriate the material remains of the mine's welfare infrastructure in the township. Taverns were in a similar situation to government schools (see Chapter 3). 'If only the government could reopen 28th shaft, people are suffering a lot', Felix Matobwe exclaimed. The shaft had been Mpatamatu's *raison-d'être*. Felix Matobwe called for paternalist state intervention, in words referring to the time when the mine was run by a state-owned company. However, the period of ZCCM and government intervention was over. Luanshya's mayor, Nathan Chanda, redirected the call to reopen the 28th shaft to CLM (*Lusaka Times* 2017).

Kabulangeti Tavern, Mpatamatu's second beer hall, was built in section 23, also in 1962.⁹ It was placed at a critical junction central to sections 22, 23 and 24 (see Map 0.1). In contrast to Kansengu Tavern, its tenant decided to break with the building's initial function as a bar by turning the beer hall into a church, a reappropriation I deal with later in this chapter.

Kansumbi Tavern, the township's third beer hall, was built off-centre, at the edge of the township between sections 24 and 25. It became operational in 1966.¹⁰ The building looked abandoned but well maintained (see Figure 4.1), and, as I figured out over time, it was run as an outpost by its manager, Alfred Phiri. He had been born into a mineworker's family in Roan in 1951 and joined Roan Consolidated Mines (RCM) in the early 1970s. In 1999 he became the sitting tenant of Kansumbi Tavern. At that time, he was still employed by Roan Antelope Mining Corporation of Zambia (RAMCOZ). After being retrenched in 2004, he refocused on his tavern business. In 1998 he started another bar located more centrally in section 23. Alfred Phiri asked me to meet him there in his main office. This fact underlined the peripheral position of Kansumbi Tavern, a business that could not be run on its own and was only kept alive because it was subsidized by the success of the more centrally located bar.¹¹

Mwaiseni Tavern, Mpatamatu's fourth beer hall, was built in the very east of the township, between section 22 and the former mine police compound (see Map 0.1). During my visits, I observed a lively place with men sipping beer on the veranda, music playing, and freshly erected election posters greeting me from

the walls. However, I could not study the tavern's situation in detail, as the sitting tenant was seriously ill throughout my fieldwork.¹²

This brief history of Mpatamatu's four taverns reveals three issues that connected them with one another and with other social welfare buildings in the township. Firstly, the taverns were constructed in the eastern sections of the township before the 1970s. They therefore belonged to that part of Mpatamatu that had been developed during the height of corporate paternalism after the Second World War. The taverns were part of the more elaborate spatial order in sections 21 to 24 that housed many more social welfare buildings than sections 25 to 27 (see Chapter 1). Secondly, corporate paternalism made it possible to build social welfare buildings in peripheral locations because the mine township represented a material and social unit. A comprehensive corporate social investment plan made it possible to run them without a direct profit. As independent businesses, one of the taverns struggled with its disadvantageous location. Thirdly, their abandonment by the mine and the low purchasing power of Mpatamatu's population led the sitting tenants to reappropriate their taverns in different ways. Some struggled with rent and maintenance, others with low profits. At the same time, new bars were started, as in the case of the section 25 canteen, a former mine-run grocery store.¹³

RACM did not only build taverns in Mpatamatu to provide corporate spaces for alcohol consumption. As labour hierarchies spilled over into social life, mining companies also discovered that beer-drinking locations enabled them to 'divide and conquer', a corporate practice also pursued in the face of unionization (Larmer 2007: 36). Ambler (1992: 352–53) reconstructed how mining companies drew the class line between the taverns for ordinary mineworkers and the clubs for semi-skilled and skilled mineworkers. In Mpatamatu, the Buseko Recreation Club was one result of this process, a material analogue to class formation at the mines. 'Welfare Halls (i.e. social clubs)' had been listed next to 'Beer Halls' under the 'overall requirements' for the township by Collings and Schaerer (RACM 1957: 4).

Buseko Recreation Club was officially opened by RACM's African Personnel Officer in June 1962.¹⁴ It was a tavern with additional facilities such as a lounge, theatre hall and offices. Only bottled beer was sold in the beginning (Mulenga Associates 1986b; RST Roan Antelope Division 1964a). This sales strategy emphasized the company's intention to separate ordinary mineworkers from 'advances' who could afford to purchase bottled beer. Harries-Jones (1975: 163) had observed this corporate practice in neighbouring Roan earlier. European-type beer sold in bottles became a 'mark of status' (Ambler 1992: 353), the absence of which the committee member mentioned at the beginning of this chapter wanted to draw my attention to.

Kalulu Recreation Club,¹⁵ Mpatamatu's second club, was established when the mine took over a private bar and restaurant from an Indian businessman in

the market area of Mpatamatu in the course of the copper sector's nationalization in 1969/1970. The club was run in the same way as Buseko, relating class-based spaces of leisure to the distribution of allowances in kind to mineworkers. This distribution mainly involved mealie meal, as the club's former manager and accountant explained to me.¹⁶ After ZCCM's privatization, one of the club's board members became the sitting tenant. Emmanuel Muyutu, a former mineworker under RCM, ZCCM and RAMCOZ, continued running Kalulu as a club and more than just a tavern. He employed four people, sold bottled beer and offered a pool table and darts to his customers.¹⁷

Fifty years after Buseko and Kalulu had been started as mine clubs, the committee member in conversation with me in front of Buseko returned to the question I have already touched upon in my short history of the township taverns: was it possible to run the clubs without the mine? This question had emerged in the 'Row over Roan clubs' books' in 1966 (*Mail Reporter* 1966). When the clubs' management had gradually been handed over to Africans during the early 1960s, the mine clubs turned into symbols of African self-management.

Africans opposed the corporate practice of interfering on the mine's behalf in times of financial difficulties. However, the clubs always relied on the financial support of the mine, just like the mineworkers themselves, explained the Buseko committee member. Certainly, '[the] company's primary business was to produce and sell copper at a profit', as Roan Selection Trust's (RST) General Manager noted during the club crisis in the late 1960s (RST Roan Antelope Division 1966a). At the same time, taverns and clubs needed to be maintained by the corporation as an integral part of the mine's unitary structure. After ZCCM's privatization, each tavern and club fell out of this structure and had to struggle for itself. Corporate abandonment and a grim economic outlook resulted in continuities and discontinuities in how particular buildings were run. Most importantly, beer halls were now run for a living by individuals, and not as a leisure service provided for by the mining company.

Miners Playing

As a mining town, Luanshya was renowned for its extensive sports facilities. First and foremost, it was known for the Roan Antelope Recreational Club (RARC) in the European mine township (see 'A' in Map 1.1). A swimming pool and a stadium were also built in the African mine township Roan. Football became the most popular game among African mineworkers.¹⁸ Collings and Schaerer included a 'sports field' in their plans for Mpatamatu, proposing to build the township's stadium at the intersection of the administrative centre (market area), 'precinct 3' (later sections 23 and 24) and 'precinct 4' (later section 26; see Map 0.1) (RACM 1957: 1, appendix map NR.RA1).

After the first sections were built in the late 1950s, Collings and Schaerer worked out the details for the layout of the stadium in 1962. Construction work began at the end of the same year (RACM 1962: 1).

We have been given no indication of what playing fields will be required as the central feature but, for the purposes of levelling and grassing, the plan indicates a rectangle 550 feet by 300 feet which will accommodate a standard international soccer pitch or a standard rugby ground and, in addition, athletic tracks and other athletic sports.

The rectangle is oriented with the long axis 10° East of true North so as to avoid to the maximum players looking into the sun, and to take advantage of topography. The main spectators stand would be on the Western side facing East. (Collings & Schaerer Town Planning Consultants Consulting Engineers 1962: 1)

The layout plan revealed how Collings and Schaerer accommodated their design to the site's physical conditions, corporate prescriptions on the variety of disciplines, and the acceptance of specific games by the population of RACM's first African mine township. The popularity of football most probably induced



Figure 4.2. Mpatamatu stadium. Photo by the author.

the mining company to commission ‘a standard international soccer pitch’ and a ‘spectators’ stand’ for Mpatamatu (see Figure 4.2). Following the supervision of alcohol consumption at taverns and clubs, the stadium as a place of after-work leisure reinforced the mine’s spatial and temporal orders. Sport was permitted in an organized form *at* the stadium *after* work. As such, the stadium became the place for what van Onselen (1976: 191) termed ‘organised sport’, this being ‘an important dimension of colonial hegemony’:

Colonial officials, European capitalists, and missionaries viewed organized sports – football, cricket, field hockey, rugby – and the rules that characterized them as an important dimension of colonial hegemony. They believed that structured ‘play’ with rules and in a time framework inculcated time consciousness, discipline, courage, and endurance in Africans. It fit into capitalist and Protestant notions of ‘purposeful leisure’, and redirected Africans from ‘corrupting’ leisure activities such as dancing and idle gossip. (Akyeampong and Ambler 2002: 11)

‘Structured “play”’ was taken up as a corporate practice, a corporate ‘weapon in the control of large numbers of [Black] workers’ (Onselen 1976: 191). Sport



became part of ‘other forms of surveillance, control and command over bodies’, which Victoria (2016: 256) saw in Foucauldian notions of architecture, a material environment that permitted ‘internal, articulated and detailed control’ (Foucault 1995: 172). In this sense, sports facilities joined mine houses, mine clinics, community centres, taverns and clubs as material locations envisaged as guaranteeing the controlled social reproduction of the labour force. However, the stadium also joined beer halls in its ability to assemble and mobilize people against the labour regime.¹⁹

After Zambia’s independence in 1964 and the nationalization of the mines in 1969/1970, corporate sports facilities acquired national importance. Sports, particularly football, were upgraded from leisure activities for the mine’s labour force to crucial activities of a newly independent nation state. Zambia’s first president, Kenneth Kaunda, promoted football on a national scale (Chipande 2016: 62), building on earlier practices of corporate paternalism, such as sponsoring a football team at each mine. More than half of the eighteen players in Zambia’s most famous national team had played for mine football clubs.²⁰ This state focus on sport reached its height under ZCCM, as the parastatal’s guidelines on sport illustrate:

ZCCM as a single major parastatal organisation should be geared to take the lead in the promotion of sport in compliance with the aims and objectives of the Party and its Government. (ZCCM 1984: 1)

In the shadow of the more successful Roan United Football Club in the neighbouring township, Mpatamatu stadium became the home of a succession of clubs supported by the mine: Buseko Rising Stars under ZCCM, Panado Football Club under RAMCOZ and Luanshya Copper Mines (LCM), and Nkulumashiba Football Club under CLM. However, support for a mine football club gradually declined after ZCCM’s privatization. In 2012, Mpatamatu United Football Club was founded as an independent club. According to its secretary,²¹ the team’s ascent into the higher football divisions was hindered by the club’s financial situation. In particular, transportation costs to away games posed a huge challenge in a vast country with a limited road network. Despite this situation, the club ran three youth teams, U13, U17 and U20, and held regular training sessions in a stadium that had become a beaten field of dry grass and dust (see Figure 4.2).

The construction of the sports complex east of the stadium during the second half of the 1980s further documented the ‘promotion of sport’ by ZCCM, which was backed by President Kaunda. Chrispin Mukapile, a former bricklayer in the maintenance section under RCM and ZCCM, explained to me how he became involved in making the final touches to the complex.²² At the same time, Wisdom Zulu, who had just joined the Civil Engineering Department, was sent

on a training course at the construction site shortly before its completion and commissioning in 1991.²³

The Mpatamatu sports complex consisted of a central hall and two adjacent wings (see Figure 4.3). The hall was used for regular indoor sporting activities, such as chess, badminton and volleyball. The wings housed training rooms for boxers and weightlifters. Looking back at all those opportunities from today's dearth of sporting activities, one Mpatamatu resident exclaimed nostalgically: 'It was a very nice complex; everything was there'.²⁴

Mpatamatu's residents engaged in sports at the stadium and the complex, and clubs and community centres housed additional indoor facilities. Hall B, a building south of and belonging to Buseko Club, became a training centre for boxing.²⁵ The 'promotion of sport' was all-encompassing and permitted such extraordinary expenses as a pitch irrigation scheme at the stadium.²⁶ Like other industrial contexts with enterprises with a unitary structure, sport was 'an important tool that could capture people in their free time and prevent them from being idle' (Starc 2010: 264). Cheering at or playing for one's mine team also enforced corporate identity and became a vehicle for motivation. Mining companies were inclined to invest in their football teams. One Luanshya resident who had worked at the mine for over thirty years recalled:

Management knew that there was a relationship between production and social activities, . . . every time the weekend results [of Roan United Football Club] were bad, production on Monday and Tuesday was lower.²⁷

Felix Chanda grew up during that era of the 'promotion of sport' and had spent a lot of time at Mpatamatu's stadium. He had been born in Muchinga Province and had grown up in the township from 1989 to 1996. Living with one of his maternal aunt's daughters in section 23, he became a registered de-



Figure 4.3. Mpatamatu's former sports complex. Photo by the author.

pendant of his cousin's mineworker husband. This dependence fully integrated him into the mine's unitary structure. He went to Mpatamatu Primary School and enjoyed access to the township's sports facilities. In his survey, Mijere (1985: 301–2) showed that the great majority of mine township residents under ZCCM's Luanshya Division were aware of these opportunities for their children and took advantage of them.

At secondary school, Felix Chanda got involved in athletics and regularly trained at the stadium: 'Everything was looking nice, the stadium was green, there was football, volleyball, handball and athletics'. Long jump and high jump became his disciplines, and he competed in tournaments in other Copperbelt towns. 'It used to be a very exciting time for us youths, this going outside in sports attire, so beautiful.'²⁸ Sport not only provided after-school activities for children, it connected pupils and their mineworker families with others inside and outside the copper sector through inter-divisional tournaments, that is, within ZCCM, and inter-provincial ones, that is, within the Ministry of Education.

Felix Chanda remembered such events, like the 1992 Inter-provincial Athletics Championship for Secondary Schools and the ZCCM Youth Cross Country Championship held at the Kafubu (Roan township) and Mpatamatu stadiums, events I found documented in the archives (Copperbelt Basic and Secondary Schools Heads' Association 1992; ZCCM 1992). The tournaments connected the township and its residents like Felix Chanda to the outside world. This connection was lost when the mine abandoned the social welfare buildings.

I was able to observe how the stadium was used as meeting place, as well as being the training ground for the local football club. One September day in 2016, I walked across the Nkulumashiba Stream towards section 26 with four women, who were returning home from a farmers' cooperative gathering. They had just attended a meeting with a Seed Co representative and had been instructed in the use of a new maize seed and the application of pesticides.²⁹ Agriculture was seen as an important alternative to the formal sector in post-paternalist times. Symbolically, farm plots were gradually encroaching on the barren sports field, with its decaying stand, from the west, while the complex building shielded it from vegetable gardens approaching it from the central roundabout to the east.

At the complex, music was another kind of 'purposeful leisure' that mine-workers were encouraged to engage in after work. Each of ZCCM's divisions had financed a mine band. Several former mineworkers told me how Luanshya Division's band rehearsed at the complex in Mpatamatu. Outside bands played exclusively for miners. Ticket costs were deducted directly from mineworkers' pay cheques. Wisdom Zulu remembered the 1991 music competition of the Department of Cultural Services of the Copperbelt Province at the complex, which featured bands from Luanshya, Ndola, Kitwe, Mufulira and Chililabombwe.³⁰ In the past, several township residents confirmed, famous Congolese musicians such as Pépé Kallé and Bozi Boziana had toured the Copperbelt mine towns.

During my fieldwork, this musical past revisited Mpatamatu's sports complex. The building still possessed the capacity to assemble people, and it had kept its stage. The Mpatamatu College of Education (MPACE) student union organized a fund-raising concert, booking popular Zambian artists and organizing security, expecting about five hundred people to come. Interestingly, in conversation with the organizers of a younger generation, it became clear that the complex was perceived as a house of prayer, detached from its past as a concert hall under the mines. The students' greatest concern was that the building '[was] a church [and that] immoral things are not supposed to happen'.³¹ The union representatives made it clear that their goal was to raise awareness of education. 'People cannot invest in education but they can invest in beer', exclaimed one of the representatives, referring to the cheap *chibuku* being drunk everywhere in the township. Instead, the concert would give township residents the option to spend their money on a ticket to support MPACE's union.

Nostalgia for Infrastructure

The material remains of social settings produced by corporate paternalism that I have described in this chapter, namely socializing at a tavern or club, doing athletics at the stadium or holding a concert at the complex, generated a strong sense of nostalgia for the days of ZCCM and its post- and pre-independence predecessors, RCM, RST and RACM. Several Copperbelt scholars have noted the resilience of nostalgia in the former mining towns.³² Facing the ruinous consequences of corporate abandonment, nostalgia on the Copperbelt was aimed at 'a golden age of corporate paternalism' (Larmer and Laterza 2017: 702). On the Copperbelt too, nostalgia followed a watershed (Boym 2001: xvi), namely the reprivatization of the Zambian copper sector in 1997. In the case of Mpatamatu, the nostalgia was particularly for the infrastructures of that past 'golden age'.

Following Mususa's (2014: 79) reading of Casey (1987: 379) and Mah's (2008: 237–38) reading of Harper (1966: 120), I understand nostalgia as something intrinsically ambiguous. In Mpatamatu I encountered this ambiguity in the presence of broken infrastructures from a modern past, the affects triggered by their brokenness, the positive assessment of opportunities provided by corporate paternalism, and the neglect of the fact that welfare buildings also represented a tool of social control. 'Warm memories' blurred the rigidity of mine township life, as observed by Finn (1998: 108) at Anaconda Copper Mining Company in Chile. Larmer and Laterza (2017: 702) rightly underline the fact that the Copperbelt 'company towns were . . . sites primarily designed to control and discipline labour'. However, what I saw residents associate with Mpatamatu under corporate paternalism most frequently was not limitation or even control, but opportunity.

Nostalgia in Mpatamatu revolved around a socially inscribed materiality, for example the mine club as a place of social status and economic privilege, and it

curved both space and time by, for example, relating social situations of the past to the ruined spaces of the present. In conversation with my research participants, how things were before they had fallen apart was immediately present in the face of the material ruination of the township's infrastructures. 'How things were' always included residents' past social lives and material living environments. In the most literal sense of the term – a longing, Greek *álgos*, for coming home, *nostos* (Boym 2001: xv–xvi) – I witnessed moments of nostalgia during fieldwork in Mpatamatu.

Residents longed for the opportunities that had been provided by the mine township and its infrastructures, which had constituted their living environment under corporate paternalism. Affects about present conditions were always put up against that past. Clearly residents saw progress in the infrastructures that the subsequent mining companies had put in place since the beginning of industrial copper mining in Luanshya in the late 1920s. When I talked to them and thought with them about what was left, this 'progress still controlled us even in tales of ruination' (Tsing 2015: 21).

What was left were pot-holed streets under broken street lamps, mine houses without electricity and running water, and social welfare buildings disconnected from the corporate structure. In their dysfunction, infrastructures produced a longing for its initial creators. Corporate abandonment invited in the spectre of the imperial formations that had once turned the Copperbelt into an 'extractive space' (Frederiksen 2010: 236–41) through 'imperial nostalgia' (Stoler 2008b: 199). Nostalgia for infrastructure was common in postcolonial spaces where governments could not maintain it and where people, in the face of material ruination, reverted to 'value the roads, hospitals, and schools built during the colonial era' (Piot 1999: 43). Nostalgia for infrastructure in Mpatamatu was very concrete: it was not aimed, in contrast to other places, at an unfulfilled vision of streets, houses and social welfare buildings (cf. Yarrow 2017).

This concreteness was formulated selectively relative to residents' personal experiences made under corporate paternalism in the past and the corporate abandonment of the present. A former mine football player raved about the pitch irrigation scheme at Mpatamatu stadium under ZCCM; a former boxing trainer highlighted the numerous facilities where he used to train adolescents; a former homecraft teacher complained about the women not learning at the community centres but drinking in bars; and a teacher who went to pre-school and enjoyed sports activities after school at the community centres emphasized the utilitarian character of the former social welfare buildings.

Miners Praying

In contrast to nostalgia for the social welfare buildings as locations of opportunity, analytically, they suggested themselves to be an effigy of Foucault's notion of

power as a 'total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions' (Foucault 1982: 789). Indeed, community centres, taverns, clubs, clinics, the stadium and the sports complex structured the behaviour of the mine township residents. They incited women to take up homecraft classes and promoted the gendered division of labour. They invited men to go for an after-work beer at a particular location and directed youths to the sports facilities after school. The scope for action of a mine township resident was predefined: it was impossible to evade the unitary structure of the mine entirely. However, there was one space not under the immediate authority of the mine that residents were drawn into: religion.

In a survey carried out at ZCCM's Nkana, now part of Mopani Copper Mines (MCM), and Luanshya Division during his fieldwork from 1982 to 1983, Mijere found something that kept township residents out of the mine's leisure facilities: more than half of his interlocutors indicated that 'they were not interested in beer or sports. They . . . would, instead, go to church to pray and to involve themselves in church activities' (Mijere 1985: 298–99). One of his sources revealed that he could not be a member of a club where beer was served while at the same time being a member of the church. The mineworkers Mijere included in his survey were of an older generation, in their late forties, having been born in the early 1930s. In contrast, the younger mineworkers in the survey did make use of the leisure facilities. My point here is not that there was a correlation between age and the effectiveness of corporate control through welfare buildings. Rather, the church represented a concrete alternative to corporate provision aimed at the life of the labour force outside the mine shaft.

The almost exclusionary character of the choice between corporate leisure provision such as socializing at a beer hall and involvement in church activities, as indicated by one of Mijere's sources above, was also present in my own biographical interviews with Mpatamatu's residents. In every conversation about the former social welfare buildings, I sought to enquire how frequently residents in fact visited them. As a pattern, taverns and clubs appeared as counterparts to churches. Interestingly, these different social spheres played a role when social welfare buildings were reappropriated as houses of prayer. The past of the buildings would be put to use in the present of the churches.

Kabulangeti Tavern had attracted my attention ever since I passed the junction in section 23 at which it was located for the first time (see Map 0.1). The building carried obvious marks of material ruination and renovation. An incomplete brick-walled annex stood next to the original structure (see Figure 4.4). The name of the former beer hall was nowhere to be found. Instead, the name of a congregation and academy, a pre-school, as I later found out, was painted on its outer walls. The large plot around the building was undeveloped, the grass having been trampled down along the footpaths. A tall tree made me think of mineworkers formerly sitting in its shade sipping their after-work beer. The building seemed abandoned, depicting a sharp contrast with Mpatamatu's 'flats' on the



Figure 4.4. Former Kabulangeti Tavern in section 23. Photo by the author.

other side of the road, which were the source of much noise of life: children screaming, pots clattering, chickens clucking.³³

The sitting tenant, Steven Mulenga, had struggled for several years to continue running Kabulangeti Tavern as a beer hall. It appeared to be an ill-fated endeavour right from the start. The building had been stripped of its heart, the beer tank, by a former tenant. Turning the interior into classrooms for a pre-school project also failed: the Moraiah Academy had to close because of a lack of funds. In conversation he recalled the year 2013, when he ‘surrendered the building to God’.³⁴ Steven Mulenga had been a mineworker himself in various ZCCM divisions from 1988 to 1991. In his last post he worked as an electrician. The skills he acquired enabled him to start his own car repair business. In 2001 he moved from Luanshya’s Mikomfwa township to Mpatamatu. In 2007 he started to lease out Kabulangeti Tavern from RAMCOZ in receivership.

Steven Mulenga needed a preacher to turn the former tavern into a house of prayer. His wife Agness supported him. She had joined the Dynamic Worship Church International (DWCI) and had taken Bible classes. DWCI was a Pentecostal congregation based in Lusaka. Agness Mulenga held the first service in December 2013. They started with a group of five adults and three children, she recalled. Over time, church attendance increased to about fifty people. However, Agness Mulenga admitted that attendance was directly linked to her presence and that she could not preach every Sunday. Consequently, numbers had fallen again.

At the tavern, Steven Mulenga showed me how they had converted the beer hall into a ‘Hall of God’ (see Figure 4.5).³⁵ The dance floor in front of the counter had become his wife’s workplace. Armchairs were arranged for her and the church elders. Separated by concrete pillars, the congregation sat, stood, knelt, sung and prayed in the former beer lounge. The kitchen behind the counter remained unused and had been covered with decorative veils, a background to the speaker’s desk in the centre of the room. The disco illumination and a metal cage for a stereo had been left on the walls. School benches in the main room and letter



Figure 4.5. The prayer room in former Kabulangeti Tavern. Photo by the author.

sheets on the pillars were the remaining traces of Steven Mulenga's pre-school project. A door to the west led into another former classroom that appeared to be used as a store. The door next to the counter opened into a kitchen and store, an office, the old beer tank storage room and the former take-away kiosk (Mulenga Associates 1986a). From the kiosk we entered the unfinished brick-walled annex that I had already seen from the outside (Figure 4.4). The former beer hall had not only been turned into a prayer house: Steven and Agness Mulenga intended to move into the extended structure themselves. Their plan was to save the money that was currently going on rent for another house in Mpatamatu.

I arrived early one Sunday morning. The building was locked, and no one was present at the time that had been communicated to me. Waiting, I sensed the township morning: rooster cries, fires crackling, music playing. Patriotic Front (PF) campaign cars were driving down Kalulu Street, as the general election was less than a month away. A woman street trader shouted out the vegetables she had for sale. A man with the letters 'CLM' on his shirt passed by. Children giggled at me from afar. People were on the move, some riding bicycles, presumably to the church of their choice. After about an hour, three young men arrived and opened the door. I sat down in the main room on one of the benches. A woman with her baby boy joined me. Eventually, one of the three men started the service. Agness Mulenga arrived later, by which time about twenty people were present, but she left the day's sermon to one of her junior pastors.³⁶

How much the memory of the place mattered occurred to me during one of Agness Mulenga's own sermons. Standing at the centre of the former beer hall, she referred to the building's past as a place of drinking. The tavern became a metaphor for the presence of evil and deliverance from it. Brochures of the US-American child evangelization ministry 'Mailbox Club' describing the origins of the devil were displayed on the benches, directing every last bit of attention to the topic. Basing her sermon on the temptation of Christ, as detailed in Matthew 4:1–11, Agness Mulenga evoked the cleansing of the building:

The devil is in the mind of the people. . . . This was a place of drinking and HIV. . . . We answered God's call and are destroying the evil. The day of judgement will come. You are going to be judged, if you want it or not.³⁷

The leisure activities of drinking and dancing in the past were thus rendered sinful as manifestations of the devil. The material ruination of the tavern appeared to mirror the destruction of evil. At the same time, the tidiness and decoration of the prayer room indicated the congregation's urge to answer God's call. Again, amidst ruination there was renovation: although sections of the building were falling apart, others were being renovated. The building's surroundings were covered with rubbish blown over the dry grass by the wind, the walls of the prayer room had been freshly painted, and construction work was going on. Renovation also consisted in the fragmented processes of trying to make a living at the former beer hall: from a mineworker who became a car mechanic and tavern manager to his wife studying to preach and making her husband the verger of her church.

A few minutes by foot along Kalulu Street, the Mpatamatu sports complex was the most prominent example of a former leisure facility being converted into a house of prayer. Pastor Anthony Kabwe remembered that it was in December 1999 when his congregation of the Pentecostal Assemblies of God (Zambia) (PAOG(Z)) first used the main hall of the complex for Sunday services.³⁸ Formed between 1955 and 1970, PAOG(Z) was an offspring of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC), a Pentecostal movement that had been brought to Zambia by Canadian missionaries. PAOC had been part of the first Pentecostal wave going back to the Azusa Street Revival at the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁹ Pastor Kabwe had been raised as a Catholic, but became a 'born again' Pentecostal in 1979. After attending a Bible college for three years, he was first posted to Mufulira before coming to Mpatamatu in 1996.

Pastor Kabwe remembered that the situation in the neighbourhood of the complex was a challenge to the church in the early 2000s. Bars had mushroomed in the abandoned wings of the building. In order to emphasize its claim to the complex, the church signed a rental agreement with RAMCOZ in receivership, making PAOG(Z) the main sitting tenant. Over the years, the building was repeatedly put up for sale. A 2013 sales advertisement was the last so far of many unsuccessful attempts by the receiver to turn the mine's social assets into cash (RAMCOZ (in receivership) 2013).

After the bars had left the complex, other groups continued to use the building's wings. Apparently, a martial arts group was active there in the 2000s. At the time of my fieldwork, four of the five rooms in the wings were being used as extension classrooms of Nzelu Zanga Private School, a school founded in 2002,

explained the headteacher, Mercy Tembo, to me in the main building of the school across from the complex.⁴⁰ The fifth room was the only relict of the complex's original intent, still being a part-time gym for weightlifters.

The main hall of the complex was adapted to PAOG(Z)'s requirements, being used as a house of prayer with an ancillary school. In 2007, the congregation started Victoria's Christian Private School. This primary school grew to about two hundred pupils and eight teachers. It was envisaged as offering education to the community and thus supplementing the congregation's funds. Two rectangular classrooms were created by putting up wooden boards to the left and to the right of the main entrance (see Figure 4.6). Like the situation in the former pay line buildings, smaller classrooms were carved out of a larger space. The school turned out to be a 'charitable organization', confessed Pastor Kabwe. Like other private schools in Mpatamatu, the rate of payment of school fees was very low, resulting in a high turnover of both pupils and teachers.⁴¹

Charitable organizations had been developed at other former social welfare buildings in Mpatamatu as well. The former section 21 clinic became the headquarters of the Serve Zambia Foundation. This non-governmental organization (NGO) had been started as a faith-based health care service by Pastor Andrew Kayekesi in 1997. When the mine clinics in Mpatamatu deteriorated after ZCCM's privatization, health care for the people in the rural areas next to the township became a serious problem. The pastor started a home-based care programme in the Mpata Hills. At the time of my fieldwork, the Serve Zambia Foundation was focused on helping child-headed homes and fighting HIV/AIDS. Its work was supported by a global network of different faith-based organizations.⁴²

Sunday services in the main hall of the complex drew between fifty and a hundred people. According to Pastor Kabwe, members of the community were very heterogeneous with regard to their occupational backgrounds. Nowadays there were few miners, many having turned to subsistence farming in order to



Figure 4.6. The main hall of Mpatamatu's former sports complex. Photo by the author.

make a living. Services usually began with music audible from far away and were started by a junior pastor. A growing number of people gradually arrived at the complex. On stage, singing with a band and choir alternated with collective and individual prayers. The zeal and exertions of the junior pastor and the centrality of the music during the service were reminiscent of the building's former use as a gymnasium and concert hall.

About one hour into the service, Pastor Kabwe climbed onto the stage. His sermon, permeated with Bible readings and references, usually took one to one and a half hours. Offerings, typical of the prosperity gospel, were made (Haynes 2017: 68). Finally, community announcements closed the service.⁴³ I observed this roughly three-hour routine at all the Pentecostal congregations that were convened in Mpatamatu's former social welfare buildings. However, PAOG(Z) was the only one where I witnessed Holy Communion. It was also the largest Pentecostal assembly with the most resources, with benches, stage equipment, instruments, a sound system and a substantial number of followers.

Apart from the recurring intense performances by the pastors, physical exertion played a minor role at the complex during the time of my fieldwork. The sports complex had lost its attributed function within the broader corporate social theme. Again, a former social welfare building had been abandoned and had to stand by itself. It was reassessed through its material characteristics like the tall church-like outer walls, the high widespread roof and the ground beneath allowing numerous people to gather there. The complex remained the single largest hall in the township, surpassing the capacity of the Catholic Church, the United Church of Zambia (UCZ), the numerous Kingdom Halls of Jehovah's Witnesses and the other newly constructed Pentecostal churches in Mpatamatu. For its main sitting tenant, the building's material characteristics and location far outstripped its run-down condition.

Miners Preaching

Former social welfare buildings were thus reappropriated as churches. Moreover, former mineworkers became preachers themselves. In my investigation into the buildings' post-paternalist history, I encountered two ministries that used them for Sunday services and that were headed by miners-turned-pastors. Their congregations were relatively small, not comparable to the size of PAOG(Z)'s Mpatamatu branch, but rather that of DWCI at the former Kabulangeti Tavern. One congregation rented out a classroom from the Suzika Private School at the pay line buildings, the other a classroom at the Golden Eagle Private School in the former Muliashi Community Centre (see Chapter 3). Both cases exemplify how the material products of corporate paternalism and its human subjects found a new purpose in Christianity after the disintegration of the mine's unitary structure.

Pastor Mukosha was born in Serenje District, Central Province, in 1958. He joined ZCCM's Nchanga Division, now part of Konkola Copper Mines (KCM), in 1985. His congregation, the House of Deliverance, had been started by a mineworker in Chingola in the early 1990s. According to Pastor Mukosha, the first members were all mineworkers. In 1992 he entered the congregation as a 'first child', one of its first members. Over the years, he rose in the church's hierarchy and ultimately started a new branch under his pastorate in Mpatamatu in 2007. Two years later, House of Deliverance moved to the former community centre.⁴⁴ His congregation was not alone: two other ministries used classrooms in the buildings belonging to it for their Sunday services as well.⁴⁵

Mpatamatu's branch of House of Deliverance appeared to me to be a family church, as Sunday services not only involved Pastor Mukosha but also his wife and daughter. During the service I attended, his daughter delivered the main sermon. Pastor Mukosha sat down next to me on one of the school benches. We were among ten people, seven of them women, who followed his wife's singing and her instructions for prayer before the sermon.⁴⁶ From time to time, the songs and prayers of the ministry congregating across the building were audible. Like other services I attended, testimonies – oral evidence key to one's own Christian identity – were presented by followers in front of the congregation. One of the few men came forward. He talked about his nightly readings of the scriptures. Before he left, he underlined that 'it's our duty to tell God what we want' with the following reference:

Don't worry about anything, but pray about everything. With thankful hearts, offer up your prayers and requests to God. (Philippians 4:6)⁴⁷

I was perplexed. It was far from the first time that I had come across Philippians 4:6 in Mpatamatu. I had initially picked it up at the home of Steven and Agnes Mulenga, who, as we have seen, had turned Kabulangeti Tavern into a church. In their living room, TV3, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation's Christian music channel, was running while we were talking. A singer chanted: 'You should not worry about tomorrow, you should not worry in your life, Jesus is your way!' In a second example, a junior pastor at the tavern-turned-church fell into a mantra repeating Philippians 4:6 again and again.⁴⁸ It also came up during one of PAOG(Z)'s Sunday services at the sports complex: the woman preaching ensured the community that 'you don't have to worry about tomorrow, you're a child of God!'⁴⁹

In light of the prosperity gospel, 'Jesus . . . encouraged the believers to seek, knock, and ask (translated as *claim*)' (Kalu 2008: 258), the repeated appearance of Philippians 4:6 was not surprising. As someone who had examined the history of the former social welfare buildings, these instances possessed a historical quality for me. Certainly, churches had been active in the township since its

inception. However, I came to understand Philippians 4:6 as a spiritual mirror image of the past corporate paternalism under which claims were addressed to the mining company.

Social welfare buildings might have been repurposed and mineworkers might have become preachers, yet a particular social logic did not cease to exist: *'being someone continued to imply belonging to someone'* (Ferguson 2013: 228). Ferguson (2013: 226) explored 'dependence' not as 'bondage or unfreedom', but as a 'hierarchical affiliation that created the most important forms of free choice'. Mineworkers could not build upon their affiliation with the mine any more, and the municipality had not managed to step in fully to replace it. More than ever, it was 'God's promised generosity' that provided people with a 'spiritual contract' they could rely on in times of material and social ruination (Kalu 2008: 255).

Pastor Mukosha's daughter made it clear what this spiritual contract meant to her. She preached on the story of the resuscitation of the Shunammite's son. 'God wants us to make impossible things possible', she shouted. Poverty originated with people's inability to listen to God. In fact, it was the devil who was to be avoided by sharing the little wealth one had. She assured the congregation that 'there [will be] a day of your harvest'.⁵⁰ In retrospect, and through the literature on Pentecostalism, I recognized her sermon as a prototype of the prosperity gospel, with its image of cultivating one's field, the centrality it gave to the faith doctrine and its equivalence of poverty with the devil (Attanasi 2012: 5; Kalu 2008: 255–56).

It was in Pastor Mukosha's church that I experienced a particularly rich instance of reflecting my own positionality and back story together with my research participants in the field. Through my mother's biography (see the Introduction), I related Mpatamatu to a post-paternalist community in the former German Democratic Republic: Schkopau. People were very interested in where I came from and why I had come to Mpatamatu in the first place. Why was I studying their township's history and its former social welfare buildings?

In a first reply, I retraced my fieldwork trajectory and explained my initial research interest in Chinese companies investing in Zambia's copper industry. People actively related to my experience of being kept out by the mine operators, alluding to the absence of corporate social responsibility measures in Mpatamatu. In a second reply, I talked about Buna and the ruinous consequences of the privatization of East Germany's economy after 1990. Entire industrial regions were downsized or dissolved. I explained how Buna's *Kulturhaus* was still an unused ruin today stuck in its own past. I talked about the high unemployment among former Buna employees. Despite the fact that I had grown up in a family of *Wendegewinner*, that is, 'winners' of German reunification, I was taught from an early age to look at the world from the perspective of the disconnected and marginalized. In this sense, I had come to Pastor Mukosha's church and service in order to listen and learn.

Pastor Mpundu was around the same age as Pastor Mukosha's daughter. He had been born into a mineworker's family living in Roan township. Like Pastor Kabwe of the PAOG(Z), he grew up in a Catholic household. During adolescence he became interested in the Pentecostal movement for both personal and doctrinal reasons. His father had worked for the maintenance department of ZCCM's Luanshya Division. He initially followed his father into plumbing, painting and plastering. After temporarily working as a mine police officer at Lumwana mine (now part of Barrick Gold, North-Western Province), he returned to Luanshya. In 2008 he started his own ministry in Mpatamatu, one year before being ordained by a US-American priest. Like House of Deliverance, Pastor Mpundu's congregation first rented out rooms in one of the former community centres. However, the rooms at Kansengu Community Centre were too small. Eventually he moved his ministry to the Suzika Private School at the former pay line buildings.

One Sunday morning in August 2016, I returned to Mpatamatu's pay line buildings in order to attend one of Pastor Mpundu's services. It was being held in one of the many classrooms that had been cut out of the long low halls where mineworkers used to receive their salaries (see Figure 3.1). It was a very bright and windy day, with dust from the open pit hanging over Mpatamatu. The Mputa Hills were hardly visible on the horizon beyond the township. Pastor Mpundu spotted me as I approached the door and invited me into his church. I entered the small dark room and experienced something like a compression of space, time and the spoken word. The service had already started, and I was drawn into a situation described best in the verses of the scripture itself:

When the day of Pentecost came, they were all together in one place. Suddenly a sound like the blowing of a violent wind came from heaven and filled the whole house where they were sitting. They saw what seemed to be tongues of fire that separated and came to rest on each of them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them. (Acts 2:1–4)

Despite the fact that only ten adults and four children were present in the room, the atmosphere resembled that in the scripture: shouts of deep personal prayer, voices reflected by the brick walls and being multiplied, utterances in English, Bemba and 'tongues', all floating in the room's heat descending onto the congregation from the metal roof plates above it. The day's central reading was the parable of 'The Rich Man and Lazarus' and the question of whether riches were bad for followers of Christ.⁵¹ Everyone, including me, was asked to join the discussion, which was headed by a junior pastor. The lecture ended after about an hour with a combination of communal singing and personal prayers.⁵²

By the time Pastor Mpundu started preaching himself, almost two hours into the service, the number of people present had doubled. Attendance was growing, as was the heat in the room. The pastor started a monologue on God enabling his people to act. He gradually lost his voice; his elaborations occasionally being accompanied by the congregation's 'Amen'. Towards the end of the service, the message 'Leave your troubles with the Lord' filled the room, a message I saw being related to the words of Philippians 4:6 noted above. After three and a half hours the service closed with hymns and community announcements.

Pastor Mpundu's ministry had been renting the room from the Suzika Private School in the pay line buildings since 2011, he told me when I visited him at his home.⁵³ We were sitting in the living room, where the Hillsong Channel was running on TV. At other homes in Mpatamatu, I repeatedly saw Emmanuel TV on screen. Both channels were internationally broadcast programmes by two major Pentecostal churches. The former was run by the Hillsong Church in Sydney, the Australian branch of the Assemblies of God, the latter by the Synagogue, Church of All Nations (SCOAN) in Lagos, a Pentecostal church headed by T.B. Joshua.

I witnessed how present SCOAN and its 'prophet' were in Mpatamatu during another service at Pastor Mpundu's church. A senior pastor, a guest of Pastor Mpundu, who had been with the ministry for almost thirty years, held the main sermon on another Sunday. His authority immediately filled the room, reducing the people in the audience, including myself, to students. His zeal became apparent when he started reading about 'winning souls':

Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age. (Matthew 28:19–20)

The senior pastor continued with a forceful lecture on God's all-encompassing authority and the need of a vision for his followers. His words seemed almost intimidating: 'We [the pastors] are the final authority, this is a church of God not *yamuntu* [of man], this is not a club!' His words shattered the idea that the building had once been used to hand out money to mineworkers that they then spent on a beer at a club. Nothing escaped his presence as he disciplined two young men who were chatting with each other. He shouted: 'In T.B. Joshua's church there is order!' He underlined his call for discipline by citing the scripture again. The roughly twenty people and myself listened in silence.

Without guidance from God law and order disappear, but God blesses everyone who obeys his Law. (Proverbs 29:18)

Following the pastor's one-hour sermon, during which most people just nodded occasionally or replied to his statements with 'Amen', individual prayers refilled the room. Again, the service turned into a mixture of heat, cries, shouts and songs. A junior pastor took up the theme of the guest: 'Desire God to lead you in this world!'⁵⁴ Indeed, it was guidance people most often called out for in the services I attended during my fieldwork in Mpatamatu.

Global (Re-)Connect

Based on his work on urban social life on the Zambian Copperbelt, Ferguson (1999: 234–54; 2006: 48–9; 2009) argued repeatedly that mineworkers, like the country itself, had met the fate of a 'global disconnect' since the fall of the copper price in the 1970s. This disconnect unfolded in 'abjection', that is, the 'process of being thrown aside, expelled, or discarded' (Ferguson 1999: 236). He based his argument on a historical context in which Zambia first ascended to 'membership in the new world society' through national independence and was then gradually disconnected from it due to the declining price and importance of copper (Ferguson 1999: 239–43). ZCCM's privatization in 1997 formally reconnected Zambia's most important industrial sector with international capital. The economic involvement in the country of actors from the People's Republic of China (PRC) revived the demand for copper. However, this reconnection on the level of capital did not result in a reconnection on the local level. The reprivatization of Zambia's copper sector renewed the social abjection of the local.

The retrenchments in Luanshya in the early 2000s following RAMCOZ's bankruptcy expelled mineworkers and their dependants from the living environment that the mine had provided. Many were declared 'redundant', a term I found given as a reason in the RAMCOZ retrenchment lists that I studied and also found reflected in Bauman's (2008: 12) words on the outcasts of modernity. Mine operators retreated from the residential areas accommodating their labour force and the social welfare buildings within them. Looking at 'abjection' from Mpatamatu, I recognized its social and material aspects as going along with a process of post-paternalist ruination. Abjection explained the nostalgia for infrastructure, for being connected, as well as the claims put forward in the churches mentioned above.

Pentecostalism, and particularly the prosperity gospel, were a way for people in Mpatamatu to reconnect with the world and their own past modernity. PAOG(Z) apparently comprised 450 congregations in Zambia in 2000 (Chalwe 2008: 25), being connected with the global ministry of the Assemblies of God. TV sets connected the township's residents with global Pentecostal movements, and televangelists spoke to them in their living rooms. In buildings where mineworkers had reaffirmed themselves as belonging to the nation's most important labour segment and to an international copper community, people who were

economically redundant claimed a place in a Christian world community. Membership in the world society was not linked to capital any more, but reconfirmed in religion articulated in a Christian faith:

Our Father in heaven, help us to honour your name. Come and set up your kingdom, so that everyone on earth will obey you, as you are obeyed in heaven. Give us our food for today. Forgive us for doing wrong, as we forgive others. Keep us from being tempted and protect us from evil. (Matthew 6:9–13)⁵⁵

Prayer replaced mine identification cards. As with Haynes' (2012: 135–36) field site in Kitwe, social bonds were created through membership in a Pentecostal church. Religion, not industry, became the social context in which people established themselves as 'relational persons', that is, as living in relations of dependence that created opportunities (Ferguson 2013: 226). In a former mine township like Mpatamatu this position of being related often involved the former social welfare buildings. In fact, the structures that had been put to new uses since the collapse of corporate paternalism established new connections within Mpatamatu, Zambia and beyond. This global (re-)connect revealed itself when Pastor Kabwe of the PAOG(Z) proclaimed in front of the community in Mpatamatu's former sports complex:

You can be in China praying, in Japan praying . . . Jesus will hear you! . . . Speak out to God! . . . In your local language you can cry out!⁵⁶

Like the mineworkers and their families, the social welfare buildings had been abandoned by the mine. People and buildings both fell out of a unitary structure that had regulated their lives and connected them to the outside world. While the mine as a site of mineral extraction was reconnected to the world through capital, its townships as social extensions of this site of extraction were not. In this sense, buildings like the former sports complex represented both aspects of Ferguson's (2009: 325) notion of (dis-)connect: a site 'where the globalization of the economy has been experienced as disconnection and abjection', and a site where 'highly selective and spatially encapsulated forms of global connection' were re-established (Ferguson 2006: 14). The buildings' potency contained both the severing and connecting of relations against the background of their material state. However, the context of their ability to connect and how they connected people with the outside world had changed immensely since ZCCM's privatization.

Notes

1. *Chibuku* is an indigenous variety of beer made from different cereals. According to Richards (1969: footnote 2, 76), the Bemba, who historically had made up the largest part of the Copperbelt's workforce on the mines, preferred the type based on millet. The beer sold under the brand 'Kankoyo White Beer', which I observed being drunk in Mpatamatu, is based on sorghum and maize.
2. Buseko Recreation Club committee member, interview with the author, 13 May 2016, Mpatamatu.
3. Mususa (2010: 384; 2014: 213) had previously observed the relationship between social status and type of alcohol being drunk by Luanshya's residents.
4. Field notes by the author, 28 April 2016.
5. For instance the 1935 and 1963 strikes in Luanshya. See Whelan (1963: 4–5), Chauncey (1981: 146).
6. *Kansengu* referred to the 'large bamboos near Irwin [18th] shaft' across the main road from the tavern. See MMTMB (1961: 1; 1962: 2) and RACM (1957: 1, 5).
7. Boniface Mwanza, first township tour with the author, 28 April 2016, Mpatamatu.
8. Felix Matobwe, site inspection with the author, 28 April 2016, Mpatamatu.
9. See RST Roan Antelope Division (1962a). *Kabulangeti* is a 'corruption of the English word, "blanket" . . . [and] refers to the original [Basotho] shaft sinkers at MacLaren [28th] shaft' (MMTMB 1961: 1).
10. See RST Roan Antelope Division (1966b). *Kansumbi* is the name of a local stream. It also denotes rats and other small animals, (*a*)*ka*-, that are 'sniffed out', *-sumba*, by dogs. See MMTMB (1961: 1; 1965).
11. Alfred Masauso Phiri, interview with the author, 6 August 2016, Mpatamatu.
12. *Mwaiseni* is the Bemba word for 'welcome'. I only engaged in intensive on-site fieldwork after a visit together with the sitting tenant. Unfortunately, this initial introduction could not take place. Also, I could not find any documents related to Mwaiseni Tavern at the ZCCM-IH Archives in Ndola. Field notes by the author, 6 August 2016.
13. Wisdom Zulu, interview with the author, 18 September 2016, Mpatamatu.
14. See Anonymous (1963). *Buseko* means 'joy', rooted in *-seka*, to laugh.
15. *Kalulu* means 'hare'.
16. Martin Mulenga, second interview with the author, 21 September 2016, Mpatamatu.
17. Field notes by the author, 30 August 2016; Emmanuel Muyutu, interview with the author, 9 September 2016, Mpatamatu.
18. See Spearpoint (1937: 42), Epstein (1958: 4), Powdermaker (1962: 6, 107).
19. For example the 1935 strike in Luanshya; see Russell (1935: 22–29).
20. They had beaten Italy in the 1988 Olympics but died in a plane crash in 1993. See Wilson (2012).
21. Mpatamatu United Football Club secretary, interview with the author, 15 June 2016, Luanshya.
22. Chrispin Mukapile, interview with the author, 26 July 2016, Roan.
23. See ZCCM (1991). Wisdom Zulu, interview with the author, 18 September 2016, Mpatamatu.
24. Resident of Mpatamatu, interview with the author, 4 August 2016, Mpatamatu.
25. At the time of my fieldwork, Hall B housed a carpentry shop, where coffins were made. This was a commodity that everybody ultimately needed at the end of the day, the manager explained to me. John Mwenya, interview with the author, 25 July 2016, Mpatamatu.

26. Samuel Yumba, second interview with the author, 6 August 2016, Mpatamatu.
27. Resident of Luanshya, interview with the author, 8 September 2016, Luanshya.
28. Felix Chanda, interview with the author, 20 July 2016, Baluba.
29. Seed Co is a Zimbabwean agribusiness specializing in hybrid maize seeds and active in southern and eastern Africa; see Seed Co (2018). Field notes by the author, 20 September 2016.
30. See Department of Cultural Services Copperbelt Province (1991); Wisdom Zulu, interview with the author, 18 September 2016, Mpatamatu.
31. MPACE student union representatives, interview with the author, 1 September 2016, Mpatamatu.
32. See Ferguson (1997: 145), Larmer (2004: 222), Frederiksen (2010: 250–51), Mususa (2010: 383).
33. The ‘flats’ are two-storey apartment blocks, an architectural rarity in the otherwise monotonous sea of category 5A mine houses of Mpatamatu. See RST Roan Antelope Division (1962d: drawing number 518-1628/4).
34. Agness and Steven Mulenga, interview with the author, 7 June 2016, Mpatamatu.
35. Steven Mulenga, site inspection with the author, 20 June 2016, Mpatamatu.
36. Field notes by the author, 24 July 2016.
37. Field notes by the author, 7 August 2016.
38. Anthony Kabwe, first interview with the author, 16 June 2016, Mpatamatu.
39. See Chalwe (2008: 9–15), Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (2017), Attanasi (2012: 2).
40. Mercy Tembo, interview with the author, 9 September 2016, Mpatamatu.
41. Anthony Kabwe, first interview with the author, 16 June 2016, Mpatamatu.
42. Andrew Kayekesi, first interview with the author, 28 April 2016, Mpatamatu; Serve Zambia Foundation worker, interview with the author, 20 June 2016, Mpatamatu. I have written about the Serve Zambia Foundation elsewhere; see Straube (2021).
43. Field notes by the author, 5 June, 31 July and 11 September 2016.
44. Justin Mukosha, interview with the author, 7 October 2016, Mpatamatu.
45. The simultaneous use of separate rooms in a single building by individual Pentecostal congregations has also been observed elsewhere; see Buttici (2016: 75).
46. Field notes by the author, 25 September 2016.
47. For quotes from the scriptures, I have chosen the version that most closely resembled the spoken word in the services I attended. This was either the Contemporary English Version (CEV) or the New International Version (NIV).
48. Field notes by the author, 24 July 2016.
49. Field notes by the author, 31 July 2016.
50. Field notes by the author, 25 September 2016.
51. Luke 16:19–31. The question of inequality of incomes was a central theme in Haynes’ fieldwork in Kitwe; see Haynes (2012).
52. Field notes by the author, 28 August 2016.
53. Fredrick Mpundu, interview with the author, 1 September 2016, Mpatamatu.
54. Field notes by the author, 3 October 2016.
55. Field notes by the author, 5 June 2016.
56. Field notes by the author, 5 June 2016.