

https://dspace.org/

Pentecostal urbanism?: exploring the experiences of immigrants in Johannesburg

Nyuke, Simbarashe

2021

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/33877

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

PENTECOSTAL URBANISM? EXPLORING THE EXPERIENCES OF IMMIGRANTS IN JOHANNESBURG

Simbarashe Nyuke

Student number: 493760

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment for the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2021

Supervisors:

Dr Obvious Katsaura, Professor Nolwazi Mkhwanazi, and Professor Shahid Vawda

Dedication

To my beautiful and courageous mother Susan Nyuke and my lovely daughters, Lerato Ruvarashe and Nneka Lesedi Nyuke.

Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have been completed without support from many people and institutions - some not mentioned here.

I am deeply indebted to Dr Obvious Katsaura, my principal supervisor whom in many ways (too many to mention) supported me far beyond supervision. The midnight supervisory coffee discussions, prompt feedback, and mentorship are forever appreciated.

Professors Nolwazi Mkwanazi and Shahid Vawda, thank you for accepting to supervise me in what turned out to be an interesting and intellectually stimulating academic journey. Your support and letters of recommendations into different research fellowship and teaching posts cannot escape mentioning. I am grateful for your individual and collective contributions towards different aspects of my work.

I appreciate the unmatched administrative support provided by Trinity Molefi Makola at the Department of Anthropology, including Veli Mongwe and Sarah Mfupa at the Faculty of Humanities. The Anthropology Department provided for me a home and the practical, academic and emotional support by Dr Hylton White, Dr Kelly Gyllepsie, Professors Robert Thornton and David Coplan, Dr Caroline Taylor, Dr Rogers Orock and Dr Nosipho Mngomezulu.

In the same vein, I would like to thank my PhD colleagues, mentors and friends at Witwatersrand University, the Humanities Graduate Centre and beyond - Professor Godfrey Maringira, Dr Edmore Chitukutuku, Dr Tatenda Mukwedeya, Dr Stanford Mahati, Dr Crispen Chinguno, Dr Sifiso Ndlovu, Dr Njabulo Chipangura, Dr Johannes Machinya, Dr Janet Munakamwe, Wellington Mvundura, Tackson Makandwa, Pedzisai Ndagurwa, Walter Matina, Thatshisiwe Ndlovu, Ziyanda

Majombozi, Gabie Dlamini, Gwinyai Taruvinga, Gabriel Shamu, Sindiso Ndlovu, Mercy Mupavaenda, Fikile Masikane, Emma Corsa, Tatenda Takawira, Gracious Mavisa, Joice Takaindisa, Edmund Madhuha and Tavengwa Masara.

I will not forget my Kenyan crew (Dr Linet Nyakundi-Imbosa, Dr Eddie Ombagi, Dr Felix Mutunga, Gloria Ooko, Edwin Tallam and Job Mwaura), my Nigeria crew (Dr Gloria Ernest-Samuel, Dr Kingsley Orievulu, Adebayo Sakiru), my Congolese brother (Dr Dostin Lakika), my Scandinavian colleague (Dr Jana Mondrova), my Tswana sister (Sr Mcdelyn), my Swati sister (Dr Nonhlanhla Dlamini), my departed brother and friend Dr Jeremy Jumbo (may your soul rest in peace) your support and friendship made the journey bearable.

This study was made possible through generous funding by the Volkswagen Foundation project entitled: "Violence and Enchanted Urbanisms: Magico-religion, Ritualism and Mediation of Violence in Johannesburg". I was also honored to receive funding from the Next Generation Social Science in Africa program for all the stages of my PhD. The Witwatersrand University Merit Award contributed to my tuition. I also benefited from the Sprenger Family Award from the Witwatersrand Department of Anthropology and not forgetting various forms of support from the Society, Work, and Politics Institute (SWOP).

Special thanks goes to my intellectual incubating home, the Humanities Graduate Centre for all the support. Professors Eric Worby and Lorena Nunez-Carrasco, I appreciate you!

I am grateful to my family for the love and unwavering support, particularly my mother and father. All your sacrifices in supporting my dream, the emotional and financial support, and most of all your prayers are much appreciated. To my siblings, may you be blessed for believing in me and all that you did for me throughout this challenging journey.

Above all, I give praise and glory to God for making this possible

Abstract

This study draws lessons from Rod of Authority church in Turffontein, Johannesburg to explore the role of Pentecostalism in immigrants' experiences in and of the city. The thesis departs from much of the discourses on religion and migration that romanticize Pentecostalism as a liberating force in immigrants' experiences in and of the city. It does so by revealing the constraining and violent dynamics of Pentecostalism on immigrants' quest to adjust to city life which are often missed in the dominant conversations and narratives about religion and migration. The thesis is anchored in rich ethnographic research of more than twenty months of attending Rod of Authority church where I observed and analyzed the everyday lives and experiences of the congregants in and outside the church environment. I uncover the relationship between the immigrants and Pentecostalism as a complex one that is on one hand liberating and on the other hand constraining and disabling. Understanding this complex relationship requires attention to how Pentecostal theology is employed as an ideological tool to create passive subjectivities in immigrants and creates dependency on Pentecostalism as they grapple with the vagaries of the city. Pentecostal theology proffers life-sustaining practices that give congregants hope and confidence to endure and overcome but concurrently pacifies and strips off their agency. I argue that Pentecostal anointed material objects meant to embolden and enable immigrants to navigate a 'hostile' and 'dangerous' city further pushes them to depend on religious experts (i.e. pastors, prophets etc.) who have monopoly over production and distribution of such objects for security and success. Furthermore, the promises and interventions by Pentecostalism though presented as disinterested by the experts, comes at a

cost. As such, I make a case for hope as a product of investment that demands the cooperation and commitment from the congregant. Following my empirical observations of the Pentecostal mediatory practices in the lives of immigrants, I argue that Pentecostalism is violent even though it manifests as an agent of security and hope. I show that Pentecostalism is like a double-edged sword meting violence against the congregant whom it purports to serve. I further argue that Pentecostalism just like the city of Johannesburg operates with the same logic and is violent in its dealing with the congregants. Johannesburg's case is chosen because of its intriguing character of diverse realities of opportunities and challenges where individuals, and groups coalesce and, contest in competition to produce, acquire and access different forms of capital. Furthermore, migration from within and outside the borders of South Africa remains skewed towards Johannesburg in ways that add a layer of complexity to the city's enigmatic character and sets it as an intriguing case to demonstrate immigrants' experiences of city life without relying on a broad generalizing schema. I highlighted the primacy of urban Pentecostal theologies and practice in shaping the habitus of immigrant congregants' perceptions of the city and as lens to understand how meanings are produced and then attached to the immigrants' experiences. Insights about the lived realities and life worlds of immigrant Pentecostal adherents and a construction of a totality of meaning to immigrants' lives and experiences through Pentecostal theology were drawn from observation, in-depth interviews, casual conversations, home and work visits where possible. By presenting the complexity of the mediatory role of Pentecostalism in immigrants' lives, the study contributes to growing literature on religion and migration and provide clues for rethinking about the role of Pentecostalism beyond the increasingly dominant debates that depict Pentecostalism as a liberating force.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Signature … 

(Simbarashe Nyuke)

Table of Contents

Dedication ..... **i**

Acknowledgements ..... **ii**

Abstract ..... **iv**

DECLARATION ..... **vi**

Table of Contents ..... **vii**

Of Pentecostalism , the City and Immigrant (in)-Security **1**

1.1. Introduction 1

1.2. On Being Poor, Black, and a Foreigner in Johannesburg 10

1.3. Why Johannesburg? 13

Finding traction: Literature Review, Theoretical and Conceptual Premises **18**

2.1. The Nature and Spread of Pentecostalism 19

2.2. Pentecostalism and Immigration 24

2.3. Pentecostalism in South Africa 26

2.4. Dominion Theology 28

2.5. Pentecostal Dominion, Hierarchies and Violence 31

2.6. Urban Violence, Pentecostalism and the Immigrant 33

2.7. Theoretical and Conceptual Reflections 36

2.8. Pentecostal Urbanism 37

2.9. Inviting Bourdieusian Tools to Unpack Pentecostal Urbanism and the Unfolding Pentecostal Immigrant Drama.....41

2.10. Churchizenship vs Citizenship.....46

2.11. Hope 51

2.12. The Pulpit and the Panopticon 53

2.13. Mediation and Agency: the Human-human and Human-object Entanglements56

2.14. Theory and Method: a Brief Overview.....57

2.15. Conclusion 60

Methodological Reflections 62

3.1. Of Trust, Secrecy and Suspicion 64

3.2. Positionalities.....72

3.3. Negotiating Access: Inside the Pentecostal World.....77

3.4. Concluding Note.....88

Pentecostal Theologies of the City: A Double-edged Sword? 90

4.1. Urban Pentecostal Theologies: Bringing the City into Submission 94

4.2. Rewriting and Rereading the Script for the Urban Immigrant Through a Pentecostal Lens.....101

4.3. Access Denied: Nomagugu's Story of Navigating the Hostile City 107

4.4. Getting to Know the Man by the Entrance 114

4.5. Obey the Prophets and you will make Profit: Accessing the Denied Rights through Pentecostal Theology.....121

4.6. Meeting Deacon Reynolds.....121

4.7. Conclusion.....125

Mediated Agency? Anointed Pentecostal Objects, Migrants and Everyday (In)-Security in Johannesburg.....**128**

5.1. Reconfiguring the Social : Living With and Through Objects.....133

5.2. Invoking Anointed Objects in Creating a Sense of Stability.....135

5.3. Object as Agent: Hedging your Precious Acquisitions.....145

5.4. (Re)-Charging the Material Objects: Confirming Churchizenship.....152

5.5. Conclusion.....159

Sacrificing and 'Seeding': The price of Hope.....**161**

6.1. Hope: the Politics, Contestations and Controversies.....164

6.2. "When God Calls a Man, He ties People's Destiny to Him": Interrupted Pathways to Hope.....168

6.3. Hope as a Product of Investment.....175

6.4. Preying on the Vulnerable.....180

6.5. "If One Cannot Hope, One Cannot Live!".....184

6.6. Conclusion.....187

Violence from the Pulpit and Pulpitization of the Violent City.....**189**

7.1. Violent and Violated Pulpits 191

7.2. The Panoptic Pulpit 194

7.3. The Pulpitization of Everyday Life 200

7.4. Fear as Operative Within and Without the Church 201

7.5. Living in the Ghostly Presence of the Pulpit: the Crying Girl 214

7.6. Countering the Pulpit: From Misrecognition to Recognition 220

7.7. Conclusion 223

Pentecostalism : of God or a Mediating Agent? **225**

8.1. Urban Pentecostal Theologies 227

8.2. Mediated Agency: Breathing Religious Life to Material Objects 228

8.3. Hope has a Price Tag: The Interested Nature of Pentecostal Practice 229

8.4. Violence and Pentecostalism 230

8.5. Churching under Covid-19: reconstituting the panoptic pulpit 231

Reference List **234**

..... **234**

Chapter One

Of Pentecostalism , the City and Immigrant (in)-Security

1.1. Introduction

Shortly before the February 2017 attacks on foreign nationals, commonly known as xenophobic attacks in South Africa, I attended the Rod of Authority church[1]. It was a difficult time for most of the congregants because they belonged to the targeted groups. The morale in the church seemed very low and somber different from previous Sundays. I was curious to get a sense of the church's response to 'xenophobic threats' that were circulating on different social media platforms. The pastor of the church had left the country for his home country and there was a general sense of vulnerability among the church members that I also shared with the rest of the immigrants since I was staying in the same community. In this crucial time his blessings, guidance, declarations and affirmations were essential, as his absence exacerbated the feelings of hopelessness. Worse still, the message of the day did not address the pertinent issue of xenophobia. At some point I thought it was a disastrous service. But as she was descending from the pulpit the Pastor's wife[2], affectionately known as the 'woman of God', stopped as if

[1] Pseudonym for my field site, this shall be elaborated on in chapter 3.

[2] For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the tag name "the pastor's wife" to refer to the wife of the pastor. She holds an important role in the church as the pastor's wife.

she had forgotten to relay an important message. She hurried back up to the pulpit, signaling the choir to stop the music and the congregation to go back to their seats.

> Yes, before I forget, I heard that there is going to be an attack on foreigners. They are saying foreigners must go, foreigners your end has come, go back to your countries.

There was a continued somber mood in the church, characterized by a deafening silence. Then, as she paced up and down the pulpit uttering a prayer in 'tongues'[3], she powerfully exclaimed "but you must not worry, my God shall protect you"!, the 'man of God's' God is with you. There was thunderous amen, drums beating and a moment of frenzy as the atmosphere changed with commotion with some rushing to the pulpit placing money on the pulpit, others taking the occasion kneeling before it and placing hands on the lower pulpit staircase in prayer. She shouted louder:

> You are the sons and daughters of the Most High. Xenophobia is nothing to you, you are the conquerors, and you are here for a reason.

The shouting, prayers, and drums are louder than before. The pastor's wife then goes down and crouched, starts praying in tongues, and the whole congregation follows suit. Suddenly, she stands up, looking at the congregants, nodding her head as if waiting upon something, then she raises her hand and all the shouting and drum beating stops with everyone going back to their seats in total silence.

> I pray that this hand of the enemy in this nation be destroyed. Heavenly father, I commit tomorrow and any other day into your hands, I decree every other hand of the enemy in this nation, every hand of frustration, and poverty be lifted in the name of Jesus… As you go out in the streets, the blood of Jesus and the anointing will go with you… No one will chase you away

[3] Utterances foreign to ordinary people made by people who are said to be possessed/inspired by the Holy Spirit.

> from this country; you are the sons and daughters of the Most High. Heaven and earth belong to you, you belong here, everyone shout alleluia!

People shouted alleluia while crying, shouting different praises to God, pacing, and sometimes running up and down the aisle. In most cases, women would have removed their high-heeled shoes, throwing themselves on the floor; vanity is suspended for a moment and traded for 'praising of the Most High'. While men, in their composed demeanor and careful poise are pacing up and down with clenched fists as if demonstrating strength and careful internalization of the word from God.

The pastor's wife continued praying louder with high-pitched praying from women and low deep mumblings from men cheering her on. It is as if everyone is 'caught in the spirit' as is the norm when such happens, people start running to the altar to throw money on the alter floor as a sign of gratitude for the power and protection from the man of God. At this point, she hurriedly, while wiping tears and sweat off her face declares:

> It is done, it is finished. As you go out during the week, please ensure that you anoint yourselves with oil. I command that as you go out this (violence and imminent attacks) will pass over you, no hand will be lifted against you nor death shall be your portion. Remember this also, your daddy, the father of this house (the pastor) spoke to me early this morning and said I should let you know that he is praying for all of you and no weapon fashioned against you shall succeed. He is praying and the plans of the devil will scatter by fire!

With the announcement in progress, the clapping and shouts of alleluia with background of drum beating, guitars and piano softly playing continues. She then chants the slogan, "The Lord shall increase me, more and more, me and my family", three times with the congregants repeating after her then she finally walks off the pulpit. The congregants stood up as the keyboard and the guitars play the song, *'Nkosi sikelela Africa'* (God bless Africa) which was a generic anthem for most African countries. The song is softly done as a junior pastor leads the prayer for South Africa and the coming week. This prayer was repeated after every Sunday main service as prayers for South Africa and the city of Johannesburg is rendered for protection

and security against violence, robberies, accidents and wrongful arrests and detentions. After the prayer, the service is done and congregants grab their belongings as they chat and go out.

This was just one of the services that highlight the resonance between events in the city and the messages that find their way to the pulpit. The events in the city also direct the subject of prayer and the central message of the sermons. This service was conducted in 2017 during a period of xenophobic attacks in Johannesburg and contrary to my initial assumptions that the attendance would drop due the fear of violent attacks, the services were well attended during such times. Each time there were xenophobic attacks or threats of attack on foreign nationals or any operations threatening their businesses and deportation, the services during the week and Sundays were more electrified and very intense.

The mutual inclusiveness of urban (in)-security and the mediatory role of Pentecostalism in confronting all forms of urban violence experienced especially by immigrants including the xenophobic one is highlighted in the sermon above. Primary theological allegories referred to by the pastor's wife bring to light the flexibility of Pentecostal messages which draw from immigrants' lived realities as presented by the city. The fear of violence, both physical and symbolic, is a recurring theme during church services; with congregants waiting upon the pastor/clergy to mediate these experiences. Expectations by the congregants to hear something or have some kind of intervention from the pastor are evident. The reaction by the pastor's wife after realizing that there is something fundamental that had to be addressed shows the level of dependency from the congregants and pressure upon the pastor to make declarations that give assurance to the congregants. She did not disappoint and the reaction from the congregants is telling of the obligations placed upon the pastor but for the same reason the expectations upon

them as congregants. The role of Pentecostalism is expanded to transform the everyday life experiences of immigrants in the city and the pastor occupies a central role in this process.

In this thesis, I examine the role of Pentecostalism in mediating immigrants' experiences in and of the city of Johannesburg. My interest stems from the observation of the increase in immigrant Pentecostal following, the establishment of immigrant-run Pentecostal churches, and the centrality of Pentecostalism in immigrants' everyday lives in Johannesburg. Johannesburg is a city which presents a fascinating concentration of wealth and human suffering, also earning notoriety as one of the most violent cities in the world in non-war situation (Scorgie, Baron and Stadler 2017; Brahmbhatt, Mmari and Delany-Moretlwe, 2017; Dirsuweit, 2002). Because of its paradoxical character, Johannesburg has attracted a myriad of descriptions that defy generalizations in ways that set it as an interesting case for this study is overriding aim of examining the role of Pentecostalism in mediating immigrants' experiences. Dominant discourses on religion and migration have overemphasized and romanticized Pentecostalism as a liberating and omnipotent force in the immigrants 'experiences in and of the city (cf. Asamoah-Gyadu, 2018; Maguire and Murphy 2015; Nunez, 2015; Garbin, 2013; Akcapar, 2006 and 2007; Leman; 1999; Vasquez, 1999). These existing studies have generated insights that help us understand the role of Pentecostalism in immigrants' experiences but falling through the analytical cracks has been the diminishing returns of Pentecostalism as it asserts itself as an alternative to state's mediation in immigrants' longing to adjust to the city. How Pentecostalism shapes and reshapes urban immigrants 'practices and life-worlds deserves greater attention in light of the paucity of literature on this important phenomenon. The oversight on the complexity of the mediatory role of Pentecostalism in immigrants 'experience

of the city is thus taken as a starting point in this study, to understand the ways in which immigrants' experience of the city inform and reconfigure Pentecostal beliefs and practices.

In addition, I show that there is a mutual conditioning of Pentecostalism and urbanism in forming the totality of immigrants' experiences. This is in a bid to understand how Pentecostalism, urbanism and the mobile immigrant plays out. The state at various levels is responsible for cultural production of the cosmopolitan city although that has not been the case in Johannesburg as its laws have been against such a city. Pentecostalism does the same at a religious level and the interest is on what happens at the interface of urbanity and all its challenges and Pentecostalism and all its promises. The city through an ensemble of practices and material realities mediate the way Pentecostalism is shaped and deployed. Consequently, I use a concept that I call "Pentecostal urbanism" to explore the importance of Pentecostalism, in the lives of immigrants in the city of Johannesburg. The concept of "Pentecostal urbanism" captures the impact of Pentecostalism on its adherents to the extent that its beliefs and practices become pervasive in their daily lives as they navigate the urban challenges and opportunities. Pentecostalism thus, become an important signifier in the configuration of everyday urban socio-economic practices and transactions. In light of this, Van Wyk (2014, 20) notes that South African Christianity has become "'Pentecostal ized" to such an extent that the church's tussles with occult forces, its miracles and its views on disease, money and society have become commonplace […]". I make use of the concept that capture the mutual inclusiveness and conditioning of Pentecostalism and urbanism to bring to light the complex nature of what happens at the intersection of the urban challenges and Pentecostalism 's intervention in relation to the mobile immigrant.

Amidst growing hardships and/or challenges such as unemployment (cf. Kingdom and Knight, 2007; Aliber, 2003) and persistent xenophobia (Langa and Kiguwa, 2016; Crush, 2014; Landau, 2010; Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh, 2005; Dodson, 2002). The violence (Katsaura, 2015; Legget, 2003; Dirsuweit, 2002; Harris, 2001), in a context of high immigration flows the city has also witnessed a growing number of Pentecostal churches in Johannesburg (cf. Van Wyk, 2014; Landau, 2010; CDE, 2008; Garner 2000). A significant population of immigrants and local people are spending more time and resources in churches. This is all taking place in a city that has been presented as the country's crime capital (cf. Legget, 2003; Dirsuweit, 2002) and where there is, "… persistent fear of real or imagined violence… in a context of apparent inadequacy of state efforts to fully maintain law and order …" (Katsaura, 2015; 281). Ukah (2019; 327, 334 & 340) reiterates that, "Pentecostalism in tense and hopeless circumstances" is characterized by "too-muchness of poverty and deficiencies of social infrastructure", there is a corresponding "Pentecostal too-muchness". There is growth in demand for Pentecostalism as it promises the followers empowerment through the supply of religious goods to deal with exigencies of contemporary modern life. Although the violence, fear and many other challenges of being in the city affect all, those at the margins bear the most brunt. Immigrants are at the margins and become more prone to the pressures or stresses of the city (Veary, 2011). Among such stressors are tensions emanating from accusations that immigrants steal jobs meant for locals, steal local women, and bring diseases (cf. Palmary et al, 2015; Veary, 2011; Landau 2009; Steenkamp, 2009, Crush, 2008; Le Roux, 2006; Neocosmos, 2006; Murray, 2003). While all the violence, suffering and insecurity have been taking place, there is a rise in Pentecostal following and influence in the public sphere in the city (cf. Van Wyk, 2014; Landau, 2010; CDE, 2008; Garner 2000). This research drills deeper into the specificity of

what Pentecostalism has to offer in a context of urban insecurity to loosen the hold of the common thread on Pentecostalism as a liberating force that is one of over-arching themes that shapes the existing scholarly views on religion and migration.

Ukah (2019), Abumanssur (2015), Wolseth (2008), and Oosterbaan (2005) concur on the increased hold and popularity that Pentecostalism has had in contexts of fear and violence. Johannesburg represents such a place for the marginalized black African immigrant. Pentecostalism becomes an important signifier of hope, called upon and relied on by immigrants to generate senses of confidence and security. This observation follows Stark and Finke's (2000) argument that high levels of tension experienced by any group in its environment/surroundings leads to the concentration and growth of religious groups as opposed to what happens in low-tension contexts. High-tension contexts bring about stressors mostly to those much affected by state exclusion in its distribution of the much-needed hope. This is in a context where citizenship becomes more pronounced compared to cosmopolitanism (cf. Kleist and Dorsen, 2017; Langa and Kiguwa, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Landau, 2006). The Pentecostal institution then provides the command centre for the recharging of the message of the victory of Jesus Christ, which is to be translated into and mimicked in the everyday. Through rituals—which are repetitive behaviours, ideas and practices in this case manifesting in the form of long church services, mid-week prayers, testimonies of healing and Bible studies (Haynes 2017 and 2015; Marshall, 2009; Meyer, 2009; Maxwell, 2006; Robbins, 2004)—the idea of a victorious Jesus Christ is recharged and becomes a spiritual and psychological resource. Recurrent Pentecostal practices in the city, are considered in this thesis as a lens through which to understand immigrants' experiences.

A burgeoning and vibrant body of work that traverse disciplines has tried to shed some valuable insights on migrants' experiences of South Africa. Although diverse in its focus, this body of work share a common platform that proffers some insights on xenophobia as one of the over-arching manifestations of migrants' experiences of South Africa. Scholars like Ikeuchi, 2017; Maguire and Murphy 2015; Nunez, 2015; Garbin, 2013; Akcapar, 2007 and 2006; Karagiannis and Schiller 2006; Sommers, 2001; Leman; 1999; Vasquez, 1999, focused on Pentecostalism and immigration in different cities in which they argue that Pentecostalism plays a role in the lives of immigrants in the city. The cities in Europe and North America, where most of research on migration and Pentecostalism has been done, have their own unique opportunities and challenges that shape immigrants' experiences. South Africa is also a unique case that has drawn a lot of scholarly attention, particularly regarding the proliferation of migrants from beyond its borders because of its relatively higher socio-economic opportunities in the African continent. A growing body of literature frames South Africa as a major recipient of migrants and a site of anti-immigrant practices in ways that provide an understanding of immigrants' experiences of South Africa. There have been studies of scholars like Katsaura (2019, 2018, 2017 and 2016), Wilhelm-Solomon et.al (2016); Nunez (2015); and Jeannerat (2009), which have taken religion seriously as a lens through which urban challenges and contestations can be understood. Nevertheless, the ways in which Pentecostalism has played out in the city and in Johannesburg in particular remains a less explored terrain despite its centrality in mediating immigrants' experiences of Johannesburg. It is against this background that I seek to enrich existing debates by using the concept of Pentecostal urbanism to look at the ways in which Pentecostal followers in Johannesburg experience the city.

Without over determining Pentecostalism , I chose Pentecostalism as an appealing case to me over other forms of religion such as Catholicism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and African Traditional Religion precisely because of its perceived ability to speak to many contexts and its assumed influence on the 'totality of life of a believer' (cf. Ukah, 2009). The Pentecostal movement institutionalizes these ideas, such that it appears to offer a comprehensive package for the vulnerable and hopeless. Other religions have been able to penetrate different contexts as well but not at the pace at which Pentecostalism has done in the 20th and 21st century (cf. Berger 2009 and 2011; Martin, 2002 and 1990; Corten and Marshall-Fratini 2001). Despite the plurality of Pentecostalism and the uniqueness of the different contexts in which it has been established, the quest to deal with the 'here and now' unifies the reference point for all Pentecostal institutions. It is this ability to deal with the 'here and now' in many different contexts and its increased influence that has prompted me to ask what role it is playing in the city of Johannesburg where the everyday has an abundance of opportunities and challenges for both the local and the immigrant.

1.2. On Being Poor, Black, and a Foreigner in Johannesburg

Immigrants, especially blacks from the African continent, who come with hopes of tapping into opportunities of economic prosperity have been living in fear and uncertainty in inner city Johannesburg. Immigrant experiences of Johannesburg are characterized by fear of violence, crime, xenophobia, and insecure livelihoods. Polzer (2010) argues that South Africa's institutional response is fragmented when it comes to immigrants' challenges, and in situations where they have responded there is a sense of delay. South Africa, and in particular Johannesburg, has been presented as a highly xenophobic society. It is where the foreigner is

a scapegoat for challenges such as high crime rates (from both the local people and state officials), unemployment, poor service delivery and even the taking away women from the locals (cf. Langa and Kiguwa, 2016; Langa, 2011; Hassim et.al, 2008; Landau et.al, 2005; Dodson, 2002; Crush, 2000).

Immigrancy has largely been defined in terms of citizenship. The kind of immigrant that this thesis refers to is the black African immigrant referred to disparagingly as 'Makwerekwere' by South African nationals. 'Makwerekwere' are differentiated and singled out by law enforcers based on their physical appearance and their inability to speak local official languages or 'fitting undocumented migrant profile' (Landau 2006, 133 and Nyamnjoh, 2006). The immigrant suffers the double tragedy of not being able to speak the local languages and is befitting "illegal immigrant profile" but "comes from inferior African countries, is of certain race and class, and who fit illegal immigrant profile" (cf. Landau 2006, 133 and Nyamnjoh, 2006; 39-40).

The immigrant described above is the one that is in most cases denied access and hope is far removed. There is a lot of vulnerability about the immigrant looking for an alternative citizenship to enable the realization of the cosmopolitan belonging. The statist idea of citizenship excludes the immigrant, refugee and asylum seeker and the public discourses and news media have not made it any easier. Ideas of immigrants threatening the well-being and security of the nation-state get circulated, resulting in 'othering' that exclude immigrants from exercising some rights accorded to humanity. Once the 'other' has been excluded from "…the sphere of human values, civic and moral obligations…no act committed against them could appear any longer a crime" (Zembylas, 2010; 38). The xenophobic violence that has exploded

regularly in South Africa has had the backing of state representatives and politicians alike, fueling the tensions due to their discourses that label immigrants as a threat to national security, and as being responsible for the social ills and suffering amongst the poor citizens. The former Johannesburg mayor Herman Mashaba is a popular figure in peddling such ideas and carrying out clean up operations that were xenophobic. Some other names such as Bheki Cele and Fikile Mbalula in their reigns as police ministers have also fueled violence against poor black foreign nationals that feed into anti-immigrant sentiments and perceptions within the wider South African community.

Holston and Appadurai (1996; 202) note that "the point is that people use violence to make claims upon the city and use the city to make violent claims. They appropriate a space to which they declare they belong; they violate a space which others claim". Johannesburg has been an interesting place as a space occupied by nonlocals and in which more unhospitable relationships with 'locals' form part of the daily norm …. that results in more violent claims to citizenship. What makes the situation volatile is that citizenship, though implying belonging, is not necessarily inclusive and egalitarian. Holston and Appadurai (1996), Somers (2008) and Joppke (2010), amongst other scholars, have argued that citizenship is of necessity conflictual, reflecting class, ethnic, and other divergent and conflicting interests. It is about how those conflicts are managed, or not and the great citizenship turmoil is made alive in Johannesburg just like other "cosmopolitan cities".

Consequently, Johannesburg with its concentration of wealth and human suffering sees a lot of violence most of it around inclusion and exclusion with the poor black African foreigner at the lower end of the chain.

Subsequently, the offer by the Pentecostal church to provide the solution to the challenge of exclusion and statelessness in a context such as Johannesburg becomes an important one. Pillay (1994) argues that religion for Parsons and Malinowski is 'a tonic of self-confidence', helping individuals to cope with all sorts of anxieties and uncertainties that are likely to destabilize society. Harris (2002, 169) notes that "despite the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, prejudice and violence continue to mark contemporary South Africa". In a context like Johannesburg—a city full of its own stressors for locals and most cruelly so for the immigrant who has limited support—the question of the mediatory role of religion (such as Pentecostalism in particular) becomes relevant. There is a lack of "supply of effective secular explanations for life's problems" (Lechner 2007; 26), hence the widespread plausibility of religious worldviews which seek to speak to the lived realities of those at the margins.

1.3. Why Johannesburg?

Johannesburg is a city which has a multi-layered representation which ranges from being the place where most people can visit and obtain riches to a place of death (cf. Palmary, Hamber and Nunez 2015). Many people want to be in Johannesburg where opportunities are the central enchanting force, but as soon as one is in the city the opportunities are also violently competed for. Murray (2008, 2) notes that "Johannesburg has always been torn between two extremes of utopian dream world and dystopian nightmare". Despite such extremes, the city has not deterred both local and international migrants from flocking into it (cf. Hornberger, 2004).

Palmary, (2015), Landau (2009); Crush (2008), Neocosmos (2006), Simone (2004), Hornberger (2004), and Murray (2003), equally present Johannesburg as characteristically a migrant city, but one of the world's worst welcoming cities for immigrants. The Southern

African Migration Project characterized South Africa as one of the most xenophobic countries in the world in 1995 (cf. Steenkamp 2009). This observation is supported by the waves of violent xenophobic attacks which took place in 1994, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2005, 2008, 2010, and recently in 2015, 2016 and 2019 (cf. Misago, 2016; Crush, 2014; Steenkamp, 2009; Hassim, Kupe and Worby, 2008; Le Roux, 2006; Murray 2003). Such attacks have been looked at as events in most of the literature that has been written about xenophobia. There is little in terms of the daily experiences of the xenophobic attacks and sentiments, which are prevalent in Johannesburg. By focusing in this thesis on the immigrants from Pentecostal churches, a clearer understanding of how such challenges are lived with is achieved. Crush (2014), Nyamnjoh (2010) and Murray (2003) note that the hostility and violence directed at immigrants is an integral feature of the everyday in Johannesburg. It is in focusing on the everyday challenges such as crime, violence, a hostile citizenry, corrupt and xenophobic officials, including unemployment and many other social, moral and spiritual issues that a better understanding of the xenophobic experiences is achieved. Rather than focus on the single or episodic violent events which cannot provide complete picture of what is really happening, this thesis highlights the everyday nuances and interactive dynamics of xenophobia in contexts of the mediatory role of lived Pentecostalism in Johannesburg.

Johannesburg is among the most complex cities rife with unpredictability and uncertainty among the residents, both local and foreign. Immigrants from African countries are prone to violent crimes in the city, as they are considered less likely to fight back or report most of the violence or crimes against them. Landau (2009) notes that in a survey carried out in Johannesburg, 81% of the immigrants are far less likely to feel secure on the streets, even

during the day as compared to the locals. The problem is made worse by the fact that the insecurity, according to Landau (ibid), is at the hands of not only ordinary thieves but results from both targeting by the police and lack of willingness of the South African security services to provide immigrants with protection.

Johannesburg, with concentration of wealth and human suffering, the high levels of crime and violence, xenophobia and expansive growth of immigrant Pentecostal -run churches, is a complex city (cf. Kleist and Dorsen, 2017; Langa and Kiguwa, 2016; Misago, 2016; Van Wyk, 2014; CDE, 2008; Landau et al 2005; Murray, 2003). In such a context where convivial relations exist, the nonlocal and strange are in the same space in which survival and success are not guaranteed, the presence of Pentecostalism therefore brings about questions on connections and contestations in the city. Of importance in this thesis is the question: what role, if any, does Pentecostalism play in mediating immigrants' experiences of the city? Auxiliary to this question are the particular forms of urbanity that Pentecostalism nurture through its worldviews. In addition, I interrogate the influence of Pentecostalism on the everyday lived experiences of its immigrant adherents. Lastly, the ways in which immigrant experiences of the city inform and reconfigure Pentecostal belief and practice shed more light on the mediatory role of Pentecostalism

In most streets in the inner city, abandoned warehouses, enclosed garages and shops have been turned into Pentecostal worship spaces. Following this, Landau (2014 and 2010) emphasizes that religion has formed part of new social practices in the city of Johannesburg. The rise of Pentecostalism inspired new social practices suggests that religion is becoming important in the governing of city life and a lens through which people explain and understand their daily

experiences. Walking through inner city streets, one cannot help but notice the vast posters and stickers on some of the buildings including municipal bins. As if it is not enough, people at many street corners distribute church flyers which exhibit the kind of miracles their pastors and prophets can perform to address everyday challenges. On posters, stickers and fliers are adverts of traditional healers and prophets (cf. Kadenge and Ndlovu 2012). This also includes Pentecostal churches inviting people for miracles to deal with their everyday fears and uncertainties in the city. Flyers and posters of Pentecostal churches are with names and images/photographic picture of immigrant pastors claiming to have been anointed to deal with every member's social and economic problem. The practice of inviting migrants to churches in the inner city is an on-going phenomenon. Observing such Pentecostal characteristics motivated and profoundly shaped this study's aim of rethinking the role of and centrality of Pentecostalism in immigrants' everyday experiences of city life within the context of ongoing scholarly debates.

"Pentecostalism s, thus, minister to the urban population on matters of survival – spiritual suffering and poverty, wealth and health" (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004, 255). Consequently, Pentecostalism because of its nature and theological flexibility presents the kind of God that can deal with the complex nature of a city such as Johannesburg. This gives more appeal to the church as opposed to the state, which does not sufficiently address the cosmopolitan nature of the city such as Johannesburg. Religion offers a veritable means of anchor, stability, and a pathway to meaningful social existence (Ukah, 2007). In this instance, the void created by the statist stance in dealing with a cosmopolitan urbanity creates space for a new kind intervention that which Pentecostalism has presented to the immigrant.

Garner (2000) notes that in sub-Saharan Africa, Pentecostalism is now the fastest growing religion and that in South Africa it is likely to overtake the mainstream Protestant churches. There are already about 12.5 million South Africans who are members of Pentecostal type of churches. This about a third of all Christians. While the mainstream church numbers remain static with some in decline, Pentecostalism is still growing (cf. Berger et al, 2013; Adogame, 2010; Garner, ibid). In that number and among the leading churches, Landau (2010, 9) notes an ever-expanding pool of foreign-run Pentecostal churches, most of which "offer up the "health and wealth" promises… allowing alternatives to the material deprivation many immigrants experience…". Van Wyk (2014) also notes that even though Pentecostalism in South Africa can be traced back to 1908, white people mostly dominated it and it only became widely spread and popular during the 90's with the arrival of Black preachers from West Africa.

In the following chapter I address some of the theoretical insights that will assist in getting an understanding of immigrants' experiences in Johannesburg.

Chapter 2

Finding traction: Literature Review, Theoretical and Conceptual Premises

In this chapter I explore relevant studies which make significant contribution to my area of study while exploring in-depth the concepts of urbanism and Pentecostalism , which have been treated as binary opposites in urban studies and other academic studies (cf. Wariboko, 2014; Lanz, 2014; Cox, 2013; Cavanaugh, 2009). This study attempts to reconcile these concepts. I make the case for the mutual conditioning and inclusiveness of Pentecostalism and urbanism. The theoretical anchoring of my study on urbanism and Pentecostalism is not entirely novel, however, I use them to frame my thinking in ways that does not treat them as separate like a vibrant body of works on religion and urbanism (cf. Lanz, 2014 and Cox, 2013). The two have been presented in isolation or, when put side-by-side, contrasted as opposites. Such an opposition emerges when we look at citizenship, with urban citizenship portrayed as challenging and problematic whilst belonging to the church [[4]churchizenship] is portrayed as that oneness, bounded by hope and sacredness. Much as urban citizenship is portrayed in negative light characterized by afrophobia, xenophobia, exclusion, violence etc., (cf. Murray, 2003 and 2008; Mbembe and Nuttal, 2008; Landau, 2009; Nyamnjoh and Brudwig, 2014)

[4] Churchizenship coined from the term church and citizen. It captures how the congregants becomes formally recognized as members of the church in which they forge an identity. The fact that they are not legally recognized as subjects of the state hence are not citizens but have identity and belonging in the church is well captured by the term churchizen.

churchizenship is presented as the opposite - peaceful, fostering belonging, inclusiveness and egalitarianism. However, this thesis demonstrates that it is equally violent and exclusionary as is citizenship, which is of necessity conflictual, reflecting class, ethnicity and other conflicting interests (cf. Haynes, 2013; Holston and Appadurai, 1996).

The sections that follow focus on the literature that has contributed to an understanding or Pentecostalism that is, from its nature, spread and intersection with other issues such as urbanism, violence and migration. That will assist in providing a bit of background, gaps and conceptual pointers to the theoretical and conceptual premises of this thesis. In doing so, I will also situate my study in light of the theoretical, conceptual and methodological enlightenment gained from the exercise.

2.1. The Nature and Spread of Pentecostalism

"The terms Pentecostal and Pentecostalism refer to a wide variety of movements scattered around the world that can be described as having family resemblance" (Anderson, 2010; 15). Family resemblance does not imply sameness but some shared values and connections. Despite the complex nature of Pentecostalism which defies a precise definition, Anderson defines it as referring to, "… churches with a family resemblance that emphasize the working of the Holy Spirit" (Anderson, 2010; 15). Pentecostalism cannot therefore be presented in singular as there are many Pentecostalism s though the common denominator is and has been baptism of the spirit and the accompanying gifts of the spirit (cf. Vlas, 2014). There have been categories of Pentecostalism from the classical Pentecostalism which have roots in North America's Azusa street revival around 1906 with a clearly defined theology of baptism of the spirit and speaking in tongues (cf. Vlas, 2014; Anderson, 2010). Then another type, the independent Pentecostal

churches from 1910 onwards that have a complex and diachronic relationship with classical Pentecostal s and having no clearly defined theology but in spiritual healing, prayer and gifts of the spirit bear resemblance, African Independent/initiated churches such as Zionist, white garment apostles are amongst this group. The older church charismatics follows the Independent type and includes the Catholic revivals, Anglican and other protestant Pentecostal s which remained mainline but embraced the baptism of the spirit and gifts of the spirit doctrine and is dated to the 1960's onwards. The neo-Pentecostal and Neo-Charismatic churches forms the current group from the 1970' which adopts and reconfigures the classical and older charismatic church practice and theology. These neo-Pentecostal s are flexible, adapts to different contexts speaking to contemporary cultures, and practices (Anderson, 2010). It is this last group I talk about when I refer to Pentecostalism in this thesis. I decided not to labor much in getting a precise definition due to the complex nature of Pentecostalism but what is important is that my reference is concerning the churches that speak to the spiritual gifts and healing, and prosperity gospel. These addresses the here and now without much emphasis on eschatology but enjoying the victory of Jesus Christ in this world and not in the world to come and captured in the neo-Pentecostal and neo-Charismatic description. There have been continuous mutations of the neo-Pentecostal churches in places that the churches have established with the theology and practice configuring and being reconfigured by the context.

Pentecostal movement has had a great impact in the world; it comes only second to Catholicism in terms of its following which is estimated to be above half a billion and still growing (cf. Vlas, 2014; Adogame, 2010; Martin, 1990). The expansion in Pentecostalism has been phenomenal in the global south with Latin America and Africa recording massive growth. The overwhelming evidence on the increase of religion, particularly Pentecostalism , has led

some academics such as Berger (2011) to accept the relevance and continued hold religion has in the modern world. Bowie (2008) states that scientific rationality and liberal enlightenment ideology are among the competing options to religious worldviews but are not replacements of the religious ideologies and influence on people but do compete for relevance alongside each other and in the same space.

Pentecostalism has been known to respond to social problems in contexts where it is established (cf. Jules-Rossette, 1993; Robbins, 2004; Meyer, 2009; Marshall, 2009). A lot has been written on the rise of Pentecostalism around the world with the Southern Hemisphere registering the highest number of Pentecostal followers. Pentecostalism has attracted people from all lifestyles with the poor and lower middle class in the South dominated among the followers. Wiegel and Hofner (2013) posit that, a neoliberal spiritual logic, which is characteristic of the prosperity gospel that defies an attitude of fatalism and hopelessness offering optimism that is accessible in an egalitarian manner, draws the lower middle class and the poor. Some may argue that since the majority in the global south are poor and lower middle class, the packaging of Pentecostalism in ways that speak to this majority group explains its popularity and growth. Amongst the problems and challenges that have been responded to are immigration woes that have gripped the lives of many on the move socially and physically (cf. Nunez, 2015; Maguire and Murphy, 2015; Garbin, 2013; Vasquez, 1999; Van Dijk, 1997).

Increase in crime, violence, murder, rape and all sorts of crime is an indicator, for most Pentecostal s of the need for deliverance because the evil spirit is responsible. Abumanssur (2015), Wolseth (2008) and Oosterbaan (2005) are amongst the scholars that have brought in seemingly an impossible relationship between Pentecostalism and violence in various contexts

of South America. The Pentecostal church's theology and practice form part of the infrastructure that mediate the violent spaces and relations and pastors become important brokers in dealing with and addressing the challenges. Cesar (2001; 32) argues that, "while Pentecostalism preaches the rejection of the outside world, on the other hand the world is transformed into the most intense battleground". With Pentecostalism flourishing amidst such moral decadence threatening the disintegration of society in most urban areas, what has been its role in such a setting?

In addition, Meyer (2012) in her studies of the Pentecostal churches in Ghana notes that there is tangible presence of Pentecostal charismatic churches in the public domain. She adds that there is a fetishization of material objects, that is, though human hands make objects, they are held to have some life of their own. Meyer and Moors (2006; 29) highlights that, "the evangelical groups appear in public as the social actors most clearly qualified to mediate through good and the exorcism of evil in the zone of conflict, violence, and poverty in which the urban areas of the major Brazilian cities have become submerged". The objects and images that invade the city and the homes of the believers is said to have power to bless and protect from all evil influences. The objects are said to evoke the presence of the divine, hence the power of the object to act or produce a response, bestow well-being, and protect its viewers, (Meyer and Moore 2006; 183).

There is no outright distinction between what happens in the ordinary everyday lives of Pentecostal adherents and the spiritual realm. Most of the things that happen in the physical do have a parallel spiritual explanation (cf. Marshall, 2009; Robbins, 2004). Born-Again political rationalities, and the terms in which power, redemption, sovereignty, and other

political themes are staged in its practices and professions of faith, stubbornly resist the distinction between sacred and secular we have come to take for granted in Western society and the categories of analysis we deploy to understand them (Meyer, 2009; 3). This makes it interesting to understand how Pentecostal adherents account for the misfortunes and opportunities.

One of the questions that arise is whether the dominance of Pentecostalism in time of crisis is what Malinowski argues when he states that religion always called for in the time of desperation, fear and insecurity.

> In a world of crises and growing uncertainty, both personal and collective, local and global, we cannot ignore the power of a movement which encourages a radical faith, hope and mutual responsibility, proposing new life-styles and enabling the elaboration, especially among the poor and downtrodden, of modes of survival which recover moral and ethical values in the midst of indifference and the chaos of modernity
>
> (Cesar 2001; 26)

Pentecostalism provides a community that helps the urban dweller build a survival network. Pentecostal faith not only mapped out how to avoid trouble but also identified where refugees could relax as it creates protective networks (cf. Martin, 1990). African practice and Christian charismatic beliefs and practices offer empowerment in all problems and grief of everyday life (Martin, 2002; 136). They dread the way everyday life places them towards dependence, but they also fear what interdependence may bring. In a context of immigration where the individuals are pressed and vulnerable, what does Pentecostalism offer is what becomes important in this research as will be presented in following section.

2.2. Pentecostalism and Immigration

For 'those cut adrift in a rapid changing environment a sojourn is provided in a new intense and intimate communities of faith, protected from the runaway world by firm moral boundaries' (Wermter; 2007). With the disappearing welfare state giving in to a more liberal one which operates under unfavorable market conditions in which most individuals fail to make it, Pentecostalism become an alternative. Wiegel and Hofner (2013) demonstrate Pentecostalism's ability to empower entire classes but importantly its effectiveness in engaging the urban transients in socially dislocating times.

Robbins (2004; 123-124) suggests that 'to the displaced people, unsure of their social links and morally adrift, Pentecostalism 's formation of tight communities around a high-intensity, time consuming ritual life…and collectively policed ascetic moral code surely provides a social foundation and sense of direction'. Haynes (2017 and 2015) concurs with Robin (ibid) in the unifying nature of Pentecostalism 's shared ritual practice that builds social ties and a sense of belonging as corporate prayer and singing together among other activities bring them together. Robbins (ibid) goes on to suggest that Pentecostalism provides hope and an ecstatic escape by providing an egalitarian environment through its rituals of rapture buffering them from the contemporary social world.

Meyer (2004) argues that Pentecostalism with its emphasis on a call to believers' brotherhood and sisterhood creates imaginations of community that go beyond notions of nationhood, ethnicity and space. That stance, she further suggests, plays an important role in the *diasporas*, where many Africans do not have a staying permit and yet are entitled to be married in the church, thereby surpassing national identity politics. Pentecostalism provides a collective

identity, which gives a form of security amidst anxiety stemming from constant threats and insecurity. People living in fear have little or no control over their daily activities. Connecting to a higher power or turning to magic and the supernatural gives assurance and control over their lives. Those who were formerly powerless seem to find in religion a means of altering their situation and even reversing their status in both symbolic and social terms, creating and manipulating sacred symbols to attain secular goals (cf. Wermter, 2007; Robbins, 2004). A new collective rendering of meaning to their situation with the hope of alteration of their material condition.

Maguire and Murphy (2015) argue that governmental management of migration has played a role in the rise of Pentecostalism among most African communities in Ireland as asylum centres provide opportunities for Pentecostal growth. The conditions of insecurity and lack of faith in the systems such as the state and the officials meant to assist those leads immigrants to fall back on some of their beliefs, or the next thing that promises hope and solution from such situations. Leman (2008) notes how Pentecostalism forms part of the important resource for its followers by providing enclaves of 'interaction' and 'incorporation' faith communities. Okechukwu Onah et al (2005) also highlight how religion provides an alternative to the lives of immigrants' especially undocumented ones.

In most of the Pentecostal churches where immigrants attend in the West, the situations they find themselves in are understood and dealt with through the lens of the church. Glick Schiller and Caglar (2008; 203) notes how '… the theology, practices, and identities deployed by born-again Christian migrants constitutes a form of citizenship that challenges established notions

of rights to territory and belonging articulated within state-based concepts of citizenship". This goes on to show how Pentecostal practices flexibly speak to many contexts.

In Europe and the United States, most of the studies that have been done on Pentecostalism have recently focused on the relationship between the Pentecostal movement and immigration. Scholars (Maguire and Murphy, 2015; Garbin, 2013; Schiller and Caglar 2008; Okechukwu Onah et al, 2008; Akcapar, 2006; Leman, 1999; Vasquez, 1999) and many others have put at the centre of immigrant experiences Pentecostalism . The context of South Africa has not had much representation in Pentecostalism and Migration. South Africa provides a worthwhile context in which Pentecostalism and immigration can be tapped into as the section below highlights.

2.3. Pentecostalism in South Africa

In South Africa there has been a rise in Pentecostalism , especially of immigrant-run Pentecostal churches, which has not been well documented (CDE, 2008; Garner, 2000). Van Wyk (2014; 21) notes that, "compared with other parts of the world, where Pentecostalism had been present for some time, the Pentecostal isation of South Africa's religious landscape was a relatively new development". This was a result of the movement being marginal at the time when it was first introduced in 1908 with African Independent churches leaving little space for the spread of Pentecostalism in most of the black communities (cf. Maxwell, 2006; Cesar, 2001). The Pentecostal isation of the South Africa Christianity though recent than in other parts of the continent has been very visible from the 90's when preachers from West Africa started new churches in South Africa (cf. Van Wyk, 2014; CDE, 2008; Garner, 2000). The rise of the Pentecostal movement in South Africa and in particular Johannesburg among immigrants has

led me to think about the impact this has on the Pentecostal immigrant followers in terms of how they experience the city.

The battle against the devil has been taken into daily life among Pentecostal s with the fight taking different forms of practices. The city has been invaded by various objects that have been employed through Pentecostal rituals to engage in daily battle with the devil that is bound daily or kept away from the believer's path. It becomes interesting in the city ridden with fear and violence and in this case Johannesburg where the unwillingness of police or state security to assist immigrants leaves them with little hope or options at their disposal. Does Pentecostalism play a role in such a context? For the Pentecostal s, the fight is not physical hence, the city is understood as a space not only occupied by physical beings but also the spiritual. Some of the spirits are seen as the devil's spirits using people to harm others even physically but the source is in the spirit. Are objects such as little handkerchiefs, stickers, holy oil and water and many different objects in the battle against the devil also employed in such a context is also interesting to note. These methods of protection are a result of the subjectivities of fear and insecurity in some contexts where religion has been called upon (cf. Meyer, 2009; Marshall, 2009; Geschiere et. al, 2008). Since the fear and insecurity that emanate in the physical is attributed to the spiritual forces, it then becomes imperative to use the spiritual weapons that have now become symbolized in physical objects. Pastor Ojewale cited in Marshall (2009; 1) reiterates that,

> We are disadvantaged if we lean on carnal weapons. Prayer- militant, strategic and aggressive prayer- must be our weapon of warfare at this time. It is a spiritual warfare and needs spiritual weapons.

The above worldview is that which most of the Pentecostal s ascribe to and I highlight how that informs most of the immigrants' practices. How such do beliefs and practices inform or inhibit some of the decisions immigrants make as they experience being in Johannesburg?

Landau (2010) argues that religion has become part of the social practices in Johannesburg and Pentecostalism is no doubt dominating (cf. Van Wyk, 2014; CDE, 2008; Garner, 2000). Looking at the experiences of immigrants through the lens of Pentecostalism becomes imperative in a city that qualifies as the cosmopolitan city and the continent's capital. Many have looked at the integrative force, assimilating role and coping role religion has had on people without familial support or those adrift from their homes. Johannesburg is such a city where opportunities and challenges are presented in the same space with immigrants forming a significant group in that same space. The presence and spread of Pentecostalism , which is said "responds to and helps resolve fear and uncertainty which have come to mark social relations over the past decades. The anxiety created by continued influx of 'dangerous strangers' to the urban centres as a result of increased urban migration…" (Corten and Marshall-Fratani, 2001; 85), brings me to the questions in this research. This makes it important to focus on Pentecostalism and how it offers a way of explaining some of the experiences immigrants go through in their everyday.

2.4. Dominion Theology

In as much as we cannot deny that other Christian religious groups preach dominion theology, Pentecostalism , arguably fervently emphasizes dominion theology as an effort to insert the church confidently into the public sphere blurring the sacred and profane boundaries

(Miller et al, 2013; Anderson, 2012; Corten and Marshall-Fratini, 2001). Dominion theology does not attempt an overhaul of conservative Pentecostalism , but changes the doctrine of delayed gratification as the victories of Jesus are claimed in the here and now to address the everyday worldly challenges faced by the followers (cf. Asamoah-Gyadu, 2010; Adogame, 2008). The vagaries of urban life are no exception in the matters that the Pentecostal dominion theological approach has set to address. Pentecostalism aims to bring the city into submission as it purports to have the monopoly over the means necessary to realize the urban promises of prosperity. On one hand are the urban and/or modern promises of progress and transformation represented by the city, but remaining elusive to most. Pentecostalism on the other hand packages itself around the urban promises as the way to demystify or provide the much sort after prosperity. With all the informants I spoke to, their first impression when they first arrived in Johannesburg was that of awe and admiration for the impressive road networks and buildings, which for them signaled the presence of the urban promise. This was before most of them had to move to the outskirts and some shared rooms in crowded spaces in the inner city such as Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville, in Central Johannesburg and, Turffontein, Rosettenville, La Rochelle etc. Such spatial distribution signifies different modalities of survival and opportunities and in this case, the outskirts and inner city spaces draw those with less capital to impose their dominance in other places.

Pentecostal theology has in most cases been drawn from dominion Christian doctrine that emphasizes conquering territories for the kingdom of God. The theology applied in the city has been in most cases reduced to the gospel of prosperity, hence the focus on materialistic realization and obtaining the resources that the city has at its disposal. Immigrants who move

from their respective countries on the continent have as their goal, to prosper though barriers that await them prove difficult. Kleist (2016; 15) posits that "migration is a 'powerful trope for imagining oneself as being socially on the move… and a way of imagining a possible escape from a frozen future". This is an intuition for a quest to go somewhere in life and what Hage (2009) and Hage and Papadopoulos (2004) termed 'existential mobility', which entails an escape from hardships, suffering and limited opportunities. I present that immigrants arrive with high hopes, only to be confronted with the brutal realization that those aspirations will not be easily realized or be achieved. They realize that there are many institutional state governance and social obstacles that quickly crush their anticipated success. That is not to dismiss the success of other African immigrants but that paradox lies at the heart of Johannesburg as a place of opportunities, struggles and that which can cut one down instantly. Such struggles are translated into biblical perspectives, of being cast out and shut out because of the spiritual realm through Pentecostal theologies as chapter 4 will illustrate.

Van Wyk (2015) posits that, 'Pentecostalism 's scrimmage with evil spirits has become commonplace in the city'. The response by Pentecostalism to the vagaries and promises of urban life and/or modernity can be better understood by drawing from the concept of 'Pentecostal urbanism', which entangles the complex relationship between religion and urbanism/ modernity (c.f. Martin, 2002; Berger, 2009, 2012). In efforts to forge and establish its presence in the city, Pentecostalism brings in more in terms of its discourses in the form of theologies, rituals, and practices as it engages the city through mediation. Rituals and practices bring about other actors which alter the city's physical and social landscape in the form of Pentecostal material objects which play a role in shaping the ways the city is perceived and

negotiated by the followers as I demonstrate in later sections and mostly in chapter 5. Meyer, Latour, Keane and Appadurai are mobilized in making sense of the circulating objects in the city and the ways in which the objects mediate the relationships that people have in and of the city. Urbanism is not only about human beings but also about objects, which circulate in the city and also have a life of their own. The objects mediate their experiences of the city hence the need to mainstream the role that objects play in enabling a sense of (in)-security.

2.5. Pentecostal Dominion, Hierarchies and Violence

The Pentecostal idea of dominating and subduing the world brings with it complications with regards to the ways in which it plays out amongst its devotees. The dominion comes in the form of a re-birth or born again hood which allows for a conquering of both the spiritual and other everyday life experiences(cf. Miller et al, 2013; Anderson, 2012; Corten and Marshall-Fratini, 2001) at the expense of some of the constraining practices within the church. In dominating the world and subjecting it to the authority of the Pentecostal adherents, there is an oversight on how that unfolds within the church as the egalitarian principle is taken for granted (cf. Wariboko, 2014; Robbins, 2004). The ability to become dominant comes from receiving the Holy Spirit empowering the believer to have their way in terms of prospering in all things which include but is not limited to health, wealth, and overcoming other life challenges (cf. Van de Kamp 2016; Gifford, 2011). The authority for most of the modern Pentecostal leaders depends on their personal charisma and not on the institutional or office authority hence its widespread and more prophetic, prosperity and deliverance ministries becoming more popular (cf. Bourdieu, 1987).

There are consequences however for the believers themselves in the ways their dominion comes about. In their quest to dominate the world, they find themselves succumbing to the oppressive subjugation from the church hierarchical operations. Katsaura (2017) and Haynes (2015) acknowledges Pentecostal hierarchies and how the church leaders are responsible for the governance of their lives. This speaks to the establishment of Pentecostal hierarchy which has in most cases been neglected because of the assumption that Pentecostalism is more egalitarian as demonstrated by equitable access to the Holy Spirit. Haynes (2015) as much as she admits that there is some form of egalitarian aspects, the hierarchical structure develops which will lead to loss of individuality and independence amongst the congregants. Pentecostal hierarchy is established through spiritual superiority which results from one's demonstration of the gifts of the spirit such as prophesying, healing, deliverance, reading and interpreting the scriptures which forms part of its legitimacy (cf. Tazanu, 2019; Haynes, 2015, Gifford, 2011). Such demonstration results in differentiation of the one who exhibits such qualities hence becomes an expert whose services are valued within the congregation.

Consequently, the experts who demonstrate such abilities become answerable only to the source(i.e. God and the holy spirit) without any challenge from those who are amongst them or those they lead. The authority assumed by such experts opens up spaces of abuse and domination without any checks and balances which has resulted in some of the abuses and exploitation in Pentecostal churches as the upcoming chapters will demonstrate.

2.6. Urban Violence, Pentecostalism and the Immigrant

For the purposes of this thesis, my conceptualization of violence is more expansive and not limited to physical violence in which there is an intention to cause harm by an observable actor. The violence that I focus on is beyond physical to include structural and symbolic violence, which entail more invisible and soft forms, such as the exclusion or marginalization of individuals. I take cues from Moser and McIIwaine (2006), Winton (2004), Farmer (2003) and Galtung (1990) whose understanding of violence encompasses structural violence that is not limited solely to agents but entail, psychological hurt, alienation, repression and deprivation. Structural violence exposes the persistent forms of violence that are built into structures, institutions, ideologies and veiled from the public who cannot recognize their condition as resulting from an identifiable actor.

Symbolic violence/dominion is one such kind of violence that is also pervasive and seems, in most cases, to be unintended and indirect—hidden from the victims who are complicit in their domination. This is a dangerous kind of violence as there is concealment of the coercive strategies and machinery at play that enable and perpetuate domination. The dominated tend to be complicit in their domination due to a misrecognition of the deceptive nature of relationship between the dominated and the dominator in justifying and legitimation of the skewed relations.

Misrecognition refers to the ways in which underlying processes are not consciously acknowledged in creating, maintaining and perpetuating social differentiation (cf. James, 2015, Bourdieu, 1987). The resulting hierarchization, exclusions and inclusions are then naturalized and legitimized because of the mystification of the underlying processes which results in such

only to be attributed to something else and in most cases to the failure of the victims or marginalized who are socialized into accepting or perceiving themselves to be what they are told they are. It enables the subordination and constraining relationships to be treated as natural devoid of interestedness from those in position of domination which become essentialized and accepted.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992; 168) state that, in fact, misrecognition is a form of 'hidden persuasion' that disguises and confines ones' worldview. Some form of dependency and obligations are created to serve the interests of those who are in positions of domination though ensuring that such arrangements are legitimized by screening their interests.

Bourdieu (1987a, 126 cited in Rey, 2014; 82) posits that, "…the religious field is characterized by a competition for religious power [that] owes its specificity…to the fact that what is at stake is the monopoly of legitimate exercise of power… the practice and worldview of lay people, by imposing on and inculcating in them a particular religious habitus". This need to convince the laity into inclining in investing in the religious goods leads to intensification of the specialists' demonstration of power and quest for legitimation. A lot of miracles and mystical rituals that borders on magic and religion becomes prevalent and more prominent. Bourdieu (1971a cited in Rey, 2014; 82) further argues that these primary interests of the church (represented by the clergy) is concealed hence there is misrecognition on the part of the laity.

> Symbolic violence' transpires whenever distinctions in society are reified through the inculcation in one's habitus of the misrecognition that social distinctions and inequalities are natural instead of arbitrary; any gesture, act, or proclamation in society that promotes such misrecognition constitutes symbolic violence, which ultimately serves to perpetuate domination in human society.
>
> Rey, (2014; 56)

Consequently, such hidden forms of domination results in many forms of violence that may lead to dispossession of agency as those who have the authority define the world. The religious institutions and clergy are well positioned to represent and determine the worldview of the adherents who are complicit in legitimizing the role that the institutions and clergy play in their lives because there do not recognize the disguised coercive forces. The adherents do not have the power to determine their own worldviews and neither do they participate in the creation and distribution of the discourses they end up consuming (cf. Rey, 2014; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1987).

What I call 'reverse misrecognition' results when the more the congregants return tithes, offerings and give gifts in their multiple forms such as partnership offerings, pastor's appreciation, seeding and many more offerings which might be investment in time, physical laboring in the church and using different gifts and talents in singing in the choir or photo shooting and operating sound systems and many more. Such investments and gifts places some obligations upon the pastors by proxy, as they gain leverage to lay claims over on them as experts in the production of religious goods. The demands and obligations also goes unrecognized by the priests and/or pastors which brings about the reverse misrecognition on the part of the religious clergy responsible for the production of the much needed religious goods. Interestingly, the way hope is defined, classified, through semantic flexibility-symbolically results in the laity blaming themselves. They fail to live up to the demand of the arbitrary dominant culture.

Taking such an approach to understanding violence allows this thesis to bring into perspective the violence that the poor urban marginalized immigrant deals with in their everyday. It also

enables me to look at the violence that the immigrant faces not only through the physical and intended acts from the criminals but also through state security agents. Additionally, I look at the soft violence, which is from the structures, institutions and ideologies both within and from without the Pentecostal church that has been hailed for providing a haven for the immigrant. This has been evident in the role Pentecostalism has played in mediating urban violence in some South American cities (Abumanssur, 2015; Wolseth, 2008 and Oosterbaan 2005).

2.7. Theoretical and Conceptual Reflections

Different forms of urbanism such as Telescopic Urbanism (Amin, 2013), African Urbanisms (Pieterse, 2011), Black Urbanism (Simone, 2011), Subaltern Urbanism (Roy, 2011), have contributed theoretically in understanding the cosmologies of the cities. These scholars contributed to bringing the marginalized epistemic representations of the city by challenging the dominant one-sided discourses privileging economic rather than humanistic approaches to urban studies. Religion has not been spared hence this follows Lanz (2014; 19)'s position that, "religion has been treated as another marginalized footnote of urban space… or considered as a specific feature of "sacred" or "fundamentalist" cities". Despite the prevalence of the centrality of religion in the urban, little has been crafted in terms of trying to bring the spiritual into understanding the configurations of the city in a manner that does not treat it as an addendum. This is not to dismiss efforts by other scholars on Pentecostalism that have understood Pentecostalism as an urban religion, more so recently by several scholars such as Dilger, Bochow, Burchardt, and Wilhelm-Solomon (2020), Burchardt (2020b), Katsaura (2019 and 2017), and Ukah, (2018). I move beyond their approaches to demonstrate that, not only is the urban in Pentecostalism but that the two intersect and reinforce each other in mutually

violating the poor marginalized urban dweller. I approach Pentecostalism and urbanisms' mutually reinforcing constitutiveness differently from conventional wisdom which takes the complementarism in a positive way.

As a result, I coin the term 'Pentecostal Urbanism' in trying to capture the spiritual element of the city, which is often marginalized while the economic, material and neoliberal elements are prioritized. Additionally, the city cannot be understood only from the material, so the concept of Pentecostal urbanism adds value to existing urbanisms by factoring in the spiritual element of the city and the interplay between the two. This chapter foregrounds the spiritual in conceptualizing and understanding the city, which has been understood in most cases in material terms i.e. the economic and neoliberal conceptualizations.

2.8. Pentecostal Urbanism

I coined the concept of Pentecostal urbanism to account for an entanglement of the urban and the Pentecostal – realms which have otherwise been treated as separate entities existing independent of the other. Pentecostal Urbanism unfolds when these seemingly opposing realms intersect i.e. Pentecostalism which is of the religious realm- full of enchantment, the magical, irrational etc., pitted against the rational, progressiveness, and the scientific constructions/representations of the urban. By Pentecostal Urbanism, I break away from this bifurcation that currently dominates the conventional understanding in both urban and religious studies. I move beyond popular urbanisms, which are premised on the Western canon in which rationality, disenchantment and science characterize the urban and I present an urbanism that is intermingled with the religious attributes which are premised on the enchantment and magical, which were predicted to retreat into the private sphere with modernity (cf. Wariboko,

2014; Cox, 2013; Berger, 2009, 2012). The urban that I take a cue from is that of the cosmopolitan ('the melting pot') and host to the flexibly mobile citizen or the mobile immigrant (cf. Katsaura, 2019; Nyamnjoh and Brudvig, 2014).

At the intersection of the urban prospects and Pentecostal promise is Pentecostal Urbanism born. Urbanism offers and or is perceived to be synonymous with the promise of modernization, success and transformation by many who migrate to the cities. The realization of such prospects is not easy as there are contestations over the much-needed capitals presented by urbanism. The so-called City of Gold, *Egoli*, epitomizes such transformative prospects: gold, which led to the establishment of Johannesburg, bestows or is the embodiment of value or the prosperity that many migrated to the city to acquire. Pentecostalism promises the realization or attainment of this prosperity, which the city embodies or symbolizes - though not all have the capacity to unlock these prospects. Pentecostalism is projected as the much-needed empowering and unlocking force to enable all to realize this goal. Packaged in the message of hope, the Pentecostal message aligns itself with the urban prospects that are most sought after in the city.

The idea of the African city is shaped by the colonial city model and development, presenting it as "…the repository of wealth and other forms of resources, it is where the Christian God is to be found, including His riches, which are materialistic in nature" (Ukah, 2014; 194). Such an assertion is not uncommon when it comes to cities of the world, especially African cities. Cities are places of transformation. They are where individuals move to in search of dreams of prosperity, modernity and overall advancement. Cities are perceived to be transformative spaces of power where people are converted to become successful and as such, there are efforts

by individuals to realize the opportunities. With Pentecostalism finding more expression in the city, there has been more urbanism found in Pentecostalism and vice-versa. The relationship between Pentecostalism and the urban promises is a crucial one. The Pentecostal narrative and/or theology complements the 'colonial model of modernity and development' as it portrays itself as possessing monopoly over the city whose owner is God and that God is of and for the church. Pentecostalism perforce mimicry to the promise of neoliberal modern promises. As Ukah (ibid) points out above, the Christian God is the owner and the right to access the sought-after resources should rest first in the hands of those who belong to the church. Such an understanding and perception of the city and who has charge or control within it are perpetuated and cemented in the urban Pentecostal theologies.

> "Urban Religion is the site of converging and conflicting visions and voices, practices and orientations, which arise out of the complex desires, needs and fears of many different people who have come to the cities by choice or coercion (or both), and who find themselves intersecting with unexpected others (and with unexpected experiences of their own subjectivities) on a complex social field".
>
> Orsi (1999b:44f)

Johannesburg, which is considered as the African Metropolis draws many who seek to transform their lives though the expectations are in most cases met with barriers and contradictions. The Pentecostalism and urbanism nexus is a very complex one, they operate within a tension filled reciprocity and mutual juxtaposition. Pentecostal urbanism deals with the divide that seeks to separate the secular and sacred in the city. There is need to understand the complex ways within which Pentecostalism operates within the city, its ways of communication, its representation, its symbols and this is captured by the concept of Pentecostal urbanism. Wariboko (2014, XVIII) makes a significant contribution in breaching the secular and sacred duality that seeks to treat the city as only a 'major hub for the flows of

financial capital, global music, and migrants at the expense of transnational religious flows'. Wariboko (ibid) attests to the complementarity and coexistence of the secular and sacred city as he turns to his idea and concept of the 'Charismatic City', which captures the entanglements of the urban and the Pentecostal. Wariboko (2014, 12) further highlights that, "In both the Sacred and Secular Cities, ethical disposition is anchored to the command of god (gods) and to reason. Either City represents the authoritative source of morality and normality to govern all citizens or spheres of life".

I bring to the fore the idea that Pentecostalism in as much as it has been presented as egalitarian, unifying and providing the much-needed haven of belonging, it is not much different from urbanism. Both Pentecostalism and urbanism are fields in the urban space as a social and physical space operating within the same logic. The idea of citizenship that shapes belonging and exclusion within the city in its purest sense denote an idea of fairness and equality for those who qualify to be citizens. The reality is that there is no equality, but there are violent exclusions that follow the fault lines of unequal relations and resource distribution within the city. The violence and exclusions within the city are apparent and visible though justified and legitimized through institutional and symbolic means that naturalizes the differentiations. My point is that, Pentecostalism from which churchizenship is born, is represented as egalitarian and the opposite of the functions and logic of the urban, something which I challenge. The churchizenship that operates within the Pentecostal belonging is equally violent and draws from the same logic found in urbanisms' idea of citizenship. The challenge is that it is very difficult to see and identify forms of violence within the church, as there is a lot of symbolic representations and naturalization of the hierarchies unlike the city which is in most cases exhibiting overt forms of violence. Working with Bourdieu and other theorists highlights some

of the ways in which the immigrant Pentecostal experiences unfolds at the intersection of the urban and Pentecostal .

2.9. Inviting Bourdieusian Tools to Unpack Pentecostal Urbanism and the Unfolding Pentecostal Immigrant Drama

In this section, I explore Bourdieusian thinking tools and others in the urban Pentecostal experiences of immigrants in Johannesburg. I argue that the much-celebrated role of Pentecostalism in providing a reconstructed defensive identity community is oversimplified as it misrecognizes the undercurrents of domination in and within the Pentecostal field. I will show through Bourdieu's ideas that, the Pentecostal and the urban operate in and within the same social space operating with the same logic and are of the same structural affinities.

In Bourdieusian terms, "social space entails an abstract space constituted by the ensemble of sub-spaces or fields (economic, intellectual, artistic, academic, bureaucratic, etc.) owing their structure to the unequal distribution of a particular species of capital". In the social space is where the fields are located as sub-spaces of social space. The space that I work with is the urban space that is constitutive of the urban social space and the urban physical space with the two being mutually constitutive. In urban space are sub-spaces or fields of which I am more interested in the religious field, political field and the economic fields amongst other fields such as the juridical and cultural fields. These fields are homologous and in other words structural affinities, which play out in the same urban space.

"A field is a competitive arena of social relations wherein variously positioned agents and institutions struggle over the production, acquisition and control of forms of capital…" (Rey,

2014; 41). In this thesis I work within Johannesburg urban space in which various fields are located providing the arena where differently positioned individuals struggle over capitals which are considered valuable within each field. In my case, the religious field in which Pentecostalism is a sub-field is of interest together with the other economic, political and juridical fields within and between them providing the totality of immigrants' experiences.

There are different fields that operate within the urban space of Johannesburg and the space present some challenges as noted by Bourdieu (1999, 124) that, "There is no space in hierarchized society that is not itself hierarchized and that does not express hierarchies and social distances…" The hierarchies and social distances are disguised by consistent and continuous process engraving social realities in social space i.e. both social and physical world.

> "In fact, social space translates into physical space, but the translation is always more or less blurred: the power over space that comes from possessing various kinds of capital takes the form in appropriated physical space of a certain relation between the spatial structure of the distribution of agents and the spatial structure of the distribution of goods and services, private and public".
>
> Bourdieu (1999, 124)

It follows, then, that the experiences and advantages or disadvantages over and within space reflects one's amount of capital that is valued in the different fields. The places where poor black African immigrants end up residing, working and spending time resonates with the amount of capital they possess and the lack thereof. The areas such as Turffontein, where the church that I did research is located, the other surrounding suburbs in Johannesburg South such as Rosettenville, La Rochelle, Townsview etc. attract and confine a number of immigrants (I will give more details on the suburbs in chapter 3). Bourdieu theorizes that, "…those who are deprived of capital are either physically or symbolically held at a distance from goods that are

rarest socially; they are forced to stick with the most undesirable and the least rare persons and goods". Immigrants are drawn and tied to places where they would not otherwise have wanted to stay in, but the lack of valuable capital constrains them.

Verter (2003; 157) notes that, "…although Bourdieu (1991) discusses the economic aspects of the production and distribution of religious capital, he does not consider the dynamics of its consumption or manipulation in contexts other than those defined by their relationship to institutional structures of authority". He points out that Bourdieu, in giving prominence to the structure and less attention to the lay people, relegating their agency as consumers of religious goods but never accumulating and wielding religious capital. Bourdieu gives an over-socialized individual and has been criticized for that. Verter (2003; 157) points out that Bourdieu (1991; 1987), "…does not theorize how the religious habitus might affect social dynamics beyond the arena of competition between religious professionals". This is the case because Bourdieu focused mostly on institutionalized religion using the Catholic Church as a case in point to draw conclusions on religion and symbolic domination. To resolve the challenge, Verter (ibid) acknowledges that Bourdieu later on brought in the concept of the habitus to account for the agency of the individual although his emphasis has not been on a more reflective individual, hence he preferred spiritual to religious capital. Maybe, before delving into the religious capital versus spiritual capital discussion, there is need to say a bit about the concept of capital in Bourdieusian terms.

"Capital is accumulated labor (in its materialized, 'incorporated', or embodied forms) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive basis by agents or groups of agents enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor" (Bourdieu, 1986; 81). In

different fields, it is the different forms of capital deemed more valuable that inform practice and determine the outcome for the individuals and groups. Capital is the basis of struggle as there is competition for its accumulation, deployment, and conversion in different fields. "Capital, defined implicitly as attributes, possessions, or qualities of a person or a position of exchangeable goods, services, or esteem, exists in many forms" (Paul Dimaggio, 1979 cited in Rey, 2014; 52). The religious and citizenship types of capital which are of interest in this thesis take multiple forms which include the embodied (in Pentecostal migrants and pastors), institutionalized (in the Pentecostal church organization, for instance) and objectified in the form of anointed Pentecostal objects) as I shall show.

The political field is important in understanding the unfolding of the immigrant drama as identity politics shapes the way the life of the immigrant is lived. Citizenship is an identity marker and important form of capital that determine the quality of lived experiences. The occupation and distribution of space and resources is determined by citizenship as localness and/or indigeneity is magnified and more valued in the urban space. A sense of hysteresis[5] develops as the immigrant does not possess the indigenous quality expected to compete fairly within the city; hence the religious field becomes relevant as it provides a reconstructed defensive community to foster belonging in the city. The idea of a defensive community of belonging is overrated, as I argue, because it operates in the same logic as that which the other

[5] Hysteresis in Bourdieusian terms refers to the misalignment of the habitus and the field that results in an individual being and feeling out of place. In my case the idea entails the values and practices of the immigrant being incongruent with the local/indigenous values that marginalizes them.

fields do. This community is captured in the idea of belonging into a community of Pentecostal members as churchizens as much as we have citizens in the city.

Citizenship and churchizenship both constitute politics of belonging within the religious political community and the urban political community. There is homology between the religious and political fields which is why there is a production of similar hierarchies and similar distribution of capitals. The capitals are in most cases field specific as each field has many capitals and in this case for example, there is political capital of a nation state citizenship and in the religious field there is evangelical capital. The distribution of these different capitals is unequal with regards to their volumes, composition and trajectories in these fields, which goes on to shape or mediate the practical conditions of the urban-Pentecostal existence. The unequal distribution within and between the fields is sustained by the naturalization leading to the legitimation of who gets more of the capitals that are contested. In as much as churchizenship might be looked at as an alternative way of belonging, it does not necessarily constitute egalitarianism. What we have in the different fields is a similarity of differences because inasmuch as the capitals are different, the distribution is similar. In addition, the signification or the evaluative judgements in the different fields is also similar with mirror images between citizenship and churchizenship. The signification and evaluative judgements get imposed on the practices which become hierarchized and the hierarchies or ranks have to be given value through mediation. Meanings are then given to the practices that result from the differentiated space such that the meanings result in the theatricalization of space, whereby what is recognized is naturalized universal order within each field. Burchardt (2020b, 2) argues that, Pentecostalism is a major cultural force in the creation and fixing of hierarchies as cultural

identities, styles and practices are valued differently to achieve and naturalize differentiation. There is an internalization, normalization and universalization of the differentiated space into an imposed habitus be it in the church or the city thereby resulting in domination.

2.10. Churchizenship vs Citizenship

There is citizenship as invited by the state, whereby people are called upon to participate in whatever has been produced and invented by the legislators and politicians who are experts in the determination of citizenship. The type of citizenship that results has its own demands and demarcations of belonging and exclusion that are bound by certain legislations and statutes. There are denizens who fall between the cracks of the statist classification hence categories such as immigrants, asylum seekers, foreigners and other terms are deployed to deny some access to certain rights and privileges reserved for those who meet the criteria of being citizens. Benton (2010, 8) states that "denizenship is a status of vulnerability to state domination because of the absence of national political rights". Benton (ibid, 8) further explains that, "some subgroups of denizens are especially vulnerable to private forms of domination such as exploitation by landlords and employers". Scott (2013) highlights the challenges that denizens face though he shows how there are ways in which denizenship is negotiated. I bring churchizenship to demonstrate one of the powerful ways in which immigrants are creating alternative ways of dealing with denied citizenship.

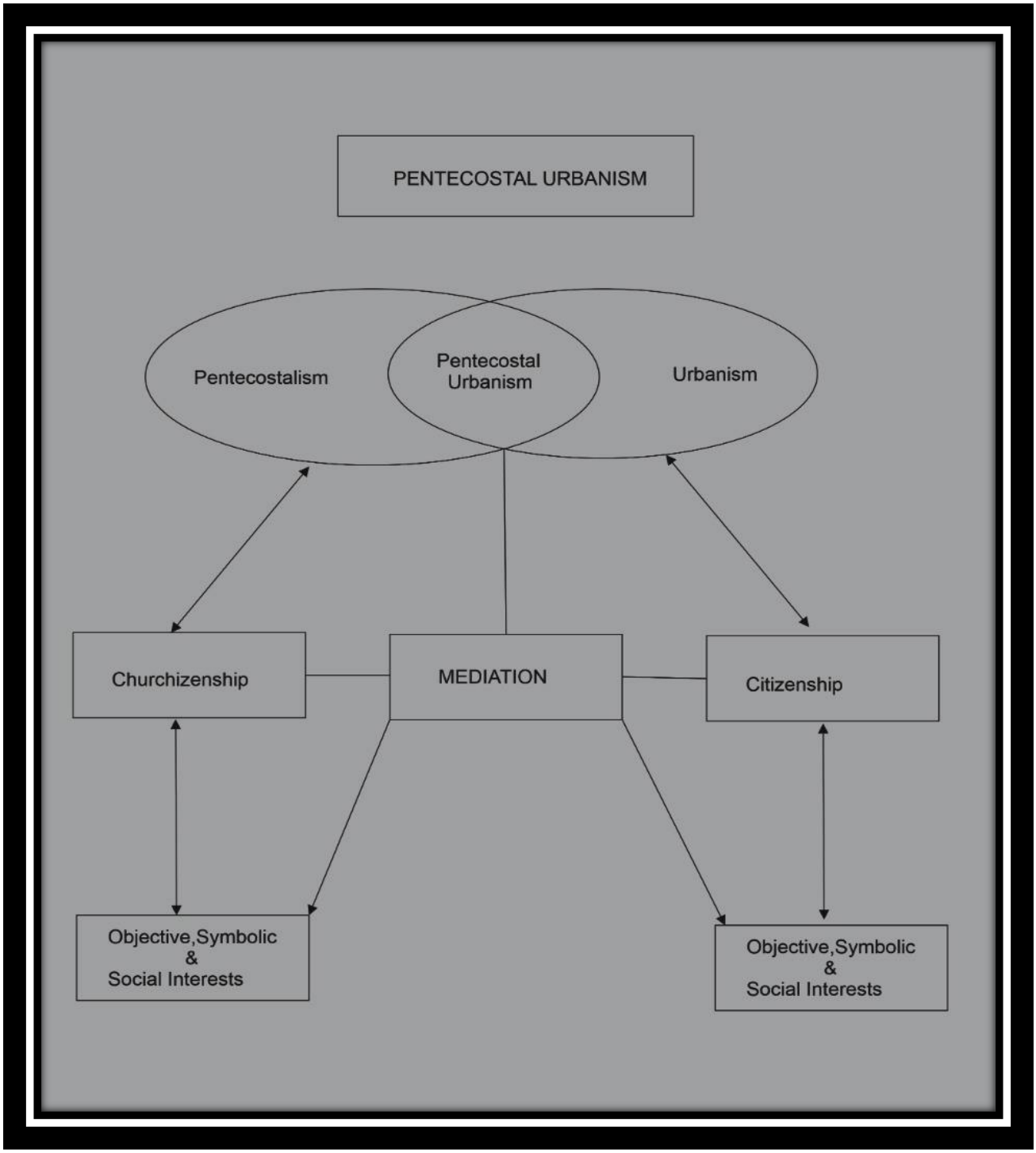


Figure 1: Source; Author

There are striking parallels created by the Pentecostal churches which are bringing in their own kind of citizenship which I call 'churchizenship". Churchizenship is about a new kind of governance in which the pastors, prophets, priests/clergy are responsible for ensuring that the churchizens realize the much-needed hope. As much as the state protects its citizens through the state security apparatus, those who fall between the cracks such as the refugees and immigrants will not enjoy much of the protection but being a churchizen, the clergy in particular Pentecostal ones have their own prayer defense team that looks into such. There are prayer warriors and spiritual warfare dedicated to ensuring security and protection for the churchizens. It is also not the only focus, but health related issues are also dealt with during the health and deliverance services that those who do not have the means to visit the government institutions rely on. In such a setup there are also certain codified rules of churchizenship which guides how one acquires and maintains their belonging and participation. There are forms of sacrificial participation which emulate state taxation in the form of tithes and, multiple forms of offerings.

Citizens claim hope, which is obtained only through shared history and some sense of entitlement. In most cases, nationalism and tribalism becomes the vehicle through which such hope is accessed and denied to other groups considered as different and not sharing the same history and memory. Such exclusions and marginalization with the nationalist states having policies that promotes such marginalization, a void is created, and hope becomes something that is not distributed equitably. Pentecostalism in such contexts has become popular in creating an alternative way in which hope is accessed and/or realized. It generates a new sense of belonging leading to a different kind of citizenship that is exclusive to believers. A different

political subject is created in the new Pentecostal churches which play a major mediatory role in the experiences of the congregants (cf. Marshal, 2009, Maxwell, 2005).

There is, however, a price to be paid in both cases in order to have access to the hope that citizens and churchizens alike enjoy. In the South African case, the pain and suffering of Apartheid becomes the capital of a shared history and memory that makes one an insider or the 'other' and outsider. As post-1994 immigrants cannot turn back the hands of the clock to be part of the shared memories and experiences of Apartheid, they remain marginalized through policies and statutes. Those born after Apartheid claim the memory via descent. The material and symbolic constructions of an immigrant has become key in urban Johannesburg which serves to exclude those of a certain type of immigrant. The sentiments mostly but not exclusive by the local people is against the cosmopolitan inclinations of Johannesburg, resulting in the codification into law some of the stigmas that bar the immigrant from realizing hope. Public officials who take part in the creation and distribution of hope also play into statist sentiments, the sentiments omit the immigrants and refugees resulting in alternatives being sought after.

The Pentecostal church with an alternative form of citizenship that anyone can lay claim to, becomes very popular to those who find themselves cut out of the shared national history. The Abrahamic promises as presented in the Pentecostal theologies bring the congregants into a new form of citizenship as the direct inheritors of the wealth and riches of God who owns the earth. As such, the narrative of dominion theology whereby the congregants are supposed to have authority over all then creates a different perspective to the way the congregants approach the everyday. Their quest to have dominion to the uttermost of the earth defies the borders and territories hence the resilience and hope that becomes vital for understanding the way in which

discrimination and segregation is negotiated. What is at stake in the South African context in Johannesburg to be specific is hope that becomes a struggle to access. The narrative of a fluid citizenship that is not bound by territory and only a product of God resonates with the mobile populations.

In the neoliberal ideals, the state's role in the creation and distribution of hope is downgraded as the market forces through privatization takes over. With that being the case, hope becomes a product created, controlled and distributed through the logic of market forces which means that a welfare state is an incapacitated producer of hope. This favors commoditization of hope, which becomes attainable at a cost. Pentecostalism comes highly regarded as the concentration of social hope and as an all-empowering religion, which plugs in the gap left by the state in distributing hope. My take on the role of Pentecostalism in having a concentration of hope takes into account how in such a context, access to hope is a complex process which brings with it some demands on the congregants. Further to that, is my position that even in Pentecostalism , hope is unequally distributed and highly contested requiring a lot of sacrificing on both the part of the congregant and to some extent the 'specialist (pastors, prophets and priests) in the production of religious goods' (Bourdieu, 1977) and in this case, hope. Yes, hope is not free. It conceals the true nature of its material origins. Hope is intrinsically linked to class for both the religious elite and the congregants. Its foundation and distribution is the monopoly of the specialists who usually define it as a free and spiritual resource to invest in. Yet, it has symbolic efficacy—it transmutes and conceals its origins in social class (where various capitals are unevenly distributed). Hope also becomes the basis for the domination of the laity.

The concept of Pentecostal Urbanism attempts to include Pentecostal religion in our reading of urban life. Pentecostalism is the fastest growing Christian religion. It has registered an important urban public presence, becoming one of the important urban signifiers; in many respects challenging the secularization thesis. The public presence of Pentecostalism has not come unnoticed as it has become more pronounced in the cities through its (re)-configuring of the city's landscapes and sound-scapes (c.f. Maxwell, 1998; Landau, 2009; Marshall 2009; Berger, 2009, 2012; Wilhelm-Solomon et.al, 2016; Katsaura, 2016, 2017). Katsaura (2017, 235) further argues that "in cities especially characterized by heightened forms of precariousness and 'economy of illegalisms'—poverty, crime, violence, inequality, informality—it is important to acknowledge the role of religion as a socio-psychological, and institutional signifier and resource mobilized to adapt to urban exigencies and make do…". Against such a background in cities such as Johannesburg, Pentecostal urbanism brings into conversation the ideas of mediated agency, and dominion theology to examine the role of Pentecostalism in the everyday lives of immigrants in navigating the city of Johannesburg.

2.11. Hope

Hope is that which is "…in love with success rather than failure" (Bloch, 1986; 3) and overrides fear propelling action which is informed by the present material conditions but future oriented. This entails, "…approaching hope as an anticipatory consciousness towards the 'not-yet-become (Bloch 1986, 11) and embedded in the conditions of the present" (Kleist, 2017; 7). 'Hope is temporal and elastic, it changes, can be transformed, weakened, or strengthened' (Kleist, ibid) and is "a socially mediated human capacity" (Webb, 2007; 68). Simply put, hope is what keeps people going even in the face of adversity, their focus on the end rather than their

present conditions enables them to dream and forge ahead. Like Webb (ibid), Hage (2003) concurs that hope is socially mediated, and he places more emphasis on what he calls social hope, which "…consist of visions of the good life and achievements within society" (Kleist, 2017; 8). Social hope brings a sense of security and confidence for people to spring to action in pursuit of their vision.

The state is the major player in the creation and distribution of hope, which is not only unequally dispersed but also a source of struggle (c.f. Hage, 2003; Kleist, 2017; Vamen, 2017). In a Bourdieusian sense, hope becomes a form of capital that citizens struggle to have access to and other convertible forms of capital are deployed. Symbolic capital such as citizenship becomes paramount in laying claims to the hope that the state has monopoly over and other forms such as political affiliations, tribe, race and many others creates some level of hierarchized citizenship to bring one closest to the societal distribution of hope. Vamen (2017; 43) states that, "Societies thus become limited in their capacity to distribute hope to all subjects within their territory and therefore exclude weak groups like refugees or migrants from hope". This was in relation to the neoliberal economic policies which have incapacitated the ability of some states especially in the global south to provide hope for people in its territories. Such a situation leaves the weaker groups such as the immigrants incapacitated or with limited options and insecurities hence, alternatives are sought after. Pentecostalism has been one of the fasted growing Christian religion, which specializes in creating, and dispersing hope as it stands out as one of the repositories of hope (c.f. Vammen, 2017; Kleist 2017).

Pentecostalism is the machinery for the production of hope, it is the urban grinder for the production of hope in the city. Bourdieu (1991a, 22) states that, "…the religious field is shaped

by, and operates according to, the economic logic of supply and demand: the laity's religious needs for religious capital constitutes the demand side of the equation, while the Church and its specialists and/or the prophet produce and supply religious capital". Consequently, the prevalence and dominance of Pentecostalism in the city places it at the centre of production and distribution of the much-needed hope but at a price.

Hope is a commodity and cultural capital that the religious leaders have monopoly. Hope can also be cashed into other forms of capital including economic, social and political capital. Convertibility of the capital of hope into economic capital, social capital as one gets into various networks through makes it a product that is sought after by the Pentecostal adherents. Due the homologous nature of fields, the capitals are deployed outside the religious fields and into the urban where most of the much-needed capitals are contested.

2.12. The Pulpit and the Panopticon

The pulpit is a stage from which the religious clergy stage the deployment and display of power in the church. It affords and enables the separation/differentiation of the clergy and laity thereby shaping and defining the power relations within the church. A demon manifesting in the church warrants the possessed person to be brought to the altar /pulpit where a spectacular display of power is exhibited through the clergy toying and tormenting the demon as it is exorcized. It is such exhibitions that have come to legitimize the clergy as the dominant force in the church and also responsible for the cultural production of the arbitrary.

The pulpit as much as it was established to deal with the vagaries of social ills has now; I argue become that which it also sought to deal with. The panopticon as is known about it in the modern day has negative connotation, which resulted from the unintended consequences of its

use. Both the pulpit and panopticon end up mainly functioning as that which there were not intended primarily for, as the issues of power, domination, governance, discipline and punishment become their preoccupation. Foucault (1977) brings about an interesting idea based on the panopticon; a structure designed by Jeremy Betham. The primary idea behind the panopticon for Foucault is that of self-surveillance i.e. how the disciplining 'gaze' is internalized then externalized in the lives of governed subjects. It follows therefore, that even in the absence of the 'gaze'; there is self-surveillance, which keeps the subject disciplined.

The panopticon was developed around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century replacing the inhumane conditions that led to death, sickness and abuse of prisoners who used to be housed in the same space with both women, children, petty crime to murderers all under one roof. Betham developed the panopticon to improve the conditions of prisoners; it allowed improved ventilation, central heating system running water, separation and classification of prisoners but most of all, it allowed for surveillance and governance of the prisoners. There are similarities with the way in which the pulpit symbolically represents a place from which pronouncements and the voice of command against all social ills illuminates. Katsaura (2017; 4) states that; 'In cities especially characterized by heightened forms of precarity and the 'economy of illegalisms' (Foucault 2009a, 13)- poverty, crime violence, inequality, informality- it is all important to acknowledge the role of religion as socio-psychological, and institutional signifier and resource mobilized to adapt to urban exigencies and to make do'.

Foucauldian panopticism expressed via the pulpit and its physical architecture facilitates symbolic domination. The physical structure mediates the relationships and hierarchization of the social classes in the church. Through the physical structure, parallel symbolic pulpit is also

impressed upon the minds of the congregants who also carry the affects and effects of the physical and symbolic structure as represented through the material objects whose network and assemblages can be traced to the physical architect of the physical altar. The altar is central in the creation and bringing to life the symbolic capital as imbued in the material objects such as anointed oil, posters, stickers, and wrists bands etc. that are charged and derive legitimate symbolic capital. These objects then are carried into the public spaces and the private spheres as well.

The pulpit in the panoptic sense gives the license to dominate creating a platform for domination for the one who has full access and control of the pulpit space. This is in no way an argument to dismiss the other purposes such as surveillance and discipline or the issues of authority and domination that now preoccupies the panopticon or the pulpit but my issue is with the initial ideas that led to the development of such structures and spaces. The primary idea behind these structures were to do with making life much better and more humane but there were unintended consequences that of oppression and violence.

The pulpit (as a political and cultural resource) is an autonomous field of ideological/symbolic production. It produces orthodox rather than heterodox religious discourses/theologies. The pastor practices symbolic violence as a 'specialist' (Bourdieu; 1991a), when he imposes and inculcates the dominant symbolic order or symbolic forms on the congregants. A dominant religious ideology, which serves his interests and those of, similarly poised groups (classes) in the church. The order of things, that is the hierarchies created in the church then need to be justified and what a better way than the way in which the pulpit is then used to naturalize and legitimate such a move. Mhando et.al (2018; 5) posits that, 'symbols of legitimacy include

impressive buildings, rituals, clothing, incense, dance, art, architecture, and the knowledge and memory of scripture'.

The pulpit for example is become a 'field of ideological production in homology with the symbolic struggles within the class structure' i.e. other dominated groups (Bourdieu, 1987). It has practical logic in addition to 'gnoseological and self-evident logic'; it is a form of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991). It follows that, it is a religious division of labor complementary of the social division of labor. On the contrary, the pulpit is supposed to level the ground for all and having all accessing the word without any obstructions for everyone has to be made equal by what the pulpit space teaches and resembles. That is however not the case as the object of my study (Rod of Authority church) shall illustrate.

2.13. Mediation and Agency: the Human-human and Human-object Entanglements

Agency is always complex agency, [6]unlocalizable and distributed across assemblages of both humans and things. It is out of such understanding of agency that I bring to the fore, the idea of mediated agency for the urban Pentecostal immigrant. From spending time observing and interacting with the Pentecostal immigrant, the totality of their experiences is mediated and not exclusive to their individuality but entangled in a network of relations with both human and nonhuman objects. The agency that becomes and affords confidence to the urban

[6] Refers to the fluid nature of agency which cannot be attributed to the action on human beings but enabled by other factors and objects which are not human. It cannot be pinned down.

immigrant is not and of the individual in the strictest sense but mediated agency. It is not the individual who does act or negotiate the city on their own but the assemblage. The agency is mediated through the complete network, which then informs the kind of action that is taken in the face of adversity for the immigrant.

Taking a "material approach to religion" Meyer 2012 (cf. Vasquez 2011; Garbin 2012) not only allows religion to be understood as a "practice of mediation" (Meyer 2009; 11) between the idea and experience of supernatural powers and everyday life, but also places the material forms and their effective powers in the focus of research. Because "religion happens materially" (Meyer, 2010; 209), the role that the material objects play is not left out but included in the form mediation will take.

2.14. Theory and Method: a Brief Overview

My ontological positioning and epistemological orientation informed my research methods. Although most of the works on religion have been influenced by the Protestant understanding on the subject, Pentecostalism has for a considerable time been approached from this same Protestant lens that marginalizes the material form and that has long been a respected position by scholars of religion. The emphasis had always been that of religion as innate whilst the expressions and the medium have been left aside. I engage the works of Bourdieu, Meyer, Appadurai, Keane, Latour, Engelke, Durkheim and many other who have taken up the work on religion to include materiality as forming an integral part of religious studies. Many scholars on religion in principle have started to be on board with the idea of not only focusing on religion as mental and inward looking but equally about practice and experience as Pentecostalism has demonstrated. A few have taken this approach further, Meyer (2012 and 2013), Vaquez (2011),

Asamoah-Gyadu (2010), Keane (2008), Engelke (2004 and 2007), and Dijk (1997), paying attention to the materiality of religion. Such an understanding also disrupts the methods of inquiry when one begins to not only focus on religion as inward looking or about belief but experience and practice playing as equally crucial in explaining religion.

My study sought to expand the opportunities for ethnographic study of religion and thereby enable access to the practical and social dimensions of religion. It contributes to the ongoing debate on what constitute religion as an object of study. This poses both conceptual and methodological questions, which my own work contributes. With the rise of Pentecostalism , which is the fastest growing movement in the world, there has been a more positive outlook on role it plays in the everyday lives of its followers. My own work exposes some complexities in the mediatory role of this growing religious phenomenon departing from the large body of scholarship that presents Pentecostalism as an all-empowering force. Consequently, my conceptualization of religion to include practice and experience rather than belief as primary influenced my choice of ethnographic methods. Participant observation became an important method in my fieldwork as it enabled me to participate in most of the church practices and rituals whilst observing some of the practices that I could not take part.

What I observed and participated was informed heavily by how I theorized religion and the group that I interacted with. Taking a materialistic approach to religion meant expanding my scope of subjects to include the external bodily expression and non-human material objects which became part of the sociality and expression of religion. I began taking note of what was part of the religious practices and the kinds of sociality that the things mediated and participated and/or enabled within and outside the church. Following things which were mostly religious

objects which were carried around to the homes, city spaces and workplace also became the task I had to engage. As Katsaura (2019; 8) also attests to, "… in the cities which Pentecostalism is becoming a dominant force, a form of 'Pentecostal urban material culture ' is taking shape". Such a worldview leads to reconstituting the Pentecostal urban sociality.

Pentecostal theologies create new players who become not only imagined but come to redefine the sociality in the city. Because of the ways in which the new Pentecostal theologies and practices have come to embrace the materiality of religion, new players in the form of religious material objects come to life. The everyday social relations become redefined as the religious material objects begin to form part of the sociality of Pentecostal everyday interactions within and outside the church. Networks and/or assemblages between human and nonhuman objects enables multiple experiences, which without such alliances are impossible.

"Latour contends, on the contrary that, once a person picks up a gun, she or he is not quite the same person as before. Guns among other things, when connected to humans, make new networks or assemblages that embolden or enable certain kind of actions, specifically killing" (Hazard, 2013; 66). This is true of material objects such as a wrist band from church inscribed some message or verse and having the name of brand of the religious institution or leader. Whatever the material object, be it the sticker on the car, photo in the wallet or anointing oil, new networks are formed and invoke certain kinds of responses.

Hazard (2013, 66) argues that, "A shared human recognition of the gun's violent potential-drawn from, say, the news and films-induces an affective reaction on the part of the holder, who might feel powerful and dangerous". It is common practice for most of the informants I spoke to, to have certain material objects such as stickers, wrist bands, calendars, anointed oil

and candles, hand kerchief, soil and many other things to respond differently to once feared or dreaded spaces and relationships. The confidence which the material objects that become part of the sociality in the city draws from the shared recognition of the source of the objects which is from testimonies from who these have worked for and with media and the public presence of Pentecostal practice on media platforms and in the city public spaces.

"According to Latour, when a person kills with a gun, it is not only the person who kills. It is the larger assemblage that kills. Its murderous agency is distributed across its many parts including anger, a trigger, a bullet, a human brain, violent films, and so on" (Hazard, 2013; 66). The wristband or any other material object that affords the Pentecostal adherent to have the confidence of going about their business in settings they once deemed dangerous and insecure has a life of its own. The networks or assemblage through which the life is created has a bearing on the things that it affords for the one in possession. The confidence that one presents emanates from the mediation that the objects provides which is mediated agency. From the words spoken on the objects, the sprinkling of water or anointing oil, the prayers from the prayer warriors/defense forces team, the sermon from the pulpit, and testimonies all work to bring life to the objects. The actions of Pentecostal adherents is altered through mediation from the new players that become part of the actors that enables and/or hinder certain behaviors.

2.15. Conclusion

The chapter has shown that this study is anchored on Pentecostal urbanism as the over-arching conceptual framework from which a number of concepts ensue. Concepts such as (urban Pentecostal theologies, churchizenship, dominion theology, mediated agency, hope, misrecognition, panoptic pulpit etc.), were elaborated on to render visible the study's position

on operationalizing urbanity and religiosity within a complementary or mutually inclusive framework instead of a binary approach that is prevalent in established scholarship. In operationalizing the concept of Pentecostal urbanism as it cuts across the analysis of this study, the emphasis is placed on the Pentecostal element and its contribution in significantly (re)-configuring the urban. Valuable insights were mainly drawn from Lanz (2014; 25-26 who pushes for an approach that looks at, "…religion and religious urbanity as two sides of a continual process in which the urban and the religious reciprocally interact, mutually interlace, producing, defining, and transforming each other". In a nutshell the relationship that is highlighted by Lanz is best explained by Pentecostal Urbanism which is used as a conceptual toolkit in this study to render transparent the interplay between the Pentecostal and the urban.

Chapter 3

Methodological Reflections

By default, as it happens to many people, in January 2010 I found myself in South Africa living as an immigrant just inside the Musina South African border. That I would one day not only be an immigrant in another country but homeless as well was beyond my wildest imaginations. I lived as a homeless person for a few days while trying to process the documents that would allow me to live legally in South Africa, which at the time became a futile mission and I had to return to Zimbabwe. However, while living on the streets of Musina I came across people from different countries who had been on the streets for months, and some for a couple of years. I had not anticipated such huge numbers of homeless immigrants and the kind of desperation that had led people to take such risks. I expected these people to be in utter misery and hopelessness, but this was not the case. Some of the people were members of Pentecostal churches from their countries of origin. The conversations mostly were about the "men of God" that ran these churches and the powers they had to turn people's lives around. Pentecostal churches were not new to me as there are several in Zimbabwe, but what caught my attention was the influence they had in the lives of the immigrants living along the border, especially the promises they gave to the people and a sense of security in crossing the border. Those couple of days that I spent interacting with people initiated my interest in studying the lives of immigrants.

The few days I spent in Musina[7], the life experiences, and observations made ignited a plethora of questions about Pentecostalism 's role in the lives of immigrants. These ignited a lingering and enduring zeal for understanding the nexus of Pentecostalism and migration as a subject of in-depth analysis. Even though the aim was not to have an exhaustive understanding and establish the truth about Pentecostalism , capturing its intricate dynamics and its role in the everyday world, practices and lived realities of immigrants deserved greater attention and a longer term ethnographic immersion into everyday lives of the immigrants which was not possible to immediately undertake. I then studied a different topic for my Master of Arts degree programme—the plight of the unaccompanied children, which also stemmed from my observations of the few days I spent at the border which were a sorry sight. I considered myself in a bad state and felt vulnerable to violent gangs in that space and I wondered how the young children felt and managed on their own without adults to care for and protect them. Such observations and experiences led me to the path of immigrant challenges especially unaccompanied children. But an enduring curiosity for an in-depth study of the role of Pentecostalism continued to be triggered and intriguingly shaped as I witnessed the proliferation of Pentecostal churches South Africa, particularly in the city of Johannesburg. This also brought back to life my experiences as a homeless immigrant and the role the church played in the restoration of hope in these people's lives. The idea of studying Pentecostalism 's

[7] Musina is a border town 16km from the Beitbridge border post (a political border that separates South Africa and Zimbabwe. It is to the North of South Africa about 521km from Johannesburg.

mediatory role of immigrants ’experiences in and of the city emanated from my interest in the relationship between the rising numbers of Pentecostal churches in immigrant dominated spaces in Johannesburg. Moreover, in 2012, after completing my master’s degree I went back home to a Zimbabwe that was ‘captured ’by the new wave of Pentecostalism. The new Pentecostal movement, which revolves around the pastor as the central actor within the church had taken over the religious scene. The power and authority of the new form of Pentecostalism, which focuses on the charisma of the pastor dubbed prophet and the ability to perform instant miracles, took center stage with thousands leaving the more established Catholic, protestant and Pentecostal churches.

As a result, I started having questions as to why people were so much interested in these churches. What was in these new churches that was not in the old conservative churches. My interest grew as I began to get more information from conversations with some of my friends and relatives who were leaving their churches to follow these new ‘prophets and men of God’. Instant miracles, some of which were mediated by material objects, which were sold by these new churches, were popular and I wanted to understand how such things work as well. I also became curious of the “miracles”, however, the relationships of these churches with the immigrants in Musina and Johannesburg remained a curious point of analysis and that led me to this project.

3.1. Of Trust, Secrecy and Suspicion

The presence of Pentecostal churches and their impact has not escaped the watchful gaze of the state and the negative attention from the media. Their operations and practices have caught

the attention of the media and let alone invited the surveillance from the state institutions, which are advocating for the regulation and accountability of the churches. In South Africa, this quest is led by a Chapter Nine Institution called the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL) and other countries such as Nigeria, and beyond have their own Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) grappling with the same endeavor.

The CRL commission's focus on religious practices adds a layer of complexity in understanding or studying religion. It does, however, make a case for the conceptual approach on religion to not only focus on it as primarily about mind and belief above practice and experiences. Against the backdrop of high media visibility and the state's close monitoring and unwelcome surveillance of Pentecostal churches and their practices, getting access to my field site was a complex procedure. Despite that the pastor had granted me permission, talking to church members during the initial phases of the research became an almost impossible mission as I tried to negotiate an 'insider 'status. People were generally skeptical of talking to me and afraid of what I may do with the information. Attempting to talk to one elder, he retorted:

> What are you going to use that information for? You people are the ones who accuse men of God of horrible things. These people are our spiritual fathers, yet you write bad things about them… Ahhh man, this has to stop.
>
> Jeremiah (October 2016)

To what seemed like eternity with this man expressing his disgust on 'researchers', I tried explaining my project and how I intend to use the information, but he wanted nothing to do with "people like me".

Because of the prevailing atmosphere on religious suspicion and scrutiny, it made it more difficult to have congregants speaking freely of and about their religious experiences. Distrust and suspicion were the order of the day for me during my fieldwork. Some of the sermons spoke about those strangers and journalists who persecute the men of God. The pastor would allude to that as a growing tendency in South Africa and around the world and would warn church members to be weary of such people. I would get disturbing gazes from some church members that I had interviewed. One Sunday after church, one of my respondents came to me and asked her name "to be removed from my papers". I asked her what had happened, and she said she does not want to be ostracized from the church by the pastor for saying some things about him and the church.

In the following weeks and months, I realized that the fear of the pastor and the silences about some of his operations were too loud. The pastor was accused by some members of the church of many things that included extramarital affairs, witchcraft tendencies and embezzlement of church funds. These were talks in the corridors of the churches and no one dared to approach him and confront him. Church members were afraid of real and or perceived consequences for talking ill of the pastor. There were talks of the supernatural powers of the pastor, he was sacralized to the extent that he became a supernatural being that not only has direct access to God but someone that had powers to curse and call upon death to those who crossed him. It became apparent to me why some people would not comment when asked about the pastor or issues where he is directly involved. It was a while later when people thought I was now a member of the church that the veil of secrecy, suspicion and mistrust was cast aside. One of my respondents who kept postponing our meeting and dodging explained when we finally met:

> You know I was afraid of you. Yiiiii, you cannot trust people. Imagine if the pastor heard that I was talking to people about his church. I was going to be in trouble. I didn't want to be the sellout you know. Now I know you are one of us. I also accepted Jesus Christ as my lord and savior not so long ago.
>
> Florence (February 2016)

In such a volatile context, I had to protect my participants. Therefore, following the long anthropological tradition of protecting informants' privacy and to safeguard them from any harm that may arise from them being identified; I used the pseudonym, Rod of Authority Church to refer to the church I used as my case study. Research on religion is a sensitive one, one has to be careful because matters of the spirit, beliefs, and identity are vital to one's being, therefore, research on such issues requires one to exercise extreme caution so as not to offend the participants. I also had to exercise extreme ethical protocols that involved protecting the identity of the participants, I had to be respectful, had to try to be non - judgmental, and remain as neutral as possible. I was aware that matters of beliefs cannot be taken lightly as they can lead to hostility and violence.[8] I decided to change the names of my informants to disguise the identities. Although anyone, who frequents the area and has seen the church will probably recognize Rod of Authority church. Using these pseudonyms provides a degree of protection

[8] For example, there have been cases whereby congregants have attacked journalists and other investigators. We have seen followers of prophets like Bushiri and Lukau responding violently to what they perceived as attacks to their prophets.

to the church members and leaders who so generously and patiently spared their time to accommodate me in a space that generally does not promote trusting and entertaining strangers.

I made a place that I had lived in for three and a half years my field site. I found out that the church had the right kind of demographics I was looking for and was just a few streets away from my apartment. So, after moving from one Pentecostal church to the other in and around Johannesburg, I settled for the Rod of Authority in Turffontein, which is, south of the city of Johannesburg, South Africa.

I have already pointed out that my decision about Rod of Authority was mainly guided by demographic considerations but the popularity of the church mainly in Turffontein area and in neighboring places like Rosettenville and La Rochelle suburbs made the church a well-situated case to explore the object of analysis in this study. The location of the church was also convenient for me considering that there are evening services during the week that I had to attend, I knew a few people from the church three of whom had rented next door to where I lived. Residing and have resided in the area for some time meant that the field site was my community, and this bestowed me with an 'insider status which I mostly needed to build trust. I also visited other churches that accepted me as a visitor and introduced me to some of the members even though building trust was a challenge that I had to negotiate with them in ways that impelled me to do countless visits and participate in a series of church services, including evening ones.

Turffontein was the ideal setting as I already had some people I could identify with to introduce me to other members of the church. Turffontein suburb hosts many African immigrants owing to its proximity to Johannesburg city centre. It is situated next to Rosettenville, Forest Hill and

close to La Rochelle which are places where there is a lot of in securities from the streets and places of residence most of which have no security features in place. That is also in light of Johannesburg as one of the crime capitals of the world with Turffontein, Rosettenville and, La Rochelle serving the role of ‘immigrant gateway are similar to that of inner city, leapfrogging the mining belt (Harrison and Zack, 2014). The distance from the inner city is plus or minus 5 km from the suburbs above to the Central Business District of Johannesburg where most of the crimes are committed and is not immune to threats, real or imagined of the crime and violence. I have a fair share of experiences in Turffontein that allowed me to understand, to some degree, the insecurities and or situation of the people who live there and surrounding areas such as Rosettenville and La Rochelle; where a considerable number of the congregants of Rod of Authority also reside. The fear of being robbed, stabbed, shot, harassed, and arrested by police was always at the back of my mind whenever I would walk out of the house and even inside the house. The fear of break-ins made sleeping a bit difficult, unless on days when I was just too tired. When I felt most vulnerable, I comforted myself with the knowledge that I had my passport and study permit on me all the time. Nevertheless, with that realization also came an overwhelming discomfort: I was still an immigrant, the passport and permit could not protect me from the crime and violence but just allowed me to report my cases and face the police with confidence though there also was no guarantee of escaping harassment. Such experiences made me closer to the people I was working with in my project as I could relate to their stories and experiences.

Turffontein and other surrounding suburbs such as Rosettenville and La Rochelle are prime destinations for African immigrants who do not have required documentation to get

opportunities in formal employment. Renting a secure and upmarket apartment in the North of Johannesburg requires one to have clean credit records and proper documentation, but this is not standard practice for securing apartments in the Turffontein area where rentals are also not as steep as the Northern suburbs. In most instances, the lease is one person's name for the house and the person rents out the other rooms collecting the rentals for some profit. The person with the lease might be the only one with documentation and some bank account that allows them to rent though in most suburbs in the south, credit background checks to rent are not enforced. Landau (2009) and Harrison and Zack (2014) highlight the deteriorating physical infrastructure and rising crime in the southern suburbs, in which tenant groupings are overtaking single and stable owner occupants who previously resided in the south. To the south are the townships and other informal settlements where most black people were forced to live under Apartheid (cf. Leonard, 2013). These are spaces where social amenities and basic service delivery is very much limited compared to the North of the city (cf. Murray, 2011). Leonard (2013, 105) states that "to the north, white South Africans, British and Afrikaners intermingle in the white demarcated and luxurious suburbs". There is a vast difference in terms of quality of life and access to basic amenities, with some fortresses of safety and security characterizing the northern suburbs. This pushes immigrants to spaces that do not require significant amount of financial capital, thus forcing them into spaces that have less sense of security.

Consequently, a significant social and physical marker of the presence of immigrants has been the proliferation of churches many of which have origins from Nigeria and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and mostly Pentecostal (c.f. Landau, 2009 and Harrison and Zack, 2014). The immigrants end up in theses spaces because they lack the capital that enables them

to dominate space hence are pushed and forced away from access to desired goods that allows them to access other forms of capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1999).

The material realities of the southern suburbs play a major role in the way social, political and economic relations unfold. Harrison, Gotz, Todes and Wray (2014, 20) argue that, "…human subjectivities are situated within material context and that materialities and subjectivities of the city are mutually constituted". There is not much of a sense of community and not so much visible policing in these suburbs with fear and mistrust for strangers prevalent amongst the residents. Consequently, the churches especially the Pentecostal or evangelical ones are prevalent and are also (re)-configuring both the social and physical spaces within the southern suburbs (c.f. Landau, 2009; Harrison and Zack, 2014). Bourdieu sums it up as follows:

> "…those who are deprived of capital are either physically or symbolically held at a distance from goods that are rarest socially; they are forced to stick with the most undesirable and the least rare persons or goods. The lack of capital intensifies the experience of finitude: it chains one to place".

Residing in the south is not much out of choice but circumstances that forces individuals and groups of similar conditions to be concentrated in such spaces. I for one coming to stay in a place such as Turffontein had much to do with limited financial means and having no funding and required deposits and pay slips to prove my worth of affording and maintaining life in the northern suburbs. Such is the life of many African Immigrants who find themselves in spaces such as the inner city Johannesburg where (in)-security issues are of great concern (cf. Simone, 2004 and Hornberger, 2004).

3.2. Positionalities

Despite residing in the same locality that became my field site, there were a lot of factors resulting from my positionality that made my experiences only a small fraction of what most immigrants experienced. It was a complex experience for me as a researcher who could easily be considered an insider rather than one who had to learn to become one. Being a resident, an immigrant, and a Christian studying Pentecostal immigrants required me to be very much aware of my own position and negotiate it without discrediting my role as a researcher. Imilan and Marquez (2019, 1), posit that "the investigator schools his or her own body to be able to perceive relationships through observation and listening as well as through the disposition of body and language". This called for my experience as a researcher and to take reflexivity seriously as I engaged during my fieldwork.

Leung (2015, 2) commenting on positionalities states that the way we position ourselves during fieldwork is like, "…a stack of cards we play strategically in framing our encounters with those whom we study". This entails one being conscious of the baggage they bring to the field, i.e. their worldviews (theoretical/ideological positions, class, gender, race, knowledge of some of the countries the immigrants came from through my travel experiences etc.). I had to be aware of what I brought with hence these different positionalities, immigrant status, PhD student, male, Shona, language and a resident of the community where the church was located presented some layers that mediated my interactions with and in my field. Such multiple positions that I had to be conscious of guided the ways in which I could use these different layers in different interactions, which in some instances worked but failed dismally in others.

Consequently, in my attempts to establish rapport, I would put forward my residency in the area where the church was located so that people could quickly see me as having been drawn to the church because of its proximity. That also enabled me to use some notable events that took place in the community or familiar streets to initiate conversations. I had to engage without losing sight of the fact that my presence and position had a role to play in the way the interactions would play out. Imilan and Marquez (2019, 1) note that "due to the central role played by the researcher in making an ethnography, an ability to reflect is crucial to the production of ethnographic knowledge".

I had to learn quickly the Pentecostal language of brotherhood and sisterhood in Christ, which enabled me a step towards navigating my initial way through to the research participants. I learnt that a confident smile and 'holy' greetings like, 'how are you my sister? 'and 'how are you my brother? and responses such as 'I am blessed' were very useful in fitting in and dispelling skepticism about my intentions. My approach granted me an insider status as I got responses such as 'what is your name my brother and where are you from? 'and helped me create a rapport yielded conversations that I needed. Imilan and Marquez (2019, 1) affirms that, "… the researcher's ability to capture and adequately comprehend the explicit and implicit rules that enable participation is central quality of participant observation that the researcher must develop as a craft through their work". Because I was aptly aware that I needed the pastor's approval for a fully-fledged fieldwork at the church, my initial conversations were restricted to familiarizing myself with the congregants and establishing relationships that will make them identify me as one of them.

Establishing rapport with the pastor was a prolonged, tiring, and anxious process as I tried meeting with him after church services without success for a number of Sundays and mid-week days when services were held. Waiting in the queues to talk to the pastor was always a scramble, of which I tried but in most cases he attended to the members that he was familiar with calling them by their names from the queue. These members would go towards him and, as per custom, kneel before him. He did not attend to everyone but a few and ended the session always by telling all to kneel then pray urging the congregants to always strive to be number one for such sessions. I finally managed to get to him after one of the Sunday services but was not really successful, as I told him that I needed to have a meeting to get assistance with my research at which he said I should book an appointment. I was quickly dismissed, and the next person called upon and I had to move on. I felt belittled after following the queue kneeling before him and not getting enough time to explain myself was a very bitter experience. Imilan and Marquez (2019, 1) explains that, "…activities that might reveal valuable information is outside the researcher's scope of control because it is the host society which determines access and the conditions for participation". I knew that my strategy also had to change for me to have access to this highly sought after and busy man who had monopoly of defining the rules of engagement.

I then started frequenting the church during week days whenever I saw his car parked by the church entrance though asking the security man by the gate to see the pastor did not work as he only opened at the instruction of the pastor and for his appointments only. I had to sacrifice the whole day at beginning of 2015 to be able to meet the pastor as I had to sit outside by the pavement for 5 hours only to greet him as he was coming out and walking to his car. I greeted him by his name and as he responded I had to quickly introduce myself as he kept walking. I

told him that I have been attending church and told him that I stay only a few streets away and that I needed his assistance for my research and that I am a PhD student. The man was walking, and I had to give as much as I could in such a short time hoping that some of my words would capture his attention. He slowed down a bit as I mentioned my street name, as the church he left to open his own was right in my street. I felt so small and intimidated by his dismissive and domineering presence. I had to perform this submissive and obedient role of the son of 'the daddy' of the church. I had captured and understood some of the important unwritten but crucial codes of how to relate to the pastor which came to my aid as I was not very aggressive as I spoke to him but had to present myself as a helpless student whose life depended on his call. Such protocols have to be mastered quickly and after a few weeks of attending the church services I had caught on the language and conduct to prepare me for engagement subjectively and objectively.

I felt at ease when the pastor paused a bit upon reaching his car and turned to look at me and asked, 'you said you are doing your PhD? 'I quickly affirmed and he instructed me to meet and talk to his brother who was also doing a PhD and understood the university better and if he is okay with it, he will then only approve after getting an explanation from him on exactly what I wanted to know. He gave me his young brother's number and quickly drove off. I thanked him many times before driving off much to his satisfaction. I had managed to move away from a more intimidating setting within the church where it was more difficult to speak to the pastor and tried to get him where he still had power but outside his more pronounced territory.

My research falls within the framework of what Macbeth (2001) refers to as "positional reflexivity", which requires one to explain his/her positionalities and negotiations of power

with relation to the research participants. This approach allows one to give an account of the situations in which conversations and interviews took place highlighting some of the factors that make it easy or difficult to redefine and (re)-negotiate power relations between the researcher and informants constantly during the course of fieldwork. This kind of approach was suitable considering the nature of my study. In as much as I was trying to deal with the complexity of studying religious experiences on the one hand, dealing with immigrant populations presented more challenges. My experience with the pastor and the difficulty in meeting him came in handy in the way I began to think of my positionality.

I had to be aware of my experiences and identities as I was conducting my fieldwork so as to be in a position to negotiate and navigate the field without overstepping my boundaries thereby compromising my research. I refer to compromising because as a researcher, lack of awareness of one's positionality might lead to overlooking of some important blinds spots that would bring more understanding to the study. After the first layer of negotiating access was out of the way, I had to prepare myself to meet with the pastor's young brother and had to ensure that all my documents had to be on point. I had to make sure that my student identity card, my letters from the university and my passport were all copied and certified, in case they were required for filing in the church. I was aware of the CRL Commission and its pronouncements, the media reports and how that could play out for me hence having a clear position was very crucial for me to be successful in being granted permission.

I had to, like Leung (2015, ibid) argue, '… play my cards strategically in my encounter…' in my meeting with the pastor's young brother, I made sure that I would position myself as a PhD student first but a novice in things spiritual and submit myself but being careful not to overdo

it as I had to present myself a capable and professional student. He was the Pastor's assistant pastor and confidante and my gateway to my fieldwork hence much skill was required to choose the right cards to ensure that I got approval. As I introduced myself, showed him my passport, student card, letters from university and told him that I am in my initial stages of my PhD which seeks to understand the role of Pentecostalism if any, in helping immigrants in their everyday lives in Johannesburg, he had this to say:

> This is a very important subject. Good choice of research project. This country needs Jesus and people should be made aware that this nation will perish without God. That is where we come in. You also stay in this community, I think you don't need anyone to tell you how dangerous our streets are and that we can only survive through grace… You have come to the right place, what do you need to know, what is your sample size? Are you doing focus group or a survey? I will introduce you to the members or we can make an announcement in church?
>
> Pastor Andrew (March 2016)

Unbeknown to me, what I thought was a major victory was in actual fact a minor victory, I quickly realized that there were other layers of access that I have to break through. The major hurdles that lay ahead included establishing rapport the pastor, the elders, and church members, gaining trust among other difficulties in negotiating the field.

3.3. Negotiating Access: Inside the Pentecostal World

> The study of religious experience challenges researchers to think through the ways of approaching people's life-worlds and inner-scapes especially when dealing with other intangible worlds and selves involved in their spiritual practices. Before expecting others to be aware of, disclose and articulate their life-worlds, this challenge demands the development of

> ethnographic skills that include an awareness of the researcher's own experiences, bodies, and selves, while immersed in other people's ways of life and in the process of knowing in the field.
>
> (Pierini and Groisman 2016, 1)

This study involved understanding the Pentecostal beliefs and practices and their interface with the immigrants' experience in and of the city of Johannesburg. It entailed observing the church service rituals and/or practices as I also participated in some of them being careful not to compromise my position as a researcher. The bodily expressions, the material objects, the sitting arrangements, the dressing, the kind of cars and many other observations in terms of relations and exchanges that take place in and outside the church helped me to ask questions that brought understanding to the experiences of immigrants. It was not only what my interlocutors said that explained their lifeworld but even the ways in which they interacted with others and their surroundings. Some of things that I observed and participated in were not clear from the onset but due to prolonged interactions and participation, I began to understand the meanings attached to what I observed, experienced and participated in.

I recall that when I first visited the Rod of Authority Church in Turffontein in February 2015, I was nervous. I did not know what to expect as it was a whole new experience to me as a person coming from a conservative protestant background. As I proceeded towards the entrance, I could hear music and my body quivered due to the loud sound of singing and the instruments, which were sending vibrations on the floor and the walls. As I walked in, I was escorted by one of the ushers from the entrance and directed to seat on the left rows in the church. The Sunday service attracts quite a number of people, most of whom were foreign nationals. From the outside one cannot tell how big the church is because it is in between small

Pakistani owned shops in a street with small clustered buildings. From inside, the church auditorium (approximately 300 square meters see figure 2) is one big structure with a big stage high up in front, the left side is lower than the stage but in that corner is the stage for the choir. The right side still closer to the stage is a little lower than the main stage but higher than the left stage where the choir stages. The right side is where the Pastors and the pastors 'wives sit in comfortable leather office chairs whilst the rest of the congregants 'sit on plastic chairs and right in front just before the altar/stage are the elders who seat there. Men sit on the left side whilst women sit on the right side. Closer to the entrance, there was a raised platform where the video camera and the camera person operate from. Whilst at the left corner at the back of the church was a small raised platform like a 'dj's 'box in which the technical team with its computers projecting songs which show right in front of the church to the left side just after where the choir sits. One of the sides to the right, after where the pastors sit is also a big screen which shows the pastor when he is on and off the stage as the camera people are recording. The ceiling was impressively decorated with flood lights focusing on the main stage/alter.



Figure 2: Source; Author

What I am describing is as far as I could observe as I walked into the church. With so much going on, I wondered how I could be able to pull the research through, however, I thought it would be easy to disappear into the crowd and conduct my research without disturbing anyone. In as much as I was aware that my success depended on a number of factors that included understanding the context, power relations, my positionality and access to the lives of the immigrants, I was not ready for the extent to which I had to perform the insider position. I had to learn almost instantly how to act holy, how to respond to "the man of God" with "hallelujah" and "Amen" after every sentence of his sermon. I had to learn to raise my hands when praying and even sound as if I am speaking in tongues. My body language had to be in tandem with the

rest of the congregants otherwise I would have been labelled demon possessed and the exorcism from the pastor could have been unleashed on me. My body and mind had to be applied during the services because too much observation in such a setting is problematic as calls to stand, run, shout, raise of hands were closely monitored and with the pastor so high up on the pulpit, he could see all congregants who were subjected to his 'gaze'. It was also the ushers and deacons standings on the isles monitoring congregants to ensure that they do conform to the demands made from the pulpit. I was trying hard to balance participation which became more of performance (and very personal to say the least) and observation. It was a difficult task that I had to deal with for my early days in the church until I had to learn to record sermons and quickly take notes of my observations while others were noting Bible verses and the sermons This was to ensure that I was not a distraction to others and that I did not invite attention to myself.

It became apparent to me that the loud music was an important part of the church services. Normally, the choir led by the pastor's brother would lead the praise sessions and then the pastor's wife would lead the more somber part of the music service—the worship. This was the challenging part as it requires some skill to perform. While she led the session, most people would pray in tongues, some would cry, raise their hands, some would kneel, crawl and some would simply lie on the floor "possessed by the holy spirit" pray while they cry and shout to Jesus. It was difficult to imitate this kind of behavior. After her song she would then welcome the "father of the house", (the pastor) who would walk gracefully towards the stage with a standing ovation from the congregants. At this point, the members of the church had to show

excitement to see the pastor and some would shout 'daddy' some 'man of God' while clapping and with some jumping up and down.

The Pastor would then ascend to the pulpit and everyone would stand on their feet. As usual, then pronounced that the church the number of the prayers before he preaches and in most instances, it would be three prayers. All this happened while soft music was playing in the background by the church choir. Following this were twenty for so minutes of loud prayers.

The first days were hard for me as this was the first time to witness this kind of praying, I could not close my eyes but clasped my fists and just imitated what the men around me were doing. Some were swerving their clasped hands as if fighting, others jumping up and down, and many more nodding their heads and shouting repeating the same words. The elders who were shouting holding the microphones repeating the same words and shouting in tongues amplified the sound. The Pastors had his eyes wide open as he is looked at the congregation and used the microphone to amplify his voice as he prayed in tongues and repeated the same words as well. The pastor insisted before each prayer that all should pray like mad man ensuring that it is their voices, which are louder than the person next to them to be heard. He also insisted that the loudest would be blessed by having their prayers answered.

After the three prayers, the pastor would begin his sermon and the messages in most cases were on prosperity and how God uses the pastor to connect the church to blessings. The pastor was well groomed, he invested a lot on how he looked, he always applied make up on his face, had his nails polished in colorless nail polish, his hair nicely trimmed, putting on nice suit, gold omega watch and gold bracelet in the other hand. What also surprised me is that he had a bodyguard who would always stand from a distance, watching the proceedings closely. He was

also well clad and also had a security communication radio with him. As the pastor was preaching, the congregants shouted loud bouts of ‘amen ’whenever he pronounced blessings or prosperity upon his congregants. Each time such pronouncements were made some congregants stood up with money in their hands or in envelopes and hurry to the altar/stage and places that money. After the preaching, the pastor would sit down, and another junior pastor stood up for announcements and prayed for peace in South Africa. The next service was the tithe and offering service. Those who had their tithes were called up front and asked to be pray for what they need from God as the senior pastor prays for them. After that, there was the “hospitality offering” where everyone was expected to stand up and go to the front to put money in the big wooden boxes.

The above account gives a picture of the routine within the Sunday and Wednesday church services with the other days such as Tuesday reserved for prayer warrior services, Thursday for all the members who were involved in any duty in the church, Friday for family meetings, Saturday for church cleaning and choir practice. That was the routine of the church except for the weeks or months in which there are specific programs each evening such as a week of two even a month of prayer services in the evenings. As time progressed, I became an active participant in the church and in its rituals. However, participant observation is complex especially when one is considered an outsider. My own experience of the field as I employed participant observation brings out how complex it can be to fully go ‘native ’if I may borrow from Malinowski. I considered myself caught up as an insider and outsider in many respects which complicated my research in some instances, which I highlight below.

In 2017, there were xenophobic attacks in areas around Rosettenville, La Rochelle (Turffontein's neighboring suburbs) and Turffontein, my place of residence where the church was located as well. As an immigrant I was also gripped with fear as houses a few blocks from where I was staying were torched. This was made worse by the challenges at my place of resident where electricity challenges at that place due to overloading kept on tripping and the landlord could do so little in reporting the case to Eskom to attend to the issue only to attend after day 3 to switch on and trip again on the same day. The landlord stayed in Rosebank an upmarket suburb in Johannesburg North and is a black foreign national from Zimbabwe. Most of the tenants renting at the backyard were locals who then took the opportunity during the xenophobic attacks to call upon community leaders who were organizing some house occupation and attacks on foreign nationals to deal with our landlord. We were forced to attend evening meetings at the backyard and phone calls being made to our landlord and xenophobic utterances and threat made. I felt so vulnerable and was shaking in my pants as the leaders addressed us and making statements to the effect that these *'makwerekwere'* (derogatory term used to refer to black African immigrants), come and steal our houses and should be violently removed. They gave examples bragging on what they had done in surrounding areas burning some houses and violent occupation of some of the houses.

As such, I cannot regard myself as an outsider in such situations. I was as vulnerable as any other foreign national and had no say or control of my own life and could not just move or run away. I was staying with my pregnant wife who was traumatized and living in constant fear. When we had to go to bed, I did not sleep because my fear was, what if the backyard tenants gang up with the community leaders and attacks us or just throw petrol bombs whilst we slept.

We were foreigners and from the same country as our landlord. We were equally '*amakwerekwere* in the eyes of the community leaders and the backyard tenants. Boccagni and Schrooten (2018; 209) posit that "Participant observation should be distinguished from pure observation – that seeks to remove researchers as much as possible from the actions and behaviours they investigate – and from pure participation – that has also been described as "going native" or "becoming the phenomena". Participant observation speaks to the idea by Malinowski of going native and become a member of the society that one is studying. There were some challenges in my own case on such an approach in terms of participation to understand and get a full religious experience from the church I was studying.

In 2014, whilst conducting research on 'crime and violence in Johannesburg', I also experienced mugging at knife point with two other colleagues. In year 2011 coming from Soweto from conducting research, a colleague was insulted for failing to converse in the local language whilst asking in English about the cost of the trip. I also left my change in a taxi in 2012 when I was insulted for trying to ask for my change in Zulu and my accent was not good enough. I could not insist on getting my change back because of fear and lost my change which have paid for 5 more trips. It was a time when every rand mattered for me but there was nothing I could do but just let go. I cannot leave out the stops and searches from police officer both uniformed and ununiformed asking for passports as I walked to get to my university, and my marathon walks avoiding certain streets always checking who was watching or following me. The home affairs trips and the pain of applying for study permits and the anxious waiting did not make life any easy.

The same week in 2017 that the xenophobic attacks were ongoing, I happened to attend the Sunday church service. The sermon addressed the events of that week. My insider outsider binary was more complicated than any other day as a result of the sermon blurring the neat categorization of the two. The following are some extracts from the sermon for the Sunday service during the week of xenophobic attacks:

> …They may take everything, they may rob it but because you have the root, it will grow again. Man can take the fruit but do not have the capacity to take the root. They can break your car, dispossess your house, but you will come back! Tell your neighbor let them take it! Tell your neighbor let them take it! (Loud shouts of Amen!). Say I am coming back! Say I am coming back. Say I have the root! I have the root! If people are not attacking you, you are a fruitless tree. No people would come close to a fruitless tree. If they see, a tree with fruits all over, even little children will look for stones and throw at the tree. That is why they are attacking you; your life is full of fruits.
>
> Pastor Emmanuel (March 2017)

My Bourdieusian orientation on the homology of fields and his concept of practice informed what I was to look for in my research. It also resonated with my understanding of Pentecostal theologies of the city by bringing together how the city, in particular the urban space and other fields connected to it intersected and at the intersection Pentecostal beliefs, practice and experiences are born. Had I not acquired such a theoretical orientation, my understanding of the sermon would not have made much sense. My positionality, that of being an immigrant staying in the same community that became my field provided me with the much-needed background and experience to be in a position to relate with what was informing the pastor's

choice of sermons. I would could not help but feel so much better as the message was preached which spoke to my situation at that moment. It made me reflect on what it meant for someone who is a member of the church and invested in such theology that deals with issues to do with biases and judging some of the practices and teachings which can only make sense and better explained by the congregants themselves rather than my own assumptions.

In spite of my insider position in the communities that fed this church, the same cannot be said of my position inside the church. When I went into the church, everything was foreign, and many practices shocked me. I had not attended such a Pentecostal church. I was an outsider because I am not a Pentecostal and neither do I share the same theological teachings and ritual practices. It was complex because as much as I did not share some of the theological teachings, I shared a bit of theological teachings as a Christian from a more conservative protestant church. That made me partly an insider but an outsider and having to deal with getting around all of that and maintaining my sobriety as a researcher. My outsider position in the church conflicted with the insider position in that I shared some common experiences with its congregants, I was an immigrant and living in the same locality as most of the congregants. I could relate to the experiences of some of the congregants having experienced the violent crimes, xenophobia, police harassment, home affairs frustrations just to mention a few. That made me more of an insider but also an outsider taking into cognizance that I perceived of the issues in a different lens.

Objectivity a fallacy though I had to strive to minimize my own subjectivity from overshadowing the meanings attached to the congregants ’understanding of their own experiences. Using a variety of methods and the willingness to learn from the congregants by

suspending my own beliefs and prejudices was so helpful. It took me time not to concentrate on the strangeness of the beliefs and practices of the church whilst accepting what the congregants made of their being in the church and the city.

Important to note is my engagement and regard for human-object relations which was influenced by my theoretical inclinations which were informed by Latour, Appadurai, Meyer and Keane. I also had to employ a "methodological fetish", (Appadurai, 1988; 5) - which brings back attention to things by following focusing on their biographies. Such understanding allowed me to follow things and allowed me to learn about some of the human relation through the human-object mediated relationships. Chapter 5 is a demonstration of how the anointed objects circulated and their trajectories allows one to see some of the everyday experiences and fears in the lives of immigrants and how tracing the possession and deployment of the anointed objects brought more light to their (in)-securities. The anointed objects took me from the Rod of Authority Church to different places and spaces where the objects were deployed by church members including some who were not members of this particular church. That is what makes my chapter 5 more complex as it follows objects and where I saw them I could not ignore but tried to get more on how the objects mediate the lives of Pentecostal immigrants.

3.4. Concluding Note

Efforts to understand Pentecostalism 's mediatory role in immigrants 'experiences in and of the city invites an approach that enables one to follow and capture the complexity of how such unfolds. An ethnographic methodological approach proved to be ideal for my study which made it possible for me to immerse myself in the field and engage extensively allowing me to learn from the informants what it is I saw them doing meant for them. Not only were the

ethnographic methods employed but the specificity was also detected by my positionality and theoretical orientation. My setting proved to be important in terms of also detecting things such as gaining entry, trust, and establishing rapport the rule is to treat strangers with caution considering high levels of violent crimes in a city such as Johannesburg. That was the case though my positionality played out in a complex way, I managed to be considered an insider and outsider at the same time. Moreover, my choice of methods was largely informed by my theoretical inclination. The understanding that, Pentecostalism was not limited to belief and the abstract but inclusive of the external bodily and materialistic expressions which invited carefully crafted methods to cater for such. Therefore, in addition to interviews, conversations, participation, listening to sermons, observations became instrumental as other players which were non-human and material but usually overlooked in cases in which the conceptualization of religion has excluded the medium of expression.

Chapter 4

Pentecostal Theologies of the City: A Double-edged Sword?

> We are the heirs of the kingdom of God. We are the heads and not the tails. If you find yourself still suffering in the city of Johannesburg, it is because your grace has not yet located you. You need to break the shackles and increase your territory. You are no ordinary being. The problem is that you are harbouring generational curses from your families. It is high time you realize that you do not belong to your families but to the fold of God, then you begin to prosper. As the children of God, it is high time you claim what belongs to you. Repeat after me loudly, say Johannesburg you will bow down to me. Johannesburg is mine, I am a child of God, I am an heir to his inheritance. (The congregants are instructed to go out and get some soil and told to raise the hands whilst making some proclamations). Now repeat after me, I own Johannesburg, Johannesburg, you are in my hands and you are under my feet. (Loud noise, drums beating, guitars stringing and the congregations in a frenzy, some running to the altar dropping money on the pulpit. The whole atmosphere is electric)
>
> Pastor Emmanuel (January 2016)

This kind of theology is not particular to this sermon. It is a reflection of sentiments that were reiterated in most other church services. These words affirmed a disregard and rejection of physical boundaries, of nationality and emphasised on a more spiritual belonging that also conferred to them material wealth that goes beyond what their immigration status can offer. The belonging is bound in the churchizenship status of the individual as opposed to the citizenship which takes peripheral significance as soon as one becomes a church member. The theology and discourse border around the idea of citizenship and belonging which is what

shapes most of the immigrants' experiences of Johannesburg. Wariboko (2014, 10) posits that, "Membership (citizenship) is not based on blood and soil. It is completely free from fascinations about gene pool, caste or class". For him, the basis is on universal membership that results from egalitarianism and sameness that defies ethnic and national boundaries. Such ideas shape the theological approaches to churchizenship and opposed to citizenship which compete in shaping the worldview of Pentecostal congregants.

Here, I demonstrate that in Pentecostal theologies, the script is rewritten as pain and suffering are branded as pathways to prosperity for the congregant. As such a different kind of picture is painted which changes the attitude one has towards the kind of challenges presented by the city. There is reorientation of the Pentecostal immigrants' habitus to create a different kind of subject, one that is bold in negotiating their way in and around the city.

In this chapter I focus on the dialectical relationship between the Pentecostal theology and the immigrants' experiences in and of the city. Paying close attention to the sermons and the broader everyday challenges and opportunities presented by Johannesburg as a city enables an interrogation of pertinent questions that this thesis is grappling with. I bring into conversation the ways in which the sermons and practices influence the congregants' approaches, perceptions and dealings in and with the city. The relationship of the city and Pentecostal theology is a dialectical and complex one, which the chapter will go on and demonstrate. Wariboko (2014) deals with the paradoxical relationship between the sacred and secular city in his idea of the Charismatic city which captures the coexistence of both the secular and sacred. Wariboko (ibid, 10) posits that, "In this togetherness or ordered relationship, the Secular City becomes the Charismatic City but the Charismatic City may not become secular or sacred but

will keep coming to both of them". What is missing from Wariboko is that the coming together of both cities is the kind of grinding it brings to the immigrant who is in the midst of straddling in between the two worlds.

I argue that in as much as Pentecostalism through its theology empowers its adherents to have a positive outlook and providing a 'soft landing' as they approach and deal with the city. It is in the same vein disempowering as it takes away the agency from the congregant and stifles the immigrants' adjustment to the city. The same logic that operates within the city in imposing citizenship as the most valuable capital has homology in the churchizenship that the church presents as an alternative. In other words, as much as Pentecostalism has been presented in most of the literature on migration as providing a soft landing for the immigrant in ways that hides a host of its own pertinent challenges to the immigrant congregant. There is a dearth of literature on the complex nature of urban Pentecostal theologies' mediation amongst immigrants in a cosmopolitan city such as Johannesburg. It is against this background that this chapter proceeds to proffer a reading of the dialectical relationship of the Pentecostal theology and the city.

Pentecostalism is theologically malleable, enabling the churches to thrive in different setting as the discourse is easily aligned to speak to local contexts. The interpretation of the religious belief and practice are left in the hands of the 'experts' (pastors/clergy) as they produce the religious goods that the congregants consume. Zalanga (2018; 363) notes that:

> "It is, however, obvious that in the hands of these church and spiritual entrepreneurs whatever Jesus said or did during his lifetime has become open-ended and malleable as they interpret and

> recalibrate the meaning of the scriptures to suit their taste and that of their audience, with reckless neglect of social and historical contexts".

In as much as Zalanga exaggerates on Pentecostalism 's 'reckless' negligence of the social and historical contexts, this however has some resemblance to Pentecostal church clergy and not for the mainline churches such as the Catholic, Anglican, Protestant, and Methodist whose organisational forms makes it difficult. The messages/theologies of the later are more structured and built around what they call church doctrine, which is universal and hardly flexible. These mainline churches also have a history, an organizational memory, and textual philosophical canons which makes it difficult to chop and change, and especially since they are heavily text based, they can be tracked as to decisions made, actions taken, outcomes and subsequent decisions. The church clergy obtains power through the ecclesiastical office rather than charisma and has limited power in making certain decision concerning theological and administrative issues. This is different from the Pentecostal churches in which the organizational memory and textual philosophy is less text based but more experimental and experiential under the instruction of the Holy Spirit. Consequently; the decision is with the pastor who is believed to have a closer relationship with the Holy Spirit and has spiritual capital. Consequently, the pastor/clergy in the Pentecostal church has the legitimacy to decide the theological conceptualizations making it possible to draw on the local issues in creating the discourse.

> …the religious field is characterized by a competition for religious power that owes its specificity… to the fact that what is at stake is the monopoly of the legitimate exercise of power to modify, in a deep and lasting fashion, the practice and worldview of lay people, in inculcating in them a particular religious habitus'. (Rey, 2014; 81)

Mystical ideological domination arises from such stratification within the religious field. It is through the monopoly of theological interpretation and distribution that power relations and symbolic domination are misrecognized and the congregants' habitus modified to take as natural the hierarchical arrangements and congregants' investment in the church. This is more pronounced within the urban Pentecostal theologies. The theologies and discourses are more telling of the social positioning as noted by Rey (2014; 83) when he states that, "dominant social groups demand of religion legitimating authority, while the dominated groups require of religion compensation for their suffering and a way to make sense of their place in the social order". This produces a religious market that is based on the elements of demand and supply with the clergy responsible for the production and distribution side. The interests are different for both parties i.e. the experts (pastors/clergy) and the laity on the other side.

It is for that reason that I highlight the conflicted/contested nature of Pentecostal theologies of the city which act like a double-edged sword in mediating the experiences of the immigrant. The sections that follow will demonstrate the ways in which the city and Pentecostalism are in cahoots in creating the totality of immigrant experiences and the theological creation, ownership and distribution.

4.1. Urban Pentecostal Theologies: Bringing the City into Submission

"Theology in the Christian context has been defined as involving 'discourse about God', that is, 'a reflection upon the God whom Christians worship and adore'. In the Western context, theologizing invariably involves rational systematic analysis of 'content of faith', that is the nature, purposes and activity of God in relation to the world" (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004; 7). For those in the global south, it is more of a different kind of rationality, which might not be as

systematic or considered as such. There is more emphasis on the works of the Holy Spirit and what He can do for the pragmatic matters of the day-to-day life experiences. The Pentecostal theologies in the global South especially in the African cities bring in new actors as it engages itself in world making. There is a new configuration of the relationships as new players be it virtual and real are called in to mediate the experiences of the city. The doctrine of the spirit beings, in some instances as angels for the good and the bad camp are identified as the new players in the adherents' everyday experiences. The idea of the spirit beings becomes personified and immediate taking place in mediating all aspects of the everyday lives. Other players are also brought into life through Pentecostal doctrine that create new meanings for its adherents as they embrace the material objects in navigating the cityscape negotiating some of the obstacles of urban life.

A gospel that does not engage constructively with pain, poverty and suffering by offering practical solutions to it will almost certainly not be of much relevance on African soil because the African experience often embodies such conditions (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004; 228). Katsaura (2019, 6) reiterates that, "the city is abounding with narratives of instant and unimaginable wealth, yet it is also inundated with narratives of extreme poverty. For their mediation of economic markets and socio-spiritual experiences, Pentecostalism s are popular in Lagos". In as much as his reference is of Lagos, such conditions are not foreign to the city such as Johannesburg where most migrants and immigrants flock to for prosperity. According to Murray (2008; 2), "… Johannesburg has always been torn between the extremes of utopian dream-world and dystopian nightmare…Dystopian images of the city as a miasmic cesspool of abject misery and human degradation, unpredictable crime, rampant diseases, and interminable strife have often lent legitimacy for various kinds of municipal intervention into

the social fabric of the urban landscape…" It is a city of extremes with both wealth and poverty operating side by side which Murray (ibid) acknowledges. Hankela (2014; 368) concurs that, the inner city she got to know in 2009, "was not merely an outcast ghetto, but rather a domain of different and contrasting layers of reality". Thereupon, the extremes of poverty and wealth lead to contestations that in most cases have ended taking a xenophobic route. The target being the defenseless poor black and lower middle-class African immigrant. The wealthy have surrounded themselves with 'high walls and private security' (cf. Mbembe and Nuttal, 2008), away from the reach of poor South Africans. These poor citizens find the scapegoat in the form of the poor black and lower-middle class African immigrant who is within their reach (cf. Crush, 2000; Dodson, 2002; Landau, 2005; Veary, 2011).

The challenges of and in the city are all given a spiritual underpinning hence a spiritual solution to the obstacles that might hold them back. This is done in a carefully crafted dominion theological reading of the city, thereby feeding into the kind of attitude that brings about resilience, innovation, and the drive to keep on pushing the boundaries that are set because of their immigrant status. Martin's (2002,80) says that, "both in the boom time and in recession one of the most important aspects of Protestantism has been its ability to create enclaves of order and social capital within the unplanned and chaotic sprawl of the megacities…".

The sermon highlighted in the section above is a befitting one presented to a congregation that is largely immigrant in a city that is considered 'not so welcoming' for the immigrant. The message is directly addressing the present realities, offering an alternative for those who seek relief from the vagaries of everyday Johannesburg life. The desperate congregants to deal with the challenges that befalls them in Johannesburg call upon the mystical or magical. Durkheim

(1965) posits that a man who feels that he has his god with him approaches life in a confident manner. Such a feeling prevents the individual from experiencing hysteresis—a situation in which the habitus fails to be in congruent with the field's demands and in this case the urban life. The energizing impact of Pentecostal worship, and the self-confidence that comes from the certainty that God is on your side in your "spiritual war", are powerful resources with which to face such an economy (Martin, 2002, 80).

In a city which brutally marginalizes people, economically, socio–culturally and politically, the ways Pentecostal adherents negotiate and navigate the city are informed by such conditions. Those at the peripheries bear the brunt of the brutality of the city, more so, the ones who do not economic power to have a secure and comfortable life in such conditions. Mai Lerato, a Zimbabwean who was in her early thirties at the time of the interviews, had one child, married to a Cameroonian on an asylum permit. She gave her own ordeal in an interview at her place of residents in Turffontein. I had gone there to interview her husband and she happened to be home and she joined in the conversation. They were in their spacious single room cottage, a bed in one corner and a wardrobe, three plastic chairs for visitors, two plate stove and a flat screen television set on the wall sums up their belongings neatly arranged. The husband who also is a member of Rod of Authority church works as a waste recycler and she is a maid in the upper income suburbs.

Mai Lerato spoke about the different times she was attacked by robbers on her way to work and in the Johannesburg CBD. She recalls how afraid she was as she moved around and used to be always looking who was around her and witnessing other people being robbed in Turffontein where she lives made it even worse. She also spoke about people who were stabbed

occasionally on their way to the ‘spazza shops’ (tuckshops) a few houses from their place just after sunset. Joining the Rod of Authority church changed her life as her anxiety’s left her and more confidence was instilled when she joined the church choir and started seeding. This what she had to say:

> …So, what I am saying is that from the time I began going to church, listening to the sermons and joining the choir, I started telling myself even now when I am walking I will not even look around or whatever, I just put my earphones on and go. I tell myself that there is someone I am walking with so I am protected. You see, when you are carrying a child, no matter how dark it is the child does not care because it knows you are there you are protecting it but when you are not there the child is alone and afraid even cries. You need God’s protection and my pastor teaches me that. I am under his wings that is why you will always see me in that church and in that choir.

There were similar accounts to that of Mai Lerato, of note is Nkosi, a Malawian national who came to South Africa in 2007. Nkosi narrated a life of misery fear and grave misfortune in the first couple of years after he arrived. He could not get employment because as he says “the bad luck followed him everywhere”, he stayed with a friend in an informal settlement in Tembisa for two years without even securing a ‘piece job’. His friend ended up chasing him away because he was afraid that his bad luck will transfer to him. After that, Nkosi went on to live in the streets of Johannesburg, going back home was not an option. He wanted to accomplish the promises that he promised his girlfriend before he left Malawi. He promised to open a small shop for her to sell clothes and other goods that he will be sending home, while saving money for a ‘big’ wedding (his emphasis). Going back home for him meant that he has failed his girlfriend and will be an embarrassment in the village. Nkosi experienced the wrath of the city while staying on the streets, he was occasionally beaten up by the police, his belongings were stolen, and they were moved several times by authorities as they were menace to the city, food was a scarce commodity and xenophobia within street people was rife. The year 2010 was a

bitter sweet year for him, on one hand, he describes it as one of the toughest years as he spent the bulk of the year dodging the police because of the street clean ups preceding the soccer world cup. However, it was a year when his luck changed, he got a job as a car guard in Yeoville, and managed to save up and buy a few items to sell at the stadium during soccer matches. That is where he met a fellow Malawian who took him in and they stayed together in Turffontein. His friend convinced him that he can only find solutions to his problems at the Rod of Authority church.

He indicated that he was initially sceptical but after attending a few services he felt encouraged that he will fulfil his promises to his girlfriend. The sermons reiterated that he can still be what he wanted to be, that he is a conqueror, that the city belongs to him.

> You know one day I came in; I was very sad; people back home were saying my girlfriend is now with another man. I felt like I can just die, there is no reason anymore. The pastor said he is sensing that someone is going through problems and he declared that we are the children of God, Johannesburg is nothing. We belong to a higher kingdom, a proper kingdom. The Gold and silver are ours. You see when he was saying all those things, I felt like crying, I saw myself driving cars you know, owning business. Suddenly, I was not afraid of Johannesburg, I knew that God has more in store for me. I cannot die, I will not die here … I am not afraid anymore.
>
> Nkosi (June, 2017)

These accounts are neither exceptional nor the most graphic of the experiences that I encountered in the field. However, they give a general picture of how Pentecostal theology tames immigrants' experiences of the city. These are people who in most cases worked in informal employment, working as maids, gardeners, plumbers, electricians, tailors and other smaller formal companies for those with documentations and a bit of education and certified skills. The lack of valuable capital exposes this group of immigrants as they use the public transport and cannot in most cases avoid the CBD which is home to some and a concentration

of violent crimes and abuse from thugs and state officials as represented by the municipal and South African police services keeping all who fit the illegal immigrant profile under surveillance. They cannot afford to stay in gated communities of Johannesburg North and have no other options but to be in places where they have to deal with the challenges presented to them. Such are the immigrants who do not have the state coming to their aid and neither does the city aid their cause hence their vulnerability leaves them without much alternatives but to look to the only spaces which speaks to their hope. Mai Lerato having had a run with the state security agents asking for her documentation and paying them off in more than two occasions and having to deal with fears of premature death in event of muggings, getting sick and ending up in public hospitals where foreign nationals are mistreated, failing to pay rent and ending up on the streets prepares her to consider alternatives which promise to ease such anxieties.

The sermons which take the form as the one in the introduction to this chapter above and, Mai Lerato and Nkosi's accounts further highlight the mutual conditioning of Pentecostalism and the city in capturing totality of the immigrant experiences in and of the city. The city through an ensemble of practices and materialities also mediates the way in which Pentecostalism is shaped and deployed. There is mutual conditioning between the two. The mediation by Pentecostalism on immigrants' experiences is not a straightforward one but it is mutually reinforcing with the mediation that the city generates. The mediation by Pentecostalism is not purely an innocent intervention but also comes with its own complications that in some ways presents difficult challenges in the lives of the already vulnerable immigrant. The theology is in some way mixed with dominion theology that in a complex way is both empowering and disempowering as I will demonstrate.

4.2. Rewriting and Rereading the Script for the Urban Immigrant Through a Pentecostal Lens

> There are ancient gates in this city that have limited those who came before us and they want to limit us. Those gates will be lifted! Those gates will be lifted! Whatever you are doing, ministry or business, there are people who came before you and succeeded and the gates closed down. There is a gate that is making you to become inconsistent but when the gate is lifted for you, the king of glory will step in what you do, so we are going to address this ancient gate. Those who are in the spirit will agree with me that there are those ancient gates in this city, gates that limit people. We vow that we are going to succeed whether they like it or not, they shall be lifted, say they shall be lifted!
>
> (Pastor Emmanuel; Sermon, May 2016).

These words highlight a recurring theme in most of the sermons from the Rod of Authority Global Ministries. As the words are repeated, the whole congregation is on its feet. Raising hands, some with clasp fists, tears on some people's faces, some shaking as they pace up and down, shouts of amen and the church is in a frenzy. The words seem to have triggered something, which the members could relate. The same scene is performed during sermons, which seem to always have such a moment, which brings the whole congregation to its feet as promises of overcoming are proclaimed. For more than eighteen months that I have attended the church services, different preachers in this church repeat the same message of ancient gates in the city. The message is consistent with Pentecostal imaginations and understanding of the everyday. Whatever happens in the life of any individual has a parallel occurrence in the spiritual world and to correct or prevent any negative things, there is need to address the spiritual world, which is the source. All the negative things such as 'untimely death', sicknesses, diseases, unemployment, marital problems, permit/visa challenges, crimes, and violence are attributed to the spiritual world. Addressing such challenges requires one to deal with the spiritual realm in order to have a 'breakthrough'.

The ‘Ancient Gates’, the preacher is talking about is taken from the Bible in the book of Psalms chapter 24 verse 9. The verse reads as follows:

> Lift up your heads, O gates, and lift them up, O ancient doors, that the King of glory may come in!

The interpretation given by the Pastor is that of gates or doors which appear in the spirit and are responsible for shutting someone in or out. The interpretation is highlights something of note considering that it is also given mostly to immigrants who have faced many barriers in their migration journeys and in their everyday lives. Visa challenges and border controls is something that African immigrants always allude to when narrating their experiences in which the gates of the borders is what stands between them and their prosperity. Having succeeded in crossing the border, there are still more gates within the city which hinder their success and prevents them from realizing their ‘glory’, which is their ‘portion’ according to the messages in most of the church services. Each year, each month and day has a gate or door, which needs opening for one to prosper. Without unlocking and opening the gate, one is unable to enter into successful business relationships, all the job applications, permit application will be withheld from the applicant. Such are the explanations given to failures or misfortunes that befall immigrants in the city and the solution lies in speaking to the gates so that they are lifted up to ensure smooth entrance into prosperous livelihoods.

The above observations support the verity of Asamoah-Gyadu’s (2004; 91) argument that, ‘religion, particularly in its charismatic Pentecostal form, remains a major survival strategy for African immigrants in the diaspora… offering support to Africans who need to deal with those fears and insecurities that arise from transnational life’. It follows therefore that, for one

to access this resource, an important engagement with the messages or understanding of the theologies as presented in the churches becomes central. Drawing many who in such a city as Johannesburg and its extremes, that of being a city of gold- offering the most sought-after opportunities for the immigrant but also very violent and difficult to hold on or enjoy that which one would have acquired. The city poses many contestations as many both local and foreign compete to position themselves to the promises of the 'city of gold'. Certain narratives become important in a bid to include and exclude others from accessing the opportunities presented by the city. The politics of belonging becomes so central in framing terms and conditions of accessing the opportunities presented by the city with those considered foreign having little or no access to the opportunities.

The politics of belonging helps us understand the point of greater significance for the immigrants that then becomes winning victories in the spiritual realm as a vital space hence the recurring messages of 'the ancient gates in the city'. Success and security then become more to do with the victories that have to be won in the spiritual realm according to the recurring messages of 'the ancient gates in the city'. A relationship with the one who holds the keys to the gates or one who secures the gate is more important than going to work. This has resulted in long intense routinized church services presided over by the senior Pastor whose name is pastor Emmanuel sometimes running for more than a month with members congregating every day. The senior Pastor who is considered known in the spiritual realm and as having the ability to connect and instruct the gates of the city to be opened hence loyalty and obedience to him becomes central in the way services are conducted.

Pastor Emmanuel is very commanding and convincing in the way he speaks. He wears tailor made suits, cross belts, gold coated watches, having a gold chain strapped from one side of his shoulder to the waist, polished nails, matching spectacles with the color of his suits, and always has well-trimmed hair. The pastor drives a silver Grand Cherokee Jeep and has his main bodyguard[9] who is always standing a few meters from him even during the church service. In most of the services, Pastor Emmanuel emphasizes his covenant with God that, 'my 1992 June covenant with God is that He will not suffer any of my word not to come to pass'. The common perception amongst the congregants is that the pastor speaks to God, sees visions, and possesses mysteries that he uses to expand the territories of his followers. During services, as he preaches, he makes pauses as if he is seeing things or listening to a voice then laughs as if to draw the attention of the congregants to ask or yearn to hear the vision or message. The Pastor in such a situation often asks whether the congregants would like to hear what the Lord has revealed. The messages are always of hope, promises of someone making it that very week or in a few cases warning about something bad about to happen to someone unless he intervenes and prays for the individual. The following is an account of how one of the church members perceives the pastor;

> Grace has levels. Any man of God who has been called has a certain level of grace. There is a kind of anointing, a blessing and favor upon a true man of God. Like Moses, when God told him to choose the leaders among you to help with the mission. God told him that after you have

[9] Whether out of paranoia or a sense of important the pastor is always flanked with bodyguards with the main bodyguard closest to him having earpieces dangling from their ears, clad in suits like professional VIP protection services during church proceedings. The security team which is what the pastor called it also grew in number during the time I spent at the church.

> gathered them, I will take the spirit which is upon you to anoint them leaders. God did not say He will take His Spirit but from Moses to anoint the leaders. So, it means when a man of God is leading you, he can transfer his power from him.
>
> Fortunate (May 2016).

For a man of such power, possessing the ability to bridge the hiatus facing the congregants, his word becomes critical. Failure to recognize his authority is fatal for anyone who needs to prosper in the city. One of the first steps to honoring the pastor is through registering as a member. Membership requires assimilation into the culture of the church, relinquishing your own agency and becoming loyal to the pastor and adhering to the obligations and demands of the church. Acquiring citizenry in the church is not different from the state citizenship, as much as citizenship places some obligations and demands upon those who claim to belong, the same logic begin showing as one is expected to plead loyalty to the mediatory role that the pastor provides. Churchizenship though an alternative does not come without its own complications.

The life of an individual in the city is then informed by the understanding and belief that prosperity is only realized by ensuring that the victories won in the church services are projected in the everyday life. For example, my first church visit led me to understand a bit about the way the pastor is perceived by the congregants. There was an induction process which serves as both a welcome and a warning of what may happen if one decides to leave the church. Basically, visitors are led to a backroom where refreshments are served then a briefing on the powers and mysteries of the man of God (the pastor) and what he can do for all those who become members of the church and what may befall those who decide to leave. We were told of his ability to speak to and on behalf of God and of the importance of listening to his commands and acting accordingly. We were informed of how attending church on that

particular day was not because of our doing but there were conversations that the pastor had already had with God on our behalf.

The pastors and religious leaders especially in the Pentecostal churches have been central in the production of hope for the migrants, refugees and the marginalized. Johannesburg has been among the leading cities in terms of Pentecostal establishments, which are largely run by and attended by foreign nationals. As much as the state has monopoly over and exercises the right to violence as it governs its subject, the citizens place their security in the hands of the state. There is the same analogy that the religious institution and, in this case, Pentecostalism has assumed authority and the power to create and distribute hope including some sense of security for its adherents. The religious clergy are given the legitimate right over the 'governance of souls' (cf. Katsaura, 2017) which is enabled through misrecognition. The congregants are complicit in handing over themselves into the custodianship of the pastor enabling domination as their lives becomes dependent on the 'man of God'. The discourse indoctrinates the followers into a particular religious worldview which is according to Bourdieu (1991a, 22) a "generative basis of all thoughts, perceptions, and actions…"

With many of the church services I have attended, there is always a repetition of a similar message, which speaks to gates of entry into everything attached to one's success. The repetition of this message became a productive line of questioning and ignited my interest in understanding the ways in which the metaphor of the gates resonated with the congregants. Further elaborating on the lives of the congregants in the space of the church and its rituals will help in understanding why and in what ways the metaphor of the gates resonates with the congregants. I therefore give a narrative of the life of some of the members of some of the

members who, arguably, have been as engrossed with the messages from the church as a way of exploring the ways in which Pentecostal theologies plays out as it intersects with the cosmopolitan city immigrant. In order to answer this question, I am going to talk more about the lives of the congregants in the space of the church and its rituals. Firstly, I will talk about the life of some of the members who have been so engrossed with the messages from the church and how that has configured and reconfigure their experiences.

4.3. Access Denied: Nomagugu's Story of Navigating the Hostile City

Nomagugu was born in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe and grew up with her family, attending school until her mother died. After the death of her mother, Nomagugu abandoned school and started working at her father's shop as a shop assistant. The economic meltdown of 2008 coincided with the death of her only pillar of strength - her father. After that Nomagugu found herself living alone, jobless and languishing in poverty. After years of seeking for employment and finding none that satisfied her, she decided to emigrate to Johannesburg, South Africa, in 2012 in search for what she calls "greener pastures". Her excitement was quickly crushed by the realization that the pastures were not green after all. In fact, she found herself homelessness, joblessness, lonely and in sheer poverty. When she arrived in Johannesburg, her former high school friends tried to introduce her to the world of prostitution, Nomagugu could not join the trade because in her words, "her father was watching her every move" and could not disappoint her father. This decision saw her kicked out of her friends' place barely a month after arriving in Johannesburg and life became a "living hell" for her. She had no place to live and no one to turn to. The idea of going back home crossed her mind but she had no money and her passport had already 'overstayed', she could not get a refugee status, a permit or any form of

documentation that allowed her to stay or work in the country. That meant that she could not get employed, a grant to survive on while unemployed, residence or any kind of assistance. She exclaimed that she had never entertained the idea of being homeless because back home, homeless people were termed *'izibhonda'* (crazy, dirty people). She says at that point the trauma of losing her parents was so hard on her, she says "I felt I was alone in this world, you know, no one cared, I cried and cried".

A few days before she was kicked out of her place of residence, she had struck a friendship with man in the neighborhood who was interested in a sexual relationship with her and because of the "situation" she resorted to giving in to pressures of a relationship with a man she barely knew. What followed was untold trauma at the hands of this man. She endured abuse in all its forms; a miscarriage and a forced abortion. Hornberger (2004) notes that Johannesburg attracts immigrants as a result of the promises of a better life. Hornberger (ibid, 227) further states that, "…the dreams that attract immigrants…are shattered on arrival or at least adjusted to include the discontinuities, contradictions and, unpredictability of a precarious urban life" Being in such a position results in uncertainties and loss of hope for the immigrant who tries to adjust and in this case, Pentecostalism offers the much needed balance.

It was not until she joined the church that she saw an end to what she calls "a never ending nightmare". She explains that when she joined the church she was on breaking point and it was just for entertainment as she had always loved church songs and could not afford "proper entertainment". However, she explains that the sermons did something different to her. She would leave the church revived because the pastor would always tell them that as a child of God, everything is possible:

> My life changed a lot when I visited this church. I will forever be indebted to my 'daddy' (the pastor) as he interceded for me. The message was meant for me with what was going on in my life and the abusive relationship and having no option, my daddy said that there is no need to fear about papers or certificates but only divine favor was sufficient for my success. I remember feeling something moving from body as if a burden was taken off and feeling lighter as soon as the message was spoken. After service I knew I had to do something because my daddy pronounced that we should go out and claim our promises without fear as he released his blessing upon us. I now live a good life, I have a job and I want to study. They have not asked me for a permit, I just got the job and started working; it is all because of my daddy's covering.
>
> Nomagugu (January 2017)

Nomagugu works as a cleaner for a non- profit organization. The access to work at the company without proper permits is what most of her peers' envy. She has since left her abuser and is renting a shared apartment in the inner city of Johannesburg. Even though she has not yet attained her dreams of getting a higher paying 'descent' job, she is grateful to the pastor that she is working owing to his interceding on her behalf. She claims that the pastor prays for her, and through anointing oil, stickers, water and other 'anointed' objects[10] the pastors remotely mediates her everyday life. She reiterates that these objects help her to navigate the city's opportunities and challenges. She remains hopeful that if she is faithful to 'the word of God', pays her tithe, help clean the church among other church activities, God will bless her with a better job through the mediation of her pastor. In subsequent conversations with her, it seemed apparent that she has given up on getting the proper documentation, she had resigned to operating as an illegal immigrant, hoping that God will intervene when those papers are needed somehow in the near future. Important to note is that she acquired fake documents which she confidently presented at her workplace. She said that she expressed that this did not bother her

[10] For a thorough discussion on the meaning and use of 'anointed' material objects please refer to chapter 5.

because those documents were valid not to the earthly authorities but to the Kingdom of God because they were prayed for and anointed by the pastor.

The challenges presented by the migrant status of people in Nomagugu's situation find themselves insecure and uncertain about their future. The position that they find themselves leaves them limited in terms of options hence the way Pentecostalism is packaged draws immigrants and those in like situations into its fold. For instance, in its orientation, Pentecostalism is premised on neoliberal principles applying the same market oriented mechanism, which pushes people to the church in the first place. De Witte (2018, 1) posits that;

> "In this context, religious formulations of the future appear to be very attractive and have a strong impact on Africans' hope for the future. In many African countries the voices that are most powerfully and successfully formulating visions of the future are religious voices, and especially charismatic-Pentecostal ones"

As a result, this powerful voice finds resonance with the experiences of immigrants and those at the margins reviving their future prospects. The capacity of many states, especially in the global South to create a vision that positively influences the hopes of its citizens is eroded due to neoliberal reforms amongst other factors. The result is a 'negative socio-political and economic outlook' eroding hope and trust in the ability of the state to cater for the aspirations of those within its territory (Ukah, 2007). Consequently, a void is created as the citizens and those within its borders are frustrated with limited, unequal and in some cases no hope from the institutions that should deliver. The role of creation and distribution of the much-needed positive outlook from the state invites or creates new players in the production of hope and one of the most prominent is the Pentecostal prosperity gospel churches which have been able to address the neo-liberal market future. The hope that the state is supposed to provide is in line with the urban promises of transformation and prosperity, however, for the immigrants there

are structural barriers to accessing the promises. The state has a duty to those in its territory but more so, for those who belong or are regarded as citizens before extending to the others who do not belong but find themselves within its territory (Those who do not belong are to a larger extent, the poor and lower middle class black African immigrant and refugee) . Pentecostalism offers to dismantle or disrupt the barriers to accessing the promises (Barriers range from lack of documentation, xenophobic violence {both physical and symbolic} and many other insecurities resulting from their status as immigrants and refugees). However, the means to disrupting are vague and mysterious leaving the immigrant in a state of limbo and desperation. Meanwhile, the promise of economic revival continuously proves. "Structural adjustment programs resulted in increasing inequality and a mounting tension between inclusion and exclusion as the criteria for successful participation in the globalized market economy became ever more uncertain and subject to speculation" (De Witte, 2018; 65; also see Comaroff and Comaroff, 2000). In such a context, the marginalized and in this case most who are immigrants and refugees occupy the bottom end of the hierarchy.

The observations, interviews, conversation, practices and church sermons, confirm the assertions above which I will highlight in the passages that follow. Firstly, Pentecostalism plays a vital role in the everyday lives of immigrants who are attending the church services as the messages become a framework for the congregants in dealing with and or understanding their being. Pentecostal beliefs and everyday rituals inform the lived experiences of the congregants I have spoken to. They express fear of violence and crime in Johannesburg and Pentecostalism has informed the ways in which they have managed to cope and/or deal with such pressures. In context whereby there are tensions between the people and their surroundings, religious commitment and sacrifice becomes more attractive hence popularity

and growth of Pentecostal churches has been in like areas (cf. Finke and Stark; 1992). The contradictions within urbanity and or modernity in that it promises a better life and prospects yet the contrary is mostly the case prepares individuals to seek answers and solutions to religion which was predicted to have less hold on people with modernity that was to provide more explanations and solutions to life problems and its failure to give secular credible enlightenments pushes people back to the religious and or magical (cf. Lechner, 2007) The church services always conclude by a session in which the Pastor and the congregation pray for peace in South Africa. Violence and crime including some of the challenges such as unemployment, documentation and health are explained and understood in a Pentecostal lens showing how important religion is in understanding the lives of immigrant believers. The language and imagery used in the church services resonates with the imagination of many of the immigrants as highlighted in the excerpt from a sermon by a visiting pastor:

> That gate that led people to leave their property and ran out of the city! Be lifted! That gate that allowed people to come to South Africa but it is the coffin that took them back, be lifted! That gate should not succeed over you. You will not die in this country! I say you will not lose your life in this nation! I say you will not lose your life in this nation! Whatever God blesses you with in this nation you will not lose it! You will not lose it! Say, I will not lose it! Every ancient gate in this city that makes people come and spend time here and have nothing to go back home to show that do will be frustrated in the name of Jesus! You will prosper in this land! You will make it in this land! You will succeed in this land! In this land, you will not be jailed! You will not be jailed! There is a gate that makes foreigners to be frustrated! There is a gate that waste people's years! There is a person I have known for 15 years, I ask him what are you still doing in this one room, and he says, I cannot even afford this one room.

The above excerpt brings to the fore some of the issues that most of the Pentecostal churches are grappling with in Johannesburg. That brings attention to Pentecostal imagination of the city, which feeds into how that affects the ways in which the immigrant believers perceive their daily challenges. All of the services are based upon everyday life challenges and testimonies

of successes. The preachers always emphasize on the immediacy of the congregant's success only through obedience to the set rituals and the use of certain objects from the church. The pastor is said to be the one who embodies the success of the congregants who can only access the promised prosperity by loyalty and obedience to what the pastor teaches. The way in which the city is imagined is experiential for the congregants but the way of dealing and understanding it is influenced by more of what the pastor says.

With the precarious nature of the post-colonial African states, which are still entangled in global division of labor resulting in the exploitation and impoverishment of the lowly ranked global South, the basic taken for granted rights in the Western world are scarce and highly contested in the South. Consequently, Pentecostalism 's ability to speak to the context into which it is finds itself enables it to appeal to the local conditions. The celebrated testimonies in all the services I attended included acknowledgement of God's intervention in the everyday lives even in basic provisions that the states should make available to the public. Turning to God and the popularity of Pentecostalism in the global south has also been attributed to the incapacitation of the welfare state to cater for the needs of the citizens. Basic things such as health, employment, social mobility and many other basic rights difficult to come by results in the prominence of Pentecostalism which offers promises of hope to access such which is taken for granted in the global North where the sates are capacitated to make such provisions hence religion is not as popular (cf. Asamoah-Gyadu, 2004).

The conditions in the city find expression in the Pentecostal imaginations as the pulpit becomes a space of voicing urban inequalities and misfortunes. There is mutual conditioning of the urban experiences and the Pentecostal worldview. The immigrant urban experience is invoked

as the basis for most of the sermons which emphasize urban challenges. The sermon above retells such challenges and at the same time giving assurance to the congregant. Here, I argue that such Pentecostal theologies mediate the urban experiences through an emphasis of the dangerousness of the city. This has disempowering undercurrents. The sermon addresses the challenge and provides solutions, the pastor becomes the sole mediator, creator and distributor of the religious goods leaving the congregant in a precarious state of dependency.

4.4. Getting to Know the Man by the Entrance

Before I began this this research, I would always pass by the Rod of Authority church on my way to the university. There was activity almost every day. I noticed this particular man, who was always by the entrance of the church, greeting passersby, inviting them to the church and talking to almost everyone around. What was peculiar about him was that he seemed not bothered by anything, he was friendly, always cheerful and dancing and he never changed his clothing, he was always in a black suit and black shoes. Because of this persona, people dubbed him the 'mad man'. What was so interesting for me was how the man by the entrance on the pavement where people are also trying to avoid bumping each other as they made their way to their different destinations, would be dancing as if he was just alone and never minding the many pedestrians and passers-by. As much as the sound of the loud music from the church attracted the attention of many, the dancing man also caught the eye of many, myself included. Sometimes when the people inside the church are praying, the sound is heard from outside from the speakers and one could also see the mad man also praying fervently as he paced up and down the pavement. It was only after visiting the church I then began to know a little bit about this man.

Soon after I commenced my fieldwork in 2016, George 'the man by the entrance' was promoted from his role as the deacon to that of a church elder and that moved him from outside where he was looking for 'lost souls' to inside the church, front row with other church elders. Elders sat at the front, on a raised platform on leather chairs. It is at this point that I started interacting with him and it is when I understood why it was so essential for him to behave the way he did. George was born in the Democratic Republic of Congo. He left his country because of political violence in 2008, when I met him, he had spent 8 years trying to get a refugee status from the home affairs department and was still an illegal immigrant.

When I finally had a one on one meeting with George, it was 8 months after I had joined the church. I met him at a mall because he was afraid of what the pastor may think if he gets to know that he was talking to 'the researcher'. The pastor knew I was there doing research and the church elders knew but I was still treated as an untrustworthy outsider at times. He expressed a lot of disappointment because he felt like Johannesburg killed his hopes and dreams of a better life. He says his first impression of Johannesburg was that it was a 'city of gold' indeed and he was excited and had plans for a better life:

> ..when you get to this place what the eyes see is eeh, what the eyes see is like a beautiful place, a place full of opportunities. You know, without talking to people that is what you see eeh and there is a big difference from where we come from eeh, beautiful buildings, roads, you feel like you will be integrated easily. When I first came here, I thought in a few years I would have made it. In terms of business, in terms of opportunities, without talking to anyone you can tell that this is a place where things can happen…. Once you start talking to people then you realize that what you see is not the reality... Even people who came before you can even tell you that it is not easy to be integrated as the community is very hostile. When it comes to rules or laws as well, it does not allow foreigners or refugees to excel or to succeed.
>
> George (November 2016)

This was a recurring thread that ran through the narratives of most of the participants (immigrants) as they echoed similar sentiments about their first impression of Johannesburg when they arrived from various poor African countries. The feeling and impression is not long lasting as reality settles in for most whose experiences do not match what they see. Many obstacles befall many who are in the same predicament as George found himself. This is the case even for some who make a few savings just to help them settle but after some time might find themselves in a difficult position. Such are stories, which are sometimes presented in the sermons by the pastors who preach in the church. One of the invited guest pastors reiterated that,

> There are some of you who came to South Africa with a million Naira but now cannot even afford to pay for a single room more so, having a single rand in your pocket.
>
> Pastor Kwame (June 2016)

The challenges or situations many find themselves in begin to bring fear and uncertainty. George found himself in a difficult situation when he first arrived in Johannesburg, as he did not have a place to stay. He had a cell number that he got of one of his distant cousins whom he phoned and was able to host him. He narrated that one of his greatest challenge was that his cousin was 'living a careless life'. He elaborated on his cousin's careless life, pointing out that he was a kind of person who would go and make money, get drunk and just return to his little room where he also accommodated George.

George was surprised because he knew his cousin as being a well-behaved young man from back home in Democratic Republic of Congo but 'the way he found him is not the same as he used to be'. The cousin had joined bad company and the time George first stepped into his room, the cousin started sharing with him the reality of the life in Johannesburg. George

concluded from the conversations that his cousin had with his friends that they had all lost hope George's cousin and his friends were involved in drinking and careless behavior because their expectations when they arrived in South Africa and their experiences stood in stark contrast- a frustrating reality, which was compounded by that going back home was a challenge as well. It was precisely for this litany of challenges that George's cousin and his friends resorted to drinking and living carelessly.

Trying to avoid being sucked into the cousin's life, George relentlessly looked for work in the security industry as a security guard. He thought that was an easy way to get a job, however, that proved difficult because as a foreigner without documents getting the 'SOB' number, which is as a form of registration to be cleared to work in the security services was impossible for him. After a month and a half, he then resorted to working as a car guard to make ends meet. His situation became worse when his family left Congo to join him, he had to look for more money, that's when he started a vending business by the street side in Bree Street CBD Johannesburg. This assisted him to earn money to support his family. It was however short-lived as three months down the line, Municipal police chased away street vendors in many streets and his street was not spared. These kinds of evictions are a frequent occurrence with some who prefer streets such as Bree because they have no formal spaces nor can they afford to rent shops or venting stalls (cf. Bénit-Gbaffou, 2018; Matsipa, 2017). He then tried to apply for a permit to get a designated vending space, but the efforts were hindered by the fact that he did not have the required documents. This forced him to rent a vending stall from a person who had applied and got the space. When life was looking good, he was evicted from his place and then moved from Johannesburg CBD to La Rochelle. This was a blow to his business as he had to move far from where he was doing his business. George also gives an account of how

difficult it was for him to be doing business in the CBD. He explained how people would be robbed on a daily basis and how he had fallen victim of such experience on different occasions. He further pointed to the brutal ways in which the police dealt with the foreigners and how he was not spared as well since he was a foreigner. He could not report any of the violent incidents, which sometimes left him, robbed of his fruits and vegetables because he was a foreigner and the police would not take him seriously. The fact that George could not even manage to have his own registered vendor business not to mention getting the required status was xenophobic for George who even pointed to one of the clothing shop nearby saying that even though he wishes to open an account his plans are severely strangled by his foreign status. He continued to highlight how his status led to denial of access in many fronts, a situation that could have led him to quit.

Raised as a Roman Catholic, George expresses that he tried the Roman Catholic Church here in Johannesburg when he felt his "burdens became too heavy to carry on his own". However, he felt like the Roman Catholic Church was not going to help him in this regard, he said he "needed something stronger". His wife had visited a church earlier where she experienced an "electrifying feeling, like she was in the spirit", she felt that this was a real encounter with God and there was God in that church. Desperate for a breakthrough, George decided to join the church. He detailed excitedly how powerful the pastor was, the praise and worship songs and the messages that were preached. He explains that he felt that he has found God and his life was about to change for the better. He shared some of his experiences of the church service as follows:

> I was really satisfied after the church service even when I went back home. The next Sunday, I went back and the service was even more powerful than the previous. The preaching we got

> had some revelations as it spoke to our lives, it was not just talk but was really practical addressing our daily challenges, like how can you prosper? How can you take steps for your greatness? And in those teachings, I am telling you. It brought revelation to me. That no, you cannot just be sitting down and complaining about something but you get up and be a solution to the problem.
>
> George (November 2016)

He went on to say that, listening to such a message, it made him to think of what he could do with his life rather than complain about his predicament. He then thought of establishing a school where he would teach English to French speaking people. He was offered a job at the shelter for homeless foreigners in the area. He had challenges there, he was evicted with his students and it took a 'miraculous turn around' (George's expression), with the Catholic Church premises being made available for him to continue with the program. George reckons that, it sometimes takes a challenge where one is 'cornered' for God to show His power and believes his experience was a case in point which is richly telling of how God operates:

> I believe in the word of God. There is the time I remember it was Pastor Matthew, he spoke about this preacher mmh, it is Creflo Dollar or Benny Hinn. He was said to have been stuck in a difficult situation and he said to himself that, {I believe you, the Holy Spirit can talk. Tell me what to do} he heard a voice, which told him what to do. On that day I remembered and I also did the same and heard a voice which told me to go to where I used to pray before, there is place there for you.

When George got to the Catholic Church premises, he narrated his story and was on the very day given a better place to teach from. He even went on to get funding for the program by a Catholic Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) working with refugees although the funding recently ran out. It is within constrained circumstances that reduce the immigrants' options of living the lives they expected, that their resilience plays out and they seriously take messages imparted on them through sermons as they approach everyday life. These messages help them endure. George's narrative of his life from the time he arrived in South Africa, the challenges

and difficulties that severely strangled his choices and his life reveals a suggestive angle through which one can understand the role Pentecostalism has and continues to have in the members from his church.

The desires, ambitions and all the aspirations for the immigrant in a foreign land are best articulated by the ways in which the message is portrayed and presented in the Pentecostal churches. The desires and aspirations of most if not all of the urban immigrants are to prosper in material accumulation and being in good health. A good report and stories of success from those who came before them whilst in their home countries becomes so central for the immigrants, which is portrayed in the Pentecostal messages, which emphasize the 'here and now'. The goal of succeeding in a foreign land, which is full of obstacles, becomes entangled with Pentecostal understanding and principles of prosperity, which knows no boundaries or limitations. In the absence of the state and its fragmented response to the needs of the immigrant, the Pentecostal church is presented as an alternative to fill-in the void. Lack of familial support also add another layer of complexity of the lives of the immigrants hence the role played by the church becomes so appealing and attractive.

Consequently, there is a lot of popularity of immigrant Pentecostal -run churches in Johannesburg. The churches provide the so much needed supply of the mind-set needed to keep the immigrant believer in some sort of control of the everyday uncertainties in a hostile context. The form of control is brought about by a sense that one has in instances where the misfortune strikes of things that do not go as expected. The fact that the messages the church preaches speaks to the misfortunes whether in retrospect or prospectively, the believer has some explanation ready made for dealing with or understanding why such events took place or recur.

The everyday is approached in a different way for the believer who highly regard the word of the pastor and what he stands for.

4.5. Obey the Prophets and you will make Profit: Accessing the Denied Rights through Pentecostal Theology

This section is related and builds on the previous one but precisely demonstrates how the Pastors are revered and their messages carried into the everyday. George's story also provides some insights into the ways the messages form the church sermons empowers the immigrant by giving him/her a different way of coping or dealing with the challenges presented by the city. In this section, I introduce Deacon Reynolds' story and how it has been and continues to be shaped by the church. He is one of the choir members besides being a deacon; most of his spare time is spent at the church either performing his deaconry duties, choir practice or attending church services. He got married in the church in March 2016 to one of the choir members. The senior Pastor praised the deacon and the wife for their obedience, which to him led to them finding love and a befitting partner.

4.6. Meeting Deacon Reynolds

Deacon Reynolds is a man in his early 30's and is from Ghana. He came to South Africa in 2010 in June for a visit. He then had to remain in South Africa because his Air ticket was cancelled. He did not have any work to do but started learning how to do hair at a saloon owned by his relative whom he had visited. From there he then became a barber in the saloon. His first impression of South Africa was that of surprise due to the beauty of the city and the roads and buildings, which he saw as much advanced, compared to ones in his home country. He pointed

out that in the midst of all this beauty of the city, the challenge that immediately confronted him was that of women and it really scared him. He elaborated that he saw women as tempting, particularly seeing them being comfortable in easily asking to go out with him and spend a night. He saw this environment as too liberal and considered it the 'Babylon of Africa'; hence, he had to be careful of falling into such traps. He was a member of the Methodist church in Ghana where he was baptized.

Deacon Reynolds was not into Pentecostal Churches but after a single visit to the Rod of Authority church, it all changed. He became comfortable in the church as he, 'heard the word of God expressed in a way he had never heard before'.

> I knew the word of God but when Pastor Matthew preached, I received revelations as he explained the word in a way that I had never heard of. I then made up my mind to say that, this man will take me far. From that time in 2010 up to now, it is only the word of God from his preaching that has sustained me. Whenever something goes wrong, I think of the word and even if I go down, I will be back on my feet'… 'He said something in 2011 which I will never forget. He said that, {anything that you do in this land, you will be successful as you will gather people and they will listen to you and will help you with whatever you want…} 'The church has helped me to understand that I am a child of God and I can let go of things and stay out of trouble. It has helped me to see the future and the purpose of why I am here, I thought it was a mistake but it is not. What matters is not how I got here but what is in here for me, which is my purpose. So the church has really opened up for me my future and I have stopped asking myself why I am here and what should I be doing...? I had never thought of this business of making bags until Doctor Sam came to church and preached about how to follow your dream and your destiny. He said that, the only way to discover your talent or your gift is when you love doing something that you can do without any effort that even when you are hungry you continue to do it then that is your talent. He told us that we should stop saying we shall do it and just do it. That is how I just went home that same evening and started drawing up designs on paper, cutting and I told myself anything I can cut I can do, then began leather bag business. That is how this business started, it's from the church

From my first meeting with Deacon Reynolds, we became conversant with each other. We would meet and talk at church or in the streets around Turffontein. One of the interesting street conversations I heard with him was on September 9, 2016. We met at Gandhi Square, which

is in Johannesburg CBD as I was waiting for my connecting bus to Wits University. He was so excited to see me as he had testimonies he wanted to share with me. He was speaking on top of his voice saying, 'Hey bro, that sermon by Pastor Thompson. It was very powerful. The man of God said that, we do have all the talent and resources, but our problem is that we are going to the wrong places and talking to the wrong people'.

He went on to tell me about how his previous day was incredible as he went to Rosebank Mall to market his leather products. He stated that he even managed to sell two wallets and gave out 120 business cards and only had to leave early because people kept asking for his business cards and he did not have any left to give out. He recounted that the Monday after the Sunday service where Pastor Johnson preached, he also went to Newton Mall as he proudly expressed the overwhelming responses he got. He attributed this the fact that he had become faithful with his tithing at church, indicating that he also gives the pastor some of his merchandise for free so that "the work of his hands may be blessed and multiplied tenfold".

Deacon Reynolds expanded his business in 2018 and has since ventured in high market leathers bags and a couple of African attire. He registered his company officially and appears in fashion shows across the country and has made his brand known. He attributes his success to the anointing of his pastor. His church contributions in terms of tithe and his commitment to the choir and deaconry duties has been quite remarkable and his testimonies continue to increase.

His loyalty and indebtedness to the pastor sums most of the adherent's legitimation of the price that has to be paid for the 'pastoral coverage' (cf. Katsaura, 2017). Lartey's (2001; 8), argues that, 'the success of charismatic Christianity in Africa has lain largely in its ability to propagate itself as "powerful and efficacious" in enabling people to be set free from the dangers and

troubles of life". That sums up the life of Deacon Reynolds and his experiences of Johannesburg, as he has been able to focus on how to move beyond the challenges before him. The messages from the church have been a driving force in the way his life has been shaped. He takes the sermons literary and pushes the boundaries by being positive even amidst hostile situations because of the newfound identity in the sermons.

George, Nomagugu and Deacon Reynolds' stories and observations from the church including the sermons confirms Pentecostalization of the city. The secular and sacred divide is breached in the ways in which the immigrants experienced and dealt with the challenges they encountered. Pentecostal urbanism is demonstrated by the immigrants' perceptions of the city which they approach with renewed aggression after periods of helplessness.

After following Deacon Reynolds on his social media platforms and my subsequent conversations with him the mutuality between docility and aggression nurtured by Pentecostal theological claim making and world making becomes clear. Deacon Reynolds manages to put up heroic acts in his approach in registering his business and knocking doors with confidence to promote his leather products that has landed him in getting spots in marketing his products at national level modelling shows. This can also be said of George and his confidence in starting his school as well as the boldness that Nomagugu shows in pursuing what she wanted. I argue that Pentecostal theologies mediate these people's experiences with the pastor at the helm of mediating the experiences. These three are amongst several of the congregants who always gave testimonies on the 'greatness of the pastor and how his prayers and anointed objects testify of his 'calling' and power of his ministry. There is emphasis in their testimonies on how all things are made possible through the ministration of the 'man of God', 'daddy', 'the father of

the house' the pastor of Rod of Authority church. There is an inculcation into a particular Pentecostal habitus which fosters churchizenship that demands loyal subjects who become complicit in their own domination. In as much as the congregants become aggressive in their approach to the city, they are tamed into docility.

The aggressive approach highlights the agentive traits of the congregants and brings out what seems to be an oversight by Bourdieu on emphasizing on the production and distribution of religious capital at the expense of its 'consumption and manipulation' (cf. Verter, 2003). What complicates this agency is the Pentecostal messages that places more emphasis on the source i.e. production and distribution from the experts resulting in striping of agency over their own independent actions. However, it is to be noted that the theologies and practices employed and manipulated by the followers' highlights their agency which the church reignites and that has had attention from various literature. Such interplay which I capture through Pentecostal urbanism speaks to the mutuality between the docility and aggressiveness that characterizes Pentecostalism at the intersection of the sacred-Pentecostal and secular-Urban.

4.7. Conclusion

The cosmopolitan city such as Johannesburg is mutually reinforcing with Pentecostalism in ways in which it prepares the immigrant in being receptive to the Pentecostal message of hope. The vulnerability that results from the city's dealings with the immigrant enables mystical ideological domination on the part of Pentecostalism . I have demonstrated the ways in which the experiences in and of the city indirectly evangelizes for the church which further capitalizes on the brutality that the immigrants go through in trying to make ends meet. Such relations

between the secular-urban and sacred-Pentecostal is better represented by Pentecostal Urbanism which embraces the mutual inclusivity. Churchizenship benefits from the unfriendly and exclusionary harshness by the city's idea of citizenship.

Churchizenship that embraced people like, Nomagugu, George and Deacon Reynolds subverts the whole idea of citizenship which is bound by ethnicity, nationality, and bounded by the physical. I have argued that, the idea of churchizenship brings with its repressive tendencies that operate within the same logic as churchizenship though more in subtle ways. Pentecostal theologies of the city borrow and benefit from the exclusionary violent nature of the city with its unique technologies of approaching the city such as violent and aggressive prayers fostering Pentecostal militarism in approaching a hostile urban environment. The Pentecostal urban theologies thrive in grooming mutuality between docility and aggression amongst the immigrants which the stories above have highlighted.

The Pentecostal theological interpretations and representations are appealing to the immigrant congregant because there appear uninterested in the way the messages are presented and speaking directly to their challenges. This means that the political nature of the messages is masked in the ways the messages are created and distributed to the recipients. In this chapter, I have demonstrated how the different kind of belonging as represented under churchizenship indoctrinates a particular Pentecostal habitus in immigrant's dealings with the city. The ways the Pentecostal worldview and the secular worldviews as expressed by the city attests to the sacred and secular entanglement.

What is also striking for me in this chapter is the ways in which the pastor's role as a religious expert is legitimized and naturalized. The mediatory role of the pastor becomes so central in

how the city is experienced hence the hierarchization. The stories all centre on the power and ability of the pastor in offering protection and creative pathways of hope for the congregants. His presence in the everyday lives of the congregants is further enabled by the anointed material objects which find their place in the homes, workplace, streets, and public transport where the adherents find themselves. The following chapter explores the mediatory role of the pastor through religious anointed material objects.

Chapter 5

Mediated Agency? Anointed Pentecostal Objects, Migrants and Everyday (In)-Security in Johannesburg

Prolegomenon

As I dropped off at a city bus terminus in central Johannesburg on May 4 2016 around 3:30 pm to connect with another city bus to my place of residence, I noticed a Prophetic, Healing and Deliverance (PHD) ministries merchandise shop. I had seen some of PHD ministries shops in Harare, Zimbabwe. PHD ministries does not have any other worship center elsewhere except one in centralized place in Zimbabwe hence my interest to go into the shop were raised without hesitation. The bright red, white, green and black colours, the image of "the man of God" as he is commonly called by his followers, Prophet Magaya is always at the centre of all his shops.

I did not have any regrets for missing my bus because I was curious to find out why the shop was at Gandhi Square (It is one of the neat spaces in the city which includes a connecting bus terminal) surrounded by banks, popular restaurants and private administration office space) in Johannesburg. This place is a busy economic hub, people of different races, nationalities, age groups can be found at Gandhi Square. As it was a normal working day, there were many people were flocking in and long queues of some waiting for their buses and some in a hurry to buy trips for the their bus tags. Why was such a shop in an 'up market' space that is largely surrounded by commercial office space was the initial question that puzzled me. Seeing this shop in such a place, ignited this puzzling question for me and stirred my curiosity as it was akin to seeing the sacred practices of a traditional healer displayed in public space. I would

imagine such kind of a shop should be in the private confines of the church premises and this puzzling image ran through my mind in an uncontrollable intensity as I yearned for an answer.

Upon entering the shop, I was surprised at the range of products in the shop. The merchandise ranged from bracelets, stickers, candles, pens, calendars, t-shirts, membership cards, and all 'anointed things'[11]. Looking at the items in the shop, one who does not understand what 'anointing' means see only cheap goods being sold in downtown Johannesburg or a tuck shop. However, these products were being sold at more than ten times the normal price because they had been anointed. Anointing happens through the performance of a certain ritual in the church, in the cases of objects, it refers to those that have been presided over, being in contact with or laid hands over by the pastor or prophet. The idea of anointing that I present here comes from conversations with Pentecostal church believers. Barely, two months after I saw the first PHD Ministries shop, another one opened close to the Johannesburg Central Business District. I began to wonder about the importance of the religious merchandise for the people living in Johannesburg and the role of objects in the lives of the urban dwellers.

The popularity of such objects in the modern urban space such as Johannesburg, which is supposed to be more secular as Africa's most modern urban hub became an intriguing line of

[11] I take their words to refer to things for the sake of preserving conceptual integrity. However, these anointed objects have a long history and even longer cultural provenance, perhaps going back to times of the Neanderthal. These have been called amulets, talismans, charms, and have their counterpart in other religious traditions.

questioning. This line of enquiry was also pursued within the ambit of considering that religion was predicted to retreat into the private sphere in the cities and have little to no influence on individuals (cf. Berger 2009). Such developments highlight the increased public presence of religion challenging the assumption once held of religion dissipating into the private sphere with the rise of modernity (cf. Wariboko, 2014; Cox, 2013; Berger, 2012). That led me to ask questions around the subject, as that phenomenon is also prevalent in Rod of Authority church that has been a point of reflection as a research site. Besides noticing the centrality of objects in Pentecostal services, I also have had many encounters with Pentecostal adherents in and around Johannesburg. One of the most prominent objects that have become synonymous with the adherents of Pentecostal churches is bracelets, which have inscribed on them the names of the church and the Prophet from their various churches. Some migrants from Zimbabwe in the city such as Paul, have special anointed bracelets, magazines, membership cards, and towels. This further supports Keane's (2008, S124) claim that "religions may not always demand beliefs, but they will always involve material forms. It is in that materiality that they are part of experience and provoke responses that they have public lives and enter into ongoing chains of causes and consequences".

The merchandise shop in a space such as Gandhi Square highlighted a few issues and raised questions about the reasons for increasing public presence of religion in profane spaces. Some of the questions that arose when I observed the merchandise shop in a space such as Ghandi Square led me to take seriously the urban-secular and Pentecostal -sacred entanglements. This also follows Wyk's (2014, 20) observation that the city has been, "'Pentecostal ised" to such an extent that the church's tussles with occult forces, its miracles and its views on disease, money and society have become commonplace […]'. The popularity of material

Pentecostalism is also brought to the fore as the presence of the shop resembles including the many encounters that I have also had with people putting on or having the anointed objects with them. What is being 'Pentecostalized' includes but is not limited to Gandhi square, the church and its many artifacts, public space and commonplace object.

Alliances are formed between the human and nonhuman 'anointed' objects, which form part of the sociality that enables some form of confidence on part of the human actors. I bring forth the idea of the kind of agency that results from possession of nonhuman objects which in this instance mediates the action of migrants in their everyday lives. Possession of the anointed objects enables the possessor to do certain things. The enabling qualities of the objects brings about 'mediated agency'. Questions around the relationship between human beings and material objects become more relevant to ask. A market for such products indicates the dependence of some section of the population on such objects, which do act hence the need to bring back the voice of material objects in our social analysis (Latour, 2005).

I take 'mediated agency' to refer to the ways in which certain actions by individuals or objects are enabled not from innate abilities but from an outside force. In most instances, the action is attributed to the individual whilst there are so many unseen forces at play. This idea is illustrated in the way Pentecostal immigrants brings into their everyday lives, anointed objects to intervene in their experiences in and of the city. The anointed object becomes the conduit through which the power of the supernatural is enacted. The anointed objects also become the channels through which the blessings or intervention in crisis is realized (cf. Asamoah-Gyadu, 2010). The role played by the object brings into the discussion, the social life of things because of what they do.

Furthermore, in ‘mediated agency’, there is a certain kind of meaning and significance offered outside the agency of the individual to derive meaning from an external source from elsewhere of which they are part of but do not have control over because of people in certain positions who have the preserve of offering the object its meaning and significance. The anointment process sets certain obligations, which are constraining and comes at a cost in most cases though these are veiled and naturalized. The experiences in and of the city would have subjected the immigrant to uncertainties which renders any form of security such as provided by anointed objects a viable alternative. Without the anointed objects or use of them, some feel exposed and vulnerable to spiritual and physical insecurity. The dependence on the anointed objects comes with certain rituals and constraints, which brings the immigrant into subjection to the church structures, which are responsible for the creation of such objects. Such multi-layered complexities surrounding the agency of the immigrant in a context such as Johannesburg and its structuring structures (church rules and regulations surrounding the anointed object) and how material objects enables negotiating them yet at the same time imposing their own structures (power of the anointed objects) will shape the discussion in this chapter. I will demonstrate that, agency remains a prerogative of the religious experts, who labor to authentic and influence their particular idea of the sacred. The meanings attached to and the ‘creation’ of objects shows who has the authority to determine the production, distribution and value of the material objects. Through differentiation, the ordinary churchizens are “objectively defined as profane” and “disposed of the instruments of symbolic production” hence become dependent consumers of religious objects (Bourdieu, 1991a; 9, 12).

5.1. Reconfiguring the Social : Living With and Through Objects

In this chapter, I focus on the issue of (in) security for the black poor African immigrants in Johannesburg and the ways in which they employ and use anointed objects to ward off crime, violence and hardship in and of the city. In this chapter I argue that material objects, in particular Pentecostal anointed objects, enable 'mediated agency', which assist Pentecostal immigrants to navigate the hostile and dangerous city. 'Mediated agency' enabled by the use/possession of anointed objects empowers immigrants by shielding them from the painful physical, emotional and psychological encounters with and of the city. In addition, I argue that the agency that Pentecostal immigrant express is very complex and contradictory as it stems not solely from the individual innate abilities but is negotiated by anointed objects. Lastly, building on Bruno Latour (2005), the resulting payoff in this chapter includes highlighting that the need to extend the assemblages or networks that constitute society are not to be restricted to human beings. Appadurai (1988) states that, it is in tracing the biography[12] of objects that the assemblages are revealed and that human-object and how human-human relations are understood in following the objects. It is the purpose of this chapter to demonstrate how human-object relations and human-human relations are mediated through objects. In simple terms, the pastor-congregants relations and immigrant congregant relations with locals (the taxi driver,

[12] Biography of objects speaks to the social interactions that involves people and material objects. The focus is on the social life of material objects i.e. how they obtain meaning, the ways they are perceived by those who associate with and deploy them, and their lifecycle.

landlord etc.), the police, the employer, and other associations are further explored through tracing the creation, distribution and deployment of objects.

The central thesis for this chapter follows closely Gosden and Marshall's (1999, 169) assertion that, "…objects do not just provide a stage setting to human action; they are integral to it…as people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other". This also follows Walker and Schiffer's (2006; 72) argument that "all human activities simultaneously involve interactions in the life histories of artefacts and participation in cadenas". Walker and Schiffer (ibid) further posit that such an understanding and considerations when doing research with groups that perceive artefacts as possessing power and having personification is very critical. Many of the Pentecostal adherents I was in conversation with acknowledge and conceive material objects from their churches as 'doing things' as if acting on their own in aiding the adherents to face the everyday challenges of life. The Pentecostal immigrant who arguably has little or no familial support in the absence of and/or in a context where there is a fragmented state response to everyday crime and violence is left with limited options other than turning to religion and/or magic (cf. Malinowski, 1955) - in the case of this thesis Pentecostal practices and anointed objects. Pentecostalism is just one option, albeit one that catches the attention of large number of migrants in dense urban settlements. It is more appealing as it offers a particular 'salvation' for today and tomorrow, to enable coping and making a life in the margins.

I will begin by drawing mainly from the life of an immigrant named Paul, who presents the varied ways in which immigrants employ or are enabled by the religious material objects, in

this case, Pentecostal anointed objects to ward off danger and navigate difficult situations presented to immigrants. Then I will illustrate the ways through which immigrants' works towards fortifying their success and/or wealth by anointed objects. I will show the ways in which identity and belonging is fostered through the creation of the anointed objects without dismissing constrains that the creation, exchange and consumption of such has for the immigrant adherents in as much as these (the objects) can be enabling.

5.2. Invoking Anointed Objects in Creating a Sense of Stability

Paul is an academic at a well-ranked university in South Africa, who had finally submitted his PhD thesis at the time I interviewed him on May 18, 2016. He is a Zimbabwean national, in his late thirties, married and two children staying in Zimbabwe whilst he studies in South Africa. I had known Paul for 3 years prior to the interview and witnessed an incredible transformation in his life from the way he used to speak and his habits. Paul was an unkempt young man, excessive smoker and alcohol abuser. His general attitude towards life was marred with pessimism, constantly complaining about muggings, problems with his thesis supervision, problems with permit applications, family feuds, lack of funding and not knowing where his money goes. Things were different by the time I interviewed him, far from being an excessive heavy smoker and having a negative outlook, Paul exhibited an optimistic attitude about life in general. His life transformation resulted from a complex web of strenuous circumstances; he recalls:

> This is how it started. I was a chain smoker and my permit was about to expire so I had to apply for police clearance. As I went to apply, I was stopped by people who said they were agents and would speed up the process. I gave them my papers but for three weeks, there was nothing. After a month, there was still nothing and to avoid overstaying, I had to leave the country. When I got home, the first thing was that electricity got disconnected. The second day, I

> received news that my brother who stays with my uncle got home to find a 1.5 metres snake in the house and had to call people to kill it. As if that was not enough, our house cleaner went outside to fetch water and saw a monkey in the tree at my place in an urban area. That was unheard of. I tried applying for police clearance nothing was happening and my things were not moving. I just told my wife that I am going to the guesthouse (these are paid lodges that belong to the church that one books and checks in for a minimum of two days to meet face to face with the prophet), as soon as I got there and was prayed for, I now received a phone call from those people who had for almost two months not responded for an update on my fingerprints. Things started moving. After that, I received news that an uncle of mine who had bought a brand-new car had to be written off the car as the engine just blew up and had to be written off. He also lost two of his cows that just dropped dead. That is when I realized that there is spiritual war and they had mortgaged their success on my life. Therefore, when you start from such an understanding you will realize what will be happening and what these men were sent here on earth to do"
>
> Paul (May 2016)

The energy and poise he had when recounting his misfortunes and how he overcame them highlighted a deep-seated reverence to Pentecostalism . He was at a point of despair, at the point, which he then went to the Pentecostal church to seek answers and a solution to his predicament. His visit to the church then introduced him to the world of material Pentecostalism . Below, I give the full story of Paul's account of Pentecostal anointed objects and what the objects are doing for him in his everyday life in order to enable an understanding of the fullness and richness of the ways through which immigrants' employ and reinforce their success through anointed objects. During our conversation, his story oscillated between narrating his life in Johannesburg and Zimbabwe.

The interview took place in my office at the University of the Witwatersrand. I had prepared magazines, booklets and pictures of some objects from Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PhD) ministries. PHD ministries is Paul's church, I therefore strategically chose to use objects from his church to start the conversation and get him to open up and share his story.



Figure 2: Source; PHD Ministries Facebook page

Paul was putting on a bracelet similar to the one on the figure above. He explained that, he did not worry or have any fears moving around the city in anymore since he was always in the presence of the prophet through his bracelet. He explained that in situations where he felt

fearful or anxious about something, he would just touch the bracelet and call on the name of the prophet, then all the fear and anxiety would disappear. He exclaimed (getting excited and almost standing up from his chair with eyes wide open) "Without this my man, I am nothing, in fact I would be dead". He quickly diverted his attention to a church magazine he was holding, started flipping through the pages and said:

> My man, you have a lot to learn about these things, these are weapons, we are not fighting against flesh and blood but against the principalities, powers and the rulers of darkness.

After expressing how honored he was to be given the opportunity to educate me about church and give a testimony of his life, I asked him what the magazines and booklets I had with me meant for him and what they can do. This is how he responded:

> Ok, allow me to ask you questions first. Do you believe that there are witches? Number two, do you believe that witches eat human flesh? Number three, do you believe that witches can bewitch you using your clothes or your photograph? Do you believe that a witch can speak her word from wherever and it can cause something somewhere? In other words, what I am saying is that we do believe in the spoken word. After we have believed in the spoken word, we also believe that the spiritual world is ranked and for those who have charms or use 'voodoo' [he meant a type of religion involving magic and worship of spirits] or 'juju' understand that. It explains why someone can get 'juju' or charms in order to become a headmaster, a minister, and a president and so on. These are different ranks and categories. Those who are part of the 'mafia'[13], what the ranks mean, I don't know how best you can understand this. In that mafia, there are certain times say words; they give declarations and give orders as in word of command. So, what I am saying is that, there is a word of command and order that is used. Therefore, the devil does not use systems that were not copied from God since all these emanated from God in heaven and when Satan was thrown from heaven, he understands that there are ranks in heaven. Satan recognizes the ranks and he knows which rank has spoken and

[13] Contrary the conventional understanding of the mafia as a body of internationally organized, hierarchically structured and exclusive secret association with codes and symbols that only members are privy to and strictly adhere to, here, Mafia denotes to the ranking of spiritual leaders in the spiritual realm which he argues that it translates into the physical. In essence, it is a Mafia in a good sense of helping people rather than harming them.

> can challenge depending on the rank of whom has spoken. As a result, my Prophet I assume is in the mafia and understands these ranks. I am spiritually illiterate hence I do not know where to draw the line between what then is from God or from the Devil. As he is in the ranks, what impresses me about him is that every time I go to church, I see him casting out demons, big, small, seemingly threatening I see him casting them away. Then, I say to myself, if this man were fake, there should come someone more powerful to challenge him and the whole church to see that a higher rank is there. As long as I see that in terms of territory and space, and declarations that this team is winning, I would not want to align myself with losers yet the winners are there. Eeh, if my prophet says to me, 'I declare prosperity in the name of Jesus, I declare breakthrough in the name of Jesus', then he gives a declaration to this mantle, gives an order to this mantle saying, wherever you shall enter, you shall separate this from this because of the spoken word. The word is told to that substance and I believe it.
>
> Paul (May 2016)

Paul's narrative reveals his interpretation or perspective about Pentecostalism 's binary framing of the world into physical and metaphysical and how this world is experienced. As explained by Paul, the socio-political structure that govern life in the physical is paralleled by some force, which operates in the unseen world. He explained that in the unseen world there is the Devil at work and that this world is effectively a mirror of the military, with hierarchically ordered ranks in which those with higher ranks issue commands – words with an almost magical force to make people including objects to do things.

Characterizing the situation as war or sports as Paul does resonates with Pentecostal theological discourse in which the victory of Jesus over the devil is taken literary and applied in the present everyday life. Paul's narrative suggests that for Pentecostalism , the victory of Jesus Christ over the devil is not projected into the future as the evangelicals; Protestants and the conservative Christians' discourse entail but is to benefit the here and now, creating a sense of stability and continuity in his life. The conservative Christianity projects an afterlife such as, good health, riches, happiness, joy, peace are recalled to suit the current situation. Anointed

objects which are presented as conduits to realizing the success and promises that they look forward to in the city become popular.

Borrowing from Durkheim (1998), Pentecostalism becomes the 'collective effervescence' in which the totality of life devoted to ritual and practice is carried over into everyday life in the city. 'Collective effervescence' 'are collective sentiments to an extraordinary degree of exaltation', or simply 'extraordinary powers that excite (participants) to the point of frenzy and awaken the sensation of the sacred and the divine' (Pickering, 2001; 158). These collective sentiments, beliefs and ideas of the group can be transferred into the ordinary everyday life. Pentecostalism becomes an emblem that is carried around, containing hopes, confidence and security for the immigrant hence a driving force or a hub of experiencing the city. The Pentecostal institution then provides the command centre where there is the platform for recharging or refueling of message of the victory of Jesus Christ to be translated into the everyday. Through rituals which are repetitive behaviors, ideas and practices in the form of long church services, mid-week prayers, testimonies of healing and Bible studies (cf. Haynes, 2015; Marshall, 2009; Meyer, 2009; Maxwell, 2006; Robbins, 2004), the emblem is recharged and becomes a spiritual and psychological resource that can be relied upon. It is essential to consider this practice among Pentecostal s as a lens through which immigrants' experiences are tapped into. Anointed objects are used as symbols embodying the authority and power to overcome and make it in the city.

Paul proceeded to tell a story about his wife that illustrated how the contestations between the devil and Jesus Christ unfolds in the everyday, and the crucial role played by the power of anointing oil applied to everyday objects.

> Let me tell you of something that happened last year. A woman who works with my wife had a headache whilst they were at work and my wife told her that we use anointing oil and she asked if she could have some for her headache. They went to my wife's office and as soon as she was anointed, she fell and started manifesting demons. My wife had to take her back to our house but as she entered our home, she fell, and demons started manifesting. This happened because in our home, we also put anointed soil from the holy ground and because of that; she manifested demons when she was brought inside our house. That to me is scientific as there is nothing spiritual there as there is observable behavior that is tapping into the beliefs that we have concerning this anointed mantle. Like this story (pointing at one of the newspaper article I had on my desk), I was there when it happened. A thief got to a house where there was a sticker from the church and manifested as he was about to break in.
>
> Paul (May 2016)

The manner in which Paul explicates the use of anointing oil demonstrates how objects are used in the everyday challenges and misfortunes. The physical is negotiated using anointed objects, which like weapons of war are deployed in dealing with the misfortunes, hardships and infirmities. This dovetailed neatly with Asamoah-Gyadu (2010) and Meyer (2010)'s arguments that religion has always been a mediated phenomenon requiring a medium to communicate, translate and demonstrate to the adherents its efficacy. Morgan (2005) emphasizes that, 'belief happens in and through things and what people do with them'.

What is interesting in Paul's analysis of or his disregard of the monetary value of these objects or the possibility that the pastors could be enriching themselves opens up a window into the complicity of the adherents in legitimizing the pastors' accumulation. With the current attack on monetization of religion, in particular Pentecostalism resulting in different inquiries by the state, Paul felt that he needed to justify the necessity of paying for religious objects:

> Therefore, what I am saying is that we need to judge observable behavior then after that, we question whether people should pay for the anointing oil and so on. I would not want it free because I have never seen something helpful in life given free. Therefore, for me whether they say this bracelet (showing me the bracelet on his wrist) is twenty dollars I do not mind because what is important is for my protection rather than keeping the money.

Paul (May 2016)

Paul's narrative reveals that the perceptions on the value of the objects rest with understanding and believing that they have life in themselves beyond seeing them as just things. His explanation shows the value he has attached to the objects that cannot be equated to the money people use to buy them. The objects are valued in accordance with what they offer. Fink and Stark (1992; 238) states that, "despite being expensive they offer greater value… partly because they are expensive" in relation to religious institutions. Appadurai (1988, 3) states that, "Value for Simmel, is never inherent property of objects, but is a judgement made about them by subjects". The plastic bracelet, anointed candle, stickers, anointed water and other material objects from the church are way more expensive to outsiders who try to put value on the external inherent properties. I argue that the value lies within the context of its exchange and what the congregants but in most cases the religious expects say it enables. Appadurai (1988, 3) further explains that, "The difficulty of acquisition, the sacrifice offered in exchange, is the unique element of value…". The same can be said about the cost that the congregants are willing to incur because of what the Pentecostal material objects enables. The following shows what the objects enables Paul in his everyday encounter with the dangerous city:

> I used to fear carrying my laptop and if I carried it along '*ndairohwa ngunzi*' (very aggressive man handling involving in most cases grabbing the neck, legs and arms by a group of armed thieves as they take your personal belongings in the streets). Nowadays, I am even able to walk in between them (the gangs) and nothing will happen to me, *'hapachina zvengunzi'* (there is no more *ngunzi*). That is because these people involved in '*ngunzi*', uses 'juju' or 'muti' hence when I am passing by it will tell them that you do not stand a chance on that one. What happens in this case is that, the muggers feel something when someone passing by has got money or expensive staff hence a sign in some case of having their private part itching is the signal they get. The same applies when someone protected by higher powers is passing by then they will not even attempt. The best way is to listen to testimonies and experience your own. Paul (May 2016)

Paul changed from a complaining and worrisome person to someone who is hopeful and positive in a way that was so interesting to me as far as it allowed me to understand the anointed object took in transforming his life. Of interest to me is the ways in which his outlook changed from a complaining and worrisome person to someone who is hopeful and positive. The story also illustrates that Pentecostal beliefs and practices have an empowering effect not only spiritually but also economically, emotionally and in his professional life, which is enabled by the intervention of material objects. He retells:

> One of my most recent testimonies is what happened for my last presentation where I won the competition for the best presentation. I just took out my partnership card and said the God of Prophet Magaya, the God of TB Joshua, this is my time, I am now going on stage. As much as I had 8 years of teaching at a university, I had no stage fright but that could have happened because it also depends on the spaces. After I pronounced that on my partnership card (he pulled it out of his wallet and showed it to me), the balance and stability is quite different because there were bodyguards in the spirit that stood with me but only those in spirit could see them. After the declaration and stating that, there is money to be won here and I will not leave empty handed I then proceeded to present and won the prize. We assume that the devil is always there to thwart your potential and reduce what you can do hence we need to have the protection. I need to perform at my optimum and whenever the angels of fire can put me in overdrive then that will become possible.
>
> Paul (May, 2016)

In the same vein, he explains on how the anointed objects, this time a book, have helped order his daily life as well as steered to him towards some form of economic prosperity:

> When it comes to the books, I am not going to tell you something strange to me but something that I use every day. Look, look (he shows me his small booklet as he opens the pages where he has written a lot on); I am not going to give you my book because I am using it. The word has already spoken to this book and each day, I write my schedule on the pages of this book and I plan on it, at the end of each day I meet my targets because I am spiritually guided. When I am broke, I take my book and I just write, 'God of Prophet Magaya, I need money', I just put down the date as well then that is done. Sometimes, it does happen that you will be busy in the library and you just receive a message that your brother is very sick since this is a spiritual warfare. I will just take my book, write in the book and tell my wife to anoint herself with oil and go outside the house and pray cursing evil spirits from our relatives. In a week's time, I

> will then send my son to the guesthouse [lodges that are constructed to have people spend the night or so waiting for a one on one session with the prophet], and will just pay the three hundred dollars. I will instruct him to take a photo of my sick brother and just as my son leaves the guesthouse, you receive news that one of the people you cursed lost his wife. So if you look at the level of such testimonies then would you not believe?
>
> Paul (May 2016)

Thus far, my conversation with Paul has yielded a richly instructive avenue from which I am inclined to foreground an analysis of such perceptions as revealing the significant role played by material objects in brokering the much-needed stability and confidence as one approaches everyday life. Paul's story echoes with many other stories of Pentecostal churchgoers. It illustrates what I call 'mediated agency', which is highlighted by the way anointed objects operate in the lives of Pentecostal immigrants. Remarkable in Paul's story is the complex web of interaction between the church leaders, objects and congregants in ways that bring to the fore the complexity of negotiating the exigencies of immigrant city life.

From Paul's personal experiences, one notes that as much as Pentecostal teaching is important, one cannot but leave out the importance of material objects. His life centres on Pentecostal understanding of what the world is and how it is inhabited. Taking from his Pentecostal understanding, the spiritual finds its expression in material objects that tend to enable or allow him to face or deal with the exigencies of city life in a hostile environment. Paul's account supports the idea of 'mediated agency', which is highlighted by the ways in which he was dealing with his fears and insecurity. There is a certain level of confidence in the life of Paul as he feels more in control of his circumstances. As much as Paul spoke about how he no longer has fear and whatever he had no control over is now under subjection, he is constrained. There are conditions attached to the protection afforded by the anointed objects from the church. The

duties, participation and responsibility which comes with the protection such as paying tithe and offering, consistency in attending church services including keeping up with membership card subscription which he mentions is in a way constraining.

5.3. Object as Agent: Hedging your Precious Acquisitions

In as much as people in the city of Johannesburg have many means of trying to secure some of their material acquisitions using new scientific technologies such as alarm systems, trackers, guns, panic buttons, surveillance cameras etc., they do not stop at that. A recurrent event at the church services was when a congregant purchased a new vehicle. I attended more than 10 car-anointing services in my 2 years of attending the Rod of Authority church services. The congregants who purchase any new vehicle or big properties such as a stand and houses are all required to ask the pastor to anoint and pray over the new acquisitions for which they have to be members in good and regular standing in terms of their tithe, offering and pay thanksgiving for the anointing ceremony. At the car-anointing service, the announcement is made during church service that ‘we have a new baby to anoint today at the end of the service’, and the whole church ululates and celebrates as the metaphor is understood to be the fruit of membership showing through the success of other members. The whole congregation is instructed to go outside and surround the car with the owner seated in the car. The pastor is given way as he prays then with and anoints by pouring oil on the car. From the announcement at the end of the church service, the congregants are full of excitement shouting that they are next in line to buy their own cars whilst preparing themselves to follow the pastor. There is a frenzy as people jump up and down shouting, ‘I am next’. The congregants all clamor to have the closest spot around the car to ensure that their hands are on the car as the pastor prays and

pours the oil. As the pastor finished anointing the car the congregants make sure they tap their hands on the oil which on the roof of the car applying it on their heads whilst declaring that they are next. The closer one is to the car ensure that one will not miss out in tapping on the oil. The following is what the words that the pastor repeats during the anointing:

> I declare by the power of Jesus Christ that this car will not face the same fate as any of the ordinary cars in Johannesburg. As I anoint this car (pouring olive oil on the car), in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; the car will not be the same. This car will not be your coffin. The engine, the tyres will not burst. I declare no accident on this car. This car will not be robbed in this country. I curse the spirit of hijacking for this car. Wherever this car is set to take you, safely you shall arrive. I release the anointing on this car.
>
> Pastor Emmanuel (March, 2016)

Mbembe and Nuttall (2008; 23) note that there has been "a geography of fortifications and enclosures; increasing demand for spatial and social insulation; reliance on technologies of security, control, and surveillance". For many - both locals and immigrants, white, black, colored or Indian - there is at the centre of the everyday lives in Johannesburg, an effort to insulate oneself from crime and violence. There is a big divide between the rich and the poor in terms of affording private security and technologies to shield against violent crimes. Private security and insurance companies is big business in South Africa as both rich and poor people try to protect some of their belongings including their own bodies (Clarno and Murray, 2013). Violence, fear and insecurity informs the everyday. For the poor African immigrants, the options are limited in terms of how to deal with or protect oneself from the violence and losses in the city. The immigrant status is more constraining given that, one is away from home, seeking recourse from the courts and state security is more difficult or next to impossible as an immigrant. Landau (2010) states the ways in which the immigrant status carries with it vulnerability from state security agents who in some instances carry out illegal raids forcing

bribes and making unlawful arrests without any respect for legal provisions (cf. Grant and Thompson, 2015). Such treatments push one into uneven alliances as s/he has no territorial and legal support compared to the local people. Being far from home, one of the interesting ways the poor African Pentecostal immigrant has found to deal and cope with the protection and loss of property is the employment of Pentecostal anointed objects.

In response to such a space, anointed objects are used in mediating the experiences of the immigrant in a city marred with every day and episodic violence. As much as a few have begun to acknowledge what these anointed objects does, in the lives of the immigrant in Johannesburg, serious attention need to be given to the materiality of the new Pentecostalism in the everyday lives of the immigrant. The argument advanced in this chapter stresses that the objects have agency that insulates and acts on immigrant's ways of navigating the city marred by pathways of crime and violence. Employing and relying on religious objects and rituals in protecting individuals and property from crime and violence is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. Comaroff and Comaroff (2016) highlight the popularity of Faith-Based Enforcements in dealing with crime and violence. They highlight how in the 1970s the Catholic clergy was already involved in visiting homesteads and sprinkling holy water for protection. Invoking direct spiritual intervention in crime and violence prevention is sighted as normal with politicians at local and provincial level also uniting in such a call and the establishment of Police National Day of prayer (Comaroff and Comaroff, Ibid).

Simon was a 32-year-old man from Zimbabwe working for a fish tank manufacturing company located near the Glenn Mall South of Johannesburg. He was married and had one child. A devoted deacon and member of the church choir, Simon was one of the individuals who always

took part in all the offerings asked for by the pastor. He bought a car in 2017 and brought it to church for an anointing ceremony and in an unfortunate turn of events, he was involved in an accident just two months after the ceremony. He came to church the Sunday after the accident to give a testimony. This is how he gave an account of what happened and how he perceived the accident;

> I would love to thank daddy for the opportunity to share my testimony. Last Wednesday, I was involved in an accident on my way from work and the car was badly damaged. I want to thank the anointing of our daddy because I escaped unharmed because of his words and showers of blessings. Remember, he gave me a sticker to put on my car, I put it on my car from that day when I brought the car for anointing. You know what brethren that is the reason I am alive today. I was playing his sermon in the car when the accident happened and I came out of the car without a scratch but the people in the other car were badly injured. I thank you daddy for your anointing which preserved my life. (Resounding amen and music ensued as Simon walked towards the altar, knelt before the pastor and placed money on the altar with applause and shouting from the congregants. The pastor shouted, 'your car will not be your coffin and death shall not be your portion in Jesus' name').

Such testimonies were a commonality, whenever a congregant purchases a vehicle, a house or anything they considered valuable in the church to insulate those objects from bad occurrences such as robbery, hijacking, accidents, and damages. In addition to the anointing oil, the objects are expected to have stickers from the church or calendars in the case of properties, which have been anointed by the pastor. The stickers and the anointing offer more power and protection to the objects in addition to or in the absence of other security technologies, employed by the owners. One of the women I interviewed informed me that she could drive her car and park it anywhere without fear of coming back to an empty car park. For her, the anointing and the stickers are more than surveillance. Stories of recovered cars from hijacking are also very popular amongst the Pentecostal followers, even on protection from house break ins. interestingly, stolen cars are also celebrated, and the explanation is that that misfortune is a

demonstration of the powers of the anointed stickers as they would eventually lead to the recovery of the car. This study could not ascertain the validity of such a claim though many related testimonies of such is recurring.

Testimonies gives more currency to the religious symbolic capital in the form of material objects that the adherents in most cases carries with into the urban spaces of work and their homes. Objectified Pentecostal capital in the form of religious material objects is key. Testimonies and prophecies are given prominence in the church because there are key to the economy of hope, also inviting/marketing to more people who begin attending and eventually becoming members.

In the testimony above, it is the anointing of the car and or the sticker, which is believed to trouble the robbers. One of the female respondents whom I spoke to told me a story of how a car belonging to a church member from United Family International (UFI) founded by Prophet Makandiwa in Zimbabwe was recovered after it was stolen. Anna attends UFI when back home in Zimbabwe and Rod of Authority when in Johannesburg, Turffontein where I conducted my fieldwork. She explains how a stolen car was recovered abandoned 500km away from where it was stolen. For her and the testimony by the owner, the car had a sticker from the church and when it was recovered, there were signs that the robbers tried to scratch and remove the poster that tormented them and finally leading to them abandoning the car.

Mary, who is Anna's friend, also keeps anointing oil, holy water, stickers and a piece of cloth from the Pastor's shirt. Mary is from Zambia and has been in South Africa for more than 8 years. She explained that for her car, she has never had car insurance but trusts that the car has the protection from God since it was anointed at church and has a sticker on it. Her husband

was sacked from work and she cannot afford car insurance though she is convinced that even if she had the money, she would rather take it to church than paying for insurance that she is getting from the anointing and the sticker.

Fear of violence and loss of property in Johannesburg real and/or imagined invite multiple approaches in security measures to deal with and protect oneself from losing their life and belongings. Elder Moses (More details in chapter 6) who was in his late 40s, a businessman and an elder in Rod of Authority church narrated his experiences and insecurities of running a business in Johannesburg. His fears emanated from previous robberies that his saloons suffered and the way the cases were handled. He said that his cases were never taken seriously from the initial report to the investigation because he was a foreigner. He states that the police who took his calls were hostile to him based on his tone of voice and a Nigerian accent. They rarely attend to his cases and even when they decide to attend to his cases, they come with ulterior motives. Instead of investing the case, they question his authenticity as a businessman and the legitimacy of his business[14]. He says that after unwarranted frustrating questioning and demanding bribes, they ask if he has surveillance cameras and they would get the footage and tell him to get private security. He sadly pointed out that he finds it a waste of time to always

[14] In the background of stereotyping Nigerians as typically involved in drug dealing and other criminal activities, Elder Moses complained that the police come to his shop and instead of dealing with his complaints, they treat him as a suspect. They instead ask if he has drugs or firearms and, in the process, harass his employees even asking for their documentation. He lamented that this always left him, and his staff paralyzed with fear and feeling vulnerable.

report cases and face xenophobic attitudes and to be harassed then told to get private security which is very expensive.

Being a churchizen, elder Moses looks at faith-based reinforcements to protect his businesses having had no success with state security and with limited financial resources to afford private security. He cannot move his saloons to Johannesburg North due to steep rentals which keeps him in the only reasonably priced places. I was looking around the shop and stickers of Prophet T.B Joshua were by the entrance glass door and on the wall behind the counter next to the company registration certificate. Sermons from Emmanuel television channel were playing on a flat television set mounted on the wall. Elder Moses said that he can only let God lead the way pointing at the sticker by the reception area. I took the opportunity to ask what he meant by his statement and the significance of the stickers. He said that he relies on the anointing of the prophets and that the stickers were on guard to deal with any threats to his business. I looked at the stickers and the message on them was, 'Let love lead' and the image of Prophet T.B Joshua on them. I found it fascinating because he also had anointing oil from Rod of Authority church on a table behind the counter which he had testified of reviving his business in one of the church services. I only got to understand more on the stickers during church services but also interesting was a launch of the 'Good morning' sticker which was said to work the same way as the 'Let love lead' sticker by Prophet T.B Joshua. He explained that the stickers could be placed on cars and in houses to protect and cleans. He said that even if one is sick and has the sticker in his home, he or she will experience a hospital and even an operation in his body can occur to rectify any anomalies because of the stickers. Thieves and robbers, he says, will not enter or break-in where the stickers are placed including cars from carjacking or robberies.

I then understood why elder Moses trusted the stickers which he said had worked for him and since he had them his saloons were not broken into or robbed.

5.4. (Re)-Charging the Material Objects: Confirming Churchizenship

> Reason why we use mantles at PHD Ministries; Leader of Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries (PHD) Prophet W Magaya has unveiled the reason why mantles are used at PHD Ministries. Speaking live on a Friday service, the Man of God mentioned that there are a number of reasons why we use anointed mantles, one of the reasons is to have a sense of belonging. He added that the anointed mantles which are in the form of bracelets, wrist bands amongst others are there for us to have an identity which resembles us as a Ministry. Further to that, he also gave a biblical reference of Moses in the Bible who used his staff as a mantle.
>
> Extracted from PHD Ministries Facebook page (4 July 2019)

When I started my fieldwork, I was made to understand material objects as being used to mediate the experiences of congregants in buffering them from the harshness of the city. However, later on as I continued interactions with the church and research on Pentecostalism , my understanding of the use and symbolism of these objects expanded. I realized that there was a stronger emphasis of these objects as identity markers, what I call churchizenship. Such that these objects possess a dual purpose, one that protects congregants from danger and the other that marks the identity of which prophet one 'belongs' to. Initially when I talked to Paul, this is how he explained his use of his bracelet;

> What is protecting me is not this bracelet but the word that this bracelet was instructed wherever these objects were gathered for anointment and the rank that commanded it is important. This is a demonstration to all those using any charms or 'juju' that want to attack me that there was a word that was spoken on it. The word that is spoken on this bracelet allows it to carry a certain

> weight and it demonstrates the types of covenants that I am enmeshed within as an individual, meaning I have my elsewhere spiritually.
>
> Paul (May 2016)

In this manner of reasoning, Paul's narrative can be taken to illustrate his adamant beliefs about objects as a source of power, symbolic attachment and belonging.

The respect for the Pentecostal anointed objects came out as a resounding theme from conversations with congregants-with striking similarities in some instances in ways that quite revealing of the need to understand the context and processes within which the object is transformed from mundane to sacred. The following sermon that I recorded during a Sunday church service at the Rod of Authority church briefly describes the process. The sermon was during a service to anoint handkerchiefs, which the whole congregation was instructed to buy.

> From the Old Testament to the New Testament, material things such as aprons, handkerchiefs, and stuff have been mediums of communicating the power of God for the benefit of man. Hello! Do you hear me? (There is a deafening shout of Amen from the congregants). Material things has been mediums through which God's power has been communicated for the benefit of man. Look at this, lets read from 2 kings chapter 2; what happens in 2 kings chapter 2 is that, God was ready to take Elijah away and after it had been settled, Elijah said to Elisha, Elisha was Elijah's servant. Elijah said to Elisha, wait in Bethel, Bethel means, God's house. He said God has sent me to Bethel but Elisha being a good servant he was. He said, master, where you go, I will go but while they were still talking, the sons of prophets began to mock him. …They did that to Elisha, mocking him that your master is leaving. As Elijah was going towards Jordan with Elisha, he asked him what he wished for. There is a level at which you will get to, when God will ask you want you wish for. It is not asked to people who only come once and they go. It is about consistency and commitment. Just like the anointing oil, which flowed from Aron's head to his beard and then his skirt, what was on the head also flowed to the skirt… In the New Testament, you see Paul he was no ordinary man. The power that flowed from his body also flowed on his clothes hence people went to him for even his handkerchief in order to place the cloth on the sick and they were healed… There are testimonies of people that came to me, some even in Cape Town whom I only anointed a handkerchief for to take to their loved ones who were healed. Some were even in intensive care but because of what I carry (beating his chest and there a loud shout of Amen, drums, guitars and keyboard playing with most on their feet jumping up and down. A frenzy atmosphere ensure for some minutes before the pastor orders all to sit then proceeded with his sermon). They received the blessing.

Pastor Emmanuel (February 2016).

The practices and logic of the symbolisms and perceptions of the material objects is apparent from Pastor Emmanuel's sermon which adds credence Paul's account, allowing to glimpse the context within which symbolism of the material objects is articulated. It bears stating that Pastor Emmanuel's sermon also illustrates the setting under which objects obtain power and the structures involved in transforming the ordinary everyday object to a sacred object. The sermon presents the meaning attached to the anointed objects and what these objects does for the members of the Rod of Authority church. The power that becomes enshrined in or embodied by the object symbolizes the authority of the one who creates or the institution that brings it to be so.

After delivering the above sermon, the Pastor announced that there is a special service. He explain that as he was preaching, the spirit of God spoke and told him that the shirt that he was putting on has great anointing that cannot go to waste. In what I thought was rather a bizarre move at the time, the pastor started auctioning his shirt. It was initially pegged at ten thousand Rands[15]per small piece of the shirt. He called for any takers, people were hesitant perhaps because of the steep price. He then nominated four people from the congregation and he said he is not negotiating, they will have to buy four pieces at ten thousand Rand each. He then move to nine thousand per piece and in an auction style continued bidding for any takers of the

[15] Almost six hundred US dollars at the current rate as at September 2020.

reduced amounts. The smallest piece of the shirt was pegged at one thousand Rand[16], all those who pledged voluntary and involuntarily were instructed to go to the altar, and about seventy people approached the alter. They were then made to commit to the pledges in front of the God, the Pastor and fellow congregants. Quite a significant number of members did not manage to pledge even to the least amounts, while some who had initially pledged, perhaps out of embarrassment approached the treasurer in subsequent church meetings to ask for their names to be removed from the pledge book. Important to note is that all the choir members excluding the crying girl whom I discuss in chapter 7 and the guitarist who had recently arrived from Nigeria were unable to make it to the altar, all elders and junior pastors made it to the altar excluding George whom I discuss in chapter 4 did not make it. George and Mary the sanctuary keeper discussed in chapter 6 managed to make their way to the altar only to take down the names of those who pledged and it is through such roles that they also had their hands anointed with oil and prayed for together with those who had pledged. Banda (2020, 3), notes that, "The abundance of anointed objects may symbolize God's abundant presence, but they do more harm than good by paradoxically playing a role that limits people's access to God except through the objects themselves. The system creates an insatiable longing for new and more powerful anointed objects". There is transactional relationship created and exclusion that results with those who cannot afford feeling out of place. Investment in the form of monetary sacrifices are made and for a few who by other investments such as their time like in the case

[16] Current rate is sixty US dollars.

of George and Mary the sanctuary keeper get to be in close proximity with the pastor who is the intermediary.

The pastors' shirt spectacle highlights that access to the anointed material objects by the congregant is not an easy process as the objects have to go through rituals that involve the bodily presence of the pastors/prophets whose voice, sweat, scent is said to contain the presence of God (cf. Banda, 2020, Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). Having access to the blessings requires proximity to, being in places where the pastor/prophet has been or declared sacred, and in possession of the anointed objects. All these processes are mediated through the pastors/prophet's [17] sacralized body which results in dependency and constraints for the adherents.

Paul also shares the same ideas and understanding concerning the meanings attached to the anointed objects. In Paul's account, he mentioned how even in his own house, he has anointed soil in every corner. The soil draws its power from the Prophet of his church (Walter Magaya). The soil is not just from any other place but from his church prayer mountain yard where he steps on. Chapters in the Bible are cited where contact with material objects from people who were prophets and closer to God in terms of spiritual authority healed people and resulted in miracles. Such stories are used to give credence to the use of material objects.

[17] Refers to a body separated from the ordinary bodies to assume some form of magical material form that becomes a fetish.

The power in the objects and the agency that arises from the anointed materials is produced under certain rituals presided by one who has the authority. Just like in Paul's account, the object takes instructions from a higher authority and the possessor of the anointed object needs to have a connection with the instruction giver. Pastor Emmanuel makes it clear how the object works and operates for the individual.

> You cannot come here once then expect to receive that blessing… Elisha managed to get power through Elijah's mantle and did great things because he was consistent listen to me; there are people who mock you when you are an ardent follower of what is good. The purpose is to disqualify you from the blessing. Why are you following Pastor Emmanuel like a mad person? They know that you are closer to the anointing that is upon my life and they will say that because they want to disqualify you and they will mock you and if you are not smart enough, you will turn back. Do you hear what I am saying? (Loud Amen and sound of drums). When you are too devoted, they discourage you. You love your Pastor so much. Whenever there is a service, you are there, aah, you. It's like you are not working. Listen to me, what the devil wants to do to you is disqualify you from the blessing. You are too close, so the way to rob you of the blessing is to make you change from what you are doing.…

His point is that, it is only through the individual's proximity to him (as the anointing authority) that the object can work as in the case of Paul from the Bible and Elijah's story from the Bible.

From the sermon by Pastor Emmanuel, there is the objectification of the pastor as the medium through which the power of God passed through. The sermon further clarifies that, for one to have access to the anointing there is need for one to be truthful to duty by participating in church activities. Without consistency, hence there is in many Pentecostal churches a call to be present in all the services during the week and the Sunday services.

The findings here suggest that the anointed objects do more than just offer protection and foster prosperity to those who use them, they are used to confirm a certain form of belonging and identity. Anointed objects have resulted in innovative ways in establishing and claiming

belonging. In cases of elder Moses and Paul, the material objects demonstrate how anointed objects are used to lay claims to the city. Most of the immigrants I spoke to find themselves in spaces that are inhabited by the poor which in most cases get marked by the state as 'spaces of exception' (cf. Datta, 2013; 2). These spaces of 'exception' are designated as problematic in constant need of surveillance as the state perceives them as posing a threat to the other spaces. Agamben (2005) notes that in such spaces, law is suspended, rights stripped and replaced with sets of acts, regulations and operations that are meant to establish belonging and legality before one can be entitled to any rights. Such is the case for most immigrants who find themselves in the city where their rights are suspended even when they have a legal right to the city as is the case with elder Moses. Pastor Emmanuel also emphasized the idea that whether one has many certificates or correct documentation, that alone does not guarantee success and acceptance, he said that one needs the favor of God that comes through the anointing. Orsi (1999, 41) states that, "… immigrants and migrants dramatically re-placed themselves on cityscapes that had been explicitly designed to exclude them or render them invisible or docile". Churchizenship is one of the ways Pentecostal immigrants have forged a new kind of citizenship that pushes against the limited idea of belonging that is bound by nationalistic and ethnic ties to one that defies borders.

I argue that anointed material objects give the immigrants an identity and belonging in the form of what I call churchizenship. This kind of citizenship is mediated through anointed objects which like the formal documents such as identity documents and permits and visas afford Pentecostal immigrants to have some form of claim making in the city. The anointing oil, the holy water, stickers, calendars, wrist bands and all that form part of the mantles enables the immigrants to act upon the city to impose their presence. They might not possess other forms

of capital that allows them to move to other spaces but their access to and deployment of Pentecostal capital through anointed objects brings a sense of confidence to be and to deal with the city.

The confidence and heroic acts that anointed bring in the lives of the congregants cannot be denied and the agency thereof. Verter (2003) argues that there is more emphasis on the production and distribution of religious capital at the expense of the consumption and manipulation by the adherents. He argues that there is room for the agency of the adherents in the creative ways the religious capitals are deployed by the members outside of institutional enforcement. This he says in criticism of Bourdieu's seemingly over-socialized habitus which lacks agency and reflectivity. I have demonstrated that as much as the congregants might have some form of agency and reflectivity, their position in relation to the objects is limited.

5.5. Conclusion

Drawing on data from ethnographic fieldwork, this chapter has highlighted the role of Pentecostalism , as a powerful force attracting many who are at the margins of society and with little resources to draw from in a city considered fearful and dangerous. In such a context, bodily harm and (in)-security in its many forms orders the lives of mostly black poor African immigrants. I have further highlighted that in a city such as Johannesburg, which is rife with violence and crime, less is known on how immigrants use anointed objects such as bracelets, towels, handkerchief and stickers to protect themselves from the misfortunes and violence of and within the city of Johannesburg.

Using narratives from my informants as a point of reflection and illustration, the chapter revealed that despite the challenges posed by the city of Johannesburg for the poor African

immigrant, there is a newfound sanctuary in Pentecostal anointed objects. Though multi-layered and complex, I argue, there is a pattern of a form of mediated agency for migrants who believe and use them. Different types of these objects are part of the everyday lives of many immigrants from Pentecostal churches as they seek to make it within the hostile city.

I show the complexity of the agency ascribed to immigrants in a city such as Johannesburg. Pushing to the fore participants' perceptions about objects as agents and symbolic attachments afforded an analysis of the materiality of religion. I did not aim to provide an exhaustive understanding and establish 'truth' about objects but placing the analytical focus on such objects and how they are perceived to be anointed enabled an understanding of the connections between material Pentecostalism (anointed objects), migrants and urban life.

In highlighting the ways in which objects are produced, distributed and deployed, a nuanced understanding of the assemblages is brought to light. The mediation that the objects provide brings about the power relations that arise out of the ways in which congregants acquire and make use of the anointed materials. The objects enable some hierarchization and separation between the congregants and the pastor/prophets who become the sole producers and distributors of the anointing. A dependency is created whereby congregants are stripped of their agency and have to solely depend on anointed objects and the pastors. Moreover, they have to attain churchizenship through the anointed objects presided over by the pastor/prophet, thus creating a cycle of complete dependency on Pentecostalism to negotiate their lives as immigrants in Johannesburg.

Chapter 6

Sacrificing and 'Seeding': The price of Hope

Mary, "the sanctuary keeper" was a 32-year-old woman from Zambia, married and a mother of two children. At the time of the interview, Mary had been unemployed for three years, she explained that been fired from her job as an administrator of a company in Johannesburg because she did not have a work permit that would allow her to be employed in South Africa. And she had been unfortunate in her subsequent job applications as prospective employers insisted on work permits. She expressed that she found it difficult to offer services as a domestic worker because that is the only other available option for an immigrant woman without 'papers'. She strongly believed that God will give her a job that she deserves as long as she 'sows the seed' in whatever means. Mary then chose to use her time and labor to "sow the seed" at the church with the hope of getting in her own word, "a respectable job". Before I knew of Mary's important role as the "sanctuary keeper", I knew her as the woman who once seeded with all her savings that she had acquired to buy a car. I got interested in her and wanted to know her role in the church, as she was always busy before and during the church sermons. Her special role was to make the "sanctuary" (the church premises) clean and presentable. She would work at the church on all weekends and in some cases even during the week to clean the church premises. Mary was the first to get to the church premises before each service, cleaning and preparing before congregants arrive and the last to leave because she had to clean after the service as well.

She used to bring along her two children, one on her back and the older one who was seven was instructed to sit right at the back of the church. She ensured that the altar was clean as she

polished the charcoal grey tiles on the altar before moving to the rest of the church checking on the décor. Her role was complemented by deaconesses who would, occasionally join her later as they wipe all the chairs off any dust with the help of a few ushers who arrive earlier. That duty formed part of Mary's life at the church as she was there every Saturday, Sunday, Wednesday and sometimes the whole week if there are weeks of prayer or fasting. In essence, Mary, spent her life tending to the church, all the behind the scenes work that one does not notice by visiting the church during services forms part of the life of some of the dedicated members of the church which is also rewarded by the Pastor. In recognition for her dedication to the church, in one of the services where the Pastor was promoting some of his members into positions of leadership, Mary was praised for her dedication and service. She was called to the altar for anointing and was promoted from a "sanctuary keeper" to what they called a "missionary worker" where she worked in proximity with the elders and pastors.

It took me 3 months of trying to get an interview with her without success because her busy church schedule. This is what she had to say about her duties and what she gives to the church:

> I have a special duty in the church you know. I am the sanctuary keeper; I keep the house of God clean. Since I do not have a job, this is my job; this is my full-time job you know. I work in the church almost every day. People ask me why I do that, what I gain, you see these are spiritual matters, ordinary people would not understand. I get favor from God because I do this you know. I haven't been working for three years and my husband even went back home to try a business and its failing, but I am still alive, it is the seed that I sow in the church my brother. It is not magic.
>
> Mary (February 2016)

Most of the time, during the execution of her duties in church, Mary's demeanor did not display any signs of exhaustion, but when I sat with her down for an interview, it was clear to me that Mary was fatigued. Her deflated sitting posture, deep sighs yawns, were so telling of her

exhaustion. Literary, Mary dedicated her entire life to the church, she kept hoping that one day she will live a fulfilling life and she understood that that does not come cheap. One has to put work in of which without that one will fail. The life of Mary as the 'sanctuary keeper' demonstrates the extent to which the messages are taken seriously, her understanding of the Pentecostal dynamics is demonstrated in the following statement:

> You know what happens, Christianity is not magic, it's not magic that the pastor will say will say but as Christian you have a responsibility first to pray even if you yourself alone. Secondly, to apply the principles that are in the Bible and you will be able to apply those principles when you know them. So, someone can say like maybe the Pastor will say like he is not scared of any witch you understand, what he is saying that he is not scared of any witch is not because he is a pastor it is because he has got the knowledge that the witch has no authority over him. He has read it in the Bible and it is in him that since God died for me and God created all these things and God is bigger than these people are and I am a child of God, I have authority over all these things, you understand. Someone else cannot just go and challenge a witch like that the person will die.
>
> Mary (February 2016)

Importantly, reference to the fact that Christianity is not magic serves to cushion the sanctuary keeper from disappointment if all her seeding yields nothing. She expresses contrasting views in her narration of how she understands how people should understand Christianity. On one hand, she highlights the need for dedication and sacrifice for one to overcome fear and insecurity. On the other, it appears that even with seeding and sacrifice, the pastor has the ultimate authority over the dissemination of hope and blessings.

> Because they do not have, the knowledge and they do not have the confidence the power you understand. That is why you find that people, some people will be prayed some people do not have faith, not everyone is healed, because some people do not have faith. So, that's why I am asking about, if you hear, he keeps emphasizing that you should come for word academy. Because there are certain things that you need to know, for those things that he declares to really have a meaning in your life you cannot just say the pastor prayed at church that this week is going to be good and you sit, you need to know certain things. That is why they say you need to know how to read the Bible, you need to pray, and you need to have a relationship

> with God. The more time you spend in prayer the more time you know God. Just like the more time you spend with your spouse or your girlfriend, the more you know that person. It is the same thing with God. So, you might have power in you, but if you have not understood that power you have in you, it will not work for you.
>
> Mary (February 2016)

Mary invested her time in the church; she understood that for her to achieve the things that she hopes for, she had to work for it. Mary's life is richly telling of the extent to which the messages of sacrifice in pursuit of hope are embedded in the psyche of those who receive and internalize the messages. At some point during our interview, I remarked that she must be exhausted, she responded"

> My brother, I don't have time for exhaustion, I can't be exhausted". You see when you need something from God you have to work hard without complaining. You just have to keep pushing.

This was an indication that she will persevere until the investment materializes. Furthermore, the reference to Christianity as not magic but pragmatic explains the high levels of the sanctuary keeper's dedication to the church.

6.1. Hope: the Politics, Contestations and Controversies

In this chapter I raise theoretical and empirical question regarding the demands of Pentecostalism on its followership, and especially on the immigrant followers. By demonstrating the complex encounter between urbanism, Pentecostalism and the immigrant, I mobilise the idea of investment. In doing so, I explore the exactions of Pentecostalism on the immigrant followership population in Johannesburg. Through the lives of the congregants like the 'sanctuary keeper' I theorize investment to accommodate its nuances beyond the conventional economic sense, to accommodate investment in time, emotion, the body and

psyche. I argue that Pentecostalism is in itself a living contradiction. It is a living contradiction in the sense that it is embedded within Pentecostal beliefs and practices where sacrifices are made in order to obtain hope for all congregants in general and in particular the immigrant.

I bring into conversation ideas on hope and investment, rational choice theories by Smith, Iannaccone, Stark and Finke, in conjunction with Bourdieu's conceptualization of capital, misrecognition, and symbolic domination. The rational choice theorists bring about the idea of studying religion the same way as nonreligious activities are studied taking into account that religion and its activities are intertwined with secular activities. Their idea is that religion is also subjected to external influences thereby responding and (re)-shaping how it is conceptualized and practiced. Both rational theorists and Bourdieu concur on the idea of explaining religious beliefs, practices and relations in economic terms and the social assemblages likened to the operations of the market which is based on the elements of demand and supply (cf. Bourdieu 1991a and Iannaccone, 1990; 1997). Rational theorists in coming up with such a position also argue that like any other human actions, religious activity is a rational activity that involves calculation of costs and benefits.

Despite the many criticisms against the rational choice theorists especially from people of faith who are against equating faith to consumer products (Lechner, 2007; Bryant, 2000), this chapter demonstrates that the elements of supply and demand cannot be divorced from Pentecostalism . While I concur with the rational choice theorists on the rationality and economic reading of religion, Bourdieu brings a much more plausible and nuanced explanation on the processes involved. In as much as the informants I spoke to did narrate their stories and

the decisions that led them to one church over the other demonstrating the cost and benefit assessment processes, the choices they made were different from the ones they make in other circumstances. The religious market depends on the elements of demand and supply regarding which Bourdieu and rational theorists concur, but Bourdieu provides a window through which the marketing, production and distribution is traced and understood. By exploring the marketing, production and distributions' organization is the question of choice made more complex. The hidden forces that are at play in the religious market veils the interestedness of the clergy/religious leaders and those with the interests. An exposition of the concealed interests and forces employed will lead to the consumers of religious goods exercising choice which might be different (cf. Reay, 2015 and Bourdieu, 1991a). There is misrecognition of the domination by the clergy legitimizing their role, thereby naturalizing the relations between them and the laity.

This chapter determine what happens at the intersection of the hopeless immigrant, hostile city and Pentecostalism . At the crux of the puzzle is showing the cost involved in trying to establish security and stability for the immigrant, which is something that appears not to feature in most literature on migration and religion. I argue that the immigrants experience multiple layers of contestations and/or coalescence from different fields of struggle, which need simultaneous processing by the habitus. The transposability of the habitus onto these multiple fields thus, becomes increasingly more complex and complicated than is usually assumed. In this case, the individual might fall into a state of limbo or lose control of the practices around them. The first layer in this instance could be manifested in the form of the fear and/or uncertainty from the field of real or imagined violence (which can be embodied in the habitus or institutionalized) internalized externality and externalized internally that results from Johannesburg's fearful and

violent characteristics which gets imposed on the immigrant. The second layer, I argue is brought by the very structure that immigrants supposedly use to mediate the violent nature of the city—Pentecostalism . I argue that Pentecostalism is violent; that recharging and augmenting or avoiding one from sliding into a sense of hopelessness is paradoxically attained through undergoing some subtle, violent, and more or less constraining processes practices and discourses embedded within the doctrine of Pentecostalism itself. Thus, religion in general, and Pentecostal doctrine become subtle sites of ambiguity, ambivalence and liminality, in the process creating contested and tension-laden relations and identities within and among actors. The doctrine of Pentecostalism in this instance becomes a *double-edged sword* at its intersection with immigrancy and urbanism.

Conversing with Bourdieu's reading of religion as a field that operates like any other social field characterized by struggles for religious goods/capital allows for a nuanced reading of the urban Pentecostal immigrants' experiences. The most important capital for the immigrant being hope which like other forms of capital is contested and unequally distributed. The failure of the state which should be the primary producer and distributor of hope to deliver equitably amongst its citizens and to stretch the same to the immigrant leaves little room for non-citizens to have faith in the state (cf. Kleist and Dorsen, 2017; Vammen, 2017; Martin, 2002). Pentecostalism has positioned and marketed itself as a viable alternative that provides a different kind of citizenship that carters for denizens excluded from opportunities within the city through churchizenship. This role played by religion specifically Pentecostalism in the global south is well captured and fairly represented in literature (Katsaura, 2017 and 2019; Maguire and Murphy 2015; Garbin, 2013; Robbins, 2004; Vasquez, 1999; Van Dijk, 1997; Martin, 1990). What has lacked is the complexity of its role as it operates in the religious market

producing and distributing religious goods and in this case hope. Bourdieu (1991a), Iannaccone (1997), Stark and Finke (2000) concur that the religious leaders have their own interests which is to obtain and maintain legitimate authority "…and this authority depends on the supposed certainty and importance of the whole doctrine which they inculcate, and upon the supposed necessity of adopting every part of it with the most implicit faith, in order to avoid eternal misery" (Iannaccone, 1997; 39). Not only is it about legitimate authority but economic capital i.e. maximizing profits is the rationality of the experts in the production and distribution of religious goods (cf. Iannaccone, 1997; Smith, 1976a).

6.2. "When God Calls a Man, He ties People's Destiny to Him": Interrupted Pathways to Hope

Hope is an integral part of Pentecostal life and the processes leading to its attainment are complex. The relationship between the congregant and the pastor becomes central as the hope is attained through the pastor who in essence is the custodian of hope. Ideally, the path to hope is a linear, uninterrupted process between a believer and God, however, Pentecostalism presents a complicated process whereby there is an intermediary, the gatekeeper to hope, who interrupts the ideal access to hope. Banda (2020, 3), posits that there is an, '…impersonalization of God that disables the ordinary believers' direct personal access to Him through anointed prophets, pastors, and apostles'. Such mediated access to obtaining and realizing hope results in an interrupted distribution of hope prone to abuse.

The production and distribution of hope is made through membership or belonging to the group. One is required to be a member to make any claims to hope and only through churchizenship is one qualified. The church according to Durkheim brings together a group of

people into a single moral community, which represents their collective consciousness that is their hopes and aspirations. The dominant membership within the church was immigrants whose aspirations bordered around citizenship and access to opportunities in the city. Lueck (2007; 250) argues that, "hope is a crucial component of agency involving the setting of goals, visualization of obstacles, and increasing willpower in the effort of achieving a desired goal. This hope is not simply optimism and is potentially a bridge between structure and agency". McGeer (2004; 103) defines hope as, "a cognitive activity that involves setting concrete goals, finding pathways to achieve those goals, and tapping one's willpower or agency to move along pathways to the specified goals". Lueck (2007; 251), points out that, "Hope is the acknowledgement of the divide between structure and agency and the force that prevents us from disengaging when faced with obstacles. A disengagement due to the lack of hope results in the release of agency: where no effort is made because there is no belief in any action making a difference. Nevertheless, I move beyond focusing on hope as a cognitive activity as demonstrated by how the subject is understood in the Pentecostal church. Klesit (2017), Vamen (2017) and Hage (2003) concur that hope is not limited to the abstracts dreams of the good life but is more pragmatic as it is also realized materially. They all take hope as socially mediated and distributed. The state having a major role in ensuring the production and distribution of these visions both abstract and concrete poses challenges due to unequal access for those at the lower end of the citizenship more so for the denizens (cf. Klesit, 2017; Vamen, 2017 and Hage 2003).

The idea of hope as the central/key commodity for which people invest into Pentecostalism and for which people can reap some dividends. Investing through a series of practices, which involve the investment of your time, body, money, investment of your soul, into things

Pentecostal , in order to cash into the capital of hope. Pentecostalism signifies the concentration of Pentecostal hope. Capital of hope as the key capitals that is concentrated, and which is exchanged within the context of Pentecostalism . This economy of Pentecostal practices, what Bourdieu refers to as economies of practice details how the different forms of capital operate in a bid to access the capital of hope. What is it that has to be cashed in, what has to be invested, how people cash in on Pentecostal practices? Such a question becomes pertinent in understanding how Pentecostalism produces and distribute hope.

According to my findings from the time, I spent in the church and with the congregants, hope is mediated by 'seeding' and many other sacrifices what I refer to as investments. Hope is not only or limited to the cognitive but is subject to and a process of external rituals and practices within and outside the church. The sermon below demonstrates how hope is a process mediated by the Pastor who a central figure, an intermediary and embodiment of hope:

> He obeyed God that is why you are alive today, Allelluia! It is because of his obedience that is why we are celebrating… Allelluia! If he had refused to obey God, some of you will have been somewhere. Can I tell you something and I am saying this unapologetically, if he did not obey God some of you would have died, how many of you are agreeing with what I am talking about? Because when God calls a man, he ties people's destiny to him, so if he refuses to obey God, those destinies will be truncated with him but thank God he obeyed so let's celebrate the son of God….
>
> Pastor Praise (October 2016)

The sermon was one of the very long sermons that demonstrated the there is a strong congruity between the access to hope and one's relations to the pastor. The sermon reveals that success and life of any congregant within the church depends on the relationship one has with the pastor who in many ways is a source from which the blessings flow. Generally, there is competition for the pastor's recognition of an individual's service to the church. This speaks to the idea of

"the zone of pastoral coverage", as propounded by Katsaura, (2017; 239). Constant communication with pastoral figure is key since that which is hoped for is not guaranteed. To generate a sense of guarantee that one is under the 'zone of pastoral coverage', there is intensification of investment, consistency and constancy in terms of investments. The idea of supply and demand comes into play as congregants contest and coalesce to access or be under the coverage of the pastor. One pastor is the father figure and owns the rights to supply the demand from the congregants implying that the highest bidder gets access to full coverage. The surplus value of the pastor increases spiritually and materially due to the high demands in which the congregants try to bid more in order to have more access and proximity to the supplier and in this case the pastor supplies. The pastor is the manager of hope as much as the figure of the pastor is referred to as a 'spiritual broker' by Cazarin and Cossa (2017). They borrow from Wolf (1956; 1065)'s 'cultural broker' who is a person, 'standing guard over the crucial junctures of synapses of relationships which connected the local system to the larger whole', Cazarin and Cossa (2017; 227). In the same way, the pastor becomes the medium through which hope flows to the congregants who need to ensure that they open an account with the pastor through membership. Pargament (2001) stresses a very important point that, "…while psychology and religion are both concerned with the problem of personal control (what I take to mean agency), their assessment of the problem and their solutions are quite different. The psychological world says that we are not as powerless as we imagine ourselves to be; we have resources within ourselves that can be tapped more fully. The religious world says that in fact we are powerless in important ways and that we must look past ourselves alone for answers to important questions. In a way, Pargament (2001) is saying, '…the psychological world helps people extend their personal control, while the religious world helps people face their personal

limitations and go beyond themselves for solutions'. Earlier in 2016 before the sermon above, Pastor Emmanuel had an interesting sermon, which explains how he is to be related to and the way in which hope is centralized:

> Look at this, let's read from 2 Kings chapter 2; what happens in 2 Kings chapter 2 is that, God was ready to take Elijah away and after it had been settled, Elijah said to Elisha, Elisha was Elijah's servant. Elijah said to Elisha, wait in Bethel, Bethel means, God's house. He said God has sent me to Bethel but Elisha being a good servant he was. He said, master, where you go, I will go but while they were still talking, the sons of prophets began to mock him. Listen to me; there are people who mock you when you are an ardent follower of what is good. The purpose is to disqualify you from the blessing. Why are you following Pastor Emmanuel like a mad person? They know that you are closer to the anointing that is upon my life and they will say that because they want to disqualify you and they will mock you and if you are not smart enough, you will turn back. Do you hear what I am saying? When you are too devoted, they discourage you. You love your Pastor so much. Whenever there is a service, you are there, aah, you. It's like you are not working. Listen to me, what the devil wants to do to you is disqualify you from the blessing. You are too close, so the way to rob you of the blessing is to make you change from what you are doing. They did that to Elisha, mocking him that your master is leaving. As Elijah was going towards Jordan with Elisha, he asked him what he wished for. There is a level at which you will get to, when God will ask you what you wish for. It is not asked from people who only come once, and they go. It is about consistency and commitment. You cannot come here once then expect to receive that blessing… Elisha managed to get power through Elijah's mantle and did great things because he was consistent. Just like the anointing oil which flowed from Aaron's head to his beard and then his skirt, what was on the head was on the skirt… In the New Testament, you see Paul he was no ordinary man. The power that flowed from his body also flowed on his clothes hence people went to him for even his handkerchief in order to place the cloth on the sick and they were healed… There are testimonies of people that came to me, some even in Cape Town whom I only anointed a handkerchief for to take to their loved ones and they were healed. Some were even in intensive care but because of what I carry, they received the blessing.
>
> Pastor Emmanuel (February 2016)

Pastor Emmanuel makes it clear in his sermon that he is the custodian of hope, a symbolic figure standing guard over distribution of hope. There is a price to be paid for gaining access to the source of hope which he explains by giving an analogy where he is equated to the biblical Elijah of who Elisha was a servant gaining power from his obedience, commitment and

consistency in following his matter. There is according to the sermon a boundary from which one is regarded as outside the 'zone of pastoral coverage', (cf. Katsaura, 2017) from which one has access to accumulating capital which is hope. It also explains some of the observations by, Chesnut (1997; 141) that 'among urban Pentecostal Brazilians that he studied, participated on average in 4.7 church activities per week'. Robbins (2010; 57), notes that, people often give materially to their churches as well, finding ways to tithe, even in conditions of great poverty, or giving in kind or labor when they cannot pledge income'.

The findings of this study indicate that hope and capital are not mutually exclusive, in the Pentecostal contexts, hope becomes synonymous to capital and if hope and capital are equivalents therefore, it is a product of investment, that is, it can be or is accumulated. However, in most instances, that which is hoped for is not always guaranteed. In order to generate a sense of guarantee, there are processes that one has to undergo which involve among others, the intensification of investment, consistency and constancy. The investments come in a variety of ways, which include among other things, prayer, participation, giving time and resources, obedience, body and soul.

Sacrifices are a necessity because of what one supposedly tends to gain from the 'figure of the pastor' who has the "... perceived ability to transport through various charismatic persons spiritual power of which vulnerable immigrants stands in great need" (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2010). Since the church also encourages testimonies, which add to the reverence the pastor has, the demand plummets with individuals investing more to get the attention of the one who is the source of the blessings. Asamoah-Gyadu (ibid) refers to the story of Garrick Sokari Braide of the Niger Delta. His reputation grew because of the extent to which he was mimicking Jesus

Christ's supernatural powers, even going to the extent of presenting his body as the embodiment of life itself, to the extent that his bath water was collected and used for cleansing and blessing purposes.

There is a sense in which the pastor acknowledges that people tend to question some of the things that he demands from the congregants as portrayed in his message. He tries in his sermons to create some sense of logic in why his congregants should keep investing and not listen to other dissenting voice, which might derail their efforts at investing in the church. The more intense one's obedience and investment becomes, the closer one gets to being recognized by the Pastor which is why his emphasis is on intensifying, constancy and consistency of investment when he says, " There is a level at which you will get to, when God will ask you what you wish for. It is not asked from people who only come once, and they go". That results in renewed efforts by the congregants at being noticed by the pastor to the level where he can also ask of them their requests. Such efforts can better be understood by looking at the lives of some of most of the congregants which revolves around the church and dependent on the pastor's mediating or 'brokering role' (cf. Cazarin and Cossa, 2017) in their everyday lives.

I take hope to be close to Lueck's definition of hope, which gives room for the realization that there is a divide between structure and agency, and hope being that which mediates the divide. That speaks to Bourdieu's idea of field and habitus, which engages to produce practice. The field just as the structure is constraining or is a site of struggle full of rules that agency which can be equated to habitus needs to engage and follow the rules in order to survive. Failure to comply or produce the acceptable practice will lead to chaos in the lives of individual leading to avoidance or disengagement; that is to say, losing hope or agency. This brings into question

what hope is, its source and what it really does for the individual. Within the religious world, in particular Pentecostalism , that idea of looking beyond the individual for solutions cannot be overemphasized. Individuals whom I spoke to, most of whom indicated that they were in the process of disengaging only found themselves enabled to deal with their life situations by a force external to them. A force external to them was able to mediate the divide between the structure (the field) and the agency (habitus) in order for the individuals to re-engage in their endeavors. Pentecostal mediation is very complex in terms of how the congregant is expected to engage with both the church and the other fields within the city. One is commanded to empty the self and surrender all by declaring that they are limited in many ways and in need of an external force to carry them through as they engage different fields. In as much as there is that surrender and dependence, there is a theology of dominion and conquering, which tends to emphasize the aggressiveness and/or assertiveness with which the congregants have to engage different fields thus enabling them. However, this kind of empowerment is accessed through a complicated process; that in most instances takes a toll on the recipient.

6.3. Hope as a Product of Investment

> There is high favor that is for highly consecrated people, it is for people solely dedicated to the work of the Kingdom… When his kingdom becomes your priority, when his kingdom becomes your concern, when his kingdom becomes your heartbeat then one becomes highly dedicated…
>
> Pastor Emmanuel (November 2015)

The sermon above is illustrative of what any immigrant adherent has to go through in order to secure hope of excelling in a foreign land. From my observation, attending church services was not enough; one had to in essence give his / her whole life / existence to the church.

Sacrifices are made leading to tough choices that the congregants have to make in order to be under protection and blessing of the pastor. That entails giving even the little one has and of giving, one's labor and time to the church. This is made worse by the fact that the pastor positions himself as a custodian of hope and gatekeeper to hope presents another layer of struggle for the immigrant in the city, making Pentecostalism another hurdle that the immigrant should overcome on his pathway to hope.

The kingdom referred to is the church, which is headed by the pastor and is the one who decides who has earned the right to the blessing. Earning the right to the blessing/hope is an external and very painful process that demands one's intensification of investment without which, one drops to the margins of accessing hope. Consequently, this results in immense efforts by the congregants to move within the range, which positions them favorably. Illustrative of this is the life and role of the "Sanctuary keeper".

In the process of maximizing profits just like in any capitalist market as espoused by a Marxist standpoint, the material and social relations that lead to the practices of exploitation for profit making are extracted. There is the creation of mirage/illusion a social fiction resulting in misrecognition of the exploitative relations by naturalizing the hierarchies which are hidden in the symbolic practices and theologies/ideologies inculcated in the congregants enabling an effective smokescreen (cf. Rey, 2014; Stark and Finke 2000; Iannaccone, 1997; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

In as much as hope is a product of investment, the clergy/pastors also make their own investments. There is effort by the clergy to attract committed congregants who consume the religious goods that they produce and distribute. Massive investment is required of the clergy

which relies heavily on visible contributions which attests to hard work for them to remain relevant to what attracted the congregants in the first place (cf. Lechner; 2007). This is demonstrated by the ways in which the Pastor devoted his energy and time in preparation and ensuring that the most loyal of his congregants have access to him on other days to offer prayers, visit them when in hospital, baby naming ceremonies and other requests for visitation. Mai Brandon whom I introduce below does attest to the pastors' response when she was hospitalized.

I observed and came to understand that the Pastor Matthew was always at the church premises by early morning in his office during weekdays, waiting for meetings with congregants (by appointment), praying and preparing for sermons. He always attended Sunday word academy service before the main Sunday services, and I attended a few of the services in which he was conducting Bible study services. He always emphasized and closely monitored the readiness of the church choir during choir practice, and monitored the sound system setup. After a few interviews with some elders and different departmental leaders, I realized that everything had to be choreographed to the pastor's satisfaction. Additionally, there were numerous meetings with deacons and leaders of different departments to ensure of the smooth running of the church services. Interestingly, even the testimonies from the congregants, one department leader told me 'in confidentiality' that they had to be filtered and the scripts were usually rewritten to suit what the pastor required.

The sacrifices and investment from the pastor/clergy cannot be equated to the rest of the congregants as the clergy make rational decisions that seek to serve their interests and are responsible for what that entails and means. The investments are motivated by different

motives from the congregants. Foucault (1982; 170-72 cited in Golder, 2007; 166) terms what most of the activities that pastor Emmanuel engaged above "analytical responsibility" which explains the surveillance and governance of all aspects of the congregants. Such involvement by the clergy is misread to mean pastoral care because of the hidden interests that veils the relations between the pastors and their congregants. There is however pressure from the congregants in return for their investments and in order that the clergy ensures commitment and loyalty form their followers. Tazanu (2019, 46) posits that, "…a miracle hungry public in Africa has pushed the narrative of the miraculous which in turn places pastors (mainly male) under enormous pressure to perform… They are interested in what the pastors (can) do in a tightly competitive religious market…" I attended some spectacular and strenuous healing and deliverance services which pastor Emmanuel had to conduct. The strain that comes with such a service was telling as in some instances the pastor would get a bit physical with the congregants who were possessed, and he also had to freeze for some time in a stupor mode. The theatrics took a lot of energy.

The concept of working for hope literary and the reparations it has for the congregants' physical and emotional wellbeing is demonstrated in the chief deaconess's story. Mai Brandon is a Zimbabwean woman in her mid-thirties; she came to South Africa because she believed that there were better employment prospects. She found herself alternating from menial jobs to semi-formal even though she had a Higher National Diploma in Accounting and was studying for her degree with UNISA. When I met her, she was unemployed, having recently lost her job as administration assistant. She was in dire financial constraints and was hoping that at some point, she will get a job that is in line with her qualifications. Mai Brandon was married, but going through some marital problems which worsened her situation. Mai Brandon was

undergoing some unfortunate situations in her life, having stroked and lost her job because of the stroke. At the church, however, she had an important role as the chief deaconess. Her roles included helping the sanctuary keeper, generally ensuring the general welfare of women in the church and the welfare of the entire congregation. This is a massive task and unlike the sanctuary keeper, Mai Brandon showed and expressed signs of exasperation. She expressed that the church does help but only to a certain extent. Responding to a question on the role of the church in her life, Mai Brandon had this to say:

> I think the church plays a very big role *hayo* (to a certain extent), depending with your background. If you are coming from a Christian background considering the Christian faith, there are certain things. I think church *inobatsira pakuti eh* (it helps in that) it encourages you, it might not be involved in your day to day living *kuti* (that) maybe, yes *ukashaya* (if you do not get) accommodation they might help you with that. But in terms of faith I think *inoku* (it) keeps you afloat, there are many challenges that you meet here.
>
> Mai Brandon (September 2016)

Mai Brandon expressed a great sense of pessimism on the role of the church in her life. However, surprisingly, even though Mai Brandon had doubts about the role of the church in her life, she still conducted her duties in the church and expressed dedication. She still believed that sowing the seed in the church even through non-material forms could eventually lead to a breakthrough in her life. She had her own ways of explaining why she does, what she does:

> You know what it's like being far from home, *urikure nekumba* (when you are far from home) you don't even have *hama neshamwari dzakawanda munomu* (relatives and friends here) to turn to when you are in trouble. Saka (therefore), I think through the services *iwayo ekuchurch* (from church) it helps it keeps you motivated, encouraged. They will encourage you kuti (that) you should hold on and you mustn't give up because if such things happen to someone who has a Christian background, things might get tougher but at times things will be better and might turn around I think it helps in that way.
>
> Mai Brandon (September 2016)

Mai Brandon emphasizes the importance of the church in her life, even though she believes that "at times" things might not work, there is still a great sense in her that the church is important in giving a sense of hope. The church offers for her the much-needed support structure but in return it takes a lot from her, which is something that she implicitly expresses.

6.4. Preying on the Vulnerable

Stark and Finke posits that, "religious bodies in relatively higher tension with their bodies"… and "The higher its level of tension with its surroundings, the more the exclusive, extensive and expensive is the level of commitment required by a religious group" (2000; 144-145). The volatile environment that the immigrant finds themselves does not make it easy on their part leading more constraints upon the congregants. This tension in this case created by the city lends the congregants in the hands of the Pentecostal worldviews that promises to deal with the vagaries of urban life. That mutuality between the Pentecostal and urban leaves the immigrant adherent at the mercy of urban Pentecostal theologies and practices that hides the interests of those in positions of creating and distribution of such.

The selling of hope occurs concurrently with external tensions that creates barriers against access. The immigrant in South Africa is a vulnerable being, and their vulnerability is then used as a way of convincing the immigrant of the importance of the church – especially the pastor. The following sermon by Pastor Emmanuel from the Rod of Authority church demonstrates the ways in which the different struggles that threaten to push away the immigrant at the intersection of varying fields in the city gets mediated by the religious field through Pentecostalism . The sermon was preached during the violence that was targeted at foreign

nationals in Rosettenville and Turffontein sparked by the operation led by Herman Mashaba the then Mayor of Johannesburg to deal with criminality in the city:

> Some people may not see the fruit on you but if you have the root, relax. Tell your neighbor to relax. As you suffer and as you move, the fruit will start sprouting. Because the root is there, they may take the fruit but because you have the root, the fruit will come out again. Am I talking to somebody? They may take everything, they may rob it but because you have the root, it will grow again. Man can take the fruit but do not have the capacity to take the root. They can break your car, dispossess your house, but you will come back! Tell your neighbor let them take it! Tell your neighbor let them take it! (Loud shouts of Amen!). Say I am coming back! Say I am coming back. Say I have the root! I have the root! If people are not attacking you, you are a fruitless tree. No people would come close to a fruitless tree. If they see, a tree with fruits all over, even little children will look for stones and throw at the tree. That is why they are attacking you; your life is full of fruits.
>
> Pastor Emmanuel (March 2017)

The idea of the root is very symbolic within the church as it speaks to church membership. One's establishment within the church determines whether one has a root or not or how deep it goes. Contributing in the church in multiple forms such as tithe and offering, taking part in church services as ushers, deacons and elders becomes very crucial for one's root.

The sermon above was strategically delivered during the xenophobic attacks in which, the hatred of black foreign nationals resulted in gruesome attacks on foreign nationals, which resulted in displacements and deaths of quite a substantial number of immigrants and South African citizens that were mistaken for being foreigners. During these attacks, some members of the church under scrutiny here had their properties destroyed and some dispossessed. This sermon hit close to home for me as I, as a foreign national within this community was undergoing xenophobic attacks, verbally and emotionally, the weeks and days leading to the sermon. I felt like a prisoner in this community as I felt threatened, threats of castration were thrown at me, thoughts of going back home ran through my mind especially in that week. There

were serious problems at my place of residence, I was renting a house with numerous other families comprising of different nationals including South Africans and there was overcrowding, this led to a strain in electricity supplies and electricity would always trip. This problem created tensions and, in this instance, it coincided with the xenophobic attacks in March 2017 in Rosettenville and Turffontein. What started as an electricity problem at the house exacerbated the problem for me. Meetings were called to solve the issue and the meetings ended up being a call to rid the house and the entire suburb of foreign nationals. I later understood that my former housemates had connections with some of the people leading the xenophobic/criminal cleansing attacks. Living in that place at that time became a challenge, as we would be forced to attend the meetings during the evening, just to be victimized and threatened with among other things—castration and death. I could feel depression approaching as I still had fieldwork and a PhD to complete. My own capabilities of withstanding strenuous situations were put to test; my hope in surviving in this hostile city was dwindling as I looked for a way out. The message of hope delivered by Pastor Emmanuel made a lot of sense to me considering what I was going through at that time.

The sermon hit closer home as I struggled to process what was happening around me during the xenophobic attacks. I could but not help at the same time reflect on what was happening during the church service, which led me to interpret what was going on in a different way. During the sermon, there were very loud shout of "amens" and "alleluias" with more passion and intensity than the other services in which the pastor has to repeat himself or bring in some threatening messages to get such a response. More people than usual were moving up and down to the altar as they placed money on the altar whilst making contact with it, which is a way of claiming the promises of the message being preached. What was going through the mind of

those who did not have anything to offer was my question. Some made noises that are more passionate and jumping up and down with hands in the air as if receiving something, being handed over to them. Xenophobia in this instance was for me being used as an apparatus for exerting intimidation and fear, which was from the need for security, which only the pastor can provide but not guaranteed hence one had to intensify investment to have some sense of protection. One must have the root which guarantees that they will regain what they lost, the pastor declared that without the root, "one may fade and die just like a tree without long and established roots". It is clear from the sermon that one who is not committed enough to the church through investment will not have to root which ensures that one is resilient to any attacks be it on their properties, their bodies or emotional being.

However, as much as this sermon gave a sense of hope to the recipients, it speaks to Marx's idea of religion as the opium of the poor. The problem was not directly confronted rather it diverted the attention of the congregant from the real problems. What becomes apparent in the sermon is the fact that xenophobic attacks provided an opportunity to further terrorize the immigrant by giving them a sense that they would perish if they do not heed the calls of the church.

Furthermore, the 'violence' and misfortunes like xenophobia, a social ill that makes the social fabric of South Africa are used in the church as mechanisms of instilling fear in the immigrant and reinforcing the powers of the pastor over the lives of immigrants. This argument hinges on the fact that the 2016 and 2017 xenophobic attacks precipitated a myriad of sermons that were basically threats presented in subtle forms to reinforce the idea of the pastor as this supernatural being through which all blessing flow. The complex relations between the pastor, the

congregant, and the complicated path to hope leaves the immigrant in an exhausted state of hopelessness.

6.5. "If One Cannot Hope, One Cannot Live!"

The idea of conflating hope to being alive is so central to the Pentecostal theology. The question that arises is how one begins to hope in order to live. In a situation where hope does not come free but is a product of investment, - to live becomes a myriad of sacrifices and relentless giving for hope to be attained and that is what constitutes being alive.

With the pastor being the embodiment, intermediary and the custodian through which one accesses hope, one's life is depended on the relationship with the figure of the pastor. I argue that this complex relationship strips the congregant of his/her agency as the pathway to hope and the process is through the figure of the pastor who becomes, in essence, the hope that is sort after. Such concentration of power to the figure of the pastor makes him a demi-god whose instructions are considered truth and life itself. Interestingly, however, one cannot conclusively argue that the church completely usurps the agency; there is a very complex way in which the immigrant's agency is denied and becomes enabled through the very same process the same time. The complexity emanates from the role and position which the pastor holds within the church as shall be demonstrated by the story of elder Moses below.

Elder Moses is a man in his late 40's and a businessperson from the Rod of Authority church. He is a Nigerian national, owns a couple of hair salons and barbershops in Johannesburg. He has been in Johannesburg for 12 years. His businesses keep him busy as such; it was very difficult for me to have an interview with him because he kept on rescheduling meetings. Before I knew Elder Moses as the businessperson, I knew him as the Elder at church, a very

reserved man, quiet, timid, could be described as an introvert. However, interestingly, the man you find outside the church is a completely different man, the opposite of the church character to say the least. The day I finally had to meet him for an interview which, at first, I thought did not go well because of the many interruptions we had and having to move to three different places during the interview. I met him in one his shops, he was busy was renovating the shop and we had to move from the shop to his salon next door and back to the shop. It was quite uncomfortable with the noise and his busy schedule that felt like I am wasting his time. He stayed for 30 minutes but had to leave for his other salon and had to reschedule another meeting after he responded to a number of questions.

In leaving the salon, I observed many things that were a surprise to me. Elder Moses as it turned out was an authoritarian, assertive and shrewd businessperson who instills fear in his employees by intimidation and bullying tendencies. He is the one who controls and dictates the pace at which things happen his employees became more vibrant as he was barking instructions from where he was with the employees running up and down making sure that all the instructions are followed to the dot. He is the author of the script in all his dealings as a businessperson a contrasting picture from who he is in the church setting. During the interview, he emphasized that the church gives him a "boost" because he is sometimes down but the church "lifts the spirit" allowing him to continue and succeed in life. His confidence and dominance that I observed during my interview with him highlighted the kind of person he is outside the church but also how he uses the Pentecostal understanding of how he lives in the everyday.

Back to the church, elder Moses sits amongst the elders and is always amongst the first group to make pledges and 'seeding', on top of the tithe, offering and partnership contributions. That makes him a key member hence he sits closer to the altar amongst the elders. He needs the "boost", which I take to mean hope for his success in running his business. This includes securing his business, which he highlighted during the interview that some of his shops had been broken into and he was robbed of his stock. He said:

> …with an unresponsive police force, I have no one to turn to but God, I have to depend of the almighty for protection. I mean I have to always pay my tithes, ten percent of the profit, I pay like that and I make sure that I do not rob God. When you don't rob him (God), he protects you from all evil. So you see my brother in Christ, I only have God, otherwise I am alone.

In the church, elder Moses's dominance and bullying disappears as there is another dominant figure so central to everything that happens in that setting. There is contrast to the man from outside the church in elder Moses to the man who is in the church. The pastor is the scriptwriter and choreographer as all is centered on him. His instructions and words are truth and to be religiously taken in and acted out. All the other congregants are like supporting acts in the church services. In the church, the greatest of the patriarchs are tamed as demonstrated by the businessperson in elder Moses shrinking in the presence of the man on the pulpit.

Pentecostal ized hope through churchizenship is always believed to have positive effects and efficacy but things do not always go that way. What then happens when its elasticity breaks? As a product of investment, what then happens if one has nothing to invest? Hope is fetishized and is presented as uninterested in its distribution. It is when it is overstretched and its elasticity breached that the relations are exposed. When it gets intensified its interested nature also gets unmasked as demands on the congregants are increasing and becomes a burden for its

adherents. This also demonstrates the symbolic violence as the interested nature is disguised in its seeming disinterest though in practice it is interested in economic and material gains. Symbolic violence is also exposed as a source of power for the dominators.

The struggle for hope is very complex and the church becomes a site of contestations, which in most cases results in symbolic domination and violence as that which seems to provide the much-needed safe landing results in more than an obstacle for the congregants. This situation is better understood by the chapter that follows which captures how in a bid to have access to hope, a commodity that Pentecostalism claims mastery and monopoly over its production and distribution becomes that which denies access to the sort after hope.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates what happens at the intersection of the immigrant, the pastor and the aspirations of the immigrant in the city. Drawing from fieldwork data of over 22 months ethnography, I argue that, instead of freely offering the desired sanctuary and hope, Pentecostalism disrupts the attainment of the otherwise expected product that it is supposed to offer. Hope becomes a product of investment, where the immigrant should labor for it. Central to this chapter is the issue of capital, which enables the habitus to navigate the different sites of struggle. As much as capital which is in the form of hope is central to the immigrant in how the exigencies of life in the city are understood, interpreted and negotiated, there is cost which brings another layer of struggle. As such, I argue that Pentecostalism ’s role in the lives of immigrants is more complex than is presented in mainstream literature on migration. There is a creation of hopelessness in the process of leading one to hope. I provide an alternative way, which raptures the portrayal of Pentecostalism ’s over-privileged wisdom as a panacea to

human strife thereby unmasking the seemingly ‘ever-beautiful’ face of Pentecostalism for society, and the immigrant.

Chapter 7

Violence from the Pulpit and [18]Pulpitization of the Violent City

In this chapter I demonstrate the complex relationship between violence and religion by arguing that while Pentecostalism mediates the immigrants' crude experiences of the city, it in turn is violent on the immigrant. I highlight how through mediation from the pulpit as a symbolic and physical space, Pentecostalism seeks to treat the violent city of its violence (Katsaura, 2016, Wilhelm-Solomon, 2016) yet at the same time; it also employs violence in its quest to realize that objective. Burchardt (2020a) highlights the importance of recognizing the internal violence meted against congregants and leadership wrangles within the same church rather than focusing on the external forces that include competition for congregants. This highlights the pulpit violations as the church in operations and practices in South Africa, "…become embroiled with its criminal economies" (Burchardt, 2020a). Furthermore, through the experiences of the immigrants in this chapter, I show how the meting out of violence from the pulpit violates the pulpit.

In my previous chapters, I have referred to different forms of violence. The previous chapters hinge on the concepts of state violence that includes institutional/structural and physical violence. Additionally, I bring up the idea of criminal violence – a kind of violence that ordinarily includes violence exerted on people during the commission of a crime. State and

[18] Pulpitization describes the ways in which the physical pulpits' influence and reach extends beyond its material location into other spaces.

criminal violence seem to be used more on the context of their legal definitions, and state responsibilities and duties, or abuse thereof. However, in the context of this chapter, for analytical purposes, I have drawn heavily on the concept of symbolic violence as espoused by Bourdieu to move beyond the physical and structural/institutional conceptualization of violence. Bourdieu (2000, 170) defines symbolic violence as:

> …the coercion which is set up only through the consent that the dominated cannot fail to give to the dominator (and therefore to the domination) when their understanding of the situation and relation can only use the instruments of knowledge that they have in common with the denominator…make this relation appear as natural…

Accordingly, symbolic violence is possibly more commanding than physical violence since it is merged even in the worldviews that inform and directs action and insights of actors thereby (re)-inscribing social order. According to Bourdieu, the concept of symbolic violence thrives through misrecognition enables a critical analysis into the very taken for granted rules, norms, values and institutions. However, Bourdieu has been criticized for presenting an over-socialized subject, meaning that only the analyst/export/outsider can recognize the misrecognized problem, and thus limits the possibility of the actual victims of the 'misrecognition' to recognize the domination. Consequently, they continue to labor under it, or indeed, as Bourdieu so masterfully demonstrates, re-inscribes such practices thereby sustaining the domination (cf. Verter, 2003). In light of such criticism of Bourdieusian pessimist outlook and the nuances in this research, I complicate the idea of symbolic domination through engaging with the following questions; 'Will the congregants rise up against pastors that exploit them, will they forego the fetish of the goodwill, economic and social capital and give them really nothing in return. Do they retreat in defeat, submit grumbling

under their breath to fight another day, accept the status quo and accommodate to it, change their religious allegiances or become atheists?

Generally, this thesis challenges the dominant narratives, which have magnified the positive role played by religion among the lives of immigrants in the city. This chapter takes as its departure point, highlighting the overt violences mostly from Pentecostal churches that have become topical in the media platforms. I then theorize the pulpit and its relationship to violence. Subsequently, I bring in ethnographic data to illustrate the violent nature of Pentecostalism . Immigrants find themselves embroiled in a vicious cycle as Pentecostalism turns its back and paralyses the immigrant through the exertion of different forms of violence. I draw insights from Bourdieu, Foucault and related literature to help unpack how and why such violence persist, is unrecognized and naturalized before I conclude by highlighting how such violence causes suffering and is difficult to break from.

7.1. Violent and Violated Pulpits

Violence deployed from the pulpit has been a prevalent phenomenon across Africa and beyond, South Africa has been no exception. For a while, media has been buzzing in the recent past over extreme cases of violence in the church. A case in point, currently the nation awaits the court ruling on Tim Omotoso[19] a senior pastor of Jesus Dominion International Church who is accused of rape and human trafficking. He is alleged to have groomed young girls as young as

[19] http://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/omotosos-arrest-one-biggest-stories-sa-2017/

14 for his sexual pleasure. Another saga [20]of Penuel Mnguni of End Time Disciple Ministries dubbed the 'snake pastor', gripped the nation as he was seen on videos feeding snakes and rats to his congregants. Furthermore, a video of a bizarre incident of a prominent pastor, Lesego Daniel of Rabboni Ministries was shown of him instructing his congregants to eat grass and drinking petrol[21]. There have been other cases also making rounds in the media about a pastor spraying Doom (an insecticide) on people's eyes, mouth and private parts for healing and deliverance[22]. In as much as these cases are visible in the public, what is not seen or understood are the everyday subtle forms of violence that culminate into enabling such forms of domination. Consequently, such rituals and practices prompted the Commission for the Protection of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL Commission) to issue summons against religious communities towards end of 2015 and the scrutiny has continued especially for extreme/spectacular events, which attracts public attention especially through social media platforms.

In light of the above-mentioned spectacular cases, it becomes apparent that Pentecostalism does not spare the congregants from the violence it tries to shield them. I argue that, in an

[20] https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/snake-pastor-feeds-dog-meat-to-congregants-for-communion-20181016

[21] https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2537053/Lawn-Christians-South-African-preacher-makes-congregation-eat-GRASS-closer-God.html

[22] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-43002701

attempt to insulate the everyday lives of immigrants from violence, Pentecostalism is like a double-edged sword, as it becomes an instrument and/or technology of violence itself. It becomes part of the violent city. While the pulpit tries to deconstruct the violent city it is also reconstructing its own violence, as this chapter shall demonstrate.

Furthermore, in this chapter I endeavor to bring to the fore, some of the unacknowledged, unpublicized and unrecognized everyday forms of subtle violence within Pentecostalism . The violence is veiled and unrecognized as such hence it is naturalized culminating into this spectacular domination. I demonstrate that, the congregants on the receiving end are not conscious to these forms of violence as 'specialists'[23] of religious production reinforce false consciousness through indoctrination. Such forms of violence are the most dangerous as there is misrecognition that makes it possible for naturalization of domination to be persistent for long historical periods. The burden of this chapter lies in demonstrating the ways in which such domination plays out among vulnerable immigrant city dwellers.

The emerging forms of violence within the Pentecostal churches as highlighted above are overt as opposed to the more covert everyday forms of violence within the church. There are more covert forms of violence taking the form of metaphysical or ideological domination enabling manipulation of meaning making by the 'specialists' and those in similar positions. As previously discussed, this type of domination thrives through misrecognition hence the violence is kept hidden thereby legitimizing and naturalizing the skewed everyday relations

[23] Specialists are the exclusive holders of specific competence necessary for the production and distribution of religious goods (cf. Bourdieu, 1991a).

that is, the social, political and economic engagements between the specialists (and those in similar positions) and the congregants.

In light of the argument presented above and that the pulpit is supposed to symbolize piety and purity it becomes apparent that in the process of meting violent from the pulpit which is not its intended purpose, the pulpit is violated as the stories in this chapter will demonstrate.

7.2. The Panoptic Pulpit



Figure 3: Source; Author

Drawing from Foucault-inspired use and interpretation of the idea of the panopticon, this section brings together the pulpit and panopticon to assist in unpacking the ethnographic observations, sermons and interviews from the Rod of Authority Church.

Like in many other churches, the pulpit at the Rod of Authority Church was highly revered as a sacred space. Its design and physical appearance demonstrated the symbolic and spiritual significance. The interior design, especially the pulpit space of the church was spectacular and alluring creating an atmosphere of the impending glitz and glamour that the church was yet to bring forth. There was a lot of effort put at decorating the interior of the church; it was endowed with top of the range lighting system, on one corner there was a large monitor which showed the pastor almost all the time, setting the scene for this magnified celebrity of the church. The other side was a screen slide showing Bible verses and some announcements and lastly the third screen was on the left side on the floor of the altar. Recent modern technologies were employed on the architecture of the altar to create a glamourized atmosphere and the sound projections bring about an electrified space. At the front of the church was a large altar covering the entire front of the church. The altar was elevated and on this high structure there were camera personnel and the bodyguards focusing on and participating in the seemingly choreographed performances by the pastor. There were elegant seats reserved for the pastor and his wife on one end and on the lower end of the altar are seats reserved for the choir and other high-ranking members of the church. The general congregants' seats were on the lower platform of the church on plastic chairs compared to the comfortable chairs that the high-ranking members of the church occupy. It was clear to see the hierarchies that the seating arrangements portrayed, with the most important members at the top and the least important on the floor.

The whole idea/architecture of the pulpit and its theology and rituals sacralizes and differentiates it from the pews. Mountford (2003; 33), argues that, "even in the most liberal traditions, religion also proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space; as Emile Durkheim argues; religion can be defined as absolute distinction between the sacred and profane". The pulpit enables the differentiation between the pastor and the congregants' as they are set apart due to access and use of the different space in the church. Thus, the volume and composition of the pastor's other congregants' capital (cultural, economic, political, religious etc.) changes accordingly resulting in distinctions (social classes and class fractions).

Just as I was amazed at this big altar and the rather very hierarchical sitting arrangement, in August 2015, a call is made from the pulpit to the congregation to contribute towards raising the pulpit to a higher level. The message was on raising an altar for God. The reconstruction of the altar came with severe reparations for the congregants, they were expected to buy building material, provide labor and the most bizarre occurrence in the construction of this elevated alter was that the congregants were asked to buy expensive Bibles and these Bibles were buried beneath the altar. The new altar from that first call had images of flying angels as its background replacing the shining lights. The altar had two stairs/steps up and from the different renovations that have been done each year since 2015 and has as at 2019 seven steps upwards with a design of a magnificent kingdom as its background. Upgrading and changing the design and architecture of the altar has become a ritual that all members are expected to take part each year. One of the most outstanding acts that I witnessed was burying the Bibles as foundation in the reconstruction of the altar.

Burying the Bible underneath the altar seemed to play an important role even though most of the congregants I interacted with did not seem to be in a position to explain what that symbolizes. This is evidence that, most of the congregants are distanced from the dominant culture (the 'natural') - so for them there is fictitious integration into what is considered as the legitimate discourse and practices of the church. The few, who tried to explain, foregrounded their response with the idea that, the Bible-burying act is because the altar is a place for the word of God. They seem to share the sentiment that it was a mystery revealed only to the pastor[24] hence they believed there to be more power on the altar. This follows, Keane's (1997; 686-687)'s reiteration that, "…the Christian's Book itself could be fetishized as a site of or access point for the agency that lies beyond the human subject… the Bible is not statements about the truth of the world but directives for efficacious action". This has the potential as it did in the church, to change the ways in which the pulpit itself is perceived by and related to the congregants. Broadly, such practices genuinely integrate the dominant class (pastors, bishops, spiritians etc.) to this dominant culture as they can identify with its beliefs, practices and rites.

Hutchings and McKenzie (2016, 3) posit that, "the connection between humanity and God is constructed, enacted, encountered and performed through material objects, including bodies,

[24] I could not get an interview with the pastor to reveal the mystery of the Bible burying act. Access to the pastor is through a highly difficult bureaucratic process which involves the pastor sending back messages of his unavailability and busy schedule. It was also made difficult that I was not a recognized tithe paying and seeding member of the church to given access and time to the pastor.

bones, rich treasures and stone buildings". The construction of an altar in the Rod of Authority church brought to light how material objects define worship and the relationship between the spiritual and the human is expressed. The altar in the church is the focal point of worship and the relationships amongst the clergy and congregants is mediated and defined by the presence of such objects. Pinney (2005, 268) argues that, things should not be understood only as "infinitely malleable for human ends", but as contributors to formation of contexts. The construction of an altar creates a different context shaping and altering relations and the meaning attached to the space. It has the power to restrict and enable certain actions, most importantly affording the mediation of the congregants' experiences.

This reconstruction of the altar saw the pastor's physical sitting position elevated to very high levels. It set him and his wife further apart from the whole congregation as if to highlight that he is now closer to God than anyone else is in the church. There was also much emphasis on the ability of the altar to "speak for"[25] all who are in its presence through church attendance and all rituals associated with the pulpit. What was significant was getting in contact with the pulpit. There was a general clamoring for access to the altar in this church, which became intensified with the new altar. It is regarded as a place of authority, place of refuge and place from which hope is commanded. Generally, access to the altar is through tithe and offering, seeding and preaching times when individuals are seen dashing to the altar and touching it as

[25] It is generally believed that the altar acts as a buffer between the immigrant and the violent city i.e. cushions the immigrant from the otherwise everyday experiences. This is according to the teaching/theology of the church.

a sign of claiming the words/blessing/pronouncement by the pastor and when one is giving a testimony. This speaks to Weber's (bureaucratic) priests and 'charismatic' prophets as producers of symbolic goods competing for consumers from among the 'laity' (Rey, 2014). Therefore, because of this reconstruction the status of the pastor is reinforced as specialists occupying autonomous positions in the field of ideological/symbolic production as they further produce ideologies that serve their own interests and interests of those outside this autonomous field.

The new form and the way in which the altar was designed demanded a certain kind of relationship between the congregants, the pastor and the pulpit itself. As Gosden (2005; 196) rightly puts it, "a building, a pot or a metal ornament has certain characteristics of form which channel human action, provide a range of sensory experiences (but exclude others) and place obligations on us in the ways we relate to objects and other people through these objects". More reverence and power was assumed by the space of the altar including the pastor who stands and speak from the altar. With more power assumed by the altar, more are drawn to the place hence many clamor to have a place close to the altar. The pastor who has command and control of how one accesses the altar becomes even more powerful than before.

Moreover, in some activities artefacts can function like persons. People attribute spirits, souls, or magical energies to religious artefacts and then engage those objects as power-laden beings (Walker, 1999). The material presence of objects is important as it reveals some of the power relations between people through human-object interaction (cf. Meskell, 2008; Walker and Schiffer, 2006).

The pulpit represents the legitimation of the dominant discourses preached from it. Through misrecognition by congregants, these discourses are veiled in routine, naturalized, everyday church practices, socialization, signification, internalization. This in in tandem with Mountford (2003; 33), assertion that "The placement of the pulpit and its structure and design might be compared to the guard's station in the panopticon: where it is placed in relationship to others tells those others something about their status". Furthermore, Sigmon (2017; 6) posits that, "Western Christian tradition interprets the binary (pulpit/pew) as {graded differentiations} wherein "one of the two is taken to be superior to the other". And so, it is assumed to have the right to rule over" the lesser partner." Additionally, through the violation of the pulpit and violence from the pulpit, the pastor becomes a myth[26].

7.3. The Pulpitization of Everyday Life

There are multiple panoptic pulpits in the lives of congregants, which are meant to provide a sense of hope, belonging, identity, security and, instill discipline, surveillance and fear. These are not only limited to the church space; they extend beyond as congregants carry around reminders in the form of material objects that are produced and/or given life by the pastors (specialist in the production of such goods). These work with pastors to monitor and control congregants thereby extending the reach of the pulpit. The pulpit not only becomes embodied

[26] The pastor becomes a myth in the sense that, s/he assumes and magnified person who can do that which only gods and deities are able. There is some form of sacredness and the magical, which is enabled and/or mediated by the pulpit as a symbolic sacred space, and the one who stand and speaks from it assumes the authority symbolized by such a space.

in the mind and body, and fixed in the church but find way inside congregant's homes, workplace, public and private spaces. The pulpit is carried around through material objects, which do not only discipline the congregant, but offer a sense of protection them from harm, fear and other insecurities. Reminders such as stickers on the cars, sermons and music on DVD's, books, Facebook, WhatsApp groups, prayer point on papers which become religious technologies of surveillance, control and governance both to protect and discipline.

The centrality of the pulpit in the lives of the congregants is not only confined to the space of the church "… the image of the pulpit is present in architecture of our buildings and the architecture of the minds" (Sigmon, 2017; 1). There are attempts to carry around the power of the pulpit from the church to the homes, workplaces and in the public sphere as the congregants navigate the cityscape. Different ways of de-centering the pulpit for the church members were adopted enabling them to carry with them the power from this sacred space, which they believed was the location of divine presence. Even further, away, the presence of the altar is pervasive omnipotent-far-reaching. It becomes embodied in mind and body. It being symbolic, the altar has the power of discourse-legitimated symbolic meaning. It 'haunts' like a specter every congregant wherever s (he) is. It has a 'ghostly' presence in the everyday lived spaces of the dominated (congregants with relatively less religious/spiritual deviation).

7.4. Fear as Operative Within and Without the Church

As is the norm, during one of the church services, congregants were asked to run from the front to the back of the church with speed and the speed at which one ran determined the pace at which they would receive their blessings. During that moment of frenzy that I first noticed Bartemius, a man in his early fifties who had difficulties running because of his disability.

Bartemius is a small built man in stature; his legs both deformed because of what he believes to be witchcraft related attack on him when he was growing up in rural Nigeria. However, despite this misfortune, Bartemius' life demonstrates that he has always fought to rise above his disability. However, observing him at church trying to run and dismally failing to run, I saw a broken man, a frustrated man who was overwhelmed with failure to do what everyone else was doing, a man who felt he was letting down his dreams of making it in the city of gold. His failure to run could/would jeopardize his access to blessings.

As a father of three, he must have felt he was letting his children and their future down as well. I felt enormous pity for this man and at that point, I felt the urge to speak to him and somehow make him feel better. Nevertheless, as a researcher, my researcher instincts kicked in, I had to talk to him and find out how the church has treated him. Upon talking to him a few days later, I found out that he runs a small stationery business in Johannesburg CBD. He first came to South Africa in 2003 and according to his account; he has lived a tough life since then. As a Christian, he believed that God solves all problems, hence in the midst of his fortunes, he found a church to "lay all his burdens unto him". However, he discovered that his burdens remained or even worsened. Then over the years, he found himself move from one church to another to try to find solutions to his misfortunes.

I met him at Rod of Authority Church, he was always in church, and he attended most of the Sundays, most mid-week prayers, and other services for over a year. At some point, he stopped coming to church. Worried and curious to know what happened to him, I located his shop where he ran his small business through some church members.

The day I visited his shop, I found him seated outside on a chair next to the entrance of his shop, his son on his lap. He was just relaxed and looked as if he was thinking of some distant place. I greeted him and introduced myself as I took a chair to seat next to him. As we started chatting, I then asked him why I know longer see him at church. Stroking his son's head, this is what he had to say:

> I was there for a year or so, nothing changed in my life, and I had to move. I am now with 'God Of All Solutions' Church in the CBD. I tell you, a church is supposed to be a place where you get help spiritually, socially and financially. It is a place where bread is for everyone and where my problem should be their problem. That is no longer the case, the pastors are personalizing everything, and the church has become a place of merchandize. The kingdom is for all of us and the money should not be for the pastor only. You now go to church and you cannot remain seated throughout the service when they call for seeding, partnership, tithe and offering, and hospitality offering, you will not belong if you do that, you will no longer be a member… It becomes a burden to be in church because you find yourself giving grudgingly as you feel compelled to give and if you fail you keep blaming yourself…
>
> Bartemius, (January 2018)

For Bartemius, the church is a place where he can be guaranteed of assistance, alleviation of his daily living predicaments and granted solace from the violent city. The church is supposed to be a place for him to get the kind of help that can address the challenges that result from his presence in a foreign land and a city that is known for its violence both physical, symbolic and structural. He finds himself in church where the vagaries of everyday life are to be treated but the church further disables him, he finds himself confronted with the violence from his supposed sanctuary. When he came to South Africa, Bartemius was aware of the struggles he was to be confronted with. To cushion himself from the challenges, he quickly joined a church. Driven by familiarity, he joined a church owned by a fellow Nigerian citizen. He was soon to realize that the very devil that he ran away from Nigeria was present at his new place of solace. He details how the pastor proudly practiced witchcraft on his and congregants' enemies. This

came as a real shock to Bartemius and threw him into panic mode, as congregants would testify of the deaths of their enemies after the pastor declared it. For Bartemius, he found himself between a hard place and a rock as he wanted to move from the church, but was afraid of offending the pastor and becoming another victim of his witchcraft. This took him back to what made him leave home because he believed he was a victim of witchcraft and he was either going to get killed or he was never going to succeed in life. At that point he felt robbed of the hope and solace that he ought to have realized from the pulpit, which becomes one of the technologies and or machinery of violence for the struggling immigrant. He explains how the church would depress him always, how going to church became a burden for him.

For Bartemius, just like most of the immigrants that I spoke to, their quest is to improve their lives though they are met with multiple layers of violence. The precarity which most find themselves lends them to seek solutions, which supposedly come from the pulpit. Their quest is to carry with them the solutions to the violence from the city from the pulpit to the everyday lives. As explained earlier, Johannesburg, is crime ridden, it has physical, financial, social, structural, symbolic, and cultural violence. Being in the city in itself is violent as one is constantly confronted with the reality of marginalization, reminded of not belonging, one has lower if not non-existent political standing and shut out from the rest of citizens with a denizen status. It follows then that when the immigrant is going to church, they expect to have some form of political subjectivity allowed for and facilitated by the pulpit where declarations and pronouncements are made to change their status from a denizen to a churchizen.

On the contrary, Bartemius felt like a foreigner both within and outside the church, as he found it difficult to fully belong because of lack of financial resources and the physical stamina to

facilitate citizenship in the church. According to his understanding, membership in the church allows him to unlock the financial reservoirs from the violent city, otherwise commonly known as the City of Gold). To his immerse frustration; the church is disabled and disabling at the same time. The church fails to address the challenges faced by Bartemius who so much tried to compete with able-bodied congregants, aggravating his situation is the equating of the physical body and its capabilities with access to blessings. This further marginalized him the same way his nationality creates barriers to his success. At the end, the gold seems to be nothing but a fantasy or distant reality.

This city of gold being a distant reality and the church being other than a place of sanctuary is a common rhetoric that ran through the narratives of many people I spoke to. Similar to Bartemius, another woman, Sarudzai, a 53-year-old widow from Zimbabwe had no joy in the way the church dealt with her situation. She had stayed with her husband who was as a banker in Zimbabwe. Four of her five children had married and moved out of their home before the year 2008. She was staying with her husband and their last-born daughter in a medium density suburb in the capital Harare before the 2008 crisis hit them hard forcing her husband together with their 17-year-old daughter to move to Johannesburg. Because of his accounting and auditing experience, Sarudzai's husband found a good job where he worked for an auditing firm and life became good for them. They sold their house in Zimbabwe in 2013 and bought one in the suburb of La Rochelle in Johannesburg. The other children are self-sufficient. This is how she recounted what her husband's death meant for her:

> I still recall how he left home the day he collapsed and died. He was acting normal and stronger and in a jovial mood. You know, he struggled with BP. We were in and out of hospital. He had other stresses you see. Exploitation as his employers were on his case knowing that he was a foreigner also made it difficult to get what he really deserved in terms of remunerations not to

> mention respect. I was used to it and I just thought it was just a normal day only to receive a phone call to rush to the hospital around 11 am only to get there to be told we are very sorry. My world collapsed before me. I was done; I had no idea of what to do. I just realized that I was alone in this world because my husband was everything to me. That is why I had to seek God and it landed me in this church, which I thought could give me the family, and friends that could help me deal with what was ahead of me.

She told me that she first went to another church, which was closer to her place soon after the death of her husband. Her husband had bought a small construction vehicle that she was thinking of hiring out to eke a living. The Pentecostal church she attended then was moving some of their music instruments hired each week and the pastor whom she had spoken to asked for the truck to move the instruments. She could not say no to the 'man of God' as she called him. Months went by and she did not get back the truck, which was now being used, for church and the pastor's personal business. She tried to meet with the pastor, but it became difficult with barriers and excuses from the pastor who kept shoving her aside. It was only after the truck broke down that it was towed back to her place without any explanation on what happened or whether the truck was going to be fixed or not. She tried to get to speak to the pastor who became elusive and dismissed her meeting requests. That made her to leave the church and found the Rod of Authority Church, which she perceived to be different. In her own words, this is how she thought of the church:

> When I first paid a visit to Rod of Authority, I felt the power and the presence of God. The altar was so beautiful and the music was a blessing. I felt in love with the sermon from the powerful and passionate preaching. People called the pastor 'daddy' and he referred to us as his children. I was so happy because I thought I was going to recover from all my loses and my sorrows were ending. The pastor when blessing those who brought tithe and offering stated that, even all that the caterpillar, cankerworm and grasshopper had eaten shall be restored, and that all the works of their hands shall prosper. That gave me hope and I made a decision to join the church so that I could be under the wings of such a great man.

Sarudzai (April 2016)

I had the opportunity to greet and book an initial appointment with Sarudzai in 2016. I had however noticed her in 2015, as she would make her way to the queue to talk to the pastor after each service as soon as the pastor made his way to his chair. She was in her mourning black costume, head covered and black shoes.

I had observed with great shock for a while how the pastor after every service would go and sit on his leather chair and his Coca-Cola brought to him in glass tray. His Bible, diary, iPad and jacket are taken by his main bodyguard to his of upstairs office at the back of the church. Congregants would then queue to speak to the pastor with some being called from out of the queue to kneel before the pastor who is seated high on his chair with congregants kneeling on the lower staircase. There is a growing distance both literally and metaphorically, between the pastor and the congregants from the level the congregants had to kneel because of the reconstruction making the distance higher and the separation more pronounced. That did not however deter but led to an increase in the number of people who queued each week to confess, get advice and blessings from the pastor.

Such differentiations make the pastor more powerful and the desire of the church members especially those in Sarudzai's situation. One would want to speak to a person of such authority aided by claims made of how such a person holds the solution to people's problems. One would surrender all to such an individual in order to have misfortunes turned around. The architecture of the church and spatial distribution of the concentration of sacredness coupled with the orthodoxy theology does not make it any easier for the congregants.

As a result of the elevated altar and the rituals performed on it the increased distance between the altar and pews positions the pastor more distinctly dissimilar from the rest of the congregants hence there was an increased sensation and charisma on the person of the pastor. This elevated symbolic structure increased not only the distance between the congregants and the pastor but so were the demands and sacrifices required to be in proximity with the pastor. Banda (2020, 3) argues that, "…anointed objects may symbolize God's abundant presence, but they do more harm than good by paradoxically playing a role that limits people's access to God except through the objects themselves. The system creates an insatiable longing for new and more powerful anointed objects". All the hype surrounding the new altar and what it could do for the congregants attests to the yearning. The sermons cement skewed power relations as the first sermon delivered by an invited pastor at the unveiling of the new altar shows:

> He obeyed God that is why you are alive today, Allelluia! It is because of his obedience that is why we are celebrating… Allelluia! If he had refused to obey God, some of you will have been somewhere. Can I tell something and I am saying this unapologetically, if he didn't obey God some of you would have died, how many of you are agreeing with what I am talking about? Because when God calls a man, he ties people's destiny to him, so if he refuses to obey God those destinies will be truncated with him but thank God, he obeyed so let's celebrate the son of God….
>
> Pastor Praise (March 2016)

The sermon above presents this larger than life character, strategically positioned on an elevated altar, which is not just a physical structure but also presents a symbolic and spiritual space presenting the pastors' proximity to God. The congregants' destinies are then tied to this man pushing to the fore a patronizing relationship between the pastor and the congregants. The pastor stands out from the pulpit as the desire of the congregants as they attend the services try as much as possible to be in close proximity to the source of their destinies. The extent to which

congregants go in their quest to be close to the pastor who is the intermediary between them, and God is startling. The efforts by the pastor and the complicit of the congregants results in the defilement and/or violation of the pulpit as Sarudzai's narration continues to highlight:

> It is very painful my son, it is painful to be talking about how foolish I was to trust that my solutions would come from depending on another human being *"kutenda mumunhuwo zvake*" (trusting an ordinary human being). I was so excited and looking forward to the promises of this week, today, this month and this year, which the pastor was saying in all the services that kept me hoping for a better tomorrow. After losing my bakkie (construction truck) from that other pastor I should have learnt a lesson and used some of the monies, I received from my husband's work to fix it and have it for hire. I started paying tithes and offerings from the payout, not to mention seeding, partnership contributions and buying the mantle, which was a piece of the pastor's shirt. All that I did thinking my life would change. I guess it did change for the worst because my savings went down, I have had to partition my house now and have people rent. I asked myself, what happened to widows being taken care of as the Bible says and that opened my eyes taking me out of the madness. I think that answers why I stopped attending church altogether. I pray and read my Bible here in my own house.
>
> Sarudzai (April 2016)

One of the most powerful ways in which dominion is made possible is through reinforcing theology that keeps people from challenging the accepted belief. Sarudzai is one among a few who realizes the violence after only a few years whilst many others through misrecognition do not see it as such. As much as she recognized the violence from the pulpit as such, she could not openly challenge the orthodox as there is no platform for heterodox theology within the church itself but the voice of the 'specialists' that no one can speak against. She felt that the promises were not being realized even though she had done all that the pastor was asking for, she reflected on her life then began to read through the orthodox theology that became unreasonable and incompatible with her own reading of the Bible. She understood what speaking against the pastor could do to her and the consequences that she felt were too much to bear. Sarudzai did that which only very few have managed to do. Most of the people I have

interacted with were reluctant to stop going to church altogether but just move a different one, which becomes a cycle. The domination continues as Bartemius moved from one church to the other through the symbolic domination continues as his account further highlights.

There is a price to be paid by the pastors and prophets in ensuring that they gain and maintain hold on the congregants. The efforts to ensure domination and docility of the church members in some cases results in violation of the pulpit which people like Sarudzai and Bartemius begin to question resulting in the pastors losing in their struggle to control and dominate (cf. Tazanu, 2019). The congregants remain consumers of the religious capital as long as the clergy remains relevant and convincing that they provide the desired hope that the state cannot afford them. Failure to demonstrate their ability and power to the adherents has consequences for the clergy as the ability to demonstrate that they can make things happen through miracles and proximity to the supernatural can lead to an exodus from their church. This desire for something more powerful and relevant is demonstrated by Bartemius search.

Three weeks from my meeting with Bartemius, I decided to pass by his shop again. As I approached his shop, I saw him from a distance and it was what he was doing that got me to stare and wonder? He was seated inside his shop seated on a chair and in front of him was a huge wall mirror and next to it a barber's chair and all the machines hanging against the wall. Behind him were two women standing braiding a woman seated facing the opposite direction from him with mirrors also hanging on the wall she was facing. Bartemius was clenching his left fist, a white paper on the other hand, eyes closed, profusely shaking his head and swinging his clinched fist up and down. I walked to him and had to pat him on the shoulder to get his attention and he smiled and greeted me. The women behind him did not even pay attention as

they continued with their work and seemed not bothered with what he was doing. I asked him if the paper, which he quickly placed on the table in front of him, had Bible verses as I just assumed that he might have been in prayer. He said it has prayer points from the prophet of the 'God of all Solutions Church'. The prayer point read as follows:

> Zech. 1:18-20, Hebrew 11:1
>
> Confession:
>
> Zechariah 1:17: Cry yet, saying Thus said the Lord of Hosts, My cities through prosperity shall yet be spread; and the Lord shall yet comfort Zion and shall yet chose Jerusalem.
>
> PRAYER POINTS:
>
> Father Lord, by your mighty power, by the power in the Blood of Jesus, Fire of Holy Ghost, scatter and destroy any hindering spirit around me, in the name of Jesus.
>
> Father Lord, scatter and destroy the power of devouring spirit and limitation, in the name of Jesus.
>
> Father Lord, any decree made upon my feet because I have come to Christ, let it be revoked in Jesus's name.
>
> Father Lord, let my feet be anointed and washed by your blood to lead me to peaceful places, in the name of Jesus.
>
> Father Lord, release the spirit of carpenter upon me to destroy the thorns of enemies, in the name of Jesus.
>
> Any decree to cause satanic roadblock in my way of breakthrough, be scattered by fire, in the name of Jesus.
>
> Father Lord, come and be our shepherd, to keep us together and save us from thieves, in Jesus' name.
>
> Every satanic or collective power that wants to scatter what I have gathered, I command you to fall down and die, in the name of Jesus.
>
> Association of evil gang-up or witchcraft power to cause derailment in my life; scatter by Fire, in the name of Jesus.
>
> Any power put in place to supervise and confirm failure in my life, die by Fire, in the name of Jesus.
>
> Anything in me contradicting the word of God to cause error, die by Fire, in the name of Jesus.

Any power making a decree to affect my standing in the Lord; break by fire, in the name of Jesus.

Evil decree or curse over my life, spirituality, physically, financially, matrimonially and educationally, I break you, in the name of Jesus.

Anything, in me, around me, within me, contesting with the presence of Holy Spirit in me, are you still alive? Die forever and perish, in the name of Jesus.

Spirit of the living God, arise and take me to my place of blessing now, in Jesus name.

Father Lord, whatever weapon or tricks of the enemy to steal, kill and destroy, destroy them with their weapon forever, in Jesus name.

Father Lord, connect, correct and direct my helpers to me anywhere, anywhere they may be, in the name of Jesus.

Spirit of the living God, arise and remove any evil veil covering my face so I can see in Jesus name.

Power to succeed in life; come upon me now, in Jesus name.

Power to see and discern, come upon me, in the name of Jesus.

Power to over-come, fall upon me now, in the name of Jesus.

The prayer points on the piece of paper demonstrate the fluidity of the pulpit such that one cannot escape it. Bartemius gives so much reverence to the piece of paper containing the prayer points, which keeps him preoccupied even outside the church. The pulpit follows Bartemius everywhere he goes keeping him self-regulated through subjecting his body and mind to the demands of the paper that in itself acts as a panoptic pulpit. This attests to the ubiquity of the pulpit that operates not only within the confines of the church building but also in the architecture of the mind as it is carried around outside the church. There are demands on Bartemius body, time and mind by being subjected to the demands of the pulpit.

The prayer points strip the congregant of his/her agency, it limits, controls, dictates what the congregant should pray. The individual prayer requests are not considered or given priority.

Prayer becomes a collective effort rather than something individual and private. The specialist dictates what is prayed for thereby monopolizing prayer. Bodies are trained in certain patterns and routines, to behave in a particular way and move in some direction. It limits alternatives, for example, one cannot pray in the way they prefer or want as the heterodox is suppressed, as there are trends and patterns established without the consent of all.

As much as agency is misattributed with responsibilities and desires given to objects, there is more than just that in this case. The pastor is also objectified and given a different status, that of a semi-god. The congregants are stripped of their agency and made to depend on the pastor whose acts are credited as being responsible for anything good that happens in the lives of the congregants and all bad things befalling the enemies of the congregants. The congregants surrender their agency to the pastor and his able lieutenants the material objects such as the posters, calendars, anointed objects and all the other material objects, which are said to be given power by the pastor.

Bourdieu (1991; 107 & 109 cited in Rey, 2014; 68), emphasizes the importance of, "the social conditions in which words are employed" and that, "the power of words is nothing other than the delegated power of the spokesperson and his speech. In other words, "authority comes to language from outside: and thus "the language of priests, teachers, and more generally, all institutions … all stem from the position occupied in a competitive field by these persons entrusted with delegated authority". That mediatory role of the altar gives the authority to rule of which without a powerful connection undermines ones' authority. The power, which the pastor embraces, is made more effective by the role of the pulpit as an architecture or symbol of authority.

Exploration of the pastor as an intermediary who facilitates the convertibility of one capital to the other, for example economic capital invested in the church via the pastors' 'blessings' are converted to cultural/social capital in the form of hope which can be harnessed to other forms (employment, marriage, pregnancy). Where does the pastor get such legitimacy? It is from the religious as well as economic, political and symbolic capital(s) he already possesses. Thus, there is a legitimated symbolic violence impositions and inculcation of meanings (what is sayable and what is not).

7.5. Living in the Ghostly Presence of the Pulpit: the Crying Girl

The pressure that Bartemius felt from the church is not an isolated case. In one of the church services in 2017, I noted a young woman in the choir crying. Crying was not unusual at church, most people would cry when "under the spirit" but I noticed something different with the crying of this young woman. It was coming from a source of deep pain, like in Bartemius' case, I felt that there was something wrong, and to be precise I felt pity for this girl. At some point she could not stand anymore, she would go to the back and sit, after composing herself, she would come back and try to sing but she would sob again and go back. It was clear that she was struggling. Therefore, after church I approached and started a conversation with her. It became apparent to me that she was burdened.

Pauline, a 27-year-old from Zimbabwe came to South Africa in 2012. I met her for an interview on January 2, 2017, at that time she had been out of work for more than 7 months. She felt unfortunate and was miserable. She narrated to me her life's journey, specifically how she became a mother at 19 and the father of the child refused responsibility whilst she was in Zimbabwe. She came into South Africa and after a year and half she brought her child with

her. Life was tough for her, she was doing menial, underpaying jobs (i.e. Saloon and supermarkets), moreover, she had challenges in getting paid but there were challenges when it came to her getting her salaries as the bosses took advantage knowing that she did not have the legal documents to be in South Africa or even to work in South Africa.

Pauline was so bitter about how the church did not even come to her rescue despite reaching out in her time of need. She had this to say about one of the many times she thought the church would come to her aid:

> There was this time when I was staying with this person and he just left me without saying anything. He had not even paid rent and I did not have enough money. I went to church, explained my situation, and even sent messages that I needed only R800 but eish, they did nothing at all. I just said aargh, let me leave it but these are the things they say and while emphasizing that we are a family… We pay offering to make things even worse, but they do not even help because they should also assist people in need like me.
>
> Pauline (January 2017)

The issue of family that Pauline emphasizes is an interesting setup within the church. All members are split into 4 families according to their month of birth, Favor, Joy, Peace and Love are the different family names. People are grouped according to their months of birth and Pauline belonged to Peace family. Favor family for those born in January, February and March, Joy family- April, May and June, Peace- July, August and September, and lastly Love family- October, November and December. The families were put in place in order for the congregants to have some form of mini family to listen to grievances, misfortunes and celebrate successes of their members. The leaders of the families are elders and pastors who have the duty to report to the pastor of all the challenges and success of the members. The major activities of the families was fundraising which was celebrated during a thanks giving day each December during which a trophy was given to a family which raises more money to appreciate the pastor.

Families gave themselves targets to raise as much money as they could until the day to announce the family with the highest figure. The leaders of the families were given the opportunity to speak to the members again to raise more so that they can have more than the leading group whilst the leading group also tries to increase the gap. The whole scenario is like in an auction with bidding becoming more competitive until all surrender to the one who raises more but the only difference is all the money from both the winners and losers gets collected as part of the thanksgiving and the pastor's appreciation fund. The winning family gets the praises and blessings from the pastor becoming closer and in favor with him.

Contrary to its intended purpose, the main function of the families was to fundraise for the pastor, as well as collect information from the congregants such as their birthdays, economic and marital status making it easier for the pastor to have some form of biographies of his congregants. The family leaders who happens to be church elders and assistant pastors gives feedback on the socio-economic conditions to the pastor. When announcements are made and new members join the church, they are put in these families, which promises to be there for each individual in times of misfortune but also in celebrating successes. I also happened to be placed in one of the families. I learnt from the times I attended the family meetings that all activities center on the agenda coming from the pastor. Contributions were all made towards pastor's programs and his appreciation, announcements of sickness and people seeking assistance were the peripheral issues, which were said at the end with little in terms of the concrete things to be done for the struggling members of the families. I understood then the mandate of the family leaders was to act on behalf of the pastor without any authority to alter or set the agenda, there was no room to divert. Monitoring and surveillance are far reaching with the family meetings enabling the coverage of the pulpit where WhatsApp groups are put

in place for each family. Members are compelled to follow Facebook pages for the church, twitter accounts, Instagram and in all these platforms, members are expected to give testimonies and praises to the pastor. Moreover, members' social media accounts were always at the pastor's and the general congregants' disposal. This is what Foucault describes as, 'the political technology of police which mediate the daily lives of the subjects of a state', which enables it to regulate everything that constitute their being. Such can be comparable to the pastorate and its use of what I am calling Spiritual technologies of Pentecostalism (Family groups, WhatsApp groups, Facebook membership, twitter, and other material objects such as stickers, anointing oils, calendars etc.) that ensures the embodiment of the pulpit in the daily lives of the congregants.

Pauline stated her frustrations especially over the family groupings:

> I do not seem to understand the purpose of the families because they do not help me in any way. You just say your problems but no help comes. I just feel like not attending but I just have to, you see. Maybe one day I might get to hear work opportunities or some piece jobs. We make contributions as families to make matters worse, do not get me wrong, we have to and I always struggle to do so but what I am just saying is, why not assist people like me?.

Pauline recognizes some of the violence, which she faces within the church. She however, seems entrapped in the Pentecostal promises yet to be realized. She keeps looking forward to her 'breakthrough' and positioning herself for any networks that might work for her. There is in her approach some effort to try to differentiate between Pentecostal theology and practice, which is difficult for her to reconcile. She chooses to ignore the violent practices whilst holding on to the Pentecostal theology, which promises, hope and promotes patience.

Furthermore, Pauline does not understand the purpose of the family gatherings, instead she feels they intrude into her private life i.e. she does not have a life of her own. She narrated an

incident when she attended a party where most of her church members were, she was given a glass of wine, which she gladly accepted not knowing that, that would be a source of ridicule and gossip for her. She instantly saw her church members looking at her, pointing fingers at her, laughing and whispering amongst each other. She indicates that she felt violated and sad, instead of enjoying the party. She later learnt that there were rumors in the church that she is an alcoholic and possible a "prostitute" because she takes alcohol. She indicated that she does not feel free to express herself and does not have a life of her own:

> You know my brother, you feel like they are always watching you. You always have to be careful and live a Godly life. I am not free to be seen even with a boyfriend or friends that do not attend church… Ahhh it is difficult because there is a lot of gossip there and I am afraid that some will tell the pastor. I am afraid of people thinking that I am not a good person you know…
>
> Pauline (January 2017)

Pauline then tries to live this "godly life" by adhering to all the demands of the church. She gives in to the pastors' "…symbolic manipulation of the conduct of private life and the orientation of one's vision of the world… of the treatment of bodies and souls" (Bourdieu, 1987b, 119 cited in Rey, 2014). She indicated that she spends most of her time in preparing for church (working to raise tithe, offerings and family contributions) and attending family meetings, availing herself for all week day services, Saturday practice then the main Sunday service, her life is not her own. All this investment in time, emotion, body and psyche constitutes the exercise of pulpit power over the congregants. She says:

> People look at you all dressed up and having make up, singing in the choir with all the different attires and think, you are okay. They do not take you seriously when you tell them that you do not even have food to eat, money for my daughter fees and rent. I work hard, it is not easy going to wash other people's clothes and cleaning their houses (she does that as she is lifting up both hands to show me her wasted hands and raising her skirt to show me the calluses on her knees).

> I do all that so that I do not come to church looking like this (she says that whilst moving her hand up from her head to her feet as if to show me how underdressed she was). Make up covers all this you see but it is not easy.

There was some sad countenance on her face and a shriek voice as she narrated that part of her life. Pauline's life was centered on the church and she was living in the ghostly presence of the pulpit. Her primary goal in life at that moment was to meet the pulpits' demands despite the pain one has to go through in order to meet them.

> "… Because the pastor, if necessary, must sacrifice himself for the salvation of his flock, the pastor and his flock (subjects) become closely interdependent. This interdependence explains the development of self-governance, where the pastor's subjects internalize his true, good intentions"
>
> (Engebrigtsen, 2016; 85-86)

Pauline's pastor is very effective in his application of the Spiritual technologies of Pentecostalism .

> "…the pastorate is characterized by the following elements: first, the principle of "analytical responsibility", according to which the pastor must account for "every act of each sheep, for everything that may have happened between them, and everything good and evil they may have done at any time", secondly, the principle of "exhaustive and instantaneous transfer, "according to the merits and demerits of each individual sheep are imputed to the pastor; thirdly, the principle of "sacrificial reversal", under which the pastor must be prepared to sacrifice himself in order to save his sheep…"
>
> (Foucault, 1982; 170-72 cited in Golder, 2007; 166)

He adheres to the first principle in which he ensures that he keeps in check his congregants. He also tries to have congregants give testimonies of the good things God has done for them through the pastor's mediation and obedience to his instructions thereby according credit to the pastors' good 'shepherding". The third principle is the one that raises many questions even in Pauline's account, which implies a lack of sacrifice on the part of the 'shepherd". There is a lot

of sacrifice from the side of the congregants and so little from the pastorate who becomes the object of reverence. The family groupings all feed into the pastor's pocket and his domination as the ultimate patriarch in the church. All this is enabled by the internalization, externalization of the ideologies monopolized, and interpreted by the "specialists" (the pastor) who are the embodiment of the production of religious goods. However, there comes a point when some of the congregants become conscious and begin to recognize the symbolic violence from the pulpit.

7.6. Countering the Pulpit: From Misrecognition to Recognition

> '… when the misrecognition on which so much power (religious or other) is predicated begins to unravel among the laity, institutional power (religious or other), institutional weaknesses inevitably results, as with the crisis in a church that raises questions about its 'social validity' in the modern world.'
>
> (Bourdieu, 1991c: 115 cited in Rey, 2014 ; 69)

Financial abuse, disrespect, invasion of family privacy, unrealistic demands of your time, general bullying, idolization of the pastor, loss of self-identity, feelings of entrapment are the words that characterize the relationship between the congregants and the pastor. Such sentiments are subtly expressed by some of the congregants I spoke to and only explicitly expressed by a few still attending church and bluntly put by those who have decided to leave. This results from the myths surrounding the authority of the pastor, which is reinforced by his imbuement with institutional 'pastoral power' (cf. Katsaura, 2017; Kachikoti, 2015c). The pastor cannot be challenged, and his voice is the voice of God. That places the pastor at a different level and allows him/her to get away with many other things through misrecognition. In the event that there is recognition (clear consciousness) and legitimation is lost, fear seizes

to operate in the lives of the congregants. The congregant gazes back and begins to put the pastor's actions under scrutiny. Elder Moses who left the Rod of Authority church had this to say:

> One should not tax people. When people go to church, it should be about fellowship and not about contribution. People go there with a lot of problems and stresses. Why does the poor troubled people have to be taxed while they are already distressed? Solve people's problems first and they will appreciate willy-nilly and not out of force…When people start their churches, they have nothing but after some time, they are rich. They open private schools and who goes to these schools, if I may ask? The poor congregants who gave their tithes and offerings cannot even afford to send their children there!
>
> Elder Moses (January 2018)

Once the myth is exposed there seizes to be any sacredness hence the profane replaces it. Elder Moses became disenchanted as he looked through the veil which finally opened and began to see nothing sacred about the person of the pastor, thereby claiming through his 'reoriented habitus' the profanity of the pastor's conduct which he likened to the 'worldly public conduct that of greed and profiteering'. His perception of the pastors' teachings, rituals and demands had become to him unjustified and oppressive. Having been an elder in the church, he had risen through the ranks to eldership which positioned him in close proximity to the assistant pastors and the senior pastor. This meant that he spent more time both physically and symbolically closer to the pulpit as they sat in the front row where the pulpit in its physicality. It is literally in their face and symbolically in the figure of the pastor in endless meetings which the pastor always called for soon after church services and during the week. It is also evident in elder Moses's words above, '…solve people's problems first…', that the pastor is looked at as the one who as an, "…expert can decipher and deliver; the anxious bench on the brink of

conversion…" (Sigmon, 2017; 1). Such an understanding is what enables the domination of the congregants.

Demystification then leads to lack of fear and/or reverence for the person of the pastor resulting in them talking back or challenging the authority of the sacredness reducing it to the profane or treating with mundanity.

> The pastor becomes so big and distances himself from the congregants. He has bodyguards and it is not possible to get close or in contact with him unless if you pay thousands of rands in tithes. It is not easy in these churches, the pastor is just a man, just like me and you but he puts himself up there (using hand gestures to demonstrate the high position of the pastor)… these people are just people, we don't have to worship them, I mean, why must we worship them, ha, why?
>
> Elder Moses (January 2018)

The pastor becomes a mini-god who is 'worshipped' in some ways, which creates a gap between him/her from the congregants. Too much of such usually leads to disgruntlement from among the congregants who would also need access to the 'man or woman of God' who mediate their salvation and prosperity. Mhando et.al (2018, 5), posits that, "there is, however, danger that extravagance, where it calls for extreme sacrifice or where it fails to acknowledge the worth of those who cannot afford, may lead to rebellion". When the pastor becomes inaccessible, with physical barriers intentionally put, payments being enforced for consultations and one on one sessions then rebellion may also result. It takes more from the pastor to keep alive the legitimacy, which is derived from associations and alliances resulting from misrecognition.

When one begins to see beyond that which is considered as given – like the powers and authority of the pastor, the person is commonly considered as a rebel or demonic possessed by

the congregants and the pastor alike. When such happens, the person becomes aware of their position and either quickly moves out for fear of being labelled negatively or choses to suppress their views just to blend in. The rituals and practices naturalize the state of things, which become taken as the truth. Any opposing thinking is taken as rebellion that explains why those who recognize the violence are stigmatized and excluded from churchizenship. It is also the fear of the capabilities of the pastor to curse or bless that keeps the congregants at bay. If one is open about their views in challenging the status quo, they are considered as possessed/demonic and ungodly. Such stigma coupled with the enculturation of the arbitrary deterred congregants' curiosity and boldness to ask the 'right' questions, or the 'wrong' questions. As such, those that finally decide to leave the church, leave with unanswered questions, some lose faith in Christianity as a religion while some move to the next church that promises to fulfill their desires and usually for these, the cycle starts over.

7.7. Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated the rationalized forms of domination which are difficult to unmask and counter for the dominated who are complicit in the legitimation of the arbitrary force of their domination. The informants above are just but an example of the illustration of how the recognition of the domination is veiled and thereby misrecognized as such. This is such that, it becomes a vicious cycle of which at the end of the day, they do not seem to escape the violence from the pulpit. Fear and desperation forces them to move from one church pulpit to another in search of security from the violent city. As for Sarudzai, it remains to be seen whether she will not find herself back in one of the churches under the violence of a different

pulpit. It is difficult to recognize the violence or domination as such in these churches as it is embedded in the everyday practices and rituals which are difficult to be perceived as such.

Furthermore, due to lack ‘shared awareness’ of the domination that should give rise to shared struggles or experiences, it becomes difficult to extricate en masse. The shared awareness enables the creation of ‘counter-ideologies’ that has the potential to challenge the orthodox but due to fear of castigation, centralization of experiences will not have widespread contact. This leads to a flight rather than a fight for the individuals who manage to recognize the domination and violence thereof. There is no provision and/or platform for centralization and collectivization of counter-ideologies; hence, by its nature Pentecostalism produces symbolic violence from the pulpit.

Chapter 8

Pentecostalism : of God or a Mediating Agent?

In this thesis, I have demonstrated that Pentecostalism operates as an entanglement of religion, urbanism and violence. It mediates the lives and experiences of the vulnerable immigrants that subscribe to the idea of a just and powerful God who will deliver them from the pressures of life. I have demonstrated in this thesis that Pentecostalism, far from being anti-state/government or perhaps counter-establishment religion, but rather very much pro-neo-liberal state, has strong elements of violence built into it. I argue that, Pentecostalism operates within the same logic as urbanism which draws heavily upon citizenship in guiding how the city is inhabited by those within its space. Pentecostalism benefits from denizenship which prepares denizens to readily find alternative in churchizenship. The violence and exclusions that citizenship poses for the denizens as I have argued in this thesis is not very different from churchizenship does to the immigrant followers seeking belonging. There is a mediated relationship resulting from the urban unintentionally selecting candidates by making them more vulnerable thereby preaching for the church which is a fortuitous accomplice in violating the immigrant.

Based on the work of previous scholars who have argued that Pentecostalism works as liberating force and panacea to human strife, in this thesis, I critically explore the mediatory role played by Pentecostalism in the lives of immigrants as they negotiate the city of Johannesburg by examining the ways in which the experiences of immigrants' are shaped by Pentecostal theological ideologies and practices. I suggest that while Pentecostalism has, by previous scholars, been presented as functional in providing a soft landing for the vulnerable

immigrant, this interpretation sidesteps Pentecostalism 's disempowering role which strips the congregants of agency and for immigrants, constrains their adjustment to the city. By using the conceptual lens of Pentecostal Urbanism, churchizenship and mediation I showed how Pentecostalism 's contributed to the challenges that befell immigrants in their quest to adjust to the everyday exigencies of life. I discuss the complexity of the relationship between being an immigrant in Johannesburg and adhering to Pentecostalism .

The inversion of the interpretation of Pentecostalism in a romanticised sense that emphasise its liberating and omnipotent role in immigrants' experiences in and of the city, is based on three critical arguments. Firstly, I argue that in local practices of Pentecostalism found in the CBD of Johannesburg, material religious objects have assumed the important role of mediating the immigrants' experiences in and of the city. Secondly, I argue that hope, an important resource and capital that is presented and marketed as a free product to the Pentecostal adherents, has costs attached to it which place demands on the time, emotion, body, and psyche and economic resources. Finally, I argue that, Pentecostalism , its theologies and practices tend to be violent on its members. Using Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence, I highlight how Pentecostalism projects violence from the pulpit to the vulnerable immigrants and how detrimental the misrecognition of this violence is to the Pentecostal followers. In the same vein, I complicate the idea of violence from the pulpit by arguing that it in turn violates the otherwise sacralised pulpit.

The thesis has shown that the experiences of immigrants in the city in particular Johannesburg, can be understood better by focusing on the two fields i.e. the religious (Pentecostalism) and the urban which in most cases have been treated separately. Pentecostalism with its marked

public presence and significant immigrant following in a cosmopolitan city such as Johannesburg presented an interesting case. Pentecostalism and urbanism have the immigrant as the moving target that is at the mercy of the two seemingly dialectical fields that give rise to a complex experience for the immigrant. In chapter 3, I make a case for the mutual conditioning and inclusiveness of Pentecostalism and urbanism hence coining the concept Pentecostal Urbanism to contribute to a better understanding of the Pentecostal immigrant adherents' experiences. What I learnt through observations, interaction and participation at Rod of authority church highlights the need to take religion seriously by bringing back the spiritual and/or enchanted in understanding the configurations of the city. Pentecostalism was for my interlocutors dominant in the ways in which through its theology, it (re)-configured the perceptions they held about the city and how they with interacted it.

8.1. Urban Pentecostal Theologies

In this thesis I show the ways in which the Pentecostal and the urban though considered dialectical, contribute to shaping the ways in which immigrants experience everyday life in Johannesburg. The theologies presented in the discourses and the practices that the Pentecostal church creates and espouses are reflexive of the life the urban immigrant is faced. The discourses and practices are meant to speak to and address the vagaries of city life. Consequently, the tone of the sermons and the practices are both a response to the practical realities of the everyday experiences of the life in Johannesburg. By attuning the sermons to reflect the challenges that immigrants face, Pentecostalism displays 'elasticity' and enables the churches to directly and (in almost a reactionary manner) address the challenges that immigrants would want to contend with. While such an argument alluding to the pragmatic

side of Pentecostal theology and practices have been presented before (cf. Maguire and Murphy, 2015, Wiegel and Hofner, 2013; Marshall, 2009; Robbins, 2004), the dialectical nature within Pentecostalism has not really gained traction.

The most celebrated pragmatic character of the Pentecostal churches for scholars has mostly been the positive aspects such as building a sense of community and belonging. While, the messages and practices at face value appear to be siding of the marginalized immigrant, in practise they serve the interests of those on the production and supply side (i.e. the clergy/pastors and those in the same class). The Pentecostal messages and practices such as anointing oils, wrist bands, stickers, anointed books, candles and many more are meant to deal with and enable the adherents to address and overcome the challenges they face, they also simultaneously create dependency, enables the surveillance of followers and strips them of their agency. As such, the creators, distributors and providers of meanings and discourses attached to the objects hold powerful positions in these relations as they can inform the immigrants' lived lives.

Having demonstrated the relationship, there is no need to look at the two (Pentecostalism and urbanism) as dialectical and exclusive but as both inclusive and reflexive of each other in understanding the lived experiences of the immigrant in the city.

8.2. Mediated Agency: Breathing Religious Life to Material Objects

Taking cue from the works of scholars (c.f. Meyer, 2012; Garbin 2012; Vasquez, 2011; Keane, 2008; Engelke 2007) who have argued that, religion should not be limited to belief i.e. but should also include practice and experience, I discuss the role of non-human material objects and show their centrality in the ways the city was approached and negotiated given that certain

movements and relations were enabled by the presence of Pentecostal objects. Those in possession of anointed objects made sense of and dealt with the painful physical, emotional and psychological encounters with and of the city more confidently. The objects therefore both served the interests of the congregants but they also created dependency and stripped agency by replacing it with 'mediated agency' that the objects enabled.

Surveillance and control are also a consequence of some of the assemblages that the priests/clergy created through the objects which become the extension of their authority.

With widespread use of Pentecostal material objects in churches and their display and involvement in negotiate the exigencies of urban life, there is need to take heed of scholars such as Latour, Meyer, Keane, Appadurai, and others in revisiting the social and reconfigure it to take seriously the non-human interactions and how there are important in the assemblages that drive sociality. This is crucial in understanding the Pentecostal mediation because "religion happens materially" (Meyer, 2010; 209).

8.3. Hope has a Price Tag: The Interested Nature of Pentecostal Practice

Pentecostalism , I argue, has an inherent political tendency in as much as it is a field in Bourdieusian sense to, on one hand romanticize the promises, and on the other, to misrepresent and conceal the related risks, threats and costs. In chapter six, the lives of the congregants like the 'sanctuary keeper' highlights the double-edged character of the Pentecostal church in the ways the church presented itself as uninterested and as providing the sought-after relief from the vagaries of urban life. The soft violent machinery that is employed by the church leads the congregants to be complicit in legitimizing their own sacrifices in their quest to realize the hope that the clergy/priests/pastors are in the business of producing and dispensing.

The clergy/pastors create discourses that get instilled upon the adherents as messages of sacrifice that are linked to attainment of hope. Hope is fetishized and is presented as uninterested in its distribution because at the creation and assignment of meaning the adherents are not involved but only appear as consumers. The monopoly that the clergy/pastors have in the production and distribution places them in a position of authority, hence enabling symbolic domination. There is however pressure on the part of the clergy/pastors to perform and legitimize their position hence investment and sacrifice is a principle that applies on both the followers and the clergy. The difference is that the clergy/pastors are aware and ensure that their interests are hidden and appear neutral.

Hope is a product of investment which goes beyond the conventional economic sense, to accommodate spending time in the church, and their skills and expertise. These investments in time, emotion and the psyche are not paid for but forms part of their sacrifices which was constraining. Such constraining demands upon the adherents' results in overstretched hope as the resources required for investment become depleted or burdening to those who consume the hope as the lives of the congregants' exhibits with some deciding to either leave the church or even get into debt to meet the demands.

8.4. Violence and Pentecostalism

The concealment of the coercive strategies and machinery at play which enable and perpetuate domination in the Pentecostal production and distribution of the religious goods qualifies it as a violent force. Chapter seven sheds light on the glamorized role of Pentecostalism in providing an alternative to the attained of hope in light of the failure of the state to distribute it equitably to its citizens and the immigrant alike. Most literature has celebrated the role of

Pentecostalism in the lives of immigrants and where the downside has been presented, the criticism has not been bold enough to call out the violence that is prevalent but veiled through misrecognition and naturalization.

Through observations and narratives, I show concealed coercive forces hidden in presumably innocent practices which from careful scrutiny reveal the ways in which symbolic violence gets naturalized and misrecognized. For example the construction of the pulpits and, the rituals of burying Bibles and the mystical narratives of the power and authority of the raised altar forms part of the way the adherents are instilled, in a subtle way, with fear that fosters obedience to the demands of the one who occupies the space. The pulpit thus becomes personified and a supernatural affect is ascribed thereby keeping the adherents in check and the demands easily acceptable due to fear of what the pulpit can do.

8.5. Churching under Covid-19: reconstituting the panoptic pulpit

The coronavirus (Covid -19) pandemic which broke out from Wuhan, China and spread globally led to the reconfiguration of life. The new regulations which were put in place to curb the spread of the virus did not spare churches some of which were at some point at loggerheads with state authorities in terms of compliance. In a desperate move to maintain membership and dependency, some pastors and prophets claimed that the virus was a hoax, while some claimed that they could heal people from the virus and resisted efforts by governments to institute lockdowns.

As the pandemic worsened, and the state tightened lockdown regulations and churches were forced to close and as the world went virtual, churches were forced to move in tandem with the reality or face the possibility of losing congregants or even permanently closing down. The

pulpit was virtualized, congregants were encouraged to attend virtual services and send their tithes and offerings through bank transfers and other monetary exchange platforms. With the virtualization of the pulpit came the intensification of virtualized miracles and declarations. Pentecostalism has been present in many media platforms and the moves to virtual worship were quick. The difference was that the sacralized physical spaces such as the pulpit including the pastors and prophets were affected. Pastors/Prophets then intensified their media presence and the sermons were scripted to suit the pandemic, sermons on obedience were more prominent. They emphasized on the healing powers of the pastors over the obedient followers and that the non-obedient would perish in the pandemic.

Coronavirus lockdowns put a strain on all businesses and the poor were further impoverished due to closures of some of their workspaces and informal businesses. Relief funds and unemployment benefits were introduced, including food parcels. All the efforts to assist during this difficult period took xenophobic turn plunging poor immigrants into precarity. There was also increased medical xenophobia and denied small business rescue packages for small immigrant businesses which exposed the long and deep-seated exclusionary conceptions of belonging (and citizenship) in South Africa. Such exclusions and structural violence made immigrants desperate and in need of hope in the face of the virus and growing xenophobia. The Pentecostal churches which were shut down due to national shutdown had a different appeal as virtual worship services took off with Corona virus induced xenophobia dominating the discourse, with assurances again to the obedient that they will not die even if the hospitals turned them away.

Anointed material objects became more relevant as possession of such was said to help keep away Corona virus from infecting and affecting members. Such discourses kept the membership holding onto and sacrificing through their tithes and offerings which were said to be necessary especially during difficult times. Sermons on the widow of Zarephath[27] whose sacrifice for her last meal enabled God's blessing became prevalent in many Pentecostal churches. There was also close monitoring with the pastor mentioning names of people by name and pronouncing blessings followed by assurances that they will not get the virus and no death shall be in their families. Intensifications of daily virtual prayers became popular during the lockdown.

[27] The story of the widow of Zarephath is found in 1 Kings 17 in the Bible. It highlights the encounter between the prophet Elijah and a widow who obeyed the instructions to give what was her last meal for her son and herself to the prophet. That led to her to receiving miraculous food during the famine including her son's miraculous resurrection.

Reference List

Abdi, C. M. (2011). Moving beyond xenophobia: Structural violence, conflict and encounters with the 'other' Africans. *Development Southern Africa*, *28*(5), 691-704.

Adogame, A. (2010). Pentecostal and charismatic movements in a global perspective. *The New Blackwell companion to the sociology of religion*, 498-518.

Agamben, G. (2005). State of exception. *Nova srpska politička misao*, *12*(01+ 04), 135-145

Akcapar, S. K. (2006). Conversion as a migration strategy in a transit country: Iranian Shiites becoming Christians in Turkey. *International Migration Review*, *40*(4), 817-853.

Akcapar, S. K. (2007). What's God got to do with it? The role of religion in the internal dynamics of migrants' networks in Turkey. *Revue des Mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, (119-120), 81-100.

Amin, A. (2013) "Telescopic urbanism and the poor." *City*, 17(4), 476-492.

Anderson, A. (2012). A 'time to share love': Global Pentecostalism and the social ministry of David Yonggi Cho. *Journal of Pentecostal Theology*, *21*(1), 152-167.

Appadurai, A. (Ed.). (1988). *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Asamoah-Gyadu, J. K. (2010). 4. Mediating Spiritual Power: African Christianity, Transnationalism and The Media. In *Religion Crossing Boundaries* (pp. 87-103). Brill.

Asamoah-Gyadu, J. (2004). *African charismatics: Current developments within independent indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana*. Brill. Laiden.

Banda, C. (2020). Mediating God's relationality? A trinitarian perichoretic critique of the reliance on anointed objects in African neo-Pentecostalism . *HTS Theological Studies*, *76*(1), 1-10

Bénit-Gbaffou, C. (2018). Governing street trading in contemporary cities. Anatomy of the policy instruments used by the City of Johannesburg in the post-apartheid era. *Urban Research & Practice*, *11*(4), 396-425

Benton, M. E. (2010). *A theory of denizenship* (Doctoral dissertation, UCL (University College London)

Berger, P. L., Martin, D. A., Freston, P., Maxwell, D. J., Martin, B., Cao, N. ... & Shah, R. S. (2013). *Global Pentecostalism in the 21st century*. Indiana University Press.

Berger, P. L. (2009). Faith and development. *Society*, *46*(1), 69-75.

Bhuyan, R., & Smith-Carrier, T. (2012). Constructions of migrant rights in Canada: Is subnational citizenship possible?. *Citizenship Studies*, *16*(2), 203-221.

Bloch, E. (1986). *The Principle of Hope: Volume Three*. Basil Blackwell.

Boccagni, P., & Schrooten, M. (2018). Participant observation in migration studies: An overview and some emerging issues. In *Qualitative research in European migration studies* (209-225). Springer, Cham.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Vol. 16). Cambridge. Cambridge university press.

Bourdieu, P. (1987). What makes a social class? On the theoretical and practical existence of groups. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, *32*, 1-17.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). Identity and representation. *Language and symbolic power*, 220-28.

Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. University of Chicago press.

Bourdieu, P. (1993). 'Site effects', in Bourdieu, P. (eds), In The *weight of the world: Social suffering in contemporary society*, 123-129. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian meditations*. Stanford University Press. Stanford.

Bowie, F. (2008). Anthropology of religion. *Religion Compass*, *2*(5), 862-874.

Burchardt, M. (2020a, September 9). Religion outside the law. https://www.africasacountry.com/author/marian-burchardt.

Burchardt, M. (2020b). Salvation as Cultural Distinction: Religion and Neoliberalism in Urban Africa. *Cultural Sociology*, 1749975520911877.

Bryant, J. M. (2000). "Cost-Benefit Accounting and the Piety Business: Is *Homo Religiosus* at Bottom a *Homo Economicus*?" *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 12,520-548.

Carvalhais, I. E. (2007). The cosmopolitan language of the state: Post-national citizenship and the integration of non-nationals. *European Journal of social theory*, *10*(1), 99-111.

Cavanaugh, W. T. (2009). *The myth of religious violence: Secular ideology and the roots of modern conflict*. OUP USA.

Cazarin, R., & Cossa, E. (2017). Spiritual brokers: African Pastors and the mediation of migratory processes. *Critical African Studies*, *9*(2), 226-240.

CDE (2008), *Under the Radar: Pentecostalism in South Africa and its Potential Social and Economic Role*, Johannesburg: Centre for Development and Enterprise.

César, W. (2001). From Babel to Pentecost: A social-historical-theological study of the growth of Pentecostalism . *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*, 22-40.

Chesnut, R. A. (1997). *Born again in Brazil: The Pentecostal boom and the pathogens of poverty*. Rutgers University Press.

Clarno, A., & Murray, M. J. (2013). Policing in Johannesburg after apartheid. *Social dynamics*, *39*(2), 210-227

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. (2000). Privatizing the millenium new protestant ethics and the spirits of capitalism in Africa, and elsewhere. *Africa Spectrum*, 293-312.

Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J. L. (2016). *The truth about crime: Sovereignty, knowledge, social order*. University of Chicago Press.

Corten, A and Marshall Fratini, R (2001). 'Introduction' in A.Corten and R. Marshall-Frattini (eds) Between Babel and Pentecost: *Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America.* London. C. Hurst and Company.

Corten, A., & Marshall-Fratani, R. (2001). *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*. Indiana University Press.

Cox, H. (2013). *The secular city: Secularization and urbanization in theological perspective*. Princeton University Press.

Crush, J (2002). The Dark Side of Democracy: Migration, Xenophobia and Human Rights in South Africa. *International Migration* 38(6), 103–133.

Crush, J (2008). The Perfect Storm: The Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa. Cape Town. *Southern African Migration Project*. Idasa.

Crush, J. (2014). Xenophobic violence in South Africa: Denialism, minimalism, realism. SAMP Migration Policy Series No 66, Cape Town and Waterloo

Datta, A. (2013). Encounters with law and critical urban studies: Reflections on Amin's telescopic urbanism. *City*, *17*(4), 517-522

De Witte, M. (2018). Buy the Future: Charismatic Pentecostalism and African Liberation in a Neoliberal World. In *Pentecostalism and Politics in Africa* (pp. 65-85). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Dilger, H., Bochow, A., Burchardt, M., & Wilhelm-Solomon, M. (Eds.). (2020). *Affective trajectories: Religion and emotion in African cityscapes*. Duke University Press.

Dirsuweit, T (2002). Johannesburg: A fearful city? Urban Forum 13(3), 4-19

Durkheim, E. (1965). *The elementary forms of the religious life [1912]* (414). na.

Edgar Pieterse (2011) Grasping the unknowable: coming to grips with African urbanisms, Social Dynamics, 37:1, 5-23, DOI: 10.1080/02533952.2011.569994

Engebrigtsen, A. I. (2016). Lost Between Protective Regimes: Roma in the Norwegian State. In *Contested Childhoods: Growing up in Migrancy* (81-98). Springer, Cham.

Farmer, P. (2003). Pathologies of power: Health, human rights, and the new war on the poor. *North American Dialogue*, *6*(1), 1-4.

Farrer, D. S. (2018). Performance Ethnography. *The Martial Arts Studies Reader*, 137.

Finke, R and Stark, R. (1992). *The Churching of America: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Foucault, M. (1977). Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison, trans. Alan Sheridan.

Galtung, J. (1990). Cultural violence. *Journal of peace research*, *27*(3), 291-305.

Garbin, D (2013). The Visibility and Invisibility of Migrant Faith in the city: Diaspora Religion and the politics of emplacent of Afro-Christian Churches. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. Volume 39, Issues 5, 2013

Garbin, D. (2013). The visibility and invisibility of migrant faith in the city: Diaspora religion and the politics of emplacement of Afro-Christian churches. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *39*(5), 677-696.

Garner, R.C. (2000). 'Religion as a Source of Change in the New South Africa .Journal of Religion in Africa 30, 310-343.1

Geschiere, P., Meyer, B., & Pels, P. (2008). Readings in modernity in Africa.

Gifford, P. (2011). The ritual use of the Bible in African Pentecostalism. *Practicing the faith: The ritual life of Pentecostal-Charismatic Christians*, 179-97

Grant, R., & Thompson, D. (2015). City on edge: immigrant businesses and the right to urban space in inner-city Johannesburg. *Urban Geography*, *36*(2), 181-200

Golder, B. (2007). Foucault and the genealogy of pastoral power. *Radical philosophy review*, *10*(2), 157-76.

Gosden, C. (2005). What do objects want?. *Journal of archaeological method and theory*, *12*(3), 193-211.

Gosden, C., & Marshall, Y. (1999). The cultural biography of objects. *World archaeology*, *31*(2), 169-178.

Hage, G. (2003). *Searching for hope in a shrinking society*. Sydney: Pluto Press.

Hankela, E. (2014). *Ubuntu, migration and ministry: Being human in a Johannesburg church*. Brill.

Harris, B. (2001). A Foreign Experience: Violence, Crime and Xenophobia during South Africa's Transition. CSVR Violence in Transition Series. Braamfontein, Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Harris, B. (2002). Xenophobia: A New Pathology for a New South Africa. In Psychopathology and Social Prejudice, edited by Derek Hook and Gillian Eagle. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press

Harrison, P., & Zack, T. (2014). Between the ordinary and the extraordinary: socio-spatial transformations in the 'old south' of Johannesburg. *South African Geographical Journal*, *96*(2), 180-197.

Harrison, P., Gotz, G., Todes, A., & Wray, C. (2014). Materialities, subjectivities and spatial transformation in Johannesburg. *Changing space, changing city: Johannesburg after apartheid*, 2-39.

Hassim S, Kupe T and Worby E (2008) Go home or die here: violence, xenophobia and the reinvention of difference in South Africa, Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Haynes, N. (2017). Learning to pray the Pentecostal way: language and personhood on the Zambian Copperbelt. *Religion*, *47*(1), 35-50.

Haynes, N. (2015). Egalitarianism and hierarchy in Copperbelt religious practice: on the social work of Pentecostal ritual. *Religion*, *45*(2), 273-292.

Hazard, S. (2013). The Material Turn in the Study of Religion. Religion and Society, 4(1).

Hornberger, J. (2004). “My police—your police”: the informal privatisation of the police in the inner city of Johannesburg. *African Studies*, *63*(2), 213-230

Hutchings, T. (2016). Introduction to "Materiality and the Study of Religion": The Body of St Cuthbert.pdf. Materiality and the Study of Religion: The Stuff of the Sacred. Edited by Tim Hutchings and Jo McKenzie (Routledge), 1–13.

Hutchings, T., & McKenzie, J. (2016). Introduction: The body of St Cuthbert. In *Materiality and the Study of Religion* (pp. 1-13). Routledge.

Iannaccone, L. R. (1990). "Religious Participation: A Human Capital Approach." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29:297-314.

Iannaconne, L.R (1997). "Rational Choice: Framework for the Scientific Study of Religion." 25-44 in *Rational Choice Theory and Religion: Summary and Assessment*, edited by Lawrence A. Young. New York: Routledge.

Imilan, W., & Marquez, F. (2019). Urban Ethnography. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Urban and Regional Studies*, 1-15.

James, D. (2015). How Bourdieu bites back: Recognising misrecognition in education and educational research. *Cambridge journal of education*, *45*(1), 97-112.

Jeannerat, C. (2009). Of lizards, misfortune and deliverance: Pentecostal soteriology in the life of a migrant. *African Studies*, *68*(2), 251-271.

Joppke, C. (2010). *Citizenship and immigration* (Vol. 2). Polity.

Jules-Rosette, B. (1993). Beyond the Panopticon: Religion, technology, and the state in Africa. *Research in the Social Scientific Study of Religion*, *5*, 203-224.

Kachikoti, C. (2015c). Let’s Face It: Uproot Altars of Zambian History. Times Zambia, Friday, May 26.

Kachikoti, C. (2015c). Let’s Face It: Uproot Altars of Zambian History. *Times of Zambia*, Friday. May 26.

Kadenge, M., & Ndlovu, T. (2012). Encounters with panaceas: reading flyers and posters on 'traditional'healing in and around Johannesburg's Central Business District. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *30*(3), 461-482.

Karagiannis, E., & Schiller, N. G. (2006). Contesting claims to the land: Pentecostalism as a challenge to migration theory and policy. *Sociologus*, 137-171.

Katsaura, O. (2016). Enchanted Suburbanism: Fantasy, Fear and Suburbia in Johannesburg. In *Routes and Rites to the City* (pp. 163-189). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Katsaura, O. (2017). Theo-urbanism: pastoral power and Pentecostal s in Johannesburg. *Culture and Religion*, *18*(3), 232-262.

Katsaura, O. (2018). Ritualistic urbanism: habitualism, mutualism and multinational coexistence in Johannesburg. *African Identities*, *16*(1), 3-17.

Katsaura, O. (2019). Pentecosmopolis: on the Pentecostal cosmopolitanism of Lagos. *Religion*, 1-25.

Kaunda, C. J. (2018). 'The Altars Are Holding the Nation in Captivity': Zambian Pentecostalism , Nationality, and African Religio-Political Heritage. *Religions*, *9*(5), 145.

Keane, W. (2007). *Christian moderns: Freedom and fetish in the mission encounter* (Vol. 1). University of California Press.

Keane, W. (2008). The Evidence of the Senses and the Materiality of Religion. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *14*, S110-S127.

Keane, W. (2008). The Evidence of the Senses and the Materiality of Religion. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, *14*, S110-S127.

Kingdom, G and Knight, J. (2007). Unemployment in South Africa, 1995-2003: Causes, problems and policies, *Journal of African Economies*, August.

Kleist, N. (2017). Introduction: Studying hope and uncertainty in African migration. In *Hope and uncertainty in contemporary African migration* (15-34). Routledge.

Landau, L. B. (2014). Religion and the foundation of urban difference: Belief, transcendence and transgression in South Africa and Johannesburg. *Global Networks*, *14*(3), 291-305.

Landau, L.B (2009). Living within and beyond Johannesburg: Exclusion, Religion and Emerging forms of Being, in Journal of African Studies, 68:2, 197-214

Landau, L.B (2010). Loving the Alien?: Citizenship, Law, and the future in South Africa's demonic society. African Affairs, 109(435), 213-230.

Landau, L; Ramjathan-Keogh, K and Singh, G. (2005). Xenophobia in South Africa and Problems Related to It. Forced Migration Working Paper Series, 13. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, Forced Migration Studies Programme.

Langa M (2011) Exploring experiencing of torture and CIDT that occurred in South Africa amongst non-nationals in the inner city of Johannesburg. Research report written for the Centre of Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Braamfontein Centre.

Langa, M and Kiguwa, P (2016) Race-ing xenophobic violence: Engaging social representations of the black African body in post-apartheid South Africa, Agenda, 30:2, 75-85, DOI: 10.1080/10130950.2016.1222086

Lanz, S. (2014). „Assembling Global Prayers in the City. An Attempt to Repopulate Urban Theory with Religion ". *Becker ua*, 16-47.

Lartey, E. Y. (2001). Of formulae, fear and faith: Current issues of concern for pastoral care in Africa. *Trinity Journal of Church and Theology, 11*(1), 5-15.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social. An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Le Roux M (2006). "Somali refugees fear deadly violence in Cape Town" In Mail and Guardian Online. 17 September.

Lechner, F. J. (2007). Rational choice and religious economies. *The Sage handbook of the sociology of religion*, 81-97.

Leggett, T. (2003). Rainbow Tenement: Crime and Policing in Inner Johannesburg. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, Monograph 78.

Leman, J. (1999). Religions, modulators in Pluri-ethnic cities: An anthropological analysis of the relative shift from ethnic to supra-ethnic and meta-ethnic faith communities in Brussels. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, *14*(2), 217-231.

Leonard, P. (2013). Landscaping Privilege. *Geographies of privilege*, 97.

Leung, M. (2015, May). "Talk to Her, She is also Chinese": A Reflection on the Spatial-Temporal Reach of Co-Ethnicity in Migration Research. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (Vol. 16, No. 2).

Lueck, M. A. (2007). Hope for a cause as cause for hope: The need for hope in environmental sociology. *The American Sociologist*, *38*(3), 250-261.

Macbeth, D. (2001). On "reflexivity" in qualitative research: Two readings, and a third. *Qualitative inquiry*, *7*(1), 35-68.

Maguire, M., & Murphy, F. (2015). Enchanting Ireland. In *Integration in Ireland*. Manchester University Press.

Maguire, M., & Murphy, F. (2015). Integration in Ireland: The everyday lives of African migrants.

Malinowski, B (1955). Magic, science and religion. New York: Doubleday and company.

Marshall, R. (2009). *Political spiritualities: the Pentecostal revolution in Nigeria*. University of Chicago Press.

Martin, D (1990). Tongues of Fire: the explosion of Protestantism in Latin America. Oxford: Blackwell.

Martin, D (2002). Pentecostalism : The World Their Parish. Massachusetts. Blackwell.

Martin, D. (1990). *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Marx, K. (1997). The Marx reader. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Matsipa, M. (2017). Woza! Sweetheart! On braiding epistemologies on Bree Street. *Thesis Eleven*, *141*(1), 31-48

Maxwell, D. (2006). *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism and the rise of a Zimbabwean transnational religious movement* (Vol. 14). Oxford.

Mbembe, A., & Nuttall, S. (2008). Introduction: Afropolis. *Johannesburg: the elusive metropolis*, 1-33.

McGeer, V. (2004). The art of good hope. *The annals of the American academy of political and social science*, *592*(1), 100-127.

Meyer, B (2009). B. Meyer (Ed.), Aesthetic Formations. Media, religion and the senses, New York, Palgrave.

Meyer, B. (2004). Christianity in Africa: From African independent to Pentecostal - charismatic churches. *Annual. Rev. Anthropol.*, *33*, 447-474.

Meyer, B. (2012). Mediation and the genesis of presence. Towards a material approach to religion.

Meyer, B., and Moers, A. Eds. (2006). *Religion, Media and the Public Sphere.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Mhando, N. E., Maseno, L., Mtata, K., & Senga, M. (2018). Modes of legitimation by female Pentecostal -Charismatic preachers in East Africa: a comparative study in Kenya and Tanzania. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, *36*(3), 319-333.

Miller, D. E., Sargeant, K. H., & Flory, R. (Eds.). (2013). *Spirit and power: The growth and global impact of Pentecostalism* . Oxford University Press.

Misago J.P, Monson T, Polzer T and Landau LB (2010) *May 2008 violence against foreign nationals in South Africa: Understanding causes and evaluating responses*, Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa.

Misago, J. P. (2016). Responding to Xenophobic Violence in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Barking up the Wrong Tree?. *African Human Mobility Review*, *2*(2), 443-467.

Moser, C. O., & McIlwaine, C. (2006). Latin American urban violence as a development concern: towards a framework for violence reduction. *World development*, *34*(1), 89-112.

Mountford, R. (2003). *The Gendered Pulpit*. SIU Press.

Murray, M.J. (2003) 'Alien stranger in our midst: the dreaded foreign invasion and "fortress South Africa"', Canadian Journal of African Studies, 37 (2/3), 440–466.

Murray, M. J. (2008). *Taming the disorderly city: the spatial landscape of Johannesburg after apartheid*. Cornell University Press.

McQuade, B. I. (2016). Police and the post-9/11 surveillance surge:"Technological dramas" in "the bureaucratic field". *Surveillance & Society*, *14*(1), 1-19.

Neocosmos, M. (2006). 'From "foreign natives" to "native foreigners": explaining xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa', Dakar: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, available at: www.codesria.org/IMG/pdf/neocosmos-3.pdf.

Neocosmos, M. (2006). The Politics of Fear and the Fear of Politics: Reflections on Xenophobic Violence in South Africa. Journal of Asian and African Studies 43, 6: 586 - 594.

Núñez, L. (2015). Faith healing, migration and gendered conversions in Pentecostal churches in Johannesburg. In *Healing and Change in the City of Gold* (pp. 149-168). Springer, Cham.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2006). Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa. Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA, and London: Zed Books.

Nyamnjoh, F. B., & Brudvig, I. (2014). Conviviality and negotiations with belonging in urban Africa. *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies. New York: Routledge*, 217-229.

Orsi, Robert A., ed. *Gods of the city: Religion and the American urban landscape*. Indiana University Press, 1999

Palmary, I, Hamber B, and Nunez, L (2015). Healing and Change in the City of Gold. The Case Studies of Coping and Support in Johannesburg, Switzerland. Springer.

Palmary, I., Hamber, B., & Núñez, L. (2015). Case Studies of Precarious Life in Johannesburg. In *Healing and Change in the City of Gold* (1-11). Springer, Cham.

Pargament, K. I. (2001). *The psychology of religion and coping: Theory, research, practice*. Guilford press.

Pickering, W. S. F. (2001). *Emile Durkheim: critical assessments of leading sociologists* (Vol. 2). Taylor & Francis.

Pierini, E., & Groisman, A. (2016). Introduction. Fieldwork in Religion: Bodily Experience and Ethnographic Knowledge. *Journal for the Study of Religious Experience*, *2*(1).

Pieterse, E. (2011). Grasping the unknowable: coming to grips with African urbanisms. *Social Dynamics*, *37*(1), 5-23.

Pillay, G.J (1994). Religion at the Limits: Pentecostalism among Indian South Africans. Pretoria: University of South Africa.

Pinney, C. (2005). Things happen: Or, from which moment does that object come?. Duke University Press Books.

Polzer, T. (2010). *'Xenophobia': Violence Against Foreign Nationals and Other'outsiders' in Contemporary South Africa*. Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand.

Rey, T. (2014). *Bourdieu on religion: Imposing faith and legitimacy*. NewYork. Routledge.

Robbins, J. (2004). The globalization of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.*, *33*, 117-143.

Robbins, J. (2004). The globalization of Pentecostal and charismatic Christianity. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.*, *33*, 117-143.

Roy, A. (2011). Slumdog cities: Rethinking subaltern urbanism. *International journal of urban and regional research*, *35*(2), 223-238.

Simone, A. (2012). Reclaiming black urbanism: Inventive methods for engaging urban fields in Africa and beyond. *African Perspectives–[South] Africa*, 30-49.

Somers, M. (2008). Genealogies of citizenship. *Markets, Statelessness and*.

Scorgie, F., Baron, D., Stadler, J., Venables, E., Brahmbhatt, H., Mmari, K., & Delany-Moretlwe, S. (2017). From fear to resilience: adolescents' experiences of violence in inner-city Johannesburg, South Africa. *BMC public health*, *17*(3), 441.

Scott, D. (2013). Negotiated denizenship: foreign nationals' tactics of belonging in a Cape Town township. *Social Dynamics*, *39*(3), 520-535

Sigmon, C. T. (2017). *Engaging the Gadfly: A Process Homilecclesiology for a Digital Age* (Doctoral dissertation, Vanderbilt University).

Simone, A. (2004). People as infrastructure: intersecting fragments in Johannesburg. *Public culture*, *16*(3), 407-429

Smith, A. (1976a) [1776]. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Oxford. Clarendon Press.

Stark, R. and Finke, R. (2000). *Acts of Faith: Explaining the Human Side of Religion*. Berkeley. University of California Press.

Stats-SA, (2014). General household survey 2013. Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

Steenkamp, C. (2009). Xenophobia in South Africa: What does it say about trust?. *The Round Table*, *98*(403), 439-447.

Tazanu, P. (2019). Just Waiting for the Next Miracle: Pastors and the Phenomenon of Hitting it Big in Africa. https://www.panafricanvisions.com/2019/just-waiting-for-the-next-miracle-pastors-and-the-phenomenon-of-hitting-it-big-in-africa/

Ukah, A (2007). African Christianities: Features, Promises and Problems. Universitat Bayreuth, Germany.

Ukah, A. (2009). Review of Ranger, Terrence O., ed., Evangelical Christianity and Democracy in Africa. H-Pentecostalism , H-net Reviews, February 2009

Ukah, A. (2014). Redeeming urban spaces: the ambivalence of building a Pentecostal city in Lagos, Nigeria. *Global Prayers. Contemporary Manifestations of the Religious in the City*, 178-197.

Vammen, I. M. (2017). Sticking to god: Brokers of hope in Senegalese migration to Argentina. In N. Kleist, & D. Thorsen (Eds.), *Hope and Uncertainty in Contemporary African Migration*, (40–57). London/New York: Routledge.

Van de Kamp, L. (2016). *Violent conversion: Brazilian Pentecostalism and urban women in Mozambique* (Vol. 1). Boydell & Brewer.

Van Dijk, R. A. (1997). From camp to encompassment: discourses of transsubjectivity in the Ghanaian Pentecostal diaspora. *Journal of religion in Africa*, *27*(Fasc. 2), 135-159.

Van Wyk, I. (2014). The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God in South Africa: A Church of Strangers. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Vasquez, M. A. (1999). Pentecostalism , collective identity, and transnationalism among Salvadorans and Peruvians in the US. *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, *67*(3), 617-636.

Vearey, J. (2011). Migration and health in South Africa: implications for development. *Contemporary Migration to South Africa*, 121.

Vlas, N. (2014). Pentecostalism and politics. Global and European perspectives. *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, *13*(37), 148-177.

Wacquant, L. (2010). Crafting the Neoliberal State: Workfare, Prisonfare, and Social security." Sociological Forum 25 (2): 197-220.

Walker, W. H. (1999). Ritual, life histories, and the afterlives of people and things. *Journal of the Southwest*, 383-405.

Walker, W. H., & Schiffer, M. B. (2006). The materiality of social power: The artifact-acquisition perspective. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, *13*(2), 67-88.

Wariboko, N. (2014). *The Charismatic City and the Public Resurgence of Religion: A Pentecostal Social Ethics of Cosmopolitan Urban Life*. Springer.

Wiegele, K. L., & Hefner, R. W. (2013). Politics, education, and civic participation: Catholic charismatic modernities in the Philippines. *dalam Robert W. Hefner, Global Pentecostalism in the 21st Century*, 223-250.

Wilhelm-Solomon, M., Núñez, L., Kankonde, P., & Malcomess, B. (2016). Routes and rites to the city: Introduction. In *Routes and Rites to the City* (1-30). Palgrave Macmillan, London.

Winton, A. (2004). Urban violence: a guide to the literature. *Environment and Urbanization*, *16*(2), 165-184.

Zalanga, S. (2018). African Pentecostalism and Modernity: Critical Reflections on Tensions and Social Concerns. In *Pentecostalism and Politics in Africa* (343-369). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.