

Investigating the courses and effects of the satanic scare in Kabwe District of Zambia

Joseph Kayuni Hachintu

Kwame Nkrumah University, Zambia

Abstract

This article examines the causes and effects of the satanic scare in Zambia, with a particular reference to the Kabwe Urban, during the period 2013-2016. The main focus of the study was to analyse the effects of the satanic scare on people's lives.

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 effects of the phenomenon. People's knowledge of Satanism was mainly through rumours, messages from Churches, radio, the electronic and the print 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.¹ This article, therefore, utilised the analysis of rumours that obtained from Kabwe at the time, and applied interviews on those identified as 'key informants' in the verification of such rumours. Some of these informants were self-proclaimed ex-Satanists, religious authorities and law enforcers. The study also relied on secondary data to some extents.

From sources of information the study relied on, such as personal testimonies from the so-called satanic cult "survivors", the causes and effects of Satanic scare in Kabwe were investigated. The findings demonstrate considerable effects of the so-called satanic scare on people's socio-economic and political lives, which might have officially gone ignored and repudiated. Other than simply brushing off stories and incidents pertaining to the satanic scare as mere fabrications of people seeking public attention, this article argues that such stories, incidents and their potential effects remain a genuine curiosity.

Keywords: Investigating, courses, satanic scare, Kabwe District, Zambia

1. Introduction

Satanism is relatively a new phenomenon in Zambia. The current conception of the term can be said to be a thing of the twenty-first century. As such, it has not entered much into academic discourse. Equally, there has been not much research done on the subject, and in exception of very few cases^[2], the available research work is either scanty or sporadic in nature. One dependable work we can consider looking at is that done by Bernhard Udelhoven in the *Unseen World*, 2015. According to Udelhoven, early people in Zambia grew up without hearing the word Satanism^[3]. In Kabwe, the 'old' related concept of Satan people have been familiar with is that based on the personification of evil in the history of religions in Zambia. People seem not to have been bothered much about this concept, which is based much on the theistic view of Satan, and with which they have lived for generations. However, the negative, pejorative meaning ascribed to the concept of Satan, which has become commonly referred to as 'Satanism'⁴ is a later development that came along with the encroachment of the so called 'Modern Satanism'⁴ on the Zambian soils in the twenty-first century. By the year 2000, Satanism was found to be on a steady increase such that the term gradually became a 'catchword' in most Zambian societies. As the knowledge of the phenomenon increased, so was the satanic scare, which eventually resulted into some kind of a panic. Udelhoven observes that as panic broke out, people resorted to seeking

answers from their churches. People also raised concerns about school as one place where Satanism was believed to be bred and recruiting. There was growing suspicion that human blood and body parts were obtained from hospitals, clinics and health posts for rituals and consumption by Satanists^[5]. Today, Satanism in Kabwe, just like in other parts of Zambia, is a feared phenomenon -unlike in other countries such as those in the West where it has been legalized^[6]. Any news of its presence threatens the social security of people.

About mid-1990s, the general public in Kabwe urban and the surrounding villages began to speculate about some hidden hand behind certain mysterious events, which they linked to Satanism. Eventually the growing suspicion found its expression in rumours, and once the satanic rumours augmented, the situation gradually became unbearable leading to the generation of the satanic scare known in the area today. The satanic scare came about because people feared Satanism for its pejorative implications. If anything, there were two things most of the people dreaded: to be accused of being a Satanist - for this often received serious pejorative regards from society, and to fall victim of Satanism. These, among other fears surrounding the phenomenon escalated the satanic scare in the district. This article, therefore, explores the causes of this satanic scare and the effects it poses on the socio-economic and political lives of people of Kabwe urban.

1.1 Literature Review

The prevalence of Satanism seems to be an undeniable fact nearly everywhere in the world today, though its existence has sometimes been characterised by a thin delineating line between fact and fiction. According to Chris Mathews ^[7] '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.

However, the case, the beginning of Modern Satanism can be traced to the founding of the Church of Satan by Anton Szandor LaVey (1930-1997). 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 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.

In describing the Satanists and what constitutes Satanism, Benedict Heron ^[8] refers to Satanists as very fully and very explicitly anti-Christians. 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 comprising the satanic acts as noted by Heron, include torturing of their (Satanists') victims, human sacrifice, the procurement and eating of foetuses.

Another scholar who has contributed to the African-based research on the subject is Boff ^[9]. Boff 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*.

Not much has been done in Zambia in terms of dedicated scholarly work in exploring, rationalising and documenting the phenomenon of Satanism. As such, it has remained 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) entitled *Satanism: An Eye Witness Account*, released by Bernard Udelhoven ^[10]. According to Udelhoven, Satanism exists in different forms. In many different countries, he says, one can find

many open satanic churches that can be investigated (such as the Church of Satan based in America). He observes 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.

Udelhoven argues that the first concept of Satanism in Zambia can be said 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' ^[11].

Very pertinent to the above perspective is yet another one, where Satanism can 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. Today, this is easily 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.

Despite its long genealogy, 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. Since this time, 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 modern Satanism in the nation or not.

In a country like Zambia where life is changing very fast, with new opportunities unfolding, people's dreams awaken too. There could be 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 ^[12].

With Zambia having been declared a Christian nation ^[13], the people of Kabwe, majority of whom profess Christianity, might have been afforded the justification for their general aversion to Satanism, whose principle is the exaltation of the devil – the adversary of God, and therefore, the implacable enemy of Christianity. People might have as well developed resentment to Satanism for a number of other reasons, such as the obvious fears of being associated with it because of its pejorative overtones, the harsh consequences (such as death) believed to result from different forms of atrocity caused by its feared alleged presence, as one Zambian national observed:

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 ^[14].

Indeed, the above kind of fears may have potential to cause the kind of effects enough to constitute the current ‘satanic scare’ that seems to be slowly getting through the socio-economic and political lives of the people of Kabwe urban today.

2. Methodology

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 analysis of rumours and allegations about satanic practices and crimes and the fears they caused among people. Consequently, it became apparent that this study required the sociological understanding of rumours, since the knowledge on the subject of Satanism at the time seemed to have survived mostly on rumours and speculation, kindled by media reports on incidents that obtained. It therefore became necessary that I incorporate the use of rumours as a methodological tool in search of the information I needed.

The Scholarly work in defense of the use of rumours in studies such as this one, has shown that rumours can be investigated because they represent people’s attempt to understand the world, usually by attributing causes to effects ^[15]. In this particular study, it became apparent to me that satanic rumours constituted a system of explanations able to organise a great number of loose facts about Satanism into a coherent whole. Indeed, as Ellis and Ter Haar contend, ‘through interviews, a researcher can verify or dismiss rumours on an issue in question ^[16].

In Kabwe, People’s knowledge of Satanism was mainly through rumours, messages from churches and the electronic media. Studies on rumours (such as the one above) have shown that rumours can be investigated in the search for facts, especially rumours that offer plausible explanations for people’s shared anxieties. The

argument here is 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 ^[17].

The assertions from scholars above justified the use of rumours as a methodological tool in this study. They guided me in analysing the prevailing rumours about the satanic scare in Kabwe. As I followed closely the proliferation of rumours among target groups, I found that when the satanic rumour-scare arose, many people felt ‘there was no smoke without fire’ and began to take rumour stories seriously.

The qualitative methodology was used in this study, mainly through focus group discussions. The target population comprised individuals who fitted in the definition of ‘resident’ of Kabwe Urban or at least those deemed as ‘key informants’ in the subjected investigated, such as politicians, the clerics, moral advocates, *et cetera*. The sample therefore, constituted a total of 137 respondents and informants.

I closely followed issues and events in areas that bred particular rumours about Satanism. I also sought people’s opinion on the matter under investigation, and the interviews became a useful tool in this regard. It is a common tendency by researchers to base their conclusions on certain matters indirectly through secondary sources of information. Though this is a good approach in research, it sometimes deprives the researcher of the rich information that comes direct from the actor’s frame of reference, that is, that actual person experiencing it. In this study, I took care of this by ‘extending the interviews to ‘ex-Satanists and those who had interacted with them, such as family members and church officials who interacted with them during exorcism at church. The same was done to those identified as victims of the satanic scare.

2.1 Findings

The rumours and claims that prevailed about the satanic scare in Kabwe district were investigated. The claims and fears people had about Satanism were found by this study to be a reality in Kabwe, with the majority (88%) of the respondents acknowledging the alleged prevalence of the phenomenon. As regards the time the scare was first heard in Kabwe, respondents said they came to know the phenomenon at least during the period 1990-2000 and after, suggesting that the phenomenon was new in the district. When asked about the sources through which they got the satanic scare in the district, most of the respondents (32%) mentioned the spoken sources (*rumours*), followed by the twenty-five per cent (25 %) who mentioned the Churches. This was followed by the twenty per cent (20%) who came to know about the phenomenon through electronic and print media. Other sources mentioned were the institutions of learning and work places, which took fourteen per cent (14%) and nine per cent (9%) of the responses respectively.

On the question whether the beliefs people held about the alleged prevalence of the satanic scare had effects on their lives, most of the respondents (77%) admitted having their lives being affected while only few (16%) denied the effects. The remaining seven per cent (7%)

were not sure. Most prominent among the effects mentioned were that Satanism instilled the fear of the unknown among some people, while an alleged involvement in acts of Satanism by others resulted in deformation of their character, thereby negatively affecting their socio-economic and/or political aspirations in society.

Although other people acquired the knowledge of Satanism and its effects from other sources, it appeared 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 town. Respondents gave examples of stories about people who used Satanism to acquire instant wealth, confessions from ex-Satanists who got delivered at deferent churches, the use of the mystical power of Satanism to ascend to positions of authority in society, among others.

3. Discussion

In Kabwe, some of the acts of violence have been attributed to Satanism, thereby making Satanism being blamed for committing atrocity against the civilian population. Examples of rumours that prevailed include the inexplicable deaths in public places like bars and pubs, high rate of road accidents between Kapiri-Mposhi and Kabwe towns, people dying mysteriously, or simply disappearing from the community. There was a common tendency for people to associate incomprehensible and mysterious acts of this nature to Satanism. Therefore, such rumours and incidents often made news in Kabwe, thereby adding to the satanic scare, often as they were linked to Satanism.

At the time of this study, Cancer, Cardiac Failing, malaria and HIV/AIDS were common diseases in Kabwe that had claimed many lives. However, in the current era of alleged Satanism, death was often said to be caused by agents other than ordinary sickness, such as through people willingly giving away their lives to Satanists, ritual murders through which vital human body parts were taken from victims for satanic use, and draining of blood from people for Satanic sacrifices. Death that occurred in this way was considered 'unusual' and contributed to the satanic scare.

3.1 Causes of the Satanic Scare in Kabwe

People gave personal testimonies where they claimed to have survived the torture from Satanism. The statements which sounded 'formal' from these people, who were popularly known as ex-Satanists, were commonly received as conclusive evidence for the existence of secret unlawful organisations backed by satanic religious ideology. The stories they gave about Satanism, therefore, gained plausibility because some renowned authorities such as the cleric from certain churches took them quite serious as credible explanations for the spiritual and emotional sufferings of their patients. Such testimonies recounted by victims of the perceived cult of Satanism in Kabwe contributed to the causes of the satanic scare. Perhaps one of the commonly shared stories recounting the experiences of the so-called 'ex-Satanists' in Kabwe is that from a girl called Lyn. Lyn's

story also provides us with an example of the church's [18] involvement in matters of Satanism. I had an opportunity to interview key informants in a follow-up for information. I have used pseudonyms in this story in order to observe confidentiality.

The first informant approached for interviews in this case was Elder Mwabi – a cleric from the Seventh-day Adventist Church (S.D.A). The Church Elder narrated the whole story, based on what he got from his interactions with the girl (Lyn) and her guardian during the deliverance session at church. He said it all began when the girl was offered an egg by her friend. From that day she ate the egg, every time she slept in the night, she dreamt of partying. At times she dreamt of being at a party where she drunk red wine and had braai with friends, until one night when her friend came to get her for official introduction to the Satanists' club.

During deliverance, Lyn made several revelations about her secret satanic life. One of them was that her boyfriend in the satanic world had put some marks on her body, while pointing out where those marks were. She also said she was moving with a ring, which her boyfriend placed on her private parts. 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.

As prayers continued, 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 and wanted to lead a new life and according to her; this was the reason why she had come to seek deliverance.

Atrocity stories constituted another cause of the satanic scare in Kabwe. Stories about shocking acts of violence which people mainly accessed through the print and electronic media and shared socially were capable of creating environments that bred false satanic rumours. The current advancement in technology, such as the introduction of the smart phone on the market, has enhanced the sharing of information among people of different districts or towns in the nation. One common platform through which people share information electronically today is through various social media on the internet. Such sources sometimes contain emotionally disturbing stories about murderers and serial killers who have been publicly labeled as Satanists. These could be powerful accusations and rumours that have no basis for evidence and have links to acts of violence and cruelty that eventually find their explanation in Satanism.

One example of the atrocity stories about Satanism in Zambia can be taken from what transpired in Chambishi Township on the Copperbelt Province. The story reached the Kabwe people via social media, radio and television news, as well as the print media. 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 ^[19].

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 being involved 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. A mob of people found gathered by the *Times Reporters* 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.

The whole story 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 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 them was that they 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 scare.

3.2 Effects of the Satanic Scare

Where a scare created widespread suspicion, allegations about involvement in an evil conspiracy often resulted. Such allegations were usually used as a weapon in previously existing conflicts. These conflicts could be as personal as disputes between neighbours, or impersonal antagonisms between ideological partisans involving religious, ethnic, racial, socio-economic or indeed political groupings. This is because people had known too well the negative, scornful and harsh implications associated with the phenomenon of Satanism. Therefore, people with ill intentions against other individuals saw an effective weapon in the satanic scare and took advantage of using it for their selfish benefit. One good example of the satanic scare arising from this context in Kabwe can be taken from what obtained recently during political campaigns, where one individual on a campaign rally used a satanic accusation in pursuing a vendetta against a leader of an opposition party, for mere political mileage.

On January 9, 2015, *Lusaka Times* newspaper carried a story about one of the renowned Bishop of a certain church denomination in Zambia openly referring to an opposition political party leader as a Satanist. The Bishop made such a pronouncement publicly at one of the campaign rally organised by the ruling party in January, 2015. He referred to the symbol used by the opposition party as being satanic, and that the name of such opposition party leader appeared on the register of the Freemasonry ^[20]. He also accused the opposition party leader of eating babies and drinking human blood.

What was considered as damaging remarks by the Bishop, meant to cause character deformation of the opposition party leader attracted much concern from the public, especially from the sympathisers of the victim, who put much pressure on the Bishop demanding that he provides evidence to prove the allegation. Consequently, the opposition party leader took the matter to court, suing the Bishop for deformation of character. The tension escalated until it became unbearable for the Acting President of the ruling party who was also present at the said rally, compelling him to give an unreservedly apology to the opposition party leader

... allow me to wholeheartedly and unqualifiedly offer the apology of my part leadership to the opposition party leader and anybody else who by implication was accused of eating babies and drinking human blood and so on and so forth, by a certain Orthodox Church Bishop... during our rally in Kabwe ^[21].

According to statement of claim filed in the Lusaka High Court, the opposition party leader had stated that he had been severely injured in his credential and reputation and had been brought into scandal, odium and contempt.

The satanic scare also seems to have effects on economic development, in terms of causing some limitations on people's economic aspirations. Informants related the effect of Satanism on socio-economic life of people, in the form of the hindrance to socio-economic development. This was depicted from insights got from informal discussions I had with them, where they gave narrations that implied scenarios which showed that because of the satanic scare that was on-going, attempts by the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to give aids to certain suspicious people were frustrated in certain communities. People in such communities were hesitant to receive free aid from certain organisations, suspecting that it came from satanic sources.

Respondents also cited the effect of the satanic scare in causing certain people not to aspire to certain socio-economic levels. They explained this in terms of the belief in and the fear of Satanism setting economic limits, especially among young people, 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 another effect of Satanism, established by this study. The economic adage of 'the sky is the limit' for those who wished to reach economically seemed not to be applicable in those societies of Kabwe where the belief in Satanism was more rampant.

In schools, students were afraid of being initiated into alleged 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 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 [22].

4. Conclusion

In this article, I set out to explore the cause and effects of the satanic panic in Kabwe Urban. The article specifically analyses the effects of the so called satanic scare on people's socio-economic and political lives. It has shown that the satanic scare in Kabwe had mainly been bred by what people saw and heard from churches, institutions of learning, workplaces and other places where people gathered. Stories from survivors of Satanism which were shared by ex-Satanists in form of testimonies at churches during deliverance sessions heightened people's knowledge and fears about the satanic scare. Much as the rumours of the alleged prevalence of Satanism in Kabwe district were disseminated through word-of-mouth or conversations, the article established that other means such as newspapers, magazines, radios, television and the print media contributed largely to the spreading of the satanic scare in the Kabwe Urban. The media, be it in print or electronic form, played a pivotal role in escalating the scare by enabling Kabwe dwellers share atrocity rumour-stories with people from other districts in the country. Such atrocity stories painted an impressionistic picture of a growing menace in society and validated the need to take action against it. The article has analysed such effects of the satanic scare mainly in terms of people's socio-economic and political lives.

From a political perspective for instance, political players used the satanic tag against their opponents during campaigns in their damaging remarks about their opponents' alleged involvement in acts of Satanism. Though such allegations proved unfounded, they turned out to be an effective de-campaigning tool aimed at demonising, hence destroying the popularity of the victims among the electorate. The presence of such claim-makers who skillfully claimed knowledge of people's clandestine involvement in acts of Satanism became a threat to the targeted individuals seeking political positions.

On the economic front, the article establishes that the satanic scare threatened to bring about some kind of a

socio-economic conditioning where for instance, because of the belief that Satanism offered instant prosperity and fame inherent with evil, some people who aspired to higher socio-economic levels were led into awkward positions where on one hand they sought prosperity, and on the other, they dreaded being accused of having used Satanists.

Overall, the article has revealed that the alleged satanic scare that obtained in Kabwe Urban had potential to cause fear, emotional hysteria and panic among people, causing powerful effects especially on audiences that were not prepared to be critically analytical. Indeed, the nature of the satanic scare needed to be analysed in order to enable people get more informed and determine the credibility of the prevailing fears it causes.

5. References

1. The assertions from these scholars have justified the use of rumours in this study as a methodological tool in this study.
2. Such as one done by Joseph Hachintu in. where, in his recent PhD Thesis, he investigated the prevalence of Satanism in Zambia and the one done by Bernhard Udelhoven in his book *Unseen Worlds* in, which focuses on Spirits, Witchcraft and Satanism in Zambia. 2013-2015.
3. Bernhard Udelhoven. *Unseen Worlds: Dealing with Spirits, Witchcraft, and Satanism*. Lusaka, Zambia: FENZA. 2015, 283.
4. In *Modern Satanism*, the Satan recognised by adherents 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 (<http://www.churchofsatan.com>).
5. Bernhard Udelhoven. *Unseen Worlds: Dealing with Spirits, Witchcraft, and Satanism*. Lusaka, Zambia: FENZA. 2015, 284.
6. Though it has been argued that Religious Satanists existed in the 1950s, both in the United States and in the United Kingdom, they were little known to the public. The beginning of Modern Satanism can be traced to the founding of the Church of Satan by Anton Szandor LaVey (1930-1997) in the U.S.A. Legends describe how Modern Satanism burst into mass consciousness on Walpurgisnacht, in the night of April 30, 1966, when LaVey announced the creation of the Church of Satan. The Church of Satan was then officially registered as a religion in the U.S.A, on 1 May, 1966, with Anton Szandor LaVey as its founder (Barton, 1990:97).
7. Chris Mathews, *Modern Satanism*. (U.S.A: Praeger, 2009), p.1.
8. Benedict Heron. *I Saw Satan fall: The way of Spiritual Warfare*. (Mumbai: St. Paul Press). 2008, 41.

9. Boff, L. *New Evangelisation: Good News to the Poor.* (New York: Mary Knoll, Orbit Books,). 1991, 50.
10. Bernhard Udelhoven. *'Satanism: An Eye Witness Account'*. (Lusaka: DVD. Catholic Media Service TV Studios, 2010.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid
13. Soko L. *Christian Faith and the Public Sphere: An Analysis of Zambia as a Christian Nation.*" (2004). In H. Kroesbergen, (ed.), *Christian Identity and Justice in a globalized world from a Southern African perspective.* Lusaka: ATISCA. 124-135.
14. <http://www.zambia-economist.com>.
15. Stephen Ellis and Gerrie Ter Haar, G. *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa.* (New York: Oxford University,). 2004, 35.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid. 36.
18. The term 'church' here is used as an umbrella term implies different Christian church denominations, with their distinct beliefs, doctrines and structures.
19. *Times of Zambia.* 2012, 3.
20. 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). In Kabwe, the difference between Freemasonry and Satanism was not clearly delineated. In the understanding of many people, Freemasons were also Satanists.
21. <https://www.lusakatimes.com/2014/12/25/hh-sues-bishop-chomba-calling-satanic-freemason/>
22. Kabwe town resident, interview. 2012, 17.