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Migrant Pentecostal Churches and the Transformation of Urban Space in Johannesburg



By

Brian Murahwa

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Urban and Regional Planning)

Johannesburg 2021

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation/thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for a Doctor of Philosophy Degree (Urban and Regional Planning). At no other university or institution has it been submitted as a requirement for a degree or any other qualification.

Signature:



30 April 2021

Dedication

To the memory of my parents, Moffat Murahwa and Silindiwe Mhondera, my late grandfather Ernest Manganga Murahwa. To my cousin Richard Mhondera and my brother Tawanda Mhlanga who both perished in a foreign land in pursuit of a better life. Rest easy LEGENDS!

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Lord God, your son is grateful!

Abstract

This study is developing in a context where there is an expanding geography of Pentecostal religion in the urban spaces of many of the cities of the Global South. Employing a qualitative research design and seeing through the theoretical lenses of Pentecostal religio-spatialities, the study uses Hillbrow, an old inner-city neighbourhood in Johannesburg, South Africa, as its social laboratory to illustrate the intersection of Pentecostal geographies and urban space in the making of everyday city life. The study argues that the intersection of Pentecostal religion and urban space creates socio-economic, political, and spatial diversities and leads to the transformation of the urban space. Through the Pentecostal mobilities (of people, objects, and vehicles), sound, images, fashion, buildings and the media, the city's (Johannesburg) everyday life is reconfigured. By carefully exploring the mutually interlacing relationship between Pentecostal religion and urban space, I propose a multi-perspective and interdisciplinary approach to understanding the contemporary realities of cities of the Global South, to envision the continent's uncertain urban future and contribute towards new geographies of theories that draw upon urban experiences and everyday realities. This is critically important in contexts where there has been a perpetual neglect of the religious in analysing African urbanism(s). Building on rich ethnographic experiences of more than 18 months of fieldwork, the study draws evidence from two immigrant-run Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow to illustrate how Pentecostal religion is spaced and space is Pentecostalised. The study does so by revealing the Pentecostal religion's transformative force of urban space in Hillbrow, a community that is witnessing expanding Pentecostal geographies.

Table of Contents

Declaration i
Dedication ii
Acknowledgements iii
Abstract v
List of Figures x
Acronyms and Abbreviations xi
CHAPTER ONE 1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY 1
1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 Religious urbanism 2
1.3 Recounting the religious in contemporary urban studies 3
1.4 Reading urban theory from an African metropolis 5
1.5 Research argument 8
1.6 Contributions of the research 9
1.7 Research question(s) 11
Main question 11
Sub-questions 11
1.8 About Hillbrow 12
1.8.1 Rationale: Hillbrow case study 13
1.9 Preface on method 14
1.10 Thesis organisation 15
CHAPTER TWO 17
PENTECOSTALISM: HISTORY AND POPULARITY 17
2.1 Introduction 17
2.2 Background to Pentecostalism 17
2.3 Media technologies and Pentecostal growth and popularity 19
2.4 Why growth? 21
2.5 Networks of social support 22
2.6 The prosperity gospel 24
2.7 Self-empowerment 25
2.8 Demonology, healing, and deliverance 27
2.9 Pentecostalism and neoliberalism 28
2.10 Conclusion 29
CHAPTER THREE 30

READING INTO THE CITY – A RELIGIO-SPATIAL FRAMEWORK 30
3.1 Introduction 30
3.2 Re-centering the religious in urban thought 31
3.3 Thinking religio-spatially 33
3.3.1 Bourdieu's global circulation 33
3.3.2 Welcoming Bourdieu to *my* Hillbrow 35
3.4 Competition in Hillbrow's social space 40
3.4.1 Competition within the Pentecostal field 41
3.4.2 Competition between religious fields (inter-religious competition) 45
3.4.3 Competition across fields 48
3.5 Conclusion 52
CHAPTER FOUR 54
WAITING AS ETHNOGRAPHY 54
4.1 Introduction 54
4.2 Hustling, migration, and the shaping of urban ethnography 57
4.2.1 The grass is not always greener on the other side 58
4.3 Research design 60
4.3.2 Renting a flat in Hillbrow 63
4.4 Negotiating access: Learning to wait and learning from waiting 63
4.4.1 The experience of waiting 65
4.4.2 Networks and access 71
4.5 Beyond church spaces: ethnographies of the everyday in Hillbrow 74
4.6 Sampling 84
4.7 Data gathering techniques 84
4.8 Conclusion: Field research as a space of waiting and endless negotiations 87
CHAPTER FIVE 88
PENTECOSTAL RELIGION AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN HILLBROW 88
5.1 Introduction 88
5.2 Hillbrow's emerging Pentecostal religious identity 90
5.2.1 Spatial location and the politics of profit and proximity 95
5.3 Everyday insecurities and Pentecostal religion 97
5.3.1 The State's institutionalised violence 98
5.3.2 Pentecostal churches as solution grounds? 101
5.3.3 Pentecostal religion and the built environment 106
5.4 Pentecostal religion and the demonisation of Hillbrow's infrastructure 110
5.4.1 Hillbrow's demonised built form-Vannin Court 110

5.4.2 Beyond Hillbrow's built form: everyday life and the fear of others 115
5.5 Conclusion 118
CHAPTER SIX 119
GRACE ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH: PENTECOSTAL RELIGION AND THE DEMANDS OF EVERYDAY LIFE 119
6.1 Introduction 119
6.2 Erotic geographies of Johannesburg: a brief background 121
6.3 Where Pentecostal geographies meet erotic geographies 125
6.3.1 The Summit Club 126
6.3.2 Sex work and conventional forms of employment 128
6.3.3 When erotic capital meets the capital of anointing 129
6.3.4 Sex work and self-conflict among the Pentecostals 135
6.4 Gambling for gold and God: Pentecostal punters and everyday life 136
6.4.1 Gambling in South Africa 136
6.4.2 Gambling and religion 139
6.5 Of everyday insecurities and Pentecostal spiritual rehabilitation 142
6.6 Sex work, Gambling, and the Pentecostals: a conclusion 143
CHAPTER SEVEN 144
HILLBROW'S RELIGIOUS FIELD: A RELATIONAL ANALYSIS 144
7.1 Introduction 144
7.2 Micro-level contestations: Dramaturgy and the Pentecostals 145
7.2.1 Church to church relations 145
7.2.2 Surviving the Pentecostal religious field: Strategies and tactics 151
7.2.3 Symbolic violence, domination and resistance 158
7.3 Meso-level contestations: Pentecostal religion versus African Traditional Religion (ATR) 167
7.3.1 African Traditional Religion: What do we know? 168
7.3.2 Why the radical stance towards ATR? 172
7.4 Conclusion 174
CHAPTER EIGHT 176
CONTESTING URBAN SPACE IN THE INNER CITY: PENTECOSTALISM AND HILLBROW'S OTHER FIELDS 176
8.1 Introduction 176
8.2 Pentecostal field versus the residential field 177
8.2.1 Pentecostal religion and the securitisation of Hillbrow 177
8.2.2 You cannot change the mindset of hardcore criminals 182

8.2.3 Confronting sound and silence in the inner city 186
8.3 Pentecostal field versus economic field 190
8.3.1 The money offered by them is just too much to resist 191
8.3.2 Churches and the creation of business opportunities 195
8.4 Pentecostal field versus political field: A marriage of convenience? 197
8.4.1 Spiritualising urban problems 199
8.5 Pentecostal field versus the urban planning field 201
8.5.1 Informal churches and city by-laws 206
8.5.2 Newly emerging Pentecostal churches beyond the UDB? No chance! 207
8.6 Conclusion 209
CHAPTER NINE 210
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 210
9.1 Preamble 210
9.2 Pentecostal religion and urban insecurities 210
9.3 Contesting urban space in Hillbrow 212
9.4 Pentecostal practices and the struggle for legitimacy and recognition 212
9.5 Perceptions about space 214
9.6 Key lessons of the study 215
9.7 Areas for further research 217
10: References 219
11. Appendices 245
Appendix A: Fieldwork Activities Summary 245
Appendix B: List of Respondents, church members and key informants 246
Appendix C: Conversation guide 248
Appendix D: Ethics Clearance 251
Appendix D: Plagiarism declaration 252

List of Figures

Figure 1: Field analysis 40
Figure 2: The Elliot saga 68
Figure 3: Frequented field sites 78
Figure 4: Street Ethnography 80
Figure 5: Matida Hostels, Sakubva, Mutare 81
Figure 6: Vannin Court, Hillbrow 82
Figure 7: Hillbrow's Pentecostal Spatial Distribution 91
Figure 8: Hillbrow's shared infrastructure 94
Figure 9: Lorna Court 107
Figure 10: Some of Johannesburg's erotic sites 122
Figure 11: Summit Club 126
Figure 12: Anointed objects 134
Figure 13: Gross Gambling Revenue, South Africa, 2016 and 2021 137
Figure 14: Johannesburg's gambling sites 138
Figure 15: Recovered weapons at the IPHC 150
Figure 16: Mount Zion 152
Figure 17: An ATR shop in Hillbrow 169
Figure 18: Marketing in the religious field 173
Figure 19: A transformed building 181
Figure 20: Hillbrow's Crime Statistics: 2013-2019 183
Figure 21: Musical instruments at the CD church 188
Figure 22: Anastacia's Pre-School 192
Figure 23: Traders opposite the RCG church 196
Figure 24: Urban Development Zones in Johannesburg 205

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ATR	African Traditional Religion
BBP	Bad/Better Buildings Program
CBD	Central Business District
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CD	Christ's Disciples
CM	Christian Mission
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CRL	Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities
FBO	Faith Based Organisations
FNB	First National Bank
GAA	Group Areas Act
GCB	Global Corruption Barometer
IC	International Church
ICPS	Inner-City Property Scheme
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPHC	International Pentecost Holiness Church
JIPF	Johannesburg International Pentecostal Fellowship
JMPD	Johannesburg Metro Police Department
LUM	Land Use Management
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MFM	Mountain of Fire Ministries
NBFC	New Believers Foundational Course
RCG	Revelation Church of God
RCCG	Redeemed Christian Church of God
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation

SACC	South African Council of Churches
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SAPS	South African Police Service
SCOAN	Synagogue Church of All Nations
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
UCKG	Universal Church of the Kingdom of God
UDA	Urban Development Area
UDB	Urban Development Boundary
UEA	Urban Expansion Area
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZAOGA	Zimbabwe Assemblies of God
ZBC	Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation
ZCC	Zion Christian Church

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

> Contemporary urban research stands at a crossroads. As scholars struggle to decipher current forms of urbanisation, they are forced to confront the limitations of inherited approaches to urban questions, to face the difficult challenge of inventing new theories, concepts and methods that are better equipped to illuminate emergent spatial conditions, their contradictions and their implications at diverse sites and scales around the world. The result of these efforts is an intellectual field in disarray (Brenner, 2013).

1.1 Introduction

Post-independence cities of the 'Global South' are proving to be epicentres of urbanism(s) (Harrison *et al.*, 2014; Turok, 2016). In 1950, it was estimated that approximately two-thirds of the global population lived in rural settlements (United Nations, 2014). During this period, approximately 32 million people in Africa (which accounted for about 14% of the total population of the continent) were living in cities. Today, the level of urbanisation in Africa stands at approximately 40% (bid). By 2050, estimates suggest that approximately 55% of the population in Africa will be urbanised and two-thirds of the global population will be living in cities (United Nations, 2014; Turok, 2016). Rapid rates of urbanisation in the 21st century have also seen a global resurgence of various religiosities across the world. In cities of the Global South, growing rates of urbanisation have been accompanied by an expanding geography of Pentecostalism (Meyer, 2004; Becker *et al.*, 2013; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016).

The accelerated growth of urbanisation, precipitated by a combination of natural increase and migration, amplifies the demand for renewed modes of thinking and approaches that are grounded in everyday dynamics and realities. To this end, there has been growing calls and suggestions for a range of new 'urbanisms' to understand and explain the complex developments of urbanisation, particularly in cities of the 'Global South' (Parnell and Oldfield, 2014; Shatkin, 2007; Roy, 2009). As cities become continuously more complex, dynamic, fluid and transitioning, more empirical work and new theoretical reflections are needed (Harrison *et al*., 2014; Parnell and Pieterse, 2014; Parnell and Oldfield, 2014). This study is therefore a

response to these growing demands for a range of new urbanisms grounded in empirical work and new theoretical reflections.

1.2 Religious urbanism

In contemporary cities of the Global South, religion is emerging as a vital force in shaping and transforming the 'urban'. By religion, I refer to the 'practice of mediation' (Meyer 2009: 2), between the idea and experience of the supernatural and everyday life. The Pew Research Centre's report of 2015, which analysed various global trends such as fertility, age, mortality and religion, estimates that there will be a decline from 16% to 13% of people who identify as areligious by 2050 (Lipka, 2015). Of the remaining 77% who will identify as religious, approximately 60% (of the global population) will be Christians and Muslims, with the other remaining 27% affiliated to other global religions (ibid). Although these estimates do not give a detailed account of how religious composition (both affiliations and non-affiliations) will be distributed across time and space, suffice to note that growing trends of urbanisation will also see an upsurge in the practices of religiosities in urban spaces across the globe.

As a continent that is urbanising rapidly, Africa is already witnessing an expanding religious geography in its urban spaces. As people continue to move between and across spatial boundaries, either carrying their religiosities with them or adopting those of host communities in urban spaces, the urban spaces of the continent will arguably be home to multiple new religiosities, in addition to those that already exist. This study has therefore been developed in a context where processes of global urbanisation and modernisation continue to aid both the demand and the growth of religion (in general) and Pentecostalism (in particular) in contemporary urban spaces of cities of the 'Global South'.

Without lessening the continued demand to observe traditionally or historically dominant religious movements, such as those of the African Independent Churches, Islam, Catholicism, Methodism and African Traditional Religions, this study pays attention to and calls for a proactive engagement with Pentecostalism in reading into the imprints of everyday life in a post-colonial African city. A focus on Pentecostalism[1] is necessary considering that it (Pentecostalism) is becoming an increasingly significant factor in making and remaking the urban, particularly in contemporary African, Latin American and Asian cities (Meyer, 2004; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013; Becker *et al.*, 2013; Biri, 2014; Ukah, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016). By Pentecostalism, I refer to a revivalist brand of

[1] In Chapter 2, a detailed analysis of the world of Pentecostalism is given.

Christianity that emphasises the believers' personal experiences with God, the belief in 'signs and wonders', and the imbuement of the 'Born Again'[2] with the 'Holy Spirit' (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Meyer, 2010; Katsaura, 2017). This brand of Christianity stresses the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which manifest largely through bodily experiences and include the ability to speak in tongues, prophesy, faith healing, exorcise demonic spirits and places an emphasis on the material rewards of the present (Anderson, 2005a; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Bremner, 2013; Katsaura, 2017).

A proactive engagement with the religious in understanding everyday urbanism(s) is not intended to portray religion as a new urban phenomenon. Cities in Africa for instance, have always been imbued with the religious (see, for instance, Maxwell, 1998; Katsaura, 2017; Van De Kamp, 2017). Throughout history, cities (such as Jerusalem Baghdad, Kasgar and Mumbai among others), as hubs of cultural pluralism; as sites of social mobility, and extremes of wealth and poverty; as major centres of commerce and political rule and population growth, have always facilitated the growth of and demand for religion. In fact, the Christians' most controversial script, the Bible, reminds us of how the Israelites were encouraged to be resilient and to, 'seek the welfare of the city,' (Jeremiah 29: 7). That said, the focus on Pentecostal religion needs to be evaluated against the understanding that this brand of Christianity is a fairly recent phenomenon in post-apartheid South Africa, a country whose religious face has been dominated by Catholicism, Methodism, Islam, and African Traditional Religion throughout history. Despite its growing presence in South Africa's urban spaces, and in the cities of the Global South, there is limited attention in urban studies related to how Pentecostalism materialises and finds relevance in urban spaces. As a major starting point, this study argues that the African city also deserves equal attention when read from the perspective of its Pentecostal religious identity.

1.3 Recounting the religious in contemporary urban studies

Since the turn of the 20th century, a significant growth of religious institutions in urban spaces globally have resulted in religion being a widely discussed issue across the globe (see Meyer, 1995; McLeod, 1996; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013; Biri, 2014; Garbin, 2014). From the modes of urban governance influenced by Hindu nationalists in Mumbai(Eckert, 2009) , the significant growth of Pentecostalism in the *favelas* of Rio de

[2] To be 'born again' in Christian theology and precisely evangelical terms is to experience a 'spiritual rebirth', often contrasted with physical birth.

Janeiro in Brazil (Martin, 1990; Oosterbaan, 2017), to the street politics following the Iranian Revolution in Tehran in Iran (Bayat, 2007), religious issues have gained momentum in understanding contemporary urban dynamics. Across Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa, urban spaces have and continue to function as cradles and laboratories for religious movements' innovations and expansions (Gifford, 2004; Woods, 2006; Turok, 2013; Ojo, 2018).

Today, the existing and emerging religious scholarship aimed at rethinking urban theory points to the rejection of earlier generalisations of the secularising effects of urbanisation (Turner, 2011; Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013). With increasing modernisation processes of industrialisation, urbanisation and rationalisation, it was assumed that the secularisation thesis would see the fate of religion in contemporary societies (Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013). Casanova (1994) disaggregated the secularisation thesis into three distinct concepts namely, the decline of religious participation and belief, the privatisation of religion, and the increasing differentiation between religious and non-religious spheres of human activity.

Borrowing from Robinson (2006), Lanz (2013) argues that there are two formative "theoretical manoeuvres" that underpin the secularisation thesis, namely, a selective association between modernity and the city and secondly, the concept of "developmentalism" (Lanz, 2013 cited in Robinson, 2006). As latecomers to experiencing industrialisation and ultimately modernity, the two theoretical underpinnings assume that cities beyond the so called 'North' are underdeveloped, pre-modern, traditional and primitive. In a Weberian sense, secularisation as the rationalization of the world, would spread from the industrialised (and modernised) countries of Europe across to the rest of the world. Nevertheless, the questions of the religious have largely taken a peripheral role in the theorisations of the urban. This is understandable, considering that theory in general and urban theory in particular have always been a Western domain and have largely been used to explain the urban processes of 'Western' cities, following the different epochs of the Industrial Revolution (Roy, 2016). However, the growing geography of religion in African urban spaces today points to not only the ineptitude of the secularisation thesis, but also the shortcomings in urban theory that adequately explain the processes of urbanisation in cities of the Global South.

Rather than being relegated to the private sphere as proponents of the secularisation thesis had anticipated, religion in general and Pentecostalism specifically have become permanent

features of everyday urbanism(s) in Africa, as elsewhere across the globe. In fact, as Orsi (1999:45) rightfully asserts, "the world of the modern city has necessitated, encouraged, or simply made possible a tremendous explosion of religious innovation and experimentation".

Since the early 2000s, urban spaces are proving to be fertile sites for heightened religious practices and innovations to the effect that the boundaries dividing the sacred and the profane, have more than ever, become blurred, fragile, and permeable. The appropriation and transformation of the so-called secular spaces into sacred spaces, either temporarily or permanently for the practices of religiosities, is a common feature of everyday life, not only in urban spaces of the Global South, but also elsewhere globally. In Berlin for instance, it was observed that some religious movements, such as evangelical churches held their religious activities in movie theatres and certain popular dance clubs (Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013). These dynamics are happening in a city that was once historically considered the world's areligious city (despite being one of the most industrialised cities globally) (Lanz, 2013). Generally, history has shown the growth and adaptation of the religious to new urban environments of Africa, Asia, Latin America, China and India, as these communities developed both economically and politically (Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013).

1.4 Reading urban theory from an African metropolis

As many scholars have noted, colonialism has played an instrumental role in the development of cities in Africa. By and large, many towns and cities in Africa developed as sites of capitalist production, especially where minerals were discovered. The Copperbelt region, the historical colonies of Northern and (to some extent), Southern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo, offer illuminating examples of how colonial capital played a key role in producing urban Africa (Freund, 2006, 2012). Because of the continent's colonial history, there has been an overemphasis in urban theory on colonialism and capitalism as the major drivers of spatial change and the development of African cities (Woods, 2006; Freund, 2012).

With specific reference to South Africa, the country's development has been anchored on the highly racialised and controlled mine and farm labour migration, dating back to the 19th century, following the discovery of minerals in many parts of the country. South Africa's history therefore largely privileges a reading of the 'urban' as a site of capital accumulation and exploitation (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004). For instance, Van Onselen (1982, 2001), writing about the history of Johannesburg, gave a detailed account of how Johannesburg's real story revolves around the conflicting interests between the mine owners and the poor

working class who served the industry. The city has been epitomised, from a Marxian perspective as, "the actual world of human labor, of grubby production, of toil, exploitation, and minimum wage work," (Merrifield, 2002: 63 cited in Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008). Without overlooking the importance of this reading of Johannesburg, and of course other narratives about the city, one still wonders whether the story of Johannesburg can only be understood from the perspective that links largely labour and capital.

Additionally, much of the focus about Johannesburg has been on spatial dislocation, class differentiation and racial polarisation resulting from the state-sanctioned segregation and planning policies of the apartheid era (Harrison *et al.*, 2014). Attention has therefore been given to the geographies of poverty, forced removals and various forms of informalities. Broadly, such studies have highlighted the multiple forms of insecurities, dispossession, and spatial exclusion of the black people from the apartheid city and polity (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2004). Post-apartheid studies have thus aimed to proffer solutions and redress the effects of the high levels of inequalities, socio-economic and spatial injustices inherited from the apartheid system. By mapping an urban social geography of need (the need to redress), these studies underplay many other aspects of the everyday urban life and form (Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008) (such as the religious). Ignoring the fact that cities also operate as sites of religious invention, urban theory (in general) and South African historiography are arguably biased in their reading of the urban through the economistic lenses.

Apart from the economistic reductionist perspective of seeing the city as a site of capital accumulation and exploitation (capital versus labour), in its description of African cities, the bias in urban theory is also depicted in Western media and publications. Cities in Africa are in most instances defined by the logic of despair or hope, a description that can easily make a distinction between the countries of the Global South and those of the Global North – the 'West' and the 'Rest', if one is to borrow from Stuart Hall (1992). For instance, writing about Lagos, Koolhaas (2002: 177) has described how the city is portrayed by the Western media as dangerous and a city in despair; a city with 'an aura of apocalyptic violence; entire sections of it seemed to be smouldering, as if it were one gigantic rubbish dump.' Similarly, some of Johannesburg's inner-city neighbourhoods like Hillbrow, have been referred to by some writers as 'war zones' (Nessman 2002: 194), and the city has broadly been characterised by heightened levels of fear, which have led to growing patterns of private consumption of protection services (Murray, 2020).

Such analyses and interpretations of African cities mirror how different cities of the South are to Western cities (Ukah, 2016), cities that have often been perceived to have reached the zenith of development and modernity. According to Robinson (2002: 531), one of the central contradictions in contemporary urban theory is that cities throughout the world are consistently analysed with reference to, ''the (usually unstated) experiences of a relatively small group of (mostly western) cities.'' In this regard, she argues that the bias that informs how cities are characterised, interpreted and understood, and calls for a "need to construct (or promote) an alternative theory of the urban, which reflects the experiences of a wider range of cities," (Robinson 2002. 532).

Under circumstances where the question of the nexus between the modern city and religion have been addressed in urban theory, religion is often portrayed as a sign of recidivism and very often, linked to poverty zones of cities in the 'Global South', who are considered to be captive to their tradition. Where attempts were made to incorporate the religious in understanding the urban dynamics of cities in the Global South, religion has often been regarded as a hindrance or inimical to development. For instance, Islam, as a dominant religion in the Middle East, has often been perceived as responsible for the urban decay, chaotic spatial structures, and ineffective institutions (Raymond, 1994). Such orientalist approaches to theorising religion in urban spaces of the so-called 'Global South' that connects religion and underdevelopment fails to account for the significant impacts that religious institutions are having in contributing towards the general everyday life of contemporary cities. Additionally, to view religious institutions as threats to urban modernity is tantamount to underestimating and underscoring the crucial role that religious actors continue to play in co-producing cities. This does not however suggest an over-romanticisation of especially Pentecostalism in the everyday lives of various groups in urban spaces. The complexities of Pentecostal religion in especially mediating the experiences of immigrants in Johannesburg is succinctly captured in an expansive study by Nyuke (2021).

The ways in which the African city has been interpreted in urban theory is a clear indication of the geo-politics of knowledge, which often portray the movement of knowledge as unidirectional, that is, from the core to the periphery. This approach has, however, been heavily contested by scholars who advocate for a situatedness approach to urban theory, an approach rooted in the experiences and dynamics of countries of the Global South (Robinson, 2002; Roy, 2009; Parnell, 2014; Parnell and Oldfield, 2014). Roy (2009: 820) for one, has been concerned about the "limited sites at which theoretical production is currently theorized," and calls for the dislocation of the 'Euro-American centre of theoretical production' (Roy

2009: 820). There is a need to recognise that the experiences of countries in the north may not be universally applicable, and from a global perspective are in fact more likely to be exceptional. However, a situatedness approach does not suggest that African cities should be understood separately from other global cities.

Advances in technology today have made the world much more connected than ever before (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2010). In '*Writing the World from an African metropolis*', Mbembe and Nuttall (2004) propose the need to understand the African city in relation to other global cities. As Lanz (2013) rightfully asserts, cities in the Global South are not incommensurable; they instead need to be regarded as 'neighbours' in a single metropolitan space. In this regard, urban developments in the Global South cannot be understood or analysed separately from other developments elsewhere across the globe, because global cities are increasingly connected via networks, various forms of development, politics, the increasing flows of people, capital, goods, ideas, and (most importantly for this study), cultural and religious practices. As I situate this study in Johannesburg, I am also aware of developments elsewhere, which directly or indirectly influence the findings of this research. Situating this study in Johannesburg, however, has the benefit of contributing to new ways of theorising cities, an approach that is grounded in everyday realities.

1.5 Research argument

This study highlights the intersection of Pentecostal religion and urban space in the making of everyday life in Johannesburg. The study uses Hillbrow, an inner-city neighbourhood in Johannesburg to illustrate the spatialisation of Pentecostal religion and the Pentecostal religionisation of spatialities, i.e., the intricately and mutually constituting link between Pentecostal religion and urban space in formulating daily life in the neighbourhood. The study argues that the intersection of Pentecostal religion and urban space creates economic, socio-cultural, political, and spatial diversities within, across and beyond urban spaces. Through mobilities of Pentecostal bodies, objects, and vehicles; the violent appropriation of the neighbourhood's soundscape and mediascape; appropriation of physical buildings and other public spaces, the city's (Johannesburg) everyday life is reconfigured. By carefully exploring the interlaced relationship between religion and urban space, this study joins the growing calls for multi-perspective and interdisciplinary approaches to understanding the contemporary realities of cities of the Global South, to envision the continent's uncertain urban future and contributing towards new geographies of theories that draw upon urban experiences and everyday realities (Robinson, 2002; Roy and Ong, 2011; Parnell and

Robinson, 2012; Parnell and Oldfield, 2014; Parnell and Pieterse, 2014). This is critically important in contexts where there has been a perpetual neglect of the religious in analysing African urbanism(s).

1.6 Contributions of the research

In the preceding sections of this chapter, I have highlighted one of the primary biases in urban theory, namely regarding the urban as largely an arena of and for the production of capital. If the twin processes of colonialism and capitalism, as popularised in urban theory, are the major driving forces in the production of cities (Roy and Ong, 2011), how does one account for a particular form of urbanism being driven by religious institutions (and Pentecostal religious institutions in particular)? How does one explain the spatial changes that persist in many cities of the Global South, and largely owing to an expanding Pentecostal geography in the urban spaces? I argue that an overemphasis on capitalism[3] as the major force of development, and spatial changes in contemporary cities threatens to reduce cities to mere sites of capital accumulation, thereby underscoring other forces that continue to influence spatial changes and development. Given this background, it is not just practical, but also critical to view the city through its myriad identities.

In South Africa, and in Johannesburg specifically, there is an emergent need to consider its other identity, as a growing churching city (Katsaura, 2017), and its other neighbourhoods as slowly emerging Pentecostal communities. Yet, as elsewhere in other cities of the Global South, the available readings for understanding the phenomenon of urbanisation in Johannesburg seem to focus, in many cases, on sprawling economies, politics, urban violence, environmental concerns and governance, among other issues (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008; Murray, 2011; Rubin, 2013; Haferburg and Huchzermeyer, 2014; Harrison *et al.*, 2014; Parnell and Oldfield, 2014). Overall, the city's Pentecostal religious identity in these important readings of the city, remains underexplored. While this scholarship is very important, there is a need for multi-perspectival approaches to reading the urban beyond the logic of capital accumulation, informality, governance, violence and so on. In *Seeing Like a City*, Amin and Thrift (2017) stresses the demand to consider the heterogeneities and the complexities of cities.

[3] This does not however suggest that Pentecostalism can exist without capitalism. The relationship between the two is intricately connected and mutually reinforcing.

Understanding contemporary manifestations of Pentecostalism in cities of the Global South is one of the ways of seeing the city. This an area of scholarship that deserves a thorough and renewed investigative analysis, because religious institutions, particularly Pentecostalism, are growing to be critical forces in structuring and restructuring urban landscapes of cities of the Global South (Wilhelm-Solomon *et al*., 2016; Meyer, 2004; Garbin, 2014; Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016; Ukah, 2016). This study thus joins a growing body of scholarship that is engaging the 21st century post-colonial city through the lens of the religious (Becker *et al.*, 2013; Lanz, 2016; Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016; Ukah, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016; Katsaura, 2017). This scholarship has not only provided important answers to urbanism in general and African urbanism in particular, but it has also opened new fields of enquiry for continued studies in this field. I argue that despite the recent attempts to address the place of religion in (African) urbanism, more can still be done to illustrate how emerging forms and practices of religiosities in newly emerging Pentecostal churches materialises in the urban spaces of the perceived cities of the Global South.

By exploring how religion materialises in urban spaces, this study makes critical contributions to new dimensions on 'new geographies' of imagination and epistemology in the production of urban and regional theory (Roy, 2009). The study has done so through an exploratory approach that highlights the mutually constituting link between Pentecostal religion and urban space, and in the process, unearths the often unheralded and less celebrated, "…dimensions of urban life from the periphery into a clearer view," (Simone 2010: 279). I maintain the need for continued evidence-based research in understanding contemporary cities that are complex, dynamic, incomplete, and always in transition. A specific focus on a post-colonial city in Africa (Johannesburg) also offers a 'southern urban' focus in the theorisation of cities in the Global South, a perspective that has been advocated by many urban scholars (Roy and Ong, 2011; Parnell and Robinson, 2012; Parnell and Oldfield, 2014; Parnell and Pieterse, 2016). Regardless, I contribute towards a situated theoretical approach to questions related to spatialities, Pentecostalism, relationalities, and the everyday city life. The study therefore also makes a methodological contribution in terms of approach.

At policy level, this research stimulates policy debate about the limitations of existing spatial policies and land use management systems, with their lack of consideration on the religious activities in which people engage daily. In an urban context, where the geography of Pentecostalism is slowly growing, oversights on the religious needs of people in spatial planning policies have the potential to perpetuate conflict and contestations over urban

space. For a city with a vision of world-class status by 2040, a wholesome consideration of the diverse needs of people is not only advisable, but mandatory if the spatial planning policies are to be effective. The study therefore contributes to a rethinking of modernist planning policies that have largely overlooked the question of the religious.

1.7 Research question(s)

In my quest to illustrate how Pentecostal religion and urban space play out in everyday life in Johannesburg, this study is guided by the following main research question and sub-questions.

Main question

- How does Pentecostalism and urban space intersect in the making of everyday urban life in Johannesburg?

Sub-questions

- In what ways are everyday practices of migrant Pentecostals infiltrating and transforming spaces in the metropolis and vice versa?
- How does Pentecostal religion find relevance in an urban context of multiple forms of insecurities and uncertainties?
- How does Pentecostal religion relate to other actors or stakeholders in the neighbourhood?

In exploring the above questions, I have developed the concept of Pentecostal religio-spatiality, which simultaneously bring the religious and the spatial into conversation with each other. The concept has largely but not exclusively been developed on the basis of Bourdieu's (1977b, 1985, 1998, 2002) thinking tools of the field, capital, habitus, and social space, among others. Lefebvre's (1991) ideas on conceived spaces, De Certeau's theory of practice (De Certeau and Rendall, 1984), Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical thesis and Foucault's (1977) panopticism have also been incorporated in the development of a conceptual framework, intended to illustrate how Pentecostal religion is spaced and how space is Pentecostalised (see Chapter 3). Before I turn to a brief discussion on the methods employed in answering the research questions, in the next section I provide an overview of the research site, Hillbrow and justify why this site was purposely chosen for this study.

1.8 About Hillbrow

Established as an upscale free-standing residential community with detached houses in 1895, Hillbrow was once regarded as the healthiest and most fashionable neighbourhood of Johannesburg (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). The neighbourhood saw some significant structural changes from the 1920s, thanks to technological advancements and the removal of height restrictions, which made possible the construction of multi-storey buildings. The 1960s were characterised by intensive construction, which saw an approximate 250% increase in apartment buildings, and a doubling of office space (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). Following these massive constructions, Hillbrow became a high density and high-rise neighbourhood in the inner city of Johannesburg. These significant changes were also taking place in the surrounding neighbourhoods of Berea and Yeoville.

Throughout history, Hillbrow has always held a quality of migrancy. The apartments that were constructed from the 1960s were considered to offer the "ideal fluid accommodation situation for transients," (Stadler and Dugmore 2017: 4). Nearly 30% of Hillbrow residents were foreign born (predominantly European) in the 1960s (Ibid). Its diverse, migrant flavour (comprising white Europeans mostly), was reflected in the presence of foreign bookshops, bakeries, churches, cafes and restaurants, among others. That Hillbrow was constituted by a predominantly 'white' population should not come as a surprise, considering the colonial history of South Africa. The Group Areas Act, for instance, designated Hillbrow as a 'white' area in 1950. The 1970 census showed an approximate population of 10 000 whites, compared to just over 1 000 blacks, who lived as domestic workers and servants, as well as a handful of coloureds and Indians (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). Estimates suggest that by the late 1980s, approximately 70% of the apartments were occupied by whites, 25% by coloureds and Indians, and only 5% by blacks (Beall, Crankshaw and Parnell, 2002 cited in Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). These figures offer a synopsis of the racial dynamics that characterised this neighbourhood prior to the abolishment of apartheid laws (such as the Group Areas Act, GAA) in 1991, through the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991, an act of parliament in South Africa that repealed many of the apartheid laws imposed to govern land ownership, access, and use on the basis of race.

It is estimated that 25% to 30% flats were left vacant after the relaxation of the racial laws (GAA), and the scrapping of the pass laws that restricted the movement of 'non-white' people in designated 'white' areas. The period of the 1990s saw noticeable trends in overcrowding and was characterised by a severe decline in the physical infrastructure and a lack of basic

services, such as electricity and water (Scorgie *et al.*, 2017; Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). Criminal activities also became one of the dominant features of Hillbrow. In 1997, for instance, police statistics recorded 96 murders, 576 robberies, 48 cases of housebreaking, 324 vehicle break-ins, and 504 thefts of vehicles (Stadler and Dugmore, 2017: 12). The perceived 'crime' and 'grime' that came to characterise Hillbrow saw the movement of residents (especially whites) away from this neighbourhood to the affluent suburbs in the north. The move of white residents from Hillbrow ushered in a new racial, ethnic, social, and religious identity, as people moved in from different parts of the country and beyond.

1.8.1 Rationale: Hillbrow case study

As indicated in the preceding section, the relaxation of apartheid laws and the ultimate attainment of democracy in 1994 saw certain demographic changes in Hillbrow's residents' composition. These changes also coincided with the neighbourhood's changes in its religious profile. A neighbourhood where Protestantism, Methodism, Anglicanism and Judaism dominated subsequently welcomed new religious players, mainly the African Independent Churches and Pentecostalism, as more migrated into the area following the demise of apartheid legislation. If there is a sense in the idea that as people migrate, they carry with them memories, cultures and most importantly religiosities, the same reasoning can be used to explain the growth of Pentecostal religion in Hillbrow, a community popular for its migrancy status. Since the dawn of democracy, there has been an expansion of Pentecostalism in South Africa's urban spaces (Ukah, 2010). As more people have moved in from various locations, both local and abroad, Hillbrow has seen an increase in Pentecostal church buildings, from none in 1980 to 27 by 2014 (Winkler, 2014). Today, Hillbrow is growing in religious terms, into a Pentecostal community with the signatures of Pentecostal religion inscribed in its everyday life (See Chapter 5 of this thesis). The selection of Hillbrow as a case study is therefore justifiable considering the growing presence of Pentecostal religious institutions in this neighbourhood. This does not, however, suggest that this growth is only limited to this neighbourhood. The surrounding neighbourhoods, such as Yeoville and Berea, might also be experiencing an emerging form of urbanism driven by Pentecostalism(s).

Hillbrow also offered an interesting case for analysing the mutually constituting link between Pentecostal religion and urban space because of its socio-economic standing. The majority of residents in Hillbrow are of low economic standing, thus confirming the view that different locations have different socio-economic values, what has been referred to as *locational capital* (Bourdieu and Accardo, 1999; Katsaura, 2013). Additionally, the neighbourhood is

perceived to be notorious for high levels of crime, violence and multiple forms of anti-social activities (Mpe, 2001; Nessman, 2002; Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). These features also motivated my choice for selecting Hillbrow as my case study. In Pentecostal tradition, these features (in addition to poverty) are often interpreted as spiritual problems. Hillbrow therefore offered an important case to illustrate how Pentecostalism materialises in an urban context of precarity and uncertainty. As the next chapter will show, Pentecostal religion has largely proliferated in urban settings experiencing multiple forms of precarity and uncertainty (Meyer, 2004; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Oosterbaan, 2006; Abumanssur, 2015).

Another important rationale behind choosing Hillbrow as the case study for this research is its migrancy status. That Hillbrow is a cultural crucible and home to people from different geographical locations, local and beyond is well known (Mpe, 2001; Nessman, 2002; Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). The neighbourhood's diversity also blended well with the studied Pentecostal churches that are run by pastors from Nigeria. Pentecostalism by its own nature is a transnational religion, with local churches connected to other churches in other countries across the globe. In the context of this study, it was important to explore how these transnational Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow had become localised, and are transforming and being transformed by Hillbrow's urban spaces. The other technical reasons for Hillbrow's selection for this study are addressed in Chapter 4.

1.9 Preface on method

This study employed a qualitative research design and used Hillbrow as its case study to illustrate the materialisation of Pentecostal geographies in the urban. In a complex urban setting like Hillbrow, I employed the idea of 'waiting as ethnography' or ethnographic waiting as a critical tool for gaining access to the research participants. Waiting in this regard was utilised as a methodological tool in its own right, to gather data. I relied extensively on two non-probability sampling techniques, namely purposive sampling and snowballing, to reach out to the research participants (Burgess, 1984; Yin, 2009). A qualitative research design allowed me to, "retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events," (Yin, 2003: 2) and provided an opportunity for a detailed focus on how Pentecostal beliefs and practices intersect with everyday life in Hillbrow. The design also allowed me room to understand the subjective viewpoints of different actors regarding their perceptions of Pentecostal churches on a small scale (Knight, 2002). Importantly, through the qualitative design, I successfully managed as a resident and researcher for over three years to immerse

myself in both the local culture of Hillbrow and the world of the Pentecostals, with fieldwork conducted over a period of more than 18 months. My experiences with the research site and participants are explained in detail in Chapter 4.

Data was obtained through a combination of participant observations, in-depth interviews (semi structured and unstructured, which was dependent on context), mapping (GIS and participatory mapping), and reviewing secondary data sources (texts) from the churches studied, newspapers and other government documents. Participant observations involved regular visits to the two churches anonymised here as– Christian Mission (CM) and Christ's Disciples (CD) – and actively participating in and observing their religious practices. The in-depth interviews were conducted with the key informants (religious leaders, community leaders and city officials), residents, members of the business community, and church members, among others. I also employed the mapping technique to locate the Pentecostal churches' spatial distribution and the technical mapping exercise through the use of GIS software, which was made possible by the participation of some of the residents who knew where the churches were located. Secondary data sources, such as church documents and city documents on planning and land-use, were also consulted to supplement primary data. The data obtained from both the primary and secondary data sources was analysed thematically.

1.10 Thesis organisation

This thesis has nine chapters. The first three chapters set the foundation of this research by presenting the background to the study, identifying the research gap (and in the process justifying why the study was worth pursuing), presenting the research questions and providing the theoretical tools of understanding the intersection of Pentecostal religion and urban in the making of everyday city life in Johannesburg. From Chapter 4 onwards, I present and interpret my research experiences and findings.

In Chapter 2, I introduce the reader to the world of Pentecostal religion and draw on different global cases about its growth, its practices and relevance. Chapter 3 deals with the theoretical tools that were employed to analyse the findings of this study. In Chapter 4, I present my fieldwork research experiences and justify the methods that were employed to gather data, with a particular focus on the idea of waiting as a critical component of ethnographic research. In Chapter 5, I highlight an emerging form of urbanism driven by Pentecostal religious institutions in Hillbrow and illustrate their relevance in the context of growing levels of uncertainty and precarity. Conscious of over-romanticising the role of Pentecostal

churches in the everyday life of the believers, in Chapter 6 I show how the realities and demands of everyday life, and the failure of the churches to provide the tangible material resources needed for everyday living, push some church members to straddle the sacred and the secular worlds. Because the studied churches do not exist in a vacuum, in Chapters 7 and 8, I present them in relation to other actors in the neighbourhood. Chapter 9 concludes this thesis, offers recommendations, and presents new fields of inquiry.

CHAPTER TWO

PENTECOSTALISM: HISTORY AND POPULARITY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter centres Pentecostalism in global urban discourse and African urban thought. The chapter does so by providing a historiography of Pentecostalism, its main features or characteristics, growth and appeal. This is especially to those economically aspiring young people and other low-income groups who continue to experience various forms of insecurities and uncertainties, thanks to the globalisational processes of urbanisation, industrialisation, modernisation, and rationalisation. The chapter is thus divided into five interlinked sections. The first part provides a background to Pentecostalism, tracing and critiquing its origins. The second part explains how Pentecostalism has successfully managed to gain global influence and recognition. Attention is paid to its aggressive appropriation of the media technologies as drivers of its expansion in this regard. In the third section, I show how Pentecostalism appeals to different groups in the society by drawing the focus to its gospel of prosperity, healing, deliverance, and self-empowerment. The chapter then concludes.

2.2 Background to Pentecostalism

As a starting point, I highlight the diverging views about the origins of Pentecostalism as a religious Christian movement. The history of Pentecostalism is often traced to two American pioneers and preachers, namely Charles Parham and William Seymour (Anderson, 2005a; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). A student of Charles Parham, African American preacher, William Seymour led revivals in a former African Methodist Episcopal church in Azusa Street (McGee 1988:58) in Los Angeles, which attracted people from North America, Mexico and elsewhere across the globe (Kgatla, 2016). The revival(s) lasted for almost eight years, from 1906 to 1915 (Anderson, 2005a; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Omenyo, 2006). The Azusa Street Revival, which was characterised by pneumatic phenomena, such as violent prayers, speaking in tongues, healings, miracles, visions, spirit baptism and prophecies, arguably marked the beginning of classical Pentecostalism.

While modern Pentecostalism is usually traced to these North American experiences (namely the Azusa Mission), there is evidence to suggest that the Pentecostal movement cannot be

traced to a singular movement in North America (Asamoa-Gyadu, 2005). In India for instance, it was observed that a Pentecostal upsurge predated the North-American experiences by at least 40 years, adopting an indigenous course with very little, if any, influence from Western missionary involvement (MacGee, 1996 cited in Asamoa-Gyadu, 2005). The 'myth' of the Azusa Street Revival as the focal point of Pentecostal origin has also been challenged by some scholars, who argue that pinning down the wholesale origin of Pentecostalism to the Azusa Street Revival overlooks the relevance of other centres where Pentecostalism is believed to have started, independent of the Azusa Revival (Anderson, 2005). Notable examples of early Pentecostal centres independent of the Azusa Street revival include, but are not limited to, Marie and Robert's Glad Tidings Tabernacle in New York City (1907) and Ellen and James Hebden's Queen Street Mission in Toronto (1906) (Anderson, 2004:44).

For the above reasons, it is erroneous to suggest that all Pentecostal movements can trace their lineage to the Azusa Street Revival (Asamoa-Gyadu, 2005). Following Asamoa-Gyadu (2005), I suggest that using the North-American experiences as the epicentre for the global production and circulation thereof of Pentecostalism erroneously portrays Pentecostal religion as an American export. This perspective overlooks and silences the work of other actors from Asia, Africa and Latin America, who were equal pioneers of Pentecostalism (Asamoa-Gyandu, 2005; Anderson, 2005).

In the last few decades, however, Pentecostalism has grown exponentially in Africa, Latin America and Asia (Martin, 1990; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2002; Meyer, 2004; Comaroff, 2009; Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013; Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016; Katsaura, 2019), what Paul Jenkins (2002: 3) terms the New Christian Revolution. Pentecostalism is now arguably considered to the fastest expanding religious movement of the 21st century (Anderson, 2004). Statistics suggest that more than a quarter of the Christian population globally identifies as Pentecostal (Anderson 2004; Barrett and Johnson, 2004). The majority of the people who today identify as Pentecostals are in the urban spaces of the so-called 'developing world' (Martin, 1990, 2002; Casanova, 2001; Anderson, 2005b), with Nigeria's Lagos arguably regarded as the Pentecosmopolis city of the world – a city characterised by the sheer concentration and diversity of Pentecostalism(s) (Katsaura, 2019). Considering its increasing growth and influence, particularly in cities of the Global South, Pentecostal religion is undoubtedly reshaping not only the face of Christianity (Meyer, 2004; Lindhardt, 2015; Chitando and Biri, 2016a) but also other aspects of everyday life, such as politics, economy and other landscapes. But how and why has Pentecostalism grown over the years?

2.3 Media technologies and Pentecostal growth and popularity

The growth and popularity of Pentecostal religion has been aided by its violent appropriation of modern media technologies[4] (Oosterbaan, 2006; Togarasei, 2012a; Oosterbaan, 2017). By media technologies, I refer to the:

> …sophisticated technological developments of industrialism for the communication of ideas, for the purposes of information, entertainment and persuasion, to large-scale audiences, whether this be by means of newspapers, radio, television, books, magazines, advertising billboards, or whatever (Bilton, 1987: 427).

In addition to these, social media platforms have proved to be effective in promoting and spearheading Pentecostal growth. In fact, the majority, if not all of, Pentecostal churches today are present on social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Zoom, and WhatsApp, among others to enable them to reach out to their expanding followership. Borrowing from (Hackett, 1998), Pentecostal churches today have become more techno-savvy, i.e., they utilise media technologies to expand their ministries both locally and abroad.

Modern Pentecostal churches maintain websites where relevant information about their churches can be found, and they also own and operate broadcasting channels. Prominent Pentecostal churches, such as the Winners Chapel International, Synagogue Church of All Nations (SCOAN), Christ Embassy International and the Redeemed Christian Church of God as well as others all operate broadcasting channels and are ubiquitous on multiple digital and online spaces (Togarasei, 2012a; Oosterbaan, 2017; Katsaura, 2019). In a context where there is a growing community of Pentecostals across the globe, the media plays an instrumental role in reducing the distance between the pastors and their congregants (Muller, 2011; Togarasei, 2012b; Kalu, 2013). For instance, T.B. Joshua's SCOAN reaches the entire world through its Emmanuel TV station and various other online platforms. The Internet in this case enables congregants and followers to access church programmes and live coverages at their own convenience. After all, Pentecostalism has been described as a religion "made to travel" (Cox 1995:6). It is a religion with a transnational character, whose influence cuts across geographical boundaries.

[4] In chapter 8, I show how sound plays a key role in the sacralisation of space and the mediation of the spiritual. Importantly, sound is central in Pentecostal religion as a means of asserting a physical and symbolic presence especially in a context of heightened competition from other religious actors.

The use of music as a medium of communicating Pentecostal doctrines also warrants attention. Sophisticated musical instruments, such as electronic guitars, drums, keyboards, amplifiers, microphones, and large speakers (among others) are very common tools in modern Pentecostal churches. Church music is used not only as a means of spreading the gospel but as a form of entertainment. According to Togarasei (2012), gospel music is a genre that is becoming more popular in Southern Africa. Compact discs (CDs) and digital video discs (DVDs) are some of the modern media technologies used by Pentecostal churches to broadcast the word and provide entertainment. Suffice to note that the consumers of these products are not only church members or congregants, but include the general public.

In Zimbabwe for instance, it was observed that the general public consider gospel music, even some produced from the local Pentecostal churches, as a better option to the country's national radio and television station (Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation-ZBC), which is often accused of churning out the ruling ZANU-PF party's propaganda (Togarasei, 2012). In this regard, many people turn to gospel music as a form of entertainment and as an alternative to rhetoric nationalist policies by the ruling party. This does not, however, suggest that the state media does not broadcast Christian programmes. The state-owned ZBC-TV provides different timeslots for Christian broadcasting, from various religious denominations, which includes Pentecostals (Ibid).

The aggressive appropriation and use of modern media technologies by contemporary Pentecostal churches is happening in a context where some religious denominations, such as the African Independent Churches, have shunned the use of television and radio by arguing that these media technologies are associated with Western cultural invasion of Africa (Abdullah, 2002; Togarasei, 2012). According to Togarasei (2012), modern media technologies are often blamed for promoting immoral behaviour especially amongst young people, behaviour regarded as contrary to Christian values of morality. Rather than adopting a relatively radical stance towards media technologies, contemporary Pentecostal churches have embraced the media successfully and use it to propagate 'The Word', and reaching out to various parts of the world. Commenting on Ghanaian Pentecostalism, Meyer (2002: 67) observed that "Pentecostal charismatic churches have successfully and effectively colonised an emerging new public sphere, which has led to the rise of a Pentecostalite public culture geared towards Christian entertainment".

Apart from aggressively appropriating the electronic media, contemporary Pentecostal churches have also utilised print media to their advantage. Books, flyers, posters, and

stickers, among others are all used as mediums of marketing, communicating and reporting on church activities and successes. Commenting on Nigerian and Ghanaian Pentecostal churches' use of flyers and posters, which in most instances are well decorated and worded in an enticing way, Hackett concluded that these media tools are, "meant to entice the needy, promising miraculous healing and financial success (Hackett, 1998: 262). Contemporary times have also seen a proliferation of Pentecostal church notices or adverts in various newspapers globally. Using the concept of 'media craze', Gundani (2001), for instance, highlighted how local newspapers in Zimbabwe were and are bombarded with Pentecostal adverts, particularly from the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) and other local Pentecostal churches, which through these adverts, promise healing of all forms of ailments and suffering. The churches have taken advantage of a relatively literate population in its use of print media as a medium of evangelism.

As a transnational religion, the appropriation of media technologies in by Pentecostal churches is key for their mission of evangelism and growth. The media facilitates the flow of the theologies of hope, prosperity, health, and deliverance across spatial boundaries. In a highly competitive religious field, media technologies are also key instruments for survival (Hackett, 1998; Meyer, 2009; Togarasei, 2012b).

2.4 Why growth?

That there has been, over the years, an upsurge of Pentecostal religion in the urban spaces of many cities of the Global South is well documented (Meyer, 2004; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Garbin, 2014; Van Wyk, 2015; Chitando and Biri, 2016b; Ukah, 2016; Van De Kamp, 2017; Katsaura, 2019). Without succumbing to reductionism and overlooking other factors ,such as technological advancements and a lack of a decentralised structure of authority in modern Pentecostalism(s), there is a general consensus among scholars that the growth of Pentecostal religion is occurring in a context of ongoing political, economic, social malaise in many cities of the Global South today (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2002; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Meyer, 2007; Comaroff, 2009; Chitando and Togarasei, 2010; Zimunya and Gwara, 2013; Garbin, 2014; Chitando and Biri, 2016a; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016). This view is succinctly summarised by Omenyo (2014: 142), who wrote that:

> One of the appeals of the Pentecostal-charismatic movement is its ability to respond to the existential and pragmatic needs faced by the modern urban congregations, including domestic and socioeconomic problems. Their emergence in most parts of

> Africa occurred under conditions of economic, political and social hardship, which were accompanied by economic reforms, low wages and quality of life, the absence of social services, and the withdrawals of the welfare frontiers of the state.[5]

From the above, it can be noted that the growth of Pentecostal religion in the 21st century has been aided by its ability to resonate with people's everyday lives and struggles, particularly in contexts of growing insecurities and uncertainties. It is important to note that the popularity of Pentecostalism in many cities of the Global South coincided with the growing rates of urbanisation and industrialisation (Martin, 2002). The twin processes of urbanisation and industrialisation have largely contributed to some of the existing urban challenges, such as violence, poverty, alienation, and health. It has been the ability of modern Pentecostalism to focus on some of these challenges, which has ensured their continued relevance, attraction, and survival. A doctrinal emphasis on prosperity, healing, and deliverance is relevant in urban contexts of growing precarity and uncertainty (Coleman, 2004; Comaroff, 2009; Chitando and Togarasei, 2010; Chitando and Biri, 2016a; Katsaura, 2019).

These authors stress the attraction of Pentecostalism through a focus on their capacity to provide alternative ways of coping with the rapid socio-economic change, urbanisation, globalisation, and neo-liberalism (Biri, 2014). In their book, *Resilience under Siege: The Zimbabwean Economy and Society during the Crisis* Chitando, Nyakudya and Phiri (2016), for instance, the scholars attributed the rise of Pentecostal religious institutions to the country's economic hardships. Since 2000, as the sectors of the economy in Zimbabwe collapsed, the Pentecostal religious sectors have expanded. Pentecostal religious networks were mobilised in this regard as survival networks at the height of the country's economic quandary (Chitando and Biri, 2016b; Chitando, Nyakudya and Phiri, 2016). In the next section, I present some of the key features of Pentecostalism and how these attract different groups in the society.

2.5 Networks of social support

According to Asamoah-Gyadu (2005), Pentecostal religion, like traditional religion, has managed to gain more popularity in contemporary urban spaces owing to its ability to provide personal support in times of need. To appreciate the significant role of Pentecostal

[5] While the attraction of Pentecostalism to the marginalised is well documented, it should also be noted that Pentecostalism equally appeals to the ruling class or the well-to-do people as it justifies their wealth.

religious institutions in the provision of social support systems through Pentecostal networks in urban spaces, the work of Emile Durkheim (2014) is handy here. Borrowing from Tonnies (1855–1936), Durkheim (2014) in his influential work, *The Division of Labour in Society*, made a distinction between the nature of social systems and the evolution of societies. He used the terms, 'mechanical and organic societies' to elaborate on the distinction of social systems or societies. The former refers to the 'primitive' or traditional societies that were held together by common beliefs, especially religion. For Durkheim, traditional societies were held together by the fact that people shared common interests and their collective consciousness subsumed individual consciousness, such that each action taken by an individual was for the common good of the community. Accordingly, people acted not because of the orders of some authority, but out of solidarity and the need to advance the wellbeing of the society (Lukes, 1984). Organic societies on the other hand are those societies that emerged as a result of industrialisation of cities. These modern societies are characterised by a highly complex division of labour and specialisation in employment. The specialisation reduces collective consciousness amongst the societal members. In organic societies, members are largely driven by pursuing personal goals and thus driven by their self-interests.

In light of the foregoing discussion, it is key to understand contemporary urban spaces as complex social systems where elements of collective consciousness are minimum if one is to compare with rural or traditional societies (Lukes, 1984; Tonnies, 2001; Durkheim 2007). As people continue to pursue different interests in the city, trust and relationships are not easy to build amongst strangers. In fact, the fear of others in contemporary urban spaces has become a lived reality, especially in urban contexts characterised by superdiversity, such as Johannesburg. Pentecostal religious institutions have been instrumental as providers of networks of social support, especially for economically and politically marginalised groups in the society. For diasporic communities, Pentecostal networks have proved to be key resources mobilised by migrants to adjust to new environments and also to access different opportunities (Ter Haar, 1998; Wuthnow and Offutt, 2008; Biri, 2014; Garbin, 2014). In Southern Africa, Maxwell (2006) observed that Pentecostal networks are vital assets for people facing uncertainties and engaging in new forms of mobility. Elsewhere in Europe, studies have shown that Pentecostal networks have given African immigrants a sense of belonging, purpose, and moral strength in the context of a hostile and exclusionary environment (Haar, 1998; Maxwell, 2006; Catto, 2008; Adogame, 2009; Koning, 2009; Fumanti, 2010; Pasura, 2012). In essence, the existing literature on the relevance of

Pentecostal networks shows that Pentecostal churches provide modes of coping, which cut across geographical and spatial boundaries and help congregants to cope with situations of rapid change, uncertainty, and spatial mobility (Biri, 2014). This is a huge attraction to various groups who find themselves in different socio-economic and politically complex situations.

2.6 The prosperity gospel

In many if not all urban spaces where Pentecostalism has flourished, the gospel of prosperity is one of their major drawcards. This gospel, which is premised on the belief that believers have a spiritual right to material and financial accumulation (Gifford, 1991, 2009; Hasu, 2007), offers followers a combination of both hope and agency to confront their individual and material challenges, particularly in times of economic crisis (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2002; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Comaroff, 2009; Chitando and Togarasei, 2010; Chitando and Biri, 2016b). The focus on prosperity by the contemporary Pentecostal churches is a notable shift from the missionary messages, which emphasised heavenly prosperity at the expense of prosperity in the material present (Chitando and Biri, 2016). The young, charismatic, upwardly mobile Pentecostal pastors often criticise missionary Christianity failing to preach concrete, material prosperity in the here and now, and promising only heavenly prosperity (Togarasei, 2011). The focus on prosperity in Pentecostal churches is primarily on an individual rather than a collective level (Mate, 2002; Gifford, 2004). Using the Kenyan example, Gifford (2004; 2009) observed that the failure to realise the economic fortunes of the world largely rests on the individual, because spiritually, every believer has a right to material and financial fortunes of the world.

By providing a way of thinking, and seeing the world in general and wealth in particular through the spiritual lens, Pentecostalism has been regarded as one of the most prominent institutions or social phenomena in contemporary times (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2000, 2002; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). Although in some cases Pentecostalism attracts the middle- and upper-class clientele, in many urban contexts in sub-Saharan Africa, it has largely been attractive to low-income, disadvantaged people who find this brand of Christianity persuasive and compelling. This has compelled other thinkers to suggest that Pentecostalism is now a movement of self-organised poor people across the globe (Maxwell, 1998a; Gifford, 2009; Omenyo, 2014). For many poor and disadvantaged people, Pentecostal religion provides a, "potent vision of personal, or sometimes collective, transformation and empowerment," (Coleman, 2004: 423).

The prosperity gospel has however invited a barrage of public scrutiny and criticism from different segments of society. One of the key components of the prosperity gospel is that it is a gospel of affluence. Popular flamboyant Pentecostal leaders, such as Oyedepo of Winners Chapel, T.B. Joshua of the Synagogue Church of All Nations (SCOAN), Chris Oyakhilome of Christ Embassy and local controversial celebrity pastors, such as Bushiri of the Enlightened Christian Gathering, are known for their riches and promoting a theology of affluence. A theology of affluence promoted by the prosperity gospel, sceptics argue, has given birth to a gospel of greed and consumption as it feeds into consumer culture (Mashau and Kgatle, 2019). For instance, members in Pentecostal churches are encouraged to give endlessly in order to realise God's blessings (Ibid). According to Mashau (2013: 78):

> …giving has become more controversial in the city context because of the abuse at the hands of 'healing and prosperity' ambassadors, who milk people in terms of requiring them to give more than the measure of grace accorded to them in the name of seeking God's blessings.

The prosperity theology has also been criticised for its limited stance on societal and structural matters. Gifford (1991) for instance argued that the prosperity theology undermines efforts, "to promote self-help, self-reliance, self-esteem, self-determination, responsibility, and autonomy," (Gifford, 1991: 10). Using the concept of 'occult economies' – economies that are characterised by promises of economic fortunes as a sign of divine favour – Comaroff and Comaroff (2002: 35) aligned the prosperity gospel to global neo-liberal market economies (Heuser, 2016) and suggest that it celebrates consumption rather than production.

2.7 Self-empowerment

To supplement the theological doctrine of prosperity, Pentecostal churches continue to offer practical solutions of self-empowerment and place great emphasis on the idea that individuals should learn to be self-motivated and self-reliant (Maxwell, 1998b; Mate, 2002; Van Dijk, 2002; Van Wyk, 2015). Congregants are encouraged to improve their economic wellbeing by being encouraged to work hard, educate their children, and engage in micro-entrepreneurial initiatives. In fact, apart from the church teachings and messages, some well-resourced Pentecostal churches have established educational institutions that offer business related programmes and teach micro-entrepreneurial initiatives. For instance, the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG), one of the biggest Pentecostal churches in Nigeria and Africa

at large, has a number of business schools in place (such as the Redeemers Bible Academy and the International Bible Institute and Leadership Training School), which are intended to train both church members and non-members in business management and leadership skills (Ukah, 2003). In Mozambique, Van der Kamp observed that the Brazilian Pentecostal pastors offer their congregants business courses, where the congregants are empowered and encouraged to improve their place in a neo-liberal market economy (Van De Kamp, 2016: 23).

Elsewhere in Zimbabwe, Ezekiel Guti, the founder of the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God (ZAOGA), one of the most popular Pentecostal churches in the country, introduced a system of talents (School of Talents), which motivates and encourage people to use their own talents and avoid working for others in a master–servant relationship. For Guti, every person must realise their special talent or practical skills, in order to survive without relying on the government to create economic opportunities and jobs for them. People can, however, start realising their talents once they are born again and accept the gospel of salvation through Jesus Christ (Chitando and Togarasei, 2010; Togarasei, 2012a). The talents can only be realised if people remain pure and holy. In the Zimbabwean context, characterised by a deepening socio-economic crisis, unemployment, retrenchments and very limited job opportunities, an emphasis on realising one's special skills or talent resonates well with many people in the country, as they are encouraged and empowered to take matters into their own hands. Leastwise, people are advised in Pentecostal churches to develop their own agency, control their upward social mobility and improve their self-worth (Ukah, 2003; Musoni, 2013; Van De Kamp, 2017).

In addition to the establishment of educational institutions that offer practical business courses and teach self-empowerment and a reliance on one's natural talent to overcome the challenges associated with economic insecurities, some Pentecostal leaders have published material, such as books and articles as mediums to transmit the gospel of prosperity. In a text entitled, *How to turn Austerity to Prosperity,* a publication that came at a time of austerity measures by the Babangida regime (and instigated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), (Osaghae, 1995 cited in Ukah, 2003), Adeboye (1989)[6] expanded and popularised the theme of prosperity versus poverty and offered an alternative means of accessing supernatural prosperity in the shortest way (i.e., religiously).

[6] Adeboye is the general overseer of the Redeemed Christian Church of God, one of the biggest Pentecostal churches globally in terms of membership and popularity.

A critical component of self-empowerment in Pentecostal churches is reflected in a theology that teaches believers to take control of both their physical and spiritual territories (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). Slogans such as '*Taking Territories and Raising Champions*' in the Kingsway International Christian church, are very popular and catchy phrases in Pentecostal tradition. Through such slogans, members are encouraged to take control of their own spaces and fight for their place in a world of heightened economic competition and insecurities.

2.8 Demonology, healing, and deliverance

There is the general belief in African tradition that the universe is populated by transcendent benevolent and malevolent powers. Put differently, societies in Africa (as might be the case elsewhere) are characterised by a spiritual battle between good and evil (Meyer, 1995; Ukah, 2003; Togarasei, 2012a; Echtler and Ukah, 2015; Van De Kamp, 2017). The spiritual battle theory, one might argue, is therefore premised on the view that unfortunate events, which may lead to poverty, health challenges and violence (among others), are caused by ancestral spirits – malevolent spirits that are thought to be embodied not just in individuals, but within the continent (Africa) at large (Maxwell, 1998; Bremner 2013). In any event, the underdevelopment of the continent is largely understood through the spiritual belief that the continent is under spiritual attack. Elsewhere in Brazil, Van De Kamp (2017) noted how the sufferings that people experience in everyday life are easily linked to the deities and spirits associated with the Afro-Brazilian religions (Camdomble and Umbanda), which are often accused of making pacts with the devil, by the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG). Members of the UCKG are therefore encouraged to invade and desecrate the sacred spaces or cult homes of Afro-Brazilian traditions and destroy all the sacred images and objects housed there (Ibid).

Similarly, in Zimbabwe, Maxwell (1998) noted how Pentecostal churches attribute the country's problems (particularly poverty) to malevolent or dark forces. Using the case of ZAOGA, he highlighted how wealth is generally perceived as evidence of godly deliverance from misfortunes or spiritual attacks. He noted that:

> …no matter how much money is given to Africa in aid, nothing will work as long as 'Africa is remaining under the Spirit of Poverty,' (Maxwell, 1998: 360).

From the above perspective, the route to ending poverty is through religious institutions, rather than secular organisations. The continent and the individuals at large therefore need to be delivered from these demonic or malevolent spiritual attacks ritual practices, such as

violent prayers (Maxwell, 1998, 2001). By relegating everyday challenges to the spiritual world, modern Pentecostal pastors attempts to ascertain their legitimacy as fighters of the malevolent forces that continue to undermine the continent and its people at large (Maxwell, 1998; Meyer, 1998). Because unfortunate events and misfortunes are generally assumed to be mystically caused, divination in Pentecostal churches plays an instrumental role in not only revealing the meanings behind the misfortunes, but also in prescribing the ritual means to counter their effects. In Pentecostal movements in Africa, Ray (1993) observed that most rituals therefore assume to have an efficacious aspect. For instance, prayers and offerings "… not only say things, they are also supposed to do things." In this regard, the performative force of ritual speech and action is assumed to attract benevolent powers and repel malevolent ones (Ray, 1993: 268).

Given the ability to identify the source of the everyday challenges to which people are exposed (the spiritual world) by the Pentecostal churches, an emphasis on healing and deliverance has become extremely attractive to many people, who at times struggle to come to terms with their everyday life experiences of poverty, health, and other forms of social ills. Deliverance in Pentecostal churches, for instance, is aimed at setting the believer free from the authority of evil spirits and allows them to realise and enjoy the benefits or gifts of salvation. Therefore, misfortunes in Pentecostal religion are accepted as inevitable in everyday life. Healing and deliverance sessions are, however, considered to be important resources to counter their effects (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). It is therefore unsurprising to see the mediascapes of many cities of the Global South populated by Pentecostal messages of healing and deliverance, and announcing the end of suffering, poverty, diseases and barrenness (Chitando and Togarasei, 2010; Togarasei, 2012a; Chitando and Biri, 2016b).

2.9 Pentecostalism and neoliberalism

The significant growth of Pentecostalism in many cities today continue to defy the telos of disenchantment as the proponents of modernity had wrongly predicted. As the preceding sections have shown, Pentecostalism continue to be a significant component of life today with the sacred growingly becoming prominent in profane spaces (Meyer, 2007; Comaroff, 2009; Comaroff and Comaroff, 2001; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016). Precisely, Pentecostalism has found more relevance in an age of widespread deregulation. Under the sway of neo-liberal policies, many states are relinquishing huge responsibilities for schooling, health and welfare among others-roles that Pentecostal religious organisations, as is the case with other religious organisations, have willingly reclaimed. In short, Pentecostal religious institutions

continue to be a part of the neo-liberal turn either reactively, intrinsically, or both (Comaroff, 2009). In their attempts to take charge of the various forms of community services, often neglected by states, such as welfare and rehabilitation, they have extended their modes of civic care beyond the bounds of the church. The activities of Pentecostalism beyond the church spaces renders them excessively visible and audible in public spaces and these activities make it impossible to confine religion to a separate sphere (Meyer, 2007; Comaroff 2009). The prosperity gospel, an attention to self-empowerment, the expansive use of media technologies among others all point to the entanglement of the Pentecostalism to the culture of neo-liberal capitalism.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide an overview of Pentecostalism. Grounded in two broader questions, how and why Pentecostalism has grown in many cities of the Global South, the chapter has presented two key arguments. First, the growth of Pentecostal religion has been aided by its ability to appropriate the media technologies and using these as its tools of expansion. Secondly, its growth has been enabled by its situational approach towards the realities of everyday life in contemporary urban spaces. In urban spaces of violence, spiritual attacks, precarity, insecurities, and uncertainties among others, Pentecostal churches have managed to offer an alternative vision of the world and practical solutions to people's everyday challenges.

CHAPTER THREE

READING INTO THE CITY – A RELIGIO-SPATIAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical tools for analysing the spatialisation of Pentecostal religion and the Pentecostal religionisation of spatialities. Drawing theoretical inspiration from Goffman (1959), Bourdieu (1977, 1985), De Certeau and Rendall (1984), Lefebvre (1991) and Foucault (1977), the chapter provides a reflexive conceptual framework that moves away from 'theoretical theory', that is, a focus on theory, in the absence of subjects of investigations (Swartz, 2012), and provides a theoretical framework that reconciles theory and practice. What I adopt in this chapter, and broadly in this research, is rather 'practical theory', one that focuses on reality as it is practised, lived, and experienced on an everyday basis (Swartz, 2012). This approach places an emphasis on actors and subjects as the focus of investigation. I heed Bourdieu's call – that theory always be confronted with the substantive and that it never be exercised in a vacuum (Rey, 2011). A practical theoretical or conceptual approach adopted in this chapter is also intricately connected to the study's qualitative research design.

To this end, this chapter appropriates the concept of religio-spatiality, which simultaneously captures the religious (Pentecostalism in this context) and the spatial, bringing these into conversation with each other as one way of understanding contemporary, everyday city life. The concept has developed largely but not exclusively from the strengths of Bourdieu's open concepts of the field, habitus, capital, and social space (Bourdieu, 1979; 1985; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Other thinkers, such as Lefebvre (1991), De Certeau (1984), Goffman (1969) and Foucault (1977), have also been invited into this thinking paradigm. Combined, their different contributions to theory provide an informative basis for understanding how Pentecostal religion is spaced and space is Pentecostalised. The motivation for seeing the city from a religio-spatial perspective resonates from the desire to offer a potential alternative way of reading into the heterogeneities and complexities of increasingly urbanising cities of the Global South (Magnusson, 2011; Valverde, 2011; Amin and Thrift, 2017).

Whilst my intention is to try respond to the call to repopulate urban theory by creating new geographies of theory of and from the 'South' (Roy and Ong, 2011), I acknowledge and appreciate that theories travel and in so doing, are richly populated in place, region,

networks, and conversations (Mabin, 2014). In my attempts to rethink a postcolonial African city through the lens of religio-spatiality, the stance I have adopted is fairly place-based and hence 'Southern-centric'. By adopting this stance, I am alert to the risk of becoming ensnared in a 'territorial trap' (Robinson, 2014). Following in the footsteps of those who have written extensively before me, the goal is to try overcome the Eurocentric tendencies to which urban studies have aligned (Roy, 2009; Roy and Ong, 2011). My reasoning is that context or place-based approaches that are conscious of everyday realities remain key to understanding contemporary cities and their growing heterogeneities and complexities. For this reason, a dialogue that is reflexive and focuses on the specificities of cities as primary centres of scientific, cultural, and social innovation is key (Hall, 1998; Glaeser, 2012). To adopt a place-based approach is also to acknowledge that no single theory can comprehensively account for the variegated nature of urbanisation and cities globally without asserting the necessity for different distinct theories for different contexts, including the religionisation of spatialities and the spatialisation of religiosities (Leitner and Sheppard, 2016).

The following sections set out the frame of this study. The chapter is divided into four primary parts. The first part situates the study in urban theory. Building on the previous chapter, this section re-centres the religious in urban thought. It highlights the popular theoretical debates that have largely populated urban theory, exposing the biases and gaps, and in the process paving a way for an alternative reading of everyday city life through the lens of Pentecostal religion. In the second part, I focus specifically on the concept of religio-spatiality and its development, illustrating its merits and relevance in this study. By incorporating the ideas of Bourdieu and others, my intention is to move across disciplines and discursive terrains, forging stimulating connections between the fields of Pentecostal religion, urban spatialities and everyday city life. The third section focuses on the application of the concept and its relevance for this study. Lastly, I conclude with brief reflections on Bourdieu (1991), Lefebvre (1991), De Certeau (1984) Goffman (1959) and Foucault (1977), bringing these into conversation with each other.

3.2 Re-centering the religious in urban thought

The development of cities throughout history has largely been precipitated by economic and (to a lesser extent), political and religious factors (Frey and Zimmer, 2001). The earliest cities of Mesopotamia, the Nile, and Indus Valleys, for instance were centres of trade and commerce. In Europe and the United States, the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century was characterised by higher levels of rationality and advances in machinery and technology,

which played a pivotal role in the development of cities as more people flocked to urban areas for economic and other opportunities. In England and Wales for instance, the proportion of people living in these cities doubled twice between 1800 and 1900 (Frey and Zimmer, 2001). The development of cities in Africa has, however, been complex. Trade and agricultural production have been the major driving forces behind the development of pre-colonial cities in Africa. From the Mbanza-Kongo (Angola) to the Great Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe), to Carthage (Tunisia), there is a general consensus among historians that these early urban settlements developed as centres of trade and commerce (Freund, 2006). Even under circumstances where cities developed along 'religious lines', as has been the case with many Islamic cities, it is worth noting that religion acted as a catalyst for facilitating trade. Writes Freund (2006: 24):

> …it (religion) provided a banner whereby traders could safely reach distant shores and establish links of intellectual community and trust through faith.

Beyond the pre-colonial, the development of cities in Africa has to be understood against the backdrop of colonialism, which was largely characterised by the direct and indirect control of politics, culture, and the economy. In colonial South Africa for instance, the country's historical development (which was anchored on a highly racialised and controlled mine and farm labour migration dating back to the 19th century) is well documented (Van Onselen, 1982; Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). As I have alluded to in the introduction chapter, the twin processes of colonialism and capitalism have come to dominate the discussions of and about the urban in contemporary urban theory (Woods, 2006; Roy and Ong, 2011). Whilst these readings of the city are appreciated, there is a need to incorporate the other 'faces of the city'.

Religion continues to be an important component of the urban, particularly under the effects of modernisational processes of industrialisation, urbanisation, globalisation, and rationalisation. Poverty, violence, and multiple forms of urban disorders and precarity have, for instance, impelled the demand of the religious. The functional role of religion in both classical and contemporary societies has been an attention of both classical and contemporary social thinkers (Thompson, 1982; Meyer, 1995; Durkheim, 2001; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Oosterbaan, 2017). While this study acknowledges the functional role of Pentecostal religion in people's everyday lives and the transformation of urban space, I have also paid attention to its complex relationship with the larger community of Hillbrow in the chapters that follow.

3.3 Thinking religio-spatially

The details presented in the preceding section call for alternative ways of reading into a city's everyday life. As alluded to earlier, to see the city through the lens of religio-spatiality is to acknowledge and appreciate the multiple identities and complexities of a city. As a starting point, I contend that Pentecostal religion (as is the case with any other forms of worship) interconnects with urban space in multiple and diverse ways in making everyday city life. By everyday life, I refer to all routine and habitualised social, economic, political, cultural, spiritual dynamics that constitute and give meaning to the existence of a city. Regardless, these are relational fields of human existence produced over time and space.

The theoretical contributions of Bourdieu (1985; 1977; 1991), Lefebvre (1991), De Certeau (1984), Goffman (1959) and Foucault (1977) have received widespread recognition across disciplines. They share three main commonalities, which are key for unpacking everyday life in Hillbrow from the perspective that connects Pentecostal religion and space. Firstly, space for all is a social construction. Secondly, all the different forms of space, physical, social (and spiritual) space connect to form sociality. And lastly, people engage in various practices as they transect and transit through space. I attend to these connections and disconnections between these theorists throughout the next sections.

Because I rely largely (but not entirely) on Bourdieu's theoretical or conceptual tools of the field, habitus, capital and social space in formulating a conceptual framework, which connects Pentecostal religion and urban space, in the next section I present an overview of Bourdieu's work. I start by presenting his international theoretical circulation before inviting him to *my* Hillbrow. I argue that his theoretical ideas (which are supported by other identified theorists) are key instruments for understanding the socialities, spiritualities, spatialities and relationalities of a highly contested and controversial urban field (Hillbrow). By bringing Bourdieu to my Hillbrow, I join a band of scholars who have utilised his work to explain contemporary developments in postcolonial cities in Africa (see for instance, Rey, 2004; Burawoy and Von Holdt, 2012; Von Holdt, 2013; Katsaura, 2013; Ngarachu, 2014).

3.3.1 Bourdieu's global circulation

Over the years, Bourdieu's theoretical resources have circulated the globe to varying degrees. According to Bourdieu (2012), the international circulation of an author's ideas is dependent upon the initiatives of agents active in the local field. This usually depends on the efforts of

the local authors/writers who promote an author's work, contributing to debates on its contents and merits. Through publishing, key players, such as Savage (2012), Portes (1998), Reay (2004), and Wacquant (1992) have popularised Bourdieu's work in the United Kingdom and America. According to Katsaura (2013), it was only in 2012, that a fairly extensive first formal attempt to engage with Bourdieu's work was carried out by Michael Burawoy and Karl von Holdt (2012) in South Africa.

Despite being of French origin, with some of his concepts developed in France and Algeria, his ideas are still relevant in conceptualising urban processes in highly contested and controversial urban fields of postcolonial cities in Africa. After all, it was always Bourdieu's dream that his ideas become universal. In *Practical Reason*, Bourdieu writes:

> Situations where I have attempted to show foreign publics the universal validity of models constructed in relation to the specific case of France have perhaps allowed me to address, in these lectures, what I believe to be the most essential in my work, that is, its most elementary and fundamental characteristics, which, no doubt through my own fault, often escape even the most well-intentioned readers and commentators (Bourdieu, 1998: viii).

In line with Bourdieu's dream of universalising his theories, it is also important to note that theories by their own nature travel, and in this regard cannot be bounded to place or physical geographical boundaries (Mabin, 2014). By incorporating Bourdieu's conceptual tools in my reading of everyday city life through the lens of religio-spatialities, I intended to bring Bourdieu, not just to a South African context, but specifically to Hillbrow where there is an expanding Pentecostal geography.

As a theorist of order, domination and social reproduction, his ideas have been widely deployed in the 'fields' of education, violence, ethnicity and governance among others (Von Holdt, 2013; Ngarachu, 2014; Katsaura, 2013; Burawoy and Von Holdt, 2012). In Kenya, for instance, his concepts of the field and habitus have been used to understand the construction of ethnicity among young people (Ngarachu, 2014). Within the field of education in South Africa, (Quaye, 2014) used Bourdieu's 'open concepts' to explore how class, gender and ethnicity impacts on mathematical achievements and concluded that despite the positive correlation between cultural capital and mathematical achievement, social class and habitus had a more significant impact on mathematical achievement.

Unlike in the fields of governance, education, ethnicity and violence, scholars who have engaged with the discourse of religion in urban spaces have been relatively slow to tap into Bourdieu's theoretical ideas (Rey, 2004). Broadly, the attempts that have been made to engage Bourdieu's work in urban studies are limited to general explanations and interpretations of how people engage with place and space (Howe and Langdon, 2002; Gunder, 2011). Yet, people's engagements with both place and space can also be informed and motivated by their religious affiliations, beliefs, and practices. That scholars have been slow to engage with the work of Bourdieu to understand everyday city life from a religious perspective is, however, understandable considering that his contributions to religion was relatively modest, particularly in relation to his other voluminous work in such fields as education and art (Rey, 2004). Bourdieu's (1977; 1991) thinking tools are tested and edified in Hillbrow, a community that is not only witnessing an expanding Pentecostal geography, but also where competing fields and semi-autonomous fields are intersecting and coalescing.

3.3.2 Welcoming Bourdieu to *my* Hillbrow

Hillbrow, like any other urban social space or field, is a site of contesting and coalescing interests of different actors who struggle for different stakes (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu defines a field as a system of social positions and a social arena of struggles in which agents, institutions or stakeholders compete over the appropriation of certain species of capital. Bourdieu uses the concept of capital to refer not only to economic wealth in the Marxian sense, but also to the non-economic resources of status, honour, prestige, valued knowledge and privileged relationships (Urban, 2003; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1990). In brief, capital refers to, "all goods, material and symbolic, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in any particular social formation," (Bourdieu, 1977: 178). From the onset, it is important to note that capital, either in its materialised or incorporated embodied form, is accumulated labour, which, when appropriated by agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labour (Bourdieu, 1986).

In the context of this research, I consider broadly, the religious field and precisely its semi-autonomous fields (the Pentecostal field in this case) as an arena where different actors struggle for different stakes or capitals. In the Pentecostal religious field, the species of capital at stake are *social, cultural, Pentecostal religious capital and symbolic capital.* I have deliberately omitted economic capital, because Bourdieu uses the economic metaphor as an overarching framework to explain social action (Jenkins, 1992). Building on Weber's

sociology of religion, Bourdieu argues *that all action* is interested and in a sense, 'economic', that is, concerned with the pursuit of profit and the acquisition of both material and symbolic goods (Urban, 2003; Swartz, 2012). In a way, the struggle for pursuing the various species of capital in the religious field and other sub-fields such as the Pentecostal field in Hillbrow is arguably an 'economic' struggle. After all, the subtlety of the concept of capital lies in the fact that all species of capital pursued by different actors in any field are convertible.

3.3.2.1 Social capital

According to Bourdieu, social capital is defined as the "sum of resources actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition," (1992b: 119). According to (Grenfell, 2011), valued relations with prestigious and powerful people within a particular field enhances one's position within that particular field, by virtue of being sanctioned by those in a superordinate position. To survive a very competitive Pentecostal field (and broadly the religious field), social capital (as the next chapters of this thesis show), is mobilised as a very important resource by the religious actors.

The concept of social capital was employed, among others, to illustrate the Pentecostal connections, particularly the spiritual fathers and spiritual sons/daughters/grandsons/granddaughters' dynamics that characterise the Pentecostal religious field. Following Grenfell's (2011) logic that one's position in any field is enhanced by knowing influential people within that particular field, the same reasoning was used to explain the dynamics of spiritual *fathership* and spiritual *sonship/daughtership*. Within the Pentecostal religious field, it is expected that the capital of anointing flows from where it is highly concentrated (spiritual fathers) to where it is lowly concentrated (spiritual sons/daughters). The relations between the local Pentecostal churches and the perceived 'Pentecostal godfathers', the majority of whom are in Nigeria and elsewhere beyond the boarders of South Africa form a very crucial component of surviving the Pentecostal religious field in Hillbrow, as is the case elsewhere. The concept of social capital was also used to explore local connections or networks, within, between and beyond Pentecostal religious fields.

3.3.2.2 Cultural capital

Used largely by Bourdieu (2011) as a theoretical hypothesis to explain the unequal academic achievements of children coming from different social classes (on the academic market and resultantly on the labour market), cultural capital in its broadest sense refers to the value that people derive from belonging to a particular culture (Grenfell, 2006; 2011; Palmer and Wong, 2013; Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital exists in three forms: in the *embodied* state (i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body); in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (Pentecostal religious paraphernalia and memorabilia), and in the *institutionalised* state – as official titles and designations (e.g., Prophet, Men of God, Papa). Considering that cultural capital explains the value that people get from belonging to a certain cultural group, this concept helped in understanding the attraction of Pentecostal churches and resultantly, an expanding Pentecostal geography in Hillbrow.

3.3.2.3 Pentecostal spiritual capital

This is the degree of mastery of and attachment to a Pentecostal religious culture (Stark and Finke, 2000). It involves the skills and experiences specific to a Pentecostal religious culture, including the Pentecostal knowledge, familiarity with church rituals and doctrine, and friendships with other church members, which produce religious resources that people define as valuable (Iannaccone, 1990). In the long run, the emotional attachments that people have to the church become investments, constituting Pentecostal spiritual capital. Among others, Pentecostal spiritual capitals include the *capitals of anointing*, *capital of healing*, *capital of demon exorcism.* Like other species of capital, these too are convertible and can be used to acquire other capitals in various fields. The idea of Pentecostal spiritual capital helped me to illustrate how this important resource is used to transit and transect fields.

3.3.2.4 Symbolic capital

This is when other forms of capitals are recognised as legitimate in the form of prestige and honour (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu notes that symbolic capital is recognised only under the condition that its political and economic foundations are misrecognised (Verter 2003). I have also explained elsewhere in this chapter how the idea of misrecognition, upon which symbolic capital is based, is a form of symbolic violence in the Pentecostal religious field (see section 3.4.1.2).

These various species of capital are convertible, interconnected and mutually interlacing and hence cannot be treated in isolation. For instance, the recognition that comes with being a Pentecostal pastor has the potential to bring with it other socio-economic and political benefits. From the outset, I stress that fields are embedded in social space, and for this reason, exist in relation to other fields. Bourdieu used the concept of *homology* to illustrate the interrelatedness and connections between various societal fields (Bourdieu, 1991). For Bourdieu, society is, "made up of relatively autonomous but homologous fields: interrelated social systems with competition for accumulation and monopolisation of field-specific forms of symbolic capital," (Stokke and Selboe, 2009: 62). In this case, Bourdieu stresses the homology between fields, arguing that there is a broad correspondence between power constellations and practices in different fields (Ibid: 63).

For instance, there are general 'homologies' across fields where those who are in dominant positions in one field also dominate in other fields (Ibid: 63). Owing to their possession of Pentecostal spiritual capitals, religious elites may, for instance, also have an influence in both the political and economic fields. The boundaries between different fields are both permeable and interlaced to the extent that the Pentecostal religious field intersects with the spatial, economic, political, social and any other fields in Hillbrow, with capitals and struggles to appropriate and control these circulating between and across fields. The relevance of the concept of the field in relation to this study lies in its flexibility (as is the case with other concepts employed). It "does not provide ready answers but has to be rethought anew every time," if it is empirically put to work (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 109). Importantly, the relevance of Bourdieu's field theory in this study lied in the fact that it allowed me room to explore not just the contestations between and within fields, but also the connections and similarities between different fields.

According to Bourdieu (1977), the struggles to acquire the various species of capital in any particular field are influenced by the habitus of the actors present within a field. Habitus describes the socially ingrained habits, skills, and dispositions. It is the way people conceive the social world around them and respond to it (Bourdieu, 1977). In Bourdieu's words, the habitus can be defined as:

> Structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures that is as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at

> ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them (Bourdieu, 1990: 53).

I attempt an example here of a *structured structure* and *structuring structure* within the Pentecostal religious field. Pentecostal religion as a structure has a significant influence on how 'believers' conduct themselves within and beyond church spaces. Just like any other field, there are general unwritten expectations or rules and regulations (*doxa*) specific to the Pentecostal religious field. These rules, which in most instances are based on ideas of divinity and morality, are expected to structure the behaviours and conduct of the Pentecostals. Adult entertainment facilities, such as strip clubs, are intended to be no-go areas for believers. I argue that certain rules and expectations that are meant to structure certain behaviours are also contested by the believers.

For Bourdieu, there is a dialectical link between the habitus and the field, and it is this link that produces practice. In its simplest terms, practice is what people do in their everyday life. (Bourdieu, 1990) understood practice:

> …as the outcome of a relationship between habitus, capital and field ... Practices are not to be reduced to either habitus or field but grow out of the 'interrelationship' established at each point in time by the sets of relations represented by both (Swartz, 1997: 141–142).

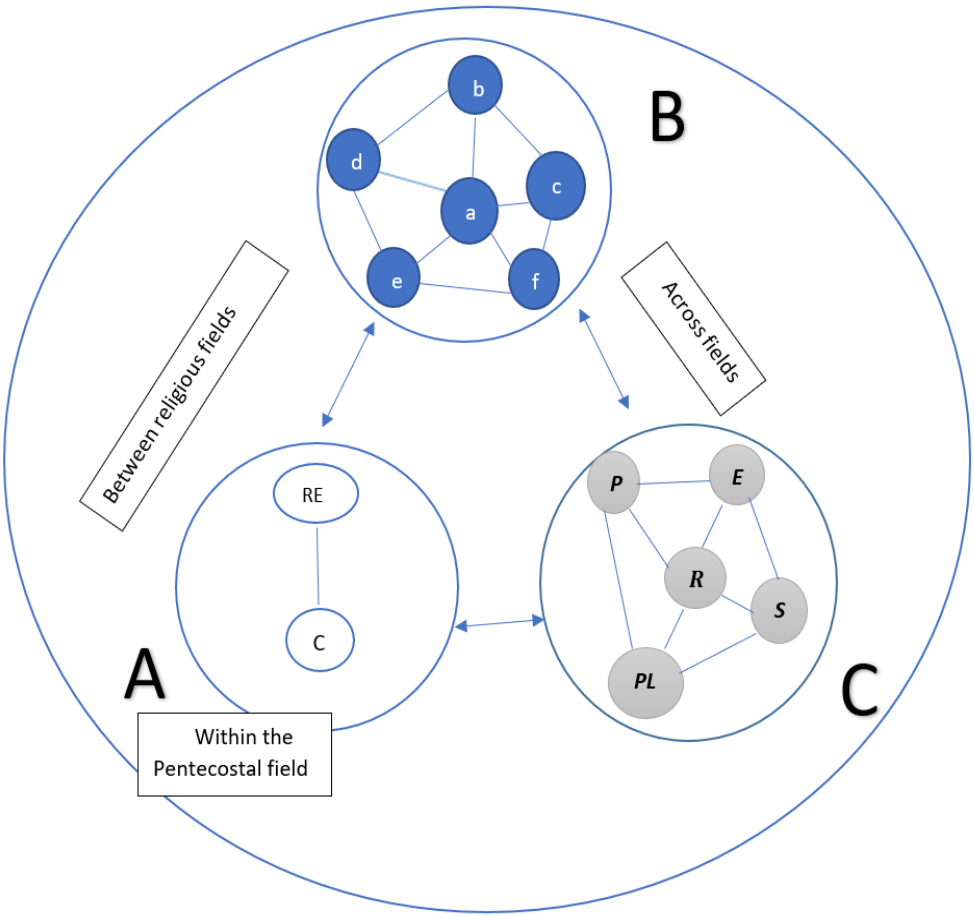
The concept of practice was employed in this study to highlight relations and how actors transit and transect through space, in their pursuit of different objectives. These practices often take the form of strategies and tactics, and these practices always have something resistant about them, something intransigent and subversive (De Certeau, 1984; Dorsch, 2013).

Urban space by its nature, writes Lefebvre (1991) is not a neutral container, but is rather a social construct. In this regard, it is a space of contestations and coalitions as actors vie for different stakes (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The adoption of different strategies and tactics in pursuit of different interests is thus dependent on the species of capital present in the field. De Certeau's (1984) work on practices is therefore very useful considering his emphasis on the meanings that people construct within large systems of control, for instance, the church. His theory of practice is also well suited for understanding the relationships within, between and beyond the Pentecostal religious field.

Bourdieu's field theory and the related concepts of the habitus, capital and practice have been employed as key resources for understanding the dynamics at play within Hillbrow's social spaces or fields. Nevertheless, I am arguing that the Pentecostal religious field contests and coalesces with other social fields in this neighbourhood. I identified three major and differing levels of contestations, as Pentecostal geographies, and urban space (physical, social and spiritual) intersect in making the everyday city life. These are, competition within the Pentecostal religious field (micro); competition between religious fields (meso), and competition across fields (macro). These multivariate levels of competition are illustrated diagrammatically below.

3.4 Competition in Hillbrow's social space

Figure 1: Field analysis



Source: Author, 2020

The diagram above draws on Bourdieu's theoretical conceptualisation of fields as sites of struggles/competition and coalescences as actors pursue different interests. For clarification

purposes, the competition to acquire field-specific capitals operates at three different but interrelated scales, which are explained in the next sections.

3.4.1 Competition within the Pentecostal field

This competition within the Pentecostal religious field operates at two levels, inside the church and between Pentecostal churches. Broadly, the competition within the Pentecostal religious field, either inside the church or between churches, squares off between the religious experts *(RE)* and the congregants *(C)* (Figure 1). The Pentecostal religious field can be defined by "… the fact that what is at stake is the monopoly of the legitimate exercise of the power to modify in the deep lasting fashion, the practice and worldview of lay people, by imposing on and inculcating in them a particular religious habitus," (Rey, 2018: 304).[7] Like other social fields, the religious field is a competitive marketplace (Urban, 2003). A fundamentally contested and interested terrain, at stake within the Pentecostal field is a struggle over the production, control and accumulation of the legitimate goods of salvation including the control of the laity (Bourdieu, 1991). A prerequisite for the genesis of the Pentecostal religious field therefore demands a clear division of labour with a body of specialists whose duties largely corresponds with the disempowerment of the laity (Bourdieu, 1987). Writes Bourdieu:

> Inasmuch as it is the result of the monopolisation of the administration of the goods of salvation by a body of religious specialists, the constitution of the religious field goes hand in hand with the objective dispossession of those who are excluded from it and who thereby find themselves constituted as the laity, dispossessed of religious capital (as accumulated symbolic labour) of recognising the legitimacy of that dispossession from the mere fact that they misrecognise it as such (Bourdieu, 1991:9).

Bourdieu identifies the sorcerers, priests and prophets as religious experts whom he argues are central to the disempowerment of the laity or congregants. This disempowerment, he argues, is based on the distinction between the legitimate and illegitimate manipulation of the sacred or between magic and religion, a distinction he believes is created by the suppression of one religious tradition by another.[8] In the Pentecostal field, the manipulation of the religious field is very common, for instance, through discourse and religious practices.

[7] See chapter 7 for a discussion on symbolic violence, domination and resistance.
[8] I explore this in detail in the next section, on how Pentecostal religion fares with African Tradition Religion (ATR).

The manipulation of the religious field by the religious experts, to the extent that it is acceptable by the congregants, rests upon interlinked forces of misrecognition and the use of symbolic violence.

3.4.1.1 Misrecognition as recognition

The recognition or legitimacy of the religious elites in the Pentecostal field (as is the case with other religious fields), is out of misrecognition. Borrowing largely from Weber, Bourdieu believes that the legitimacy of the religious experts (Pentecostal pastoral figures and other church leaders in this context) emanates from their ability to hide the interestedness of the religious practices to such an extent that they become acceptable to the congregants (Echtler and Ukah, 2015; Medvetz and Sallaz, 2018). Bourdieu writes:

> Since the very basis of the effect of consecration resides in the fact that religious ideology and practice fulfil a function of recognition-misrecognition, religious specialists must necessarily conceal that their struggles have political interests at stake … The symbolic efficacy that they can wield in these struggles depends on it and therefore they have a political interest to conceal and have to hide from themselves their political interests (1991: 20).

The symbolic or spiritual products in the social space (of the church), including the doctrines of prosperity and tithing, and 'anointed' objects for instance, are presented by the symbolic manipulators or producers (the religious experts) as lacking any underlying material interests (economic and political). In the process, the doctrine thus becomes more acceptable by the symbolic consumers or congregants. By recognising the symbolic and spiritual products within the Pentecostal field, including the legitimacy of the religious experts, congregants become complicit in their own domination. According to Bourdieu, in most cases the dominated are complicit in their domination because they tend to misunderstand the systems that dominate them (Bourdieu, 1991; Katsaura, 2013). Borrowing from Foucault (1977, 2006, 2009), religious institutions as systems of control (as is the case with other institutions such as prisons and hospitals) requires subordinate bodies that obey the regulations and rules of power.

3.4.1.2 Symbolic violence and domination

Symbolic violence, "is the process whereby in all societies, order and social restraint are produced by indirect, cultural mechanisms rather than by direct, coercive social control,"

(Jenkins, 1992: 104). It is a "gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims," (Bourdieu, 2001: 2). Religious experts adopt measures of control, and strategies of encapsulation that are meant to impose and forge new identities on congregants within the Pentecostal religious field. A new Pentecostal habitus is cultivated among the congregants, which aligns with that of the Pentecostal religious field. In most cases, this is done through the prohibitions and expectations of what it means to be a Pentecostal congregant, the fruits of which should be visible and manifest in the conduct of everyday life within and beyond the church spaces. A devoted Pentecostal is thus expected to behave in a particular way and conduct their religious practices in a particular form. For instance, through the churches' various encapsulation strategies, believers are encouraged to disassociate with the 'outside' world.

Various practices that resemble symbolic violence, are performed on the congregant's body and in the process, the body, as an embodiment of social, physical, and spiritual space experiences different transformations. Writes Bourdieu:

> Through a wide array of 'spiritual exercises', from prayer and rosaries to sacraments, from bodily disciplines such as genuflection and kneeling to modes of dress and sexual conduct, the church has the power to inscribe and thereby reproduce the social structure upon the individual body (Bourdieu, 1987a: 126).

I invite Foucault's (1977) ideas on surveillance (panopticism) to illustrate how congregants' bodies are disciplined, either directly or indirectly. Technologically advanced surveillance systems such as CCTV cameras ensure that congregants remain disciplined in the church. Even in the absence of these physical surveillance systems, Nyuke (2021) observed that there is self-surveillance, whereby the disciplining gaze is internalized in the lives of the subjects/congregants.

In the Pentecostal religious field, as might be the case with any other religious field, the use of symbolic violence on the laity as a form of domination by the religious elites, is a common phenomenon. According to (Pierre Bourdieu, 1977: 191), symbolic violence is necessary to achieve social domination because:

> …the only way in which relations of domination can be set up, maintained, or restored, is through strategies which, being expressly oriented towards the establishment of relations of personal dependence, must be disguised and transfigured lest they destroy themselves by revealing their true nature; in a word they must be *euphemized.*

For the religious elite to gain control over the laity, and achieve domination in the religious field, symbolic violence must be misrecognised as legitimate authority. For Bourdieu (1977), symbolic violence is often euphemised, such that it does not appear harmful to the congregants. As this study will show in Chapter 7, the encapsulation strategies employed by the religious elites in the Pentecostal field and the control of congregants' bodies through various practices are all disguised as effective and necessary to connect with the divine. In any event, the church structures are arranged in ways that are intended to control the laity.

However, to assume the structures structure the behaviour of the Pentecostals without challenge is to underestimate the agency of individuals who devise different survival tactics. For De Certeau (1984), subaltern groups always manipulate events and turn them into opportunities. In the context of this study, I argue that the congregants elucidate on different methods of utilising everyday religious beliefs, practices, and capitals in different forms of consumption as tactics for getting by; as tactics for accumulating the much sought-after capitals in the Pentecostal religious field, such as the capitals of anointing, healing, and deliverance. These capitals, it should be noted, are also vital for surviving an urban space characterised by high levels of insecurities, violence, and suspicions owing to their mutability into other forms of capital. The very often 'hidden' and subtle forms of domination prevalent within the Pentecostal religious field are also met with equally 'hidden' forms of symbolic resistance. The tactical moves employed among the laity, which are largely 'passive' and hidden, are not just random actions but have logic (De Certeau and Randall, 1984).

Whilst my intention is to show the various tactics that congregants deploy, within and beyond church spaces, I am aware of the risk of exaggerating their tactics or position in a Pentecostal religious field that is highly controversial and spiritually charged. The qualitative face-to-face interviews and observations used as data collection techniques (see next chapter) were attempts to ground this study in everyday realities, as lived and practised by the participants.

3.4.1.3 Transnational connections

Scholars increasingly observe religion as a transnational phenomenon and therefore one that cannot be confined to any geographic political boundaries (Meyer, 2007; Biri, 2014; Ukah, 2016; Oosterbaan, 2017; Van De Kamp, 2017). Despite existing in local communities and influenced by national political and cultural context, religion in general, and Pentecostal

religion in particular, there remain connections with the wider world and the influence from these relations (Wuthnow and Offutt, 2008). Pentecostal religious connections consist of the actual flows of people, goods, services and information, and these are largely facilitated by the latest advances in technology, which continues to compress time and space (Castells, 2010; Anttiroiko, 2015). As a transnational religion, Pentecostalism is characterised by decentralised and flexible organisational structures and inter-connected webs of cross-border connections that enable the rapid spread of their religious beliefs and practices (Meyer, 1995, 2007; Biri, 2014; Garbin, 2014).

Given the details in the preceding section, understanding the dynamics between and within the Pentecostal religious field requires an approach that connects this religious field with other Pentecostal religious fields beyond the confines of national and political boundaries. I utilised Bourdieu's field theory to understand the cross-border flows, confluences, currencies and fluidity of Pentecostal religious resources, cultures and practices across geographical boundaries (Vásquez, 2008). I paid attention to how the local churches in Hillbrow relate to other Pentecostal churches in Nigeria, where they have roots and close connections with other Pentecostal celebrities who have gained global influence and popularity in the religious field (see for instance Ukah, 2003; Van De Kamp, 2017; Biri, 2014). Nigeria is a dominant player within the contemporary dynamics of Pentecostal religion with some scholars conceptualising it as the Pentecostal capital of the world (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Ukah, 2016; Katsaura, 2019). In *How God became Nigerian,* Adogame (2010) reminds us that in Nigeria, religion is arguably the second largest cultural export after crude oil.

3.4.2 Competition between religious fields (inter-religious competition)

To understand the competition that operates at an inter-religious level, one must bear in mind that South Africa in general and Hillbrow in particular are religiously diverse communities. Throughout history, the country's religious landscape has been home to African Independent Churches, African Traditional Religion (ATR), Catholicism, Methodism and Islam[9]. It was only after the early '90s that Pentecostal religion started to penetrate the country's religious landscape. Since then, Pentecostal religion has been growing in the country's urban spaces, a trend that has also been observed elsewhere in the urban spaces of Africa, Asia and Latin American cities (Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013; Becker *et al.*, 2013; Ukah, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016; Van De Kamp, 2017). Considering the

[9] See Chapter 5 for a discussion on the expanding Pentecostal geography in Hillbrow.

country's, religious diversity, specifically Hillbrow's, competition in the religious field is inevitable. Religious actors often struggle for legitimacy, recognition, and the desire to dominate the 'spiritual', physical and social spaces. Different strategies and tactics are therefore employed by the religious actors to accumulate and control the various resources in the religious field.

Whilst I acknowledge the inevitability of inter-religious competition between different actors, I focused specifically on the relations between Pentecostal religion and ATR. I have opted for ATR as a comparison, largely because of the already existing rivalry between Pentecostal religion and traditional beliefs and practices. In Pentecostal tradition, traditional practices associated with ATR are demonised and are often associated with the devil (Van De Kamp, 2017; Ukah, 2016; Katsaura, 2017). In fact, from a Pentecostal perspective, the world is viewed as a battlefield between demonic and heavenly forces, between good and evil. Misfortune, reproductive challenges, marriage problems, etc. are all interpreted as resulting from earthly demonic forces, which, in most instances are believed to be rooted in cultural beliefs and traditional practices. The assumption that equates ATR to evil or demonic forces thus provides the justification for Pentecostalism's radical stance towards ATR. Through deliverance sessions, believers have to be saved from the spiritual and cultural bondages (Maxwell, 1995).

A radical stance adopted by the Pentecostals towards indigenous religions also needs to be understood against the background that Pentecostalism is largely an 'urban' religion and therefore presents itself as a modern community[10]. For this reason, perceived traditional practices, including indigenous religious practices are seen as 'counter-modern' and a counter-kingdom of God (Ukah, 2003). The urbanite therefore has to be delivered from the 'chains of tradition' in order to realise 'heavenly blessings', including prosperity and general wellbeing. According to Gore (2002: 222) cited in Ukah (2003), the exorcism that is performed in Pentecostal churches involves the deliverance from traditional conceptions of wealth and lifestyles into "localised conditions of modernity".

Following Bourdieu, I propose that the relationship between the Pentecostal(s) and the traditionalists is based on a distinction between the legitimate and the illegitimate manipulation of the sacred or spiritual space. The relationship between the two fields creates

[10] This however does not discount the presence of Pentecostal churches in perceived 'rural communities'. It is the sheer concentration of Pentecostal churches in urban spaces that qualifies it as largely an urban religion.

the suppression of one religious tradition by another and in a way, forms the basis for the (mis)recognition of the 'legitimacy' of one religious field (Pentecostal in this context) at the expense of the other (Bourdieu, 1991: 12–13). These views are tested and contested using Pentecostal religion and ATR in Hillbrow.

In as much as my focus is on the inter-religious competition that plays out between Pentecostal religion and ATR, I am also aware that competition within the religious field goes beyond these two. For instance, the competition can be between Pentecostalism and Catholicism, or Methodism and ATR, and so forth. This competition varies across space and time. In Haiti for instance, the competition over the production and administration of the various forms of religious capital plays out between Catholicism and what is often regarded as Vodou priests (traditional), where the Catholic hierarchy made attempts to distinguish themselves as more powerful and superior to the Vodou priest (Rey, 2011). From this example, one can argue that there is always a controversial relationship between traditional beliefs and practices, and any other brands of Christianity.

To characterise the nature of the relations in the religious field (either inside the church, between churches, or across religions), I employed Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical thesis, particularly his concepts of 'front stage' and 'backstage' practices. Front-staged practices are those official social encounters where formal roles and performances are conducted. These public engagements are usually carried out for both inspection and visibility and with the goal of a desirable outcome. On the other hand, backstage practices are those conducted behind the scenes. They are often silent manoeuvres, sloppy and with hidden intentions (De Certeau and Rendall, 1984; Scott, 1990; Bayat, 2000). It is in the back region that public performances are choreographed, rehearsed, and perfected with the intention of indirectly bringing offence or harm to others, but to meet desired goals. Commenting on Goffman's backstage ideas, Thompson (1995: 88) writes that "individuals often act in ways that knowingly contradict the images they seek to project in front regions". In any event, the back region performances are in fact preparation for front region conducts. This distinction of the back region and front region performances made by Goffman was key to analyse the relationships within and between Pentecostal religious fields. Beyond the religious field, how does the field of Pentecostal religion fares with other social fields in the neighbourhood of Hillbrow? I attempt to answer this question in the spirit of Bourdieu's relational logic that, "to think the field is to think relationally," (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 96).

3.4.3 Competition across fields

This competition plays out between the Pentecostal religious field and other social fields in Hillbrow. I argue that any attempts that intend to understand Pentecostal religion's transformative role of the urban space needs to consider its relationality with other fields in the neighbourhood. Whilst there are multiple fields and sub-fields relationally existing in the urban field, my focus is specifically on how the field of Pentecostal religion fares with the state (and its institutions, the field of planning, law and politics); the economic field (including but not limited to entertainment facilities, formal and informal traders), and the social field (specifically the residents). I argue that the relations between the Pentecostal field and other social fields have to be understood from a conflicting and mutually interlacing perspective. Beyond competition, fields also complement each other.

3.4.3.1 Pentecostal religion vs the political field

The relationship between religion and politics is very complex and dynamic and varies across geographical space and time (Gifford, 1988, 1992; Ukah, 2003; Ojo, 2018). The relationship is of mutual benefit when the habitus of the two fields match, and controversial when it is incongruent. Throughout the world, political elites have a tendency to reach out to religious communities, especially during election campaigns, seeking votes. In South Africa, for instance, political elites, such as PW Botha, Mandela, FW de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi have all visited the Zion Christian Church's annual conferences in search of political capital or support (Ellis and Haar, 1998). Visiting places of worship by religious elites for political gains is a global phenomenon. In many instances, religious elites are also invited by political elites to officiate and preside over national programmes. Billy Graham in the United States, Adeboye (Redeemed Christian Church of God) in Nigeria and most recently, Ezekiel Guti of the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God (ZAOGA) in Zimbabwe, have all been invited and consulted by political elites on issues of 'national interest' (see Ukah, 2003; Chitando and Togarasei, 2010). The invitation by political elites on national programmes also offers an opportunity for religious leaders to market their churches. In this regard, whilst the religious field serves as a tool for political mobilisation, the political field also offers an interesting space for religious legitimacy and mobilisation. The presented cases points to the relationality of the religious field and the political field.

To survive a spiritually charged and yet complex, controversial, and insecure urban field, I argue that the newly emerging Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow, among other reasons, align

their Pentecostio-religious habitus with the state's political habitus. This involves refraining from directly condemning and publicly attacking the state and its institutions of governance (political parties) for a multiplicity of urban challenges. Instead, the Pentecostal churches relegate the urban challenges (such as poverty, violence, unemployment) to the 'invisible spiritual world'. By redirecting the urban challenges to the 'invisible world', Pentecostal religious institutions in a way serve the interests of the political elites (and their interests too if they are to remain relevant), and in the process contribute towards what I can conceive as 'a mixed symbolic domination of the congregants, a domination that operates both at a religious (Pentecostal) and state level.

Using Bourdieu's (1977) field theory, I explored how the two fields of Pentecostalism and politics relate in a largely migrant community where the majority of the residents have very limited if any political rights and rarely participate in local governance and national elections because of their contested citizenship statuses. If the belief that religion serves as a tool for political mobilisation holds true, as the above examples have shown, how then does the religious field and the official public' political field relate in a context where many residents have limited political rights? The link between the religious field and the political field is therefore an area that requires an investigative analysis.

3.4.3.2 Spatialising Bourdieu's thinking tools: Pentecostal field vs planning field

In this brief section, I intend to spatialise Bourdieu's work by exploring the relationality between the Pentecostal religious field and the field of urban planning. A specialist of social space, Bourdieu's work is arguably regarded as lacking an adequate spatial dimension (Hillier and Rooksby, 2005; Savage, 2012). Admittedly though, the relational nature of the physical space and the social space is highlighted in his field theory. Considering an arguably 'spatial void' in Bourdieu's work, I enlist Lefebvre (1991), particularly his most famous work, in the production of space in which the relationship between physical space and social space is explored in depth (Lefebvre, 1991; Knott, 2005, 2008; Watkins, 2005; Ghulyan, 2019). In any case, physical space embodies social space, and the reverse holds true.

According to Mwathunga (2014), Lefebvre (1991) emphasised the linking of three elements in the production of space, namely perceived space, lived space and representational spaces. Perceived space refers to relatively objective, concrete spaces that people encounter in their daily environment (Lefebvre, 1991; Purcell, 2002). The concept of perceived space in the context of this study is relevant for exploring the various spatial practices in which emerging

Pentecostal churches engage, as they attempt to make their presence felt within and beyond the Pentecostal religious field. These include the tactical transformation of public spaces, warehouses and parking spaces for religious purposes. Lived spaces represent actual experiences of space in daily life. They are spaces of the everyday. It is important to note that people have the power to produce their own spaces and creating new forms of life (Kubbard *et al*., 2002 cited in Mwathunga, 2014). This concept is important for understanding migrant Pentecostals' experiences of space in Hillbrow and how these experiences interconnect with their beliefs and practices. Conceived spaces or representations of space refer to the ways in which space is abstractly conceived. These are spaces produced by technocrats and professionals, such as planners, engineers and architects, in the form of material such as maps.

As spaces imbued with ideological and political content (Lefebvre, 1991; Hubbard, Faire and Lilley, 2003; Carp, 2008), conceived spaces risk replacing the subjective or qualitative experiences of social lives, especially considering that conceived spaces are too reductionist (for instance, through plans), use scientific management of space, and largely use economic rationalisation at the expense of social rationalisation (Mwathunga, 2014). This element of Lefebvre's spatial triad in the production of space is important to illustrate the relations, not only between the Pentecostal religious field and the field of planning, but also between other fields in Hillbrow. I used the idea of conceived spaces to reinforce the argument that the mismatch between space as conceived by technocrats and professionals, and as it is lived and used by situated Pentecostals potentially creates conflict and contestations over urban space within, between, and across fields.

The growing Pentecostal spatial practices of transforming the city's various urban physical infrastructural spaces, such as parking lots, warehouses and parks for religious purposes points, not only to a growing demand of religion in the lives of the urbanites, but also challenges the planning field, which in many cases is 'modernistic' and 'economistic' in orientation. Urban planning has a tendency of treating religion as a cultural, social or community issue, and not particularly as a physical land-use matter (Greed, 2016). Yet, there is vast evidence pointing to the conclusion that faith does shape space (Hopkins, Kong and Olson, 2013). Theorists, such as Foucault, De Certeau and Lefebvre recognised the power and authority of religious institutions and discourses in the historical production and shaping of space (Knott, 2008). For instance, Lefebvre used the example of the role of Christian bodies in producing space to illustrate his ideas about spatial morphology, practice and representation (Knott, 2008).

In addition to its economic prowess, Johannesburg's urban spaces (including its neighbourhoods, such as Hillbrow), continue to be sites of creative religious expressions especially for immigrants who continue to carve out not only sacred niches for themselves, but also find different ways of expressing their religiosities and in the process transforming the city's physical and social infrastructures (Warner and Wittner, 1998; Orsi, 1999). It is therefore crucial that planning policies and instruments be sensitive to what has been referred to as 'the landscape of difference' (Thompson, 2003: 277). A serious incorporation of the spiritual needs of people in the field of planning is instrumental for co-producing planning policies that are extremely sensitive to the various needs of the city's social infrastructures and its people.

3.4.3.3 Sound and society: Hillbrow's sonic sacralisation

Having made attempts in the preceding sections to establish connections between Pentecostal religion and other identified fields above, in this section I shift my focus to one major component of the city's everyday life, which is neither bounded by space nor time – the city's sonic space. I have intentionally selected this component of everyday life to illustrate how the Pentecostal churches' violent appropriation of the neighbourhood's soundscapes is interpreted with other users of space in the neighbourhood, especially the residents. My focus on sound should be understandable, considering that sound cuts across fields and impacts on people's daily lives on different levels.

Approaching the urban from a perspective that connects the religious with the aural, I make three significant arguments. One, the confrontation of the urban soundscape is a spatial practice adopted by actors to vie for public presence. In addition to visual markers, such as billboards, banners, posters, mass gatherings and impressive buildings (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005), highly powered and technologically amplified sound systems have become very popular with Pentecostal churches(De Witte, 2008; Togarasei, 2012a; Oosterbaan, 2017). Second, the confrontation of sound and silence, the city's sonic space by the Pentecostal religious institutions, breeds contestations over urban space with other stakeholders in Hillbrow. The violent, boisterous modes of worship that are always accompanied by the use of powerful address systems, extend the boundaries of their meetings (church spaces in this context) into both the public and private spaces including residential homes. As the sound transgresses spatial boundaries, it will be important to explore how this relates with other users of space in the neighbourhood (residents, business community, traders, etc.) Third, the confrontation of the city's sonic space needs to be understood not just as a symbolic control

of the urban space, but also as a spiritual battle over the sacred and the invisible (De Witte, 2008; Oosterbaan, 2006; Meyer, 1999). By its own nature, sacred space is contested space (Chidester and Linenthal, 1995).

Religious manifestations in the urban soundscape, especially by Pentecostal churches, is believed to have caused much controversy of late. The various modes of religious practices by the Pentecostals as may be the case with other religious fields, especially those who have embraced and incorporated latest advances of technology (by using very loud sound systems), have made religious institutions to be accused and targeted as 'noisemakers' in the city (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; De Witte1998; Oosterbaan, 2006). In Ghana, for instance, the growing physical and acoustic presence of Pentecostal churches in Accra's public spaces heightened inter-religious conflict between Pentecostalists and Traditionalists. By focusing on sound as a unit of analysis, I show how conflict over space plays out within and beyond the religious field (De Witte, 1998).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the conceptual tools for illustrating how Pentecostal geographies intersect with urban space in the making of everyday life in Johannesburg. The chapter developed the concept of religio-spatiality as alternative lenses of reading into the imprints of everyday life. Moving beyond approaches that tend to perceive the city as among other identities, sites of capital accumulation and centres of trade and commerce, the developed concept of religio-spatiality brings the Pentecostal religious and the spatial into conversation with each other, and acknowledges the city as a site of religious innovations, circulation, seductions and (re)productions. In developing the concept of religio-spatiality, I drew extensively but not exclusively from Bourdieu's (1977; 1991; 1998) 'open concepts' of the field, habitus, capital, practice and symbolic violence. Other scholars like Lefebvre (1991), De Certeau (1984), Goffman (1969) and Foucault (1977) were also incorporated to complement Bourdieu's 'thinking tools' and help to illustrate the intricate link between Pentecostal religion and urban space.

This dialectical link between the Pentecostal religionisation of spatialities and the spatialisation of Pentecostal religion is proving to be a critical component of everyday life in the city. With the growing presence of Pentecostal religious institutions in the inner city, I argue that contestations and to some degree coalescence over space are unavoidable with other users of space. Bourdieu's field theory (and the related concepts of the habitus, capital,

social space, practice, and symbolic violence), as will be shown in the next chapters, offers insightful lenses of seeing how Pentecostalism fares with other social fields in Hillbrow. One of the spaces that Pentecostal churches are transforming for the purposes of religiosities is the physical space. Considering that Bourdieu paid particular attention to social space, I pulled Lefebvre into the mix. Through his ideas in the production of space, Lefebvre (just like Bourdieu), believes that physical space and social space are interconnected. However, I have attempted to invite both into making the connection between the two for analytical reasons. The practices in which people engage as they transect and transit through space, within fields, between fields and across fields, are well represented by De Certeau's theory of practice.

The next chapter, entitled 'Waiting as Ethnography', reflects on my fieldwork research experiences. The methodological chapter builds on some of the ideas presented in this chapter on the field, habitus, capital, and practice. If capital is considered a significant resource in any particular field, then I can also propose waiting as capital or as a research resource as my fieldwork reflections, as the next chapter will show.

CHAPTER FOUR

WAITING AS ETHNOGRAPHY

> … the secret, beating heart of ethnographic method remains deeply human: getting out with a voice recorder, pen and pad, writing, negotiating, hanging around, watching, listening, **waiting**, typing, checking (Hamilton, 2015: 564).

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, I reiterated the continued demand for renewed modes of thinking, approaching, and engaging with the 21st century city, and the postcolonial city. The accelerated growth of urbanisation, (de)industrialisation and complex immigration patterns are all presenting new challenges and opportunities for research in contemporary urban spaces (Myers, 2011; Turok, 2013; Parnell and Oldfield, 2014; Pardo and Prato, 2017). As a starting point, I suggest that ethnography matters, particularly in terms of its unique contributions to understanding our increasingly complex urban societies (Anderson, 1976; Shortell and Brown, 2014; Pardo and Prato, 2017). This chapter reflects on doing and writing about ethnography in diverse and complex inner-city neighbourhoods, where multiple levels of uncertainties and complexities mirror and characterise everyday life.

As researchers, we are often confronted with various degrees of uncertainties and complexities that characterise research fields; there is often an overlooked component of fieldwork that warrants attention – waiting. In this chapter, I mobilise the concept of 'waiting as ethnography' as a methodological tool for illustrating the complexities and uncertainties of the research field, and broadly to reflect on my experiences of conducting fieldwork in one of Johannesburg's oldest inner-city neighbourhoods, Hillbrow. Reflecting on my fieldwork experiences along the methodological lenses of 'waiting as ethnography' , I open new modes of thinking and offer an alternative vision of conducting ethnographic research in contemporary urban spaces. The chapter positions 'waiting' as a situated research practice that transcends geographies in both scope and logic, and uses selected Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow as case studies to reflect on my fieldwork experiences.

Broadly, the chapter argues that empirical material borne from 'waiting as ethnography' in Hillbrow may have broader resonance elsewhere across the globe, offering significant ethnographic motivation for understanding the research field as a site of possibilities,

contestations, and uncertainties. In this regard, waiting becomes a relevant methodological tool for navigating these dynamics in urban ethnographic research.

Despite the existence of a wide body of literature that captures the experiences of conducting ethnographic research (Shortell and Brown, 2014; Pardo and Prato, 2017), more can still be done to contribute towards this rich body of knowledge because the experiences of conducting ethnographic research are not uniform. In many instances, the in-depth accounts of doing ethnographic research that are available often offer structured step-by-step guidelines is problematic because these guidelines tend to give the impression that the field of research is homogenous. Although relevant in some instances, these structured guidelines have to be complemented with other methodological tactics, bearing in mind that contexts differ. Conducting fieldwork in the gated neighbourhood of Oyakkent in Turkey (Tanulku, 2009), for instance, may not require the same strategies and tactics employed by one doing fieldwork in Hillbrow.

Based on my fieldwork experiences, I argue that the process of gaining access into an urban research site is a process that requires continuous negotiations between the self, the urban field itself, and the respondents. I consider access into a research field (and participants) as a complex and never-ending process. For instance, being granted access to a research site does not always amount to gaining access to data. Put differently, one may be granted access to a research site but may not be able to get the best out of the actors present in that site. In this regard, I argue that researchers should be prepared to wait. I mobilise and incorporate the concept of waiting as a critical component or capital in urban ethnography.

Many of the available studies where the concept has been employed are limited to mobility and security studies (Bissell, 2007; Sutton, Vigneswaran and Wels, 2011; Pasaribu, Arvanda and Kusuma, 2019; Jacobsen, Karlsen and Khosravi, 2021). In these studies, the concept has often been used as an analytical tool for explaining the complex and shifting nature of processes of state power, bordering, belonging, inclusion and exclusion (Crapanzano, 1985; Sutton, Vigneswaran and Wels, 2011; Jacobsen, Karlsen and Khosravi, 2021). I argue that in urban ethnographic research, there is a limited attention to the application and utilisation of the concept of waiting as a methodological tool in its own right (Palmer, Pocock and Burton, 2018).

Urban ethnography encompasses a close and systematic study of urban life and culture of the studied group, relying both on first-hand experiences, observations and in-depth conversations with informants (Anderson, 1976). It aims to learn from the voices and

experiences of the informants. Broadly, ethnographic research requires extended periods of time, with the studied community to gain a sense of the nuances of daily life (Faubion, 2001: 39, cited in Palmer, Pocock and Burton, 2018). In any case, waiting forms an important component of ethnographic fieldwork, just as much as it is an escapable component of everyday life across societies.

In this study, I perceive waiting as productive, by focusing on its usefulness, in terms of learning and action. My approach towards waiting goes beyond the general assumptions of the perception of waiting in terms of emptiness, passivity, and stillness. This chapter thus carves out an appreciation of waiting as an equally important methodological tool. The concept is employed to illustrate my ethnographic fieldwork experiences in the broader urban field of Hillbrow.

This chapter proceeds as follows: in the next sections, I present the economy of hustling that characterises Sakubva[11], a ghetto in which I was born and bred. By offering this brief reading of this high-density community, I intend to provide a foundation for understanding how the lived experiences in this community also shaped my relations with Hillbrow, which share relatively similar characteristics with Sakubva. I then present my migration experiences, extending back to 2007, when I came to South Africa as an economic refugee. Little did I knew that these experiences would later be instrumental in both the framing and experiences of conducting ethnographic research on immigrant-run Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow almost a decade later. I then proceed to explain and justify why a qualitative research design was chosen for this study. The discussion then proceeds to the real experiences of doing fieldwork, using the idea of waiting as ethnography. As I 'waited' to be granted access and secure data from various sources, I made connections and forged relationships that would be key not only for my research, but also for my safety and security as a Hillbrow resident. A section has therefore been devoted to show how a ghettoised habitus in which I lived from childhood (in my hometown of Mutare, Zimbabwe) has also been a critical resource in helping me to navigate the various spaces in the inner-city. The chapter then goes on to interrogate and explain the data gathering techniques that were employed in this study and finally concludes.

[11] See section 4.4 for more details on how everyday life in Sakubva is related to life in Hillbrow.

4.2 Hustling, migration, and the shaping of urban ethnography

Since the year 2000, Zimbabwe has experienced rapid economic collapse, characterised by uncontrollably rapid inflation, which stood at more than 231 000 000% and an unemployment rate of 90% in 2008 (Munangagwa, 2009). The country's economic malaise happened against the backdrop of a number of factors, chief among them, controversial land reform programme, political violence, and Operation Murambatsvina, a large-scale government operation that forcibly cleared slum areas in 2005. These developments had huge implications on the livelihoods of the majority of ordinary Zimbabweans. With very limited economic opportunities and chances to participate on the country's labour market, many *ghetto youths* or young people resorted to either migrating to other countries in the SADC region and beyond or participated in a street economy of hustling (Wacquant, 1998) as ways of making do.

From brokering petty transactions, to gambling, forex trading, informal trading, prostitution, street soccer (popularly known as money games), and touting, among others, the ghetto youths appropriated different practices of getting by on an everyday basis. They had to hustle. By hustling, I am referring largely to actively participating in the street economy, that is, the material, moral, and symbolic economy of exchanges, social relations, identities, and meanings that the ghetto youths participate in to survive and, at the same time, define their aspirations for a better life (Nunzio, 2012).

This participation in the street economy is to a large extent driven by the, "efforts to gain directionality" or, rather, "to direct and control the movement of one's life rather than having it be directed and moved by the shifting of the unstable social environment it is immersed in," (Vigh, 2006: 130). Broadly, directionality is understood in this context as attempting to navigate the terrains of uncertainty, poverty and economic insecurities and achieve economic security and aspirations for upward social mobility.

As the economic downturn continued to bite, the streets as public spaces also became sites of competition, conflict, and contestations to appropriate various forms of capital. Consequently, many young people explored alternatives elsewhere. Migration became one of the most popular forms of hustling. Many ghetto youths crossed the borders into Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa. Returning young immigrants would possess material objects, such as the latest electronic gadgets (phones, flat screen TVs,

home theatres), and designer clothes. These would command the statuses of 'real hustlers' and such titles would come with, honour, respect, power and prestige in society.

In a society (Zimbabwe) with very limited opportunities for the majority, I found myself coming to South Africa in 2007. While my reasons were economically driven, there was also another dimension to this migration experience – the desire to ascribe myself to, claim, and reinforce the ghetto identity of a hustler. As an 'unskilled' young person who had just completed high school, I worked on the farms in Limpopo, until a relative invited me to Johannesburg, where promises of better economic opportunities and lifestyle were too tempting to ignore.

4.2.1 The grass is not always greener on the other side

Networks in migration theory have always been celebrated as instrumental in facilitating the migration process, helping new immigrant settle well in foreign lands and they have been praised consistently for providing economic opportunities (Castells, 2010; Biri, 2014; Garbin, 2014; Anttiroiko, 2015; Chiswick, 2015). There is, however, a need not to over romanticise the role of networks in the migration process regardless of the strength or weakness of these ties (Granovetter, 1973). Having been invited by a relative in Johannesburg, I was left stranded at Park Station and endured painful periods of waiting when communication was completely cut off for some reasons unbeknown to me. I felt both angry and disappointed. I then recalled the storied narratives that had been shared by some of the immigrants returning to my neighbourhood. Returning young migrants would share different stories about South Africa. Every migration experience has its own stories. In all these stories, there is one common theme – the endless waiting periods, especially at Park Station, where people will spend hours waiting for a friend or relative to come and take them 'home'. Generally, Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa are often confronted with the complex demands and ethical constraints of physically hosting and providing for their friends and family members who would have recently migrated to South Africa. In *Address Unknown*, (Worby, 2010) details the experiences of recent immigrants in Johannesburg, some of whom struggle in vain to contact their relatives or friends upon arriving at Park Station. Some end up at the Methodist Church or to flats or warehouses that offer low rent sleeping spaces in the inner-city.

Fortunately, I had saved money from my previous work on the farms in Limpopo, which was sufficient to tide me over for a few days. I booked at the Park Station hotel where I slept for

two nights, sharing a room with one man (Velaphi) from Swaziland, who had come to Johannesburg on a business trip. I met Velaphi at a restaurant on the same day I arrived from Limpopo, which was just a stone's throw away from the Park Station hotel. An incident took place, which we both witnessed, and which sparked a conversation between the two of us. A coloured man in his early thirties had just been robbed by two men outside the restaurant, in broad daylight. One man grabbed the coloured man by the throat, pointing a knife straight into his eyes, while his accomplice searched his pockets, taking everything. Everyone on the street was minding their own business. This disturbing incident sparked a conversation between me and Velaphi. We resorted to booking a room at the hotel for security reasons. The hotel offered me an opportunity to make new contacts as my hopes for a relative to come and take me home were slowly fading with each passing moment.

Two days later, Velaphi returned to Swaziland. I could not continue staying at the hotel, as it was costly and unsustainable. I became desperate and felt let down by a relative who had invited me to Johannesburg and never showed up. But, as the old adage says, "desperate times always call for desperate measures". I contacted Wizzy, a former colleague through Facebook, who hailed from the same ghetto as me, and who I had not seen in almost a year. Wizzy and I had attended the same high school and played for rival local junior football teams. During one youth soccer tournament, we had exchanged strong words and almost fought. We were rivals, but our shared experience as immigrants from the same foreign country bonded us. I was relieved when he offered me temporary accommodation in Hillbrow, where he stayed with his brother.

I stayed with Wizzy for two weeks while I planned my next move. These two weeks were not short of any action. Wizzy would take me for walks in Hillbrow's streets and other public spaces. I would observe people's dress codes, exotic haircuts, gambling habits and various other street activities, such as informal trading and soccer matches. These activities reminded me of my home area and how people generally go about their everyday lives as they pursued different interests in urban spaces. Wizzy's brother had proposed my considering joining the security industry where he had connections. However, I found the industry too risky, based on the stories I had heard, and I felt that I was still very young to join this sector. A week later, the person who had originally invited me to Johannesburg called and explained that he had gone to Durban for work, on the same day he was due to pick me at Park Station, which I found unlikely, as I felt he could have informed me of this fact the same day I arrived, or at least responded to my calls.

After spending two weeks with colleagues in Hillbrow, I later resolved to return to the farms in Limpopo where I had worked for almost a year, before I planned to return to Zimbabwe. In my short time in the area, I had managed to purchase several electronic gadgets, which included a home theatre set, a television, a three compact disc changer radio and a Samsung smartphone. These valuables were enough to accord me the status of a hustler in a community where hustling had become an everyday religion. Additionally, I had also set aside cash to start a small trading business in Mutare (at a flea market). With the money made from this small business, as well as my sister Ginah's help, we were able to pay for my university tuition.

The experiences of migration narrated in the preceding section have been instrumental in influencing the methodological approaches and research experiences that have shaped the development of my study, for two primary reasons. Firstly, my experiences of waiting at the Park Station would later and unexpectedly influence the framing of my methodology chapter, as well as an analysis of countless observations and reflections some years later. Secondly, my experiences of migration, as this chapter will show, have been key in facilitating access and establishing rapport with other immigrants who share relatively similar migration experiences with mine in the neighbourhood of Hillbrow. Before I turn to my experiences of waiting, I present in the next section the research design, which informed this study.

4.3 Research design

This qualitative study employs a case study research design to illustrate a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the intricate link between Pentecostal religion and urban space in the making of everyday city life in Johannesburg. Credited for their in-depth analyses, case studies, unlike surveys for instance, go beyond the surface to look for meanings through an analysis of the subjective viewpoints of the actors involved on a small scale (Knight, 2002). In the context of this research, a case study has proved to be relevant and the best option, since it allowed me to "retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events," (Yin, 2003: 2) and so allowed a considerably detailed focus on underlying Pentecostal beliefs, practices and everyday processes that characterise city life in Johannesburg. The case study of Hillbrow accorded me an opportunity to explore in-depth the often-unheralded connections and contestations between the world of the secular, the sacred and the profane in the city.

For a study that explored how Pentecostal religion materialises in the urban space, a case study approach was necessary. Summing up the usefulness of case studies, Kumar writes:

> This approach rests on the assumption that the case being studied is typical of cases of a certain type so that, through intensive analysis, generalisations may be made that will be applicable to other cases of the same type, (Kumar, 2005: 113).

Whilst some inner-city neighbourhoods like Berea and Yeoville might have proved to be interesting cases, considering the growing visibility of Pentecostalism and other religious institutions in these locations (as is the case elsewhere across the country), I paid specific attention to a single case study of Hillbrow. I am aware that a single case study may involve multiple units of analysis (Yin, 2009). My focus was, however, on two immigrant-run Pentecostal churches anonymised here as Christ's Disciples (CD) and Christian Mission (CM).

The CD church came as an alternative option having endured endless periods of waiting and negotiating access at one of the pre-identified churches[12]. The selected churches were chosen owing to, among other things, their transnational character (membership and transnational connections), growing visibility in the inner-city's public and private spaces (through membership, sound, objects, and media) and importantly, due to accessibility. Additionally, there is no study that has specifically focused on these churches in Hillbrow despite their growing influence and visibility. I argue that while the findings of this study remain specific to the case of Hillbrow, they can also be useful in formulating a hypothesis for a large-scale study on this topic.

4.3.1 Why Hillbrow as a case study?

In the introduction of this study, I justified why, in the making of the everyday life, Hillbrow offers a very interesting and insightful case for understanding the intersection of Pentecostal religion and urban space. Statistical figures of Pentecostal churches have been offered to justify the reality that there is indeed an expanding geography of Pentecostal religion in Hillbrow since the 1990s. In addition to the justifications that have been provided in the introductory sections of this thesis, my selection of Hillbrow has also been informed by my intellectual habitus or cognitive map of this community (Katsaura, 2013), which I already possess. By intellectual habitus, I mean the stock of knowledge that I possessed about this site, which dates back to 2007 (briefly) and 2015, when I was pursuing a Master's Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand. Hillbrow was just a stone's throw away from Wits

[12]Please refer to part 4.4 of this section for more details.

Junction, one of the university's students' residences where I stayed. I would regularly go to Hillbrow for shopping, church, and entertainment. I became very familiar with this neighbourhood. Secondly, Hillbrow was also selected because of its proximity to the university where I was registered. This ensured access to university facilities, and active participation in various postgraduate activities and seminars that benefitted my study. The proximity also ensured regular contact with my supervisors, with whom I would consult for advice. Hillbrow was very convenient in many respects.

Thirdly, my selection of Hillbrow was also informed by the networks and connections that I had already established in this neighbourhood prior to the commencement of my fieldwork. These connections would later be vital for facilitating access to various informants who participated in this study. Fourth, factors such as time and the general costs of doing this research were also considered in my selection of this case. Fifth, Hillbrow is popular for its migrancy status. Being a black foreign national in a neighbourhood known to be home to other black foreign nationals also made me consider Hillbrow as a suitable research site, especially under the backdrop of various forms xenophobic attacks that have taken place, particularly in locations dominated by the locals (e.g., Alexandra and Diepsloot). As the old adage goes, there is safety in numbers. I considered Hillbrow relatively safer in terms of xenophobic attacks. Lastly and most importantly, Hillbrow harbours many similarities with the ghetto location in Zimbabwe (Sakubva), from where I came. For this reason, my ghettoised habitus connected perfectly with this neighbourhood.[13] Lastly and importantly, Hillbrow was selected because of its potentialities to provide new and interesting readings of city life. Other than a study that was conducted by Winkler in 2014 which focused on religious institutions as spaces of hope for many marginalised people in the society, there has not been any other research that was conducted in Hillbrow, particularly on Pentecostal religious institutions and their transformation of urban space.

Broadly, my selection of Hillbrow as my research site was informed and guided by Burgess's (1984) pointers that need consideration when selecting a research site, namely simplicity, accessibility, unobtrusiveness, permissibility, participation, and I add, a relatable societal habitus and the demand for renewed thoughts on the subject of Pentecostal urbanism (Nyuke, 2021). I turn to the complexities of gaining access into this research site in the next section.

[13] See section 4.5 for details on how my ghettoised habitus was key for navigating the various spaces in Hillbrow.

4.3.2 Renting a flat in Hillbrow

As the previous sections have shown, I have a long history with South Africa in general and Hillbrow in particular, dating back to 2007. When I received my ethics clearance to conduct this research, by the University of the Witwatersrand's Ethics Committee in August 2018, I moved to Hillbrow and rented a flat at one of many of the Jozi Housing properties along Claim Street. The strategy of moving to stay in a community where the potential research participants, whose everyday lives I intended to understand, is a common approach in ethnographic research. For instance, Malinowski pitched a tent when he studied the circuit of economic and gift exchange among the Omarkan villagers of the Trobriand Island during his ethnographic fieldwork (Wax, 1972). Unlike Malinowski, renting instead of tenting was the best option to immerse myself in the everyday lives of the studied group. I developed and employed a specific version of ethnography mobilised here as *pentethnography.* This version of ethnography involves the researcher immersing themselves in the Pentecostal lives of a studied Pentecostal group. This involves digging deep into what it entails to be a Pentecostal, both within and beyond the church space.

Renting an apartment in Hillbrow accorded me an opportunity to be in close contact with and interacting more with my respondents and paying attention to the different "… pattern of events," (Burgess, 1984: 60) (of how Pentecostalism connects with space and vice versa) "within a real-life context" over a prolonged period of time (Yin, 2009). I became a resident of this neighbourhood, sharing similar experiences with other residents. For instance, I was not exempt from the noise that was generated from the massive PA sound systems of the Pentecostal churches, as well as the noise from the local taverns, as these institutions made attempts to make their presence felt in this neighbourhood.

4.4 Negotiating access: Learning to wait and learning from waiting

> One cannot force the hearts and minds of other people, or get them to do what we want them to do at the precise moment we want it. We can only wait, and … convert our tribulations into lasting prose (O'Brien, 1995: 182).

The process of negotiating access into a research site remains an integral component of the research process. In the context of ethnographic research, one might safely say that being denied access at all levels might as well threaten the whole research. I argue that gaining access into a research site is a process that requires waiting and endless negotiations. For

this reason, waiting has to be understood and appreciated as a methodology in its own right. In the processes of going through chains of negotiations, researchers should be prepared to wait.

It is always the objective of many ethnographic field researchers to minimise waiting (access into a research site and or to data) and to optimise efficiency of time in the field (Janeja and Bandak, 2018; Palmer, Pocock and Burton, 2018). This is understandable, considering that waiting is generally perceived as an unproductive activity, one that should be avoided or minimised at all costs. However, drawing on my fieldwork experiences, I argue that, waiting, is in fact a productive time of learning and action and forms a critical component of ethnography. This perspective goes beyond perspectives that tend to consider waiting as a 'gap' or 'grey' area between activities. As Schweizer rightly argues, if we consider waiting not as time to be endured but as a valuable 'condition of our being', then it is possible to wait without object or end (Schweizer, 2008: 128). In the context of this research, valuing the wait as productive time is one way of understanding the complexities of urban ethnography, including the complex relations between the researchers and the participants. Valuing the wait as productive time is also another form of agency, of resisting the commercialisation of time. As Schweizer rightly puts it:

> If we claim our experience of waiting rather than being merely subjected to it, we resist the commercialization of time, we own our time, we make time matter – we matter (Schweizer, 2008: 128).

Yet waiting, as it constitutes a vital component of my fieldwork experiences, remains relatively underexplored, not just in academic writings, but also both as an experience and a method of conducting research. Under contexts where efforts have been made to incorporate waiting in academic studies, the concept remains largely limited to the domain of either mobility or rehabilitation studies (Bissell, 2007; Pasaribu, Arvanda and Kusuma, 2019; Jacobsen, Karlsen and Khosravi, 2021). Within the human mobility paradigm for instance, waiting has proved to be a key constituent element of transit experiences throughout the world. From waiting for a bus at Mbare Musika Rank, to waiting for a delayed flight at OR Tambo international airport, waiting is often regarded as an unpleasant activity. Bissel (2007) argues that the experience of waiting is very often conceptualised as a stasis period that rendered the passenger passive. Put differently, the waiting process seems to suggest a large degree of passivity on humans. In the world of waiting, it is very common to come across phrases such as, 'things are beyond our control', 'we can only wait for the right time' and

God's time is the best, for the believers. However, waiting may also shape the 'politics of quiet encroachment,' (Oldfield and Greyling, 2015: 1102), particularly between the citizens and the state, with regards to service provision.

Suffice to say, contemporary spaces of the urban built form, thanks to technological innovations, have been and continue to be re-engineered to facilitate the practice of waiting. From waiting rooms to platforms, traffic lights to shelters and benches, church spaces to public parks modern spaces are home to various landscapes and architectures of waiting. Owing to their designs, it can be argued that these container spaces have the potential to keep the body in a form of temporary stasis.

4.4.1 The experience of waiting

When I first went to the International Church (IC) (name anonymised) in September 2018, for the purposes of conducting research, it took me two months to meet the church pastor to discuss the possibilities of using this church as one of my case studies. The procedure required me to be present each Sunday service, hoping that I would stand a chance to meet the pastor after any of the church services. Two months later, I finally met the pastor and presented my research request. I was advised that a meeting was going to be convened with the church's leadership and it was from this purported meeting that a decision would be made on whether access would be granted or not, especially considering that I was not a member of the church. In the following weeks, I had the honour of being 'formerly' introduced to the church on one Sunday morning. *"There is a young man studying at Wits University amongst us. Can he stand up?"* said the pastor. I stood up and the pastor added, "*He said he wants to do a research using our church as reference point. In the meantime, we still have to decide with the board regarding his request since he is not a member of this church*."[14] From that day, things changed. Initially, I thought this public announcement would be key to reaching out to respondents whenever the greenlight to proceed with my research was granted. It turned out that the pastor's message was interpreted differently by some church members. The networks I was beginning to build became weaker and weaker. Some church members would avoid me for unknown reasons. I would make frantic efforts to follow up with the pastor on the outcome of my request but to no avail. Appointments were postponed indefinitely. In fact, the secretary who was tasked with the responsibility of providing me with latest updates regarding my request kept pushing me from pillar to post. I felt powerless,

[14] Church Service, October 2018

helpless and was filled with all the rage that these feelings provoked (Crapanzano, 1985: 45). In *Waiting: The Whites of South Africa,* Crapanzano (1985) examined the effects of domination on everyday lives of those who dominate (relations between the whites and non-whites in South Africa) and concluded that those who are privileged by power are paradoxically victims of it too. Unlike Crapanzano's observations, I was a in no position of power to influence the decision of my request.

In the midst of all this, I found comfort in Elijah Anderson's (1976) ethnographic account of how men who frequented Jelly's Corner, a liquor store located in the ghetto of Chicago's South Side created and recreated their local stratification system. This liquor store was frequented by both 'outsider' and 'regulars'. The 'outsiders', writes Anderson (1976), often found it hard to interact with the 'regulars' who frequented Jelly's. They (outsiders) were often treated with suspicion. In fact, the 'regulars' had created a society and network of their own, such that it was very easy to identify new faces.

Like Jelly's, the social space of Pentecostal churches is shared by both regulars (those assumed to bear the status of full membership) and visitors. My general observations and experiences revealed that the space is generally 'welcoming' to visitors who have intentions of joining the church as a full-time member and less to those who seem to have a different agenda, such as researchers in my case. My positionality as a researcher created formality and somehow made me an 'outsider', and this proved to be a hindrance in negotiating and gaining access. I had no intention of converting to the Pentecostal faith, even though in the eyes of the religious leaders, I might have been viewed as a potential convert. Once it was understood that I had no intention of joining the church permanently, my relationship with the church changed. Even though I had explained that my research was not intended to harm the church, there was the assumption that I had a different, hidden agenda, which went beyond conducting academic research.

The never-ending cycle of negotiating for access and justifying my research made me to realise that if ever I was to be granted access, it would be after very long periods of waiting. What if I wait and access is not granted at the end? Based on my experiences, I realised that it would be naïve to assume that waiting would amount to being granted access. The frustrations, disappointments, and anger that I experienced from the process of trying to negotiate access compelled me to acknowledge and appreciate that my research was not of any significant importance for this church, and therefore was never going to be treated as their first priority. These experiences of waiting made me realise and appreciate how those

in positions of authority and power can actually use waiting as a controlling mechanism (Jacobsen, Karlsen and Khosravi, 2021).

In Kafka's novel (1925), entitled *The Trial,* K finds himself ensnared by unreasoning and unreasonable authority who never divulges why K is arrested and yet is meant to wait for a court judgment for an unknown case (Kafka, 1925). In K's case, the waiting (for an unknown judgment) included the exercise of a never-ending series of controls by authorities over the prisoner. Whilst my experiences may not be directly equated to the experiences of prisoners like K, I shared similar feelings of frustrations and uncertainty with K, particularly being kept in the dark about the outcome of my request. Postponing appointments indefinitely and the failure to make efforts to communicate by the church, were for me some strategies of indirect frustrations and denying me access as a researcher. I then recalled an informal conversation I once had with one of the church members who had hinted to me that it would:

> …take something very special for the church to agree to your request, especially that you are not a member of this church (Conversation with Jane, November 2018).

Jane's confession confirmed my suspicions that the church was indeed using waiting as a means of barring me entry. The conversation with Jane made me reflect, accept and come to terms with the reality that access was not going to be granted, at least in the near future.

As days went by, and with church members seemingly drifting away from me, I felt that I was indeed an outsider in the church. As Dostoevsky (2014[1861]: p. 32), the Russian novelist and philosopher, famously puts it, "suffering is the sole origin of consciousness" (cited in Jacobsen, Karlsen and Khosravi, 2021). I resolved to take my study elsewhere. I then recalled Gasparini's (1995) reasoning on the question of uncertainty, who argues that the experience of waiting, is always "at the crossroads not only of the present and future, but also of certainty and uncertainty," (Gasparini, 1995: 31). As it was proving to be fruitless, this waiting made me uncertain, and I accepted that everything was outside of my control. As I accepted that there were things that I could not change, I also reflected on my positionality as a researcher. A number of questions came to mind. Could it be that I had wrongly presented myself as a spy or predatory journalist? Could it therefore be that the Pastor was trying to protect the church from unforeseen consequences? When he asked me to stand in one of his Sunday services and informed the church that there was a PhD student intending to use 'our church as a case study', could it be that he was warning the congregates of an intruder in the church? But I had presented myself professionally, and as openly as I could for ethical and professional reasons.

My experiences of endless waiting taught me that trust is not easily granted but is rather earned in various research fields, including the Pentecostal fields[15]. I acknowledged that my study is developing in a context where contemporary newly emerging Pentecostal churches have received massive criticisms from the public, with some people accusing them of faking miracles and likening them to scammers taking advantage of desperate and hopeless urbanites under the guise of religion.

The media is awash with controversies surrounding contemporary Pentecostal churches. From claims of resurrection to feeding people with snakes and spraying them with insecticides, to claims of finding the cure for HIV and AIDS, modern Pentecostal churches have not been short of controversies. In February 2019, social media users were left in stitches after the purported 'resurrection' saga of one 'dead Elliot' by Pastor Lukau at the Alleluia Ministries International in Johannesburg.

Figure 2: The Elliot saga



Source: Makhetha, 2019

In April 2019, the *Sowetan* published a story entitled: '*Fake resurrection fraud case postponed*' in which the Elliot resurrection saga implicated two people who were charged with fraud (Makhetha, 2019). It is incidences like these that portray a negative image of newly emerging Pentecostal churches. Generally, the Pentecostal religious field has not been short of

[15] Refer to section 4.4.2 for details on how I successfully negotiated for access in the other churches.

controversy. Researchers, journalists and other professionals have written and exposed some of the shenanigans and controversies that are taking place in modern Pentecostal churches, including the use of violence on congregants (Lunn, 2016; Dlamini, 2017b; Makhetha, 2019; Dlamini, 2020). Given this background, it is understandable that some churches have become more sceptical to researchers or any other outsiders.

Following my unsuccessful stint with the IC, I then identified another Pentecostal church, the Christ's Disciples (CD) was considered as an alternative. Unlike the International Church, which turned one of the old warehouses in the neighbourhood into a place of worship, CD also struck me as a very interesting case. The church has transformed a parking space in the basement in one of the residential properties into a space of worship. An immediate question came to my mind. What kind of a relationship exists between this church and the tenants who stayed on the same property? As a researcher who among others, was interested in exploring the relations between the religious field and other different fields (such as the residential field), I became interested more in this church since it was established in a residential property. In March 2019, I approached the pastor of CD, after one Sunday service (my first), which I had attended. I introduced myself and my intentions as a researcher. The friendly smile on his face and the nodding of his head as I explained everything made me feel welcome from the onset; I sensed that the pastor was really interested in my study, for whatever reasons.

Why would he not be interested in knowing that a doctoral student from Wits, one of the most highly ranked universities globally, was interested in using his church as a reference point? After all, I had just witnessed him perform a 'healing miracle' on a lady who had experienced problems with her sight for almost 10 years. Surely my presence during the (assumed) healing, would enable me to testify first-hand to the world, asserting – through my research – the power of this prophet. Indeed, I believed that "Papa"[16] saw me as a conduit for communicating and advertising his church to the outside world. In a religious field known to be highly competitive, surely actors who are perceived to popularise the name of the church are welcome if one needs to survive a cutthroat community? From the start, this was a relationship of mutual dependence and exchange. The novelty of the church being used as reference point in a doctoral thesis was a drawcard.

And yet, despite expressing an interest in my study, and declaring that 'the holy spirit had led me to the church,' Papa informed me that I would have to go through the security department

[16] "Papa" is how congregants referred to the pastor/prophet.

– a routine process. I was asked to come the following week and meet the head of security for some 'friendly interrogation'. The Christ's Disciples church's security department was headed by one gentleman named Brother Mike. Outside church activities, Brother Mike was also a police officer with the South African Police Service (SAPS). As an experienced man in security-related matters, it is understandable why he was tasked with heading the church's Security Department. When I met him the following week, he was extremely interrogative in his questioning, demanding to understand the reasons behind this study and why the intended CD church would offer an interesting case. My response was very simple. Religious institutions are equally critical actors in the co-production of the city and yet they tend to be overlooked in policy and academic debates. Like any other Pentecostal churches, the CD church was no exception.

I was asked to provide copies of my passport, student card, proof of registration from the university, and an ethics clearance certificate, all of which I gladly submitted. Thereafter, I was asked to attend and complete an introductory course, known as the New Believers Foundational Course[17], a course also taught in the church to new congregants. The course was intended to introduce me to the culture of the church, to emphasise the need for me to abide by the church rules (as I was someone who had indicated that I would visit the church and participate in its various activities regularly). According to Brother Mike, the foundational course was not intended to convert me to their church. However, the structure and content of the course indicated otherwise. Whether one intends to join permanently or temporarily, the course is intended to indoctrinate new members and convert them into full-time church members. The course is one of the encapsulation strategies employed by the church (see Chapter 7).

Halfway through the course (which comprised six modules), Brother Mike fell ill and could not attend to church activities. Upon hearing that he was sick and might be indisposed for a while, I grew concerned. I was worried about his health more so than my ability to continue my studies. He had proved to be a good friend and was my immediate contact and gate-pass to other respondents. I resolved to wait for his recovery, and checked in on him intermittently, through WhatsApp and direct calls. To wait when conducting research is an acknowledgement of a relationship that exists between the researcher and the respondent

[17] In Chapter 7, I have written about how structures like these are also used as infrastructures of encapsulation or ideological indoctrination.

upon whom the research waits. I had established a good relationship with Brother Mike and accepted the success of my research was dependent on acknowledging that bond.

Minnegal and Dwyer (2017), in their ethnography of the Kubo people of the tropical lowlands of Papua New Guinea, revealed how reciprocated patterns of waiting characterised how people related to each other in their everyday lives. In a community with a small population of hunters-horticulturalists, whose everyday lives were perceived to be traditional and outside the Western notions of 'development', relations were largely based on barter exchange, reciprocity and largely sociality (Dwyer and Minnegal, 1998; Minnegal and Dwyer, 2017). In this community, people waited for each other and on each other. Put differently, they had a relationship of mutual dependence. Waiting in this respect becomes a mode of being linked or attuned to the other to whom we are related or connected. Distinct in his removal from the ordinary participants of my research, Brother Mike had proved a worthy colleague, who had confessed that he had many things to learn from me, as much as I was learning from him. Our relationship was growing into one of mutual benefit and respect. Waiting for him to recover was therefore crucial.

4.4.2 Networks and access

Like many researchers, despite the challenges of gaining access to some research sites (as my case with the first church (IC) has shown), at times personal networks may facilitate access in the research field. I met Deacon Uche in 2015, in one of his electronic shops in Hillbrow, which I had visited to have my phone repaired. Aside from fixing phones, Deacon Uche also sold second-hand phones and laptops, the latter of which I purchased. I had also referred some of my colleagues to him for different services. We established a fairly good relationship, and it was one that would facilitate access to the CM church a few years later. When I visited the CM church (the site of my second case study), I was glad to see Deacon Uche was one of the influential members of the church. I had known him as a good man, and I knew he would be influential in facilitating my access. I explained my intentions of using the CM church as my case study and he saw no harm in my research. As a senior member of the church, Deacon Uche arranged a meeting with the church's pastor on my behalf.

It was not long before I met the church pastor, who agreed without hesitation or without consulting his other senior members, that I could use the church for my studies. The discussion was followed by a formal approval letter signed and issued by the pastor in September 2018. Perhaps the pastor trusted Deacon Uche so implicitly that he saw nothing

wrong with me using the church as one of my points of reference. I started to regularly attend the church's Sunday services and Tuesday's Faith Clinic Programme,[18] on an almost weekly basis. This required travelling from Soweto (where I stayed) to Hillbrow.[19] After several weeks of attendance, which were characterised by active participation in church activities and general observations, I temporarily stopped going. The time spent travelling from Soweto to be at the church for seven hours every Sunday, became too onerous for me. I felt the long and often physically demanding and vibrant church services were taking a toll on my health. I resolved to wait until I moved closer to my research site.

Writing about the mobilities of waiting, which refers to "the various bodily demands and corporeal attentiveness that waiting entails," Bissell (2007) argued that waiting may also take the form of *withdrawal* from an activity: an acquiescence or "bowing out" (284, 294). In this "bodily stillness", he suggests there can develop a heightened self-awareness and "an awareness of one's own body in space," (Bissel, 2007: 286). How I felt each Sunday after service – drained, weak, tired, and exhausted – made me consider my own health closely, as I felt that I was not coping with the church's demanding schedule, which started at 08hoo and ended any time after 16h00. Instead, I began paying regular visits to the neighbourhood, moving around Hillbrow's streets, and observing the religious geography of this community. My wait to engage intimately with the CM church was largely informed by my intention to move closer to the neighbourhood, the process for which also required me to wait until my application for a flat was approved by Jozi Housing in September 2018.

In the various services that I have attended in both churches (CD and CM), I was both a participant observer and observing participant (Shortell and Brown, 2014; Pardo and Prato, 2017; Palmer, Pocock and Burton, 2018). The former entails the tentative process of negotiating a relationship with the informants, and this usually happens during one's early days of research. When one becomes an observing participant, they are very close to the informants, empathize with them, and arguably articulate their points of view. I observed the routinised religious practices and actions in which congregates engaged, and directly participated in these practices in church spaces. This included joining in during praise and worship singing sessions, participating in physically taxing prayer sessions, making financial contributions (tithing, offerings), and any other after-church services. With time, these acts provided opportune moments with which to converse with certain individuals, and ask

[18] For more details on the Faith Clinic Programme, see Chapter 7 for strategies of encapsulation.
[19] Prior to permanently moving to Hillbrow for fieldwork around September 2018, I stayed in Soweto.

general questions, ranging from their perceptions of life in the city and the relevance of the church in their everyday lives.

Actively participating in different church-related activities was necessary to understand the Pentecostal world from a relatively practical perspective, particularly as an active participant. By and large, I immersed myself wholly in the world of the Pentecostals. As I made attempts to participate in some of the rituals and practices associated with Pentecostalism, I made peace with the fact that there were some things that I could not do, such as speaking in tongues, engaging in vigorous prayers, and other violent bodily expressions I observed from other congregants. As Chapter 7 of this study will show, some of these practices were exaggerated and dramatized by the congregants for different reasons.

My religiosity as a Christafari was equally important in helping me to be conscious of both myself and my surroundings, and in navigating the terrain of the Pentecostal religious field with relative ease. I grew up in a Methodist church and later attended a Pentecostal church (Christian Life Centre), which had opened a branch in my ghetto. The church leaders convinced my guardians to become members of the church, and as a young person, I had limited options aside from defaulting to their choices. Every member of the family therefore became a member of this Pentecostal church. However, some of what took place within this church did not make sense to me. For instance, all the financial contributions that the congregants made towards building a proper structure were used to build a much larger church in one of the affluent suburbs where the church pastor lived. The church continued to use a makeshift structure in spite of congregants continuing to make financial contributions. To date, there has been no construction performed on the site – not since the church was established in 2000. Additionally, I could not understand why the church owner, who was exceptionally affluent, would demand basic essentials, such as groceries, and this was in addition to the significant financial contributions from the congregants. This was especially disturbing in light of the majority of the congregants coming from poor means. These contributions were demanded under the guise of 'sacrifice'. I stopped attending the church or would sneak out during the church service to spend more time with my Rasta friends, learning their culture and ways of life. From a tender age, I have always been a fan of conscious reggae music and it was easy to assume the practices of the Rastas.

Based on the preceding narrative, my religious habitus has always been a blend of Christianity and Rastafarianism. My identity as a Christafari proved to be a key resource during my fieldwork, affording me the opportunity to be both insider and outsider. On the

one hand, I could easily relate to the various practices of the Pentecostals, their beliefs, and lifestyles. On the other, I also had insight to question these practices, something that would have been impossible if I was a Pentecostal. Unlike Pentecostals who believe that the misfortunes of life (including issues such as poverty, health, inequalities, etc.) are spiritually influenced, Rastas see the current global crisis as result of bad governance, greed and the long histories of inequality that remain unresolved to date.

A Christian-Rasta (Christafarian) is a conscious and very critical being who does not relegate every societal problem to the spiritual realm. Many of the challenges faced by humans today are human made, driven by greed, hate and discrimination. It was this flexibility in religiosities that helped me overcome the potentialities of being converted into a Pentecostal, something that I was aware would compromise my objectivity as a researcher. One incident in which my agency came into existence was avoiding the phase of baptism in one of the studied churches (CD church). I attached more meaning and significance to this act rather than it functioning as an ordinary ritual practice. A day before the baptism, I visited a friend in Pretoria where I stayed for the weekend.

In both churches, participant observation proved to be a very crucial technique for gathering data, because it approached reality in its natural setting and most importantly, I did not have to wait. With or without me, church services would continue. My presence was therefore never an issue. The technique, however, proved to be time-consuming and laborious, and emotionally draining at times. After services, I would also conduct informal conversations with some of the respondents to gather whatever details were relevant for this study. This study also relied on data that was gathered beyond the church spaces, with various actors in the city. The key reason was to ascertain how Pentecostal religion fares with other actors in the city. In the next section, I present my ethnographic encounters with the neighbourhood of Hillbrow, beyond the church spaces.

4.5 Beyond church spaces: ethnographies of the everyday in Hillbrow

In addition to my experiences of waiting (explained in the preceding sections), this section of the chapter engages with the idea of waiting as ethnography beyond the church spaces. I present the various ways with which I engaged the neighbourhood, using various strategies and tactics to gain access to relevant data from different actors. Attention is paid mainly to this researcher's ghettoised habitus, particularly how it proved to be a critical resource to navigate the various spaces in the city and access data in the process.

4.5.1 From Sakubva to Hillbrow: ghettoised habitus and urban ethnography

In one of his many works, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Bourdieu (1977), uses the concept of habitus to provide a framework for understanding how dominant social and cultural conditions are established and reproduced (Gillespie, 2019). By habitus, Bourdieu (1977: 86) referred to "a subjective but not individual system of internalised structures, schemes of perception, conception, and action common to all members of the same group or class". Bourdieu argues that these "internalised structures" and "schemes of perception", structure the subject's (shared) worldview and their "apperception" of the world in which they suppose they exist (Ibid). Writes Bourdieu:

> The habitus, the durably installed generative principle or regulated improvisations, produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as defined by the cognitive and motivating structures making up the habitus (Bourdieu, 1977: 28).

From Bourdieu's definition, conclusions can be drawn that the habitus is a product of history, transposable and informs particular behaviours or actions (as a result of life experiences). Subjects in and of the habitus thus internalise dominant social and cultural ideas and the modes of being made available therein (Gillespie, 2019). In doing so, the subjects therefore become more defined, for instance, gendered, raced and (most importantly for this study), ghettoed. In the next sections, I illustrate how a ghettoed habitus I internalised throughout history/life helped me navigate the multiple and complex fields in Hillbrow during the different stages of my fieldwork. In a relatively similar fashion to Sandberg's (2008) street capital, which denotes a streetwise disposition in which bodily capital, language, and street smarts are employed to navigate violent social terrain (Fraser 2013), a habitus borne of the merging of the ghetto and the self is employed in this study to navigate the uncertain terrains of urban ethnography in Hillbrow.

4.5.2 The development and evolution of a ghetto habitus

The ghetto community in which I was born and raised, Sakubva, like any other high-density suburb or ghetto elsewhere across the globe, is notorious for high levels of crime, poverty, violence, prostitution, corrupt officials, gambling, and multiple sources of anti-social activities. Some of the most notorious sections include but are not limited to Matida flats, Old

Location and Singles[20]. There is popular perception among the ghetto youths from Sakubva that if one can survive in any of these ghettoes, they can survive anywhere across the globe. This belief reinforces the general public perception that Sakubva is indeed a very tough community and also toughens its residents by default. I have had an opportunity to stay and connect with some of the sections in Sakubva at various levels. Because of the general state of the everyday life characterised by high levels of poverty and multiple forms of insecurities and uncertainties, people devise various coping mechanisms (strategies and tactics) to go by each day[21].

In addition to the various modes of street hustling highlighted earlier in this chapter, respectability, status, honour, and loyalty are also earned, either by group affiliation or through possessing special skills in sport (soccer, martial arts, and kick boxing). In Sakubva, as elsewhere, there are multiple notorious and rival groups that always compete for recognition, prestige, and status. These capitals are easily convertible into other forms of capital, especially economic (Portes, 1998; Bourdieu, 2002; Medvetz and Sallaz, 2018). At times, one may have the protection of a group through networks or status, without directly being a member of that group. For instance, if necessary, a soccer player from Old Location is likely to gain support and protection from a local violent group by virtue of being a local sport celebrity. Apart from being a soccer player, I had made some very useful networks with some of the respected and notorious societal members. As a young boy, I would at times be exposed to street fighting or participate in weekly boxing tournaments at one of the ghetto's shopping centres (Mangenje). Considering the ghetto's everyday life, growing up in a community such as Sakubva was a learning experience in its own right. In one way or the other, one had to learn to survive in this very complex community. Later during my fieldwork, the exposure from a tender age to the tough realities of everyday life proved to be a significant form of capital to navigate the various spaces of Hillbrow.

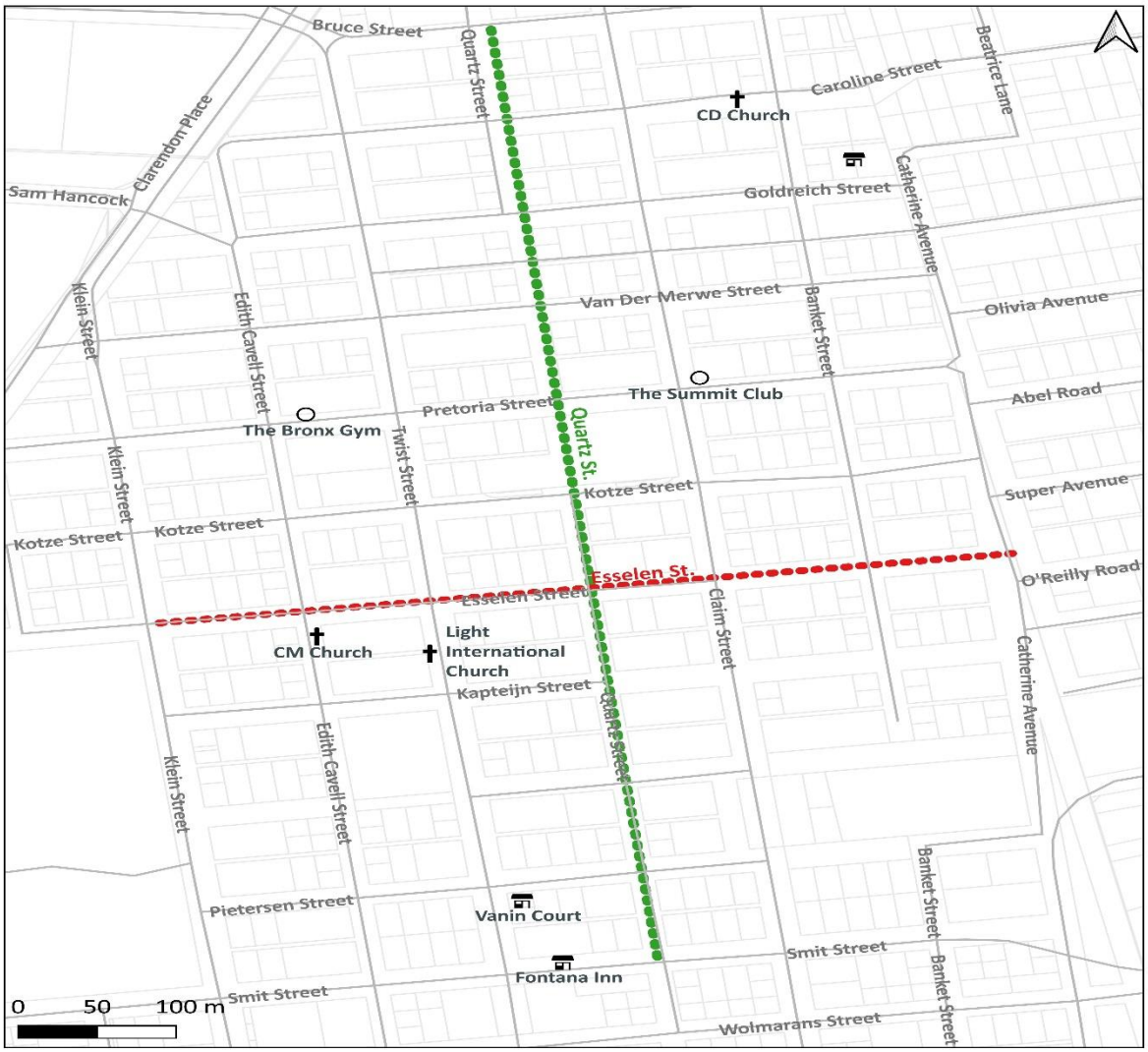
During the early periods of fieldwork around October 2018, I found myself making frantic efforts to source respondents beyond the church spaces, to gain an understanding of public perceptions on growing Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow. Hillbrow is a very tricky community, where one needs to treat its streets with extreme caution and care. In every community, my experiences have taught me that there are particular groups or activities with which one might have to align or participate in for various reasons, including safety and

[20] This does not, however, suggest that Sakubva has no life and other identities beyond ruin and grime.
[21] See section 4.2 on how hustling has emerged as one of the main livelihoods.

security. I had tried to strike informal conversations with random people in the streets, which yielded little if any degree of success. The conversations I tried to establish were in most instances, brief, lasting mere seconds or minutes. I realised that the majority of the people to whom I attempted to speak were either sceptical or felt uncomfortable talking to a stranger. This was understandable considering that Hillbrow fear and panic are some of the defining features of daily life in this neighbourhood (Dirsuweit, 2002; Bauman, 2006; Katsaura, 2016; Scorgie *et al.*, 2017; Murray, 2020).

Despite the heightened levels of mistrust characteristic of daily life in Hillbrow, there are also social spaces of communality where people feel relatively safe and are not threatened by the presence of others. One such place is the gym. As a long-time gym fanatic, I joined The Bronx Gym, one of the most popular gyms in Hillbrow, located along Pretoria Street (see Figure 3 below). My athleticism, innovativeness, endurance, flexibility, and resistance attracted the attention of some other gym members both seasoned and new, who showed an interest in my workout sessions. For instance, I would join individuals for a cardio exercise session and initiate conversations about Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow. The social space of the gym proved to be an important site for sourcing participants. This was different to my experiences in the streets, where it proved difficult to strike conversations, particularly with young women, where it was relatively easy to approach them in the gym and gather their thoughts on Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow during workout sessions. These informal conversations were not audio recorded. Relevant details were, however, captured in my fieldwork diary, which I would update regularly. Below is a map of some of the sites that I frequented and avoided during my fieldwork for security reasons.

Figure 3: Frequented field sites



At the Bronx Gym, I joined a team called the **BEASTS** who were popular for their intense workouts. The team had a strict weekly workout programme. On some days, I would lead a particular training exercise. One of the group members, Bro G, would always boast about the many years that he had stayed in Hillbrow, and his popularity as one of the 'bouncers' at The Summit Club[22], one of the most popular adult entertainment facilities in Hillbrow. Because of the time he had stayed in Hillbrow, his physique and popularity, Bro G commanded huge respect, not only in the gym but also within the community. When I told him that I had just recently moved to Hillbrow, he warned me about "how tough the streets can be" but also encouraged me to contact him in the event of any potential threats in the neighbourhood. Because he had stayed in the neighbourhood for a long time and knew about the

[22] See Chapter 6 for a discussion on this Hillbrow's popular adult entertainment facility.

neighbourhood's criminal hotspots, he advised me to avoid certain spots for my safety and security, especially along Esselen Street (represented on the map with the red doted lines).

My relationship with Bro G developed from being just ordinary gym partners to that of brotherhood. He would introduce me to some of his colleagues in the community, and would jokingly say, "this is my brother, he is studying at Wits, and can make you sweat in the gym". After these introductions, it would be relatively easy to strike informal conversations with some of his colleagues. The conversations would become more focused on Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow.

The concept of the habitus is popular among researchers because of its emphasis on embodiedness and hence the ability for a subject to 'feel' for social situations to which they may be exposed (Bourdieu, 1977b; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2002). In the context of my research, seeing young people gambling, openly smoking weed, playing street soccer along the relatively less busy Goldreich Street for instance, and engaging in various condemned practices was not something unusual. Just like in Hillbrow, in Sakubva, the *'ghetto youths' or 'maborn'*[23] engage in related activities individually or as groups on a daily basis. In fact, some physical infrastructures, such as small bridges and street corners have been (re)territorialised for the purposes of engaging in 'husting' and ghetto-related activities. As Bourdieu rightfully asserts, sociality is one of the defining features of the habitus. He writes:

> …to speak of habitus is to assert that the individual, and even the personal, the subjective, is social, collective. Habitus is a socialized subjectivity, (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 126).

One of the defining characteristics of the habitus is its inherent sociality (Grenfell, 2011; Ngarachu, 2014; Gillespie, 2019). It was relatively easy to strike informal conversations with some respondents I met or with whom I interacted in the streets of Hillbrow, in addition to those to whom I had been introduced by Bro G. For instance, I would join a group playing street soccer on relatively quiet days like Sundays, after attending a church service at either of the selected Pentecostal churches that were the focus of this study. After all, street soccer is one of the activities in which I grew up participating. These activities were of great use for

[23] A street or 'ghetto' term used to refer to the perceived 'born frees', those who were born and grew up in the ghetto any period after the country attained its independence in 1980. The term is also used to refer to those who seem to not be associated with rural areas. They are the young urbanites with a particular urban taste in terms of lifestyles and consumption habits.

my study, particularly for someone whose research was grounded in the qualitative research design.

Figure 4: Street Ethnography



In his work *Distinction,* Bourdieu (1979) reminds us that apart from his inherent sociality, habitus also extends to our 'taste' of cultural objects, such as art, food, clothing, etc. Stretching Bourdieu's idea of 'taste' a bit further, I propose that the link between the habitus and 'taste' can also be applied in conducting urban ethnography. By taste, I refer to the rational choices that the researcher makes in their selection of a research site, largely influenced by socio-cultural and economic characteristics of place, space and the inhabitants of a specific geographic area. With the exception of having to endure longer periods of waiting (to be granted access), I found it relatively easy to interact with residents in Hillbrow with whom I felt I shared many similarities with regards to social class, something I doubt would have been the case if I had conducted my study in the affluent suburbs of Johannesburg. In the gated communities and the affluent suburbs of Johannesburg, my ghettoised habitus would have likely struggled to connect to or match with the suburban habitus. Put simply, it is my ghettoised habitus that made me connect and trade relatively with ease, the various spaces in Hillbrow. I was like a 'fish in water', swimming with the current in Hillbrow (Grenfell, 2008, 2011). There has been a congruence between my habitus and the urban space of Hillbrow as a research field.

The inner-city neighbourhood of Hillbrow shares many similarities with Sakubva. Both communities are home to multiple forms of anti-social activities, such as drug dealing and violence, poverty, dilapidated physical infrastructures, and a burgeoning informal economy, among others. Figures 4 and 5 below show some of the similarities in these communities' housing infrastructures.

Figure 5: Matida Hostels, Sakubva, Mutare



Source: Author, December 2019

Figure 6: Vannin Court, Hillbrow



Source: Author, February 2020

Despite being in different localities, the above images share several commonalities. The state of the two buildings reflects a microcosm of the struggles of the everyday life experienced in these communities. If there is reasoning in Bourdieu's ideas that habitus, in its broadest sense, is a product of history, one might not be surprised about the relatively similar type of lifestyles that emanate from these two different but well-linked communities. Because of the transposability of the habitus, it might be relatively easy for an individual who hailed from a society with structures, such as those in Figure 5 (Matida), to adjust and blend in communities with structures such as those in Figure 6 (Vannin Court). Matida flats like Vannin Court remains one of the most feared and unsafe old hostels in Sakubva. Having been a victim of violence in this building, I have always used the strategy of either avoiding or aligning with 'ghetto youths' from this building as a safety strategy. However, while I established friendly relations with some of the residents of Matida flats, some of whom used to be my primary and high school mates, I could not do the same in Hillbrow. I deliberately avoided growing too close and becoming too comfortable being around some people in areas such as Vannin Court in Hillbrow for security reasons. Vannin Court and its surrounding areas are notorious for violence, daylight robbery and other forms of criminal activities[24]. Avoidance was therefore the best strategy.

[24] See Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion on this subject.

4.5.3 Productive waiting: consumption habits during fieldwork

Where it proved extremely difficult to secure interviews with some of the residents in Hillbrow, to understand their perceptions about the growing Pentecostal churches in the inner-city, I had to devise alternative tactics that were suitable to gather data without having a formal face-to-face interview. For instance, I became a regular customer for two different traders along Quartz Street in Hillbrow, where I would buy vegetables and other consumables (shown in figure 3 with the green dots). Whenever I would buy something at either of the two traders, we would exchange friendly greetings and chats, mainly through using 'street lingo', which I had appropriated over time. The ability to appropriate and converse in a local street language is a key resource that one can employ to strike up conversations in a diverse and complex location such as Hillbrow. In any event, I had appropriated a *linguistic habitus* that was relevant for conversing with the different people in Hillbrow, including street traders. Bourdieu (1977a) used the concept of *linguistic habitus* to refer to the literal embodiment and manifestation of the cultural capital of language skills.

As a regular client of the above-mentioned traders, I established routinised practices of consumption that would later lead to frank, genuine and friendly conversations that were not coerced in any manner. For instance, I would regularly buy 'hot chips' at one of the traders. The process of preparing the chips and getting them ready would take an average of five minutes or more; add to that the other 10 minutes or so that I would take to consume the fried chips on the spot. During this waiting period of processing and ultimately consumption, I would engage in ordinary conversations about city life, churches in Hillbrow, narrowing down the conversations to immigrant-run Pentecostal churches, in particular.

In his foreword to McKenzie's (2015: xi) account of Getting by in a British Council Estate, Dorling stated:

> We describe different worlds we live in, to each other as those worlds move apart … Observation is no longer enough; immersion is no longer enough. As the gaps between our experiences grow it becomes even more necessary to hear largely first-hand, unadulterated accounts, the descriptions from the inside.

Dorling's views (illustrated above) call for a rethinking of ethnographic methods of data collection, beyond observations and embedding oneself in the lifeworld of the researched. This does not, however, suggest that participant observations are becoming irrelevant and are less likely to yield quality data. Rather, researchers have to be flexible and devise different

ways of gathering data, without putting the lives of the informants at risk. Striking informal conversations with traders for instance, as the above examples have shown, may also yield rich accounts of the informants' experiences on an everyday basis.

4.6 Sampling

This study utilised two non-probability sampling techniques, namely snowballing and purposive sampling, to reach out to the research participants. Purposive sampling ensured that I conducted this study with respondents who possessed more details about the area of my study. These involved migrant Pentecostals, religious leaders, community leaders, selected members of the City of Johannesburg, and some regular residents in Hillbrow. Considering the challenges of reaching out to some respondents, this study also relied on referrals. By being an active participant in the recruitment of potential respondents, there were some cases where the respondents showed signs of 'dictating' the whole research process. Rather than treating this as a limitation (using the snowballing technique), I saw it as one way of understanding the context in which I was operating. After all, Marshall and Rossman (1989) reminds us that in qualitative research, the researcher purposefully avoids controlling the research conditions and focuses on the complexity of situational contexts and interactions as they occur in their everyday natural settings. This does not, however, suggest that I completely lost touch with my research. Instead, I intentionally avoided creating artificial conditions as though I were using experimental methods, as would have been the case in natural sciences.

4.7 Data gathering techniques

In the field, participant observation was supplemented with in-depth interviews, which also added to the richness and contextual perspective (Burawoy, 1998). In-depth interviews are known for their ability to generate full detail and description which proved to be critical in allowing me to gain an understanding, as well as the meanings that participants attached to different social processes, for instance, the meaning that Pentecostals attached to their ritual practices and beliefs. The face-to-face interviewer-interviewee interface provided rooms for probing, clarity and observing of non-verbal actions, such as facial expressions, body language and gestures. In total, I interviewed 52 respondents, and had countless informal conversations with ordinary residents and traders from the business community, which were also rich sources of data. The 52 interviews I conducted are broken down as follows: CD church members (20), CM church members (18), and key informants, which included

religious leaders, CoJ officials and community leaders (14).[25] The rest of the data was gathered through informal interviews and conversations with other community members.

The in-depth interviews were unstructured, with no predefined questions. This does not, however, suggest that these questions were random and non-directive (Patton, 2002). The questions were designed in such a way that they remained in line with the objectives of this study. The structure of the interviews wase guided by an *aide memoire*[26] or an agenda, so that these interviews would become "conversations with a purpose," (Burgess, 1984: 102). Owing to their conversational and non-intrusive characteristics, unstructured interviews were very important, especially when talking to the residents on the streets. I also avoided drawing unnecessary attention to myself, something that was possible if I had opted for structured interviews. In various circumstances, I presented myself as a learner and a friend, with sympathetic interests in the respondents' lives and a willingness to understand their lives (Burgess, 1984). With specific reference to the residents of Hillbrow, respondents were asked about their opinions and relationships with growing Pentecostal churches in their neighbourhood.

As part of the informal conversations I held with the residents, I also asked them to participate in a simple participatory mapping exercise in which they showed or highlighted on a small piece of paper, where Pentecostal churches were located. For those who had stayed in Hillbrow for some time, I would probe whether they had seen any changes in the neighbourhood regarding the growth and expansion of Pentecostal churches. Credited for its interactiveness, participatory mapping recognises local people as capable research collaborators, and draws on local people's knowledge of their environments, enabling them to create visuals and non-visual representation of their surroundings. The respondents used simple tools like a pen and a paper to create visual representations of their community. To complement the social mapping exercise, I also utilised physical mapping using the geographic information system software (ArcGIS). Through this software, I mapped the spatial distribution of Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow. The exercise involved physically walking in the neighbourhood, recording the coordinates of each church location and inputting these on the ArcGIS software. The results of this mapping exercise are presented in the next chapter.

[25] See appendix B.
[26] See appendix C.

4.7.1 Distant ethnography: when proximity and distance is threatened by a virus

How can one do follow-up interviews, conversations, or observations to fill some of the gaps that emerge during the write-up process when proximity and distance is threatened by an invisible enemy, a virus?

In addition to the data-gathering techniques identified in the preceding section, this study also adopted an alternative method of collecting qualitative data, understood here as distant ethnography. I define distant ethnography as actively participating with and engaging in the activities of the participants under study from a distance, or virtually. Borrowing from Hine (2000: 65), this is an "ethnography in, of and through the virtual". While the promise of ethnography is rooted in proximity in a physical sense with the studied group, the COVID-19 virus imposed a barrier to physical proximity with the research participants as governments devised measures of dealing with the spreading of the virus. In South Africa as elsewhere, large gatherings (including church attendance) were prohibited especially under Level 5, which imposed strict COVID-19 regulations as the country battled to contain the virus.

The increasing digitalisation of daily life has, however, ensured that Pentecostal organisations could still participate in various church related activities virtually. In the studied churches, congregants were asked to deposit their offerings, tithes, and any other financial contributions into the churches' bank accounts, and in some instances, via other electronic channels such as eWallet. Like other church members, I would also join church proceedings via Zoom or the churches' Facebook pages, as part of my follow-up to my observations prior to the pandemic. In some instances, I would follow up on some congregants, whose contacts I had through chatnographic approaches to enrich my data. Chatnography can be understood as utilising social media and instant messaging to gather information (Käihkö, 2020). Chatting with some of the church members was made possible by the fact that I had their contact numbers, and that some of them were my Facebook friends.

I virtually observed congregants touching the screens of their gadgets, as recommended by the church pastors, especially during deliverance sessions. Distance in this regard was observed as not being a barrier to receiving some form of deliverance, healing or anointing. However, unlike other church services prior to the pandemic, the number of congregants who would participate virtually was very low. I also observed that other bodily practices, such as the violent clapping of hands, very loud prayers, etc. were minimal. Importantly, observing online communities was also an uneasy endeavour as some would appear and disappear online owing to various reasons, some related to Internet problems and access to data.

4.8 Conclusion: Field research as a space of waiting and endless negotiations

Presenting evidence from Hillbrow, an inner-city neighbourhood in Johannesburg, this chapter has made attempts to contribute to an already considerable, existing body of literature on ethnography. The chapter uses the idea of 'waiting as ethnography' to understand the complexities of conducting ethnographic research in an urban space that is highly complex, contested, and controversial. Mobilised around the concept of 'waiting as ethnography', the chapter has gone beyond perspectives that tend to portray the act of waiting as passive, by proposing that waiting is indeed a critical methodological tool in ethnography and has to be appreciated based on its productiveness and relevance in ethnographic studies. The process of gaining access to a research site, and ultimately data, are marred with various levels of uncertainties and involves continuous processes of endless negotiation and re-negotiations, where access is both granted and removed simultaneously. Under these periods of uncertainties during the data gathering phases, waiting becomes a critical component of accessing data.

The chapter has highlighted the significance of agency (as researchers wait) as reflected in the various strategies of adaptation and re-fashioning in which this researcher engaged to suit particular contexts and getting by. The observations that have been key in this chapter, both within church spaces and beyond, have happened as this researcher 'waited' (to gain access to various actors). Beyond my history of contact with Hillbrow, dating back to 2007, I have argued that my ghettoised habitus accumulated over a protracted period of struggle and resistance, have been key to ensuring that I navigated with relative ease the various spaces in Hillbrow. Hillbrow, like Sakubva where I grew up, shares similarities in terms of struggles, socio-economic status, and largely shares similar strategies of survival, including hustling. This study has shown that adjusting to life in Hillbrow was therefore not too difficult.

CHAPTER FIVE

PENTECOSTAL RELIGION AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN HILLBROW

The present is a time of great difficulty in urban Africa (Simone, 2002)

5.1 Introduction

Over the past three decades, cities of the Global South have been epicentres of region-wide religious revival driven largely by Pentecostal religious organisations (Meyer, 2004; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Coleman, 2011; Becker *et al.*, 2013). Today, there is growing evidence to support this assertion. I appropriate the concept of Pentecostal urbanism to show the interplay between the Pentecostal and the urban (Nyuke, 2021). Moving beyond popular urbanisms which are often premised on the Western canon in which rationality, disenchantment and science characterise the urban, Nyuke (2021) coined the term Pentecostal urbanism to show how urbanism is intermingled with religious attributes which were premised on enchantment and the magical. These attributes were predicted to retreat into the private sphere with modernity.

The concept thus bridges the seemingly opposing realms of the Pentecostal and the urban, which in most instances have been treated as separate entities existing independent of each other. In the context of this study, the concept is appropriated to explain an emerging form of urbanism driven by Pentecostal religious institutions.. Broadly, this form of urbanism highlights the materialisation of Pentecostal religious institutions and their appropriation of the public sphere through their physical and social infrastructures, sound, media, images and practices (Becker *et al.*, 2013; Ukah, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016; Katsaura, 2017). Since the dawn of democracy, South Africa's urban spaces, inner-city neighbourhoods and affluent suburbs alike have also witnessed this emerging form of urbanism driven by Pentecostal organisations (Ukah, 2010; Schoeman, 2017; Frahm-Arp, 2018).

It raises the question as to why there has been a countrywide religious revival that coincides with the country's dawn of democracy, especially as it relates to a religious landscape once dominated by Catholicism, Methodism and African Traditional Religion. Following Simone (2002), it is clear that the new wave of Pentecostalism is taking place in a context where urban Africa is experiencing times of great difficulties, largely driven by expanding rates of

urbanisation. From multiple forms of precarity and uncertainty, to informality, poverty, and violence, contemporary urban Africa is indeed experiencing times of difficulties.

But what does Pentecostal religion offer during these contemporary trying times in urban Africa? In Johannesburg, a complex and controversial city conceived as an 'elusive metropolis', charming, alluring, and yet entrapping (Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008), a city arguably regarded as one of the crime capitals of the world (Schönteich and Louw, 2001; Dirsuweit, 2002), where fear is pervasive, free-floating (Bauman, 2006, 2007) and transcends spatial boundaries, how does Pentecostal religion find relevance under these circumstances? This chapter attempts to answer this question. It puts forward the argument that Pentecostal religion controversially[27] provides instruments, both physical and non-physical, necessary for dealing with the exigencies, uncertainties and existential insecurities that are symptomatic of everyday life in Hillbrow.

Johannesburg's inner-city neighbourhoods are contested urban spaces marred with multiple levels of controversies, complexities, and uncertainties. The functional role of Pentecostal religion in South Africa thus needs to be understood against the legacy of the apartheid system of racial, spatial, class differences that continue to characterise post-apartheid South Africa today. Like the invisible Venice, a city of both the real and unreal (Calvino, 1974), Johannesburg is a conflicted metropolis that contains many cities in one; it is a city of luxurious playgrounds for the rich and affluent and "empty wastelands for the poor", it is a city of utopian fantasy and dystopian anxiety (Murray, 2008: vii). Given the various conflicting forms of urbanism(s) that characterise Johannesburg, as is the case with South Africa's other cities, it boggles the mind whether Hillbrow is a neighbourhood of Johannesburg, or just a neighbourhood in Johannesburg. This is determined by whether a comparative analysis with the other often 'celebrated' and affluent suburbs in the north is undertaken.

Without discounting the pervasiveness of the insecurities of modernity, which include but are not limited to fear, violence, crime, poverty (among others), which appear to transgress spatial boundaries in Johannesburg and beyond, Hillbrow stands out as one of the major sites where the insecurities of modernity are more prevalent and exist side by side with an expanding geography of Pentecostal religion (see, for instance, Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008; Murray, 2011; Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). It is the growing omnipresence of Pentecostal

[27] The Pentecostal controversies will be addressed in the next chapter, specifically how the field of Pentecostal religion fares with other various fields in the neighbourhood of Hillbrow.

religion and its intersection thereof with everyday life in Hillbrow that form the basis of the arguments in this chapter. The chapter intends to show that through their various practices and activities, Pentecostal churches offer sites of refuge and respite as the neighbourhood, and broadly the city, offers a series of threats and multiple levels of insecurities and uncertainties. In doing so, the Pentecostal churches also contribute towards co-producing the urban. These resources are offered at various scales, the body, home, church, and workplaces, among others. While in this chapter how Pentecostal churches find relevance in Hillbrow is presented, I am acutely conscious of refraining from over-romanticising or exaggerating the significant role of Pentecostal churches in the lives of the urbanites. The next chapters address this lacuna.

This chapter has three major sections. The first illustrates Hillbrow's expanding Pentecostal geography. Considering the spatial distribution of Pentecostal churches in this neighbourhood, the section argues that the neighbourhood is not only growing into a 'churching community' (Katsaura, 2017), but specifically and slowly into a Pentecostal churching neighbourhood. The focus on Pentecostal growth is, however, not intended to discount other religious institutions in Hillbrow. It is the Pentecostal churches appropriation of the public and private spheres that is of specific interest to me. The second section attempts to show the role of Pentecostal religion in people's everyday lives. In the face of various ills and insecurities of urban life, that many people have turned to the Pentecostal religions in urban spaces deserves attention. I argue that religious beliefs, practices, and rituals are key resources for navigating insecure, feared and violence-ridden cityscapes. This section also needs to be read against the arguably diminishing role of the state in its provision of social security services, especially for foreign nationals, the majority of whom were participants in this study. The last section, the conclusion, puts forward the argument that whilst the city offers a series of everyday threats and insecurities, it also serves as a centre for the performance of rituals. The ritual practices that will be noted are performed in both intimate (home, body) and public spaces.

5.2 Hillbrow's emerging Pentecostal religious identity

> There is a church here, there is church there, everywhere you go, there is a church (Interview, Jabu, March 2019)

South Africa's urban spaces have been experiencing different rates of expansion in both their physical and social infrastructures. The spatial changes that Johannesburg has experienced

since the demise of democracy, which have been described as 'extraordinary', are illustrated in a comprehensive read on Johannesburg, entitled *Changing Space, Changing City: Johannesburg after apartheid* edited by Harrison *et al.* (2014). As illustrated in this volume, much of Johannesburg's spatial developments are being driven by a vibrant private sector, which possesses an unsurprising and complex relationship with government's spatial policies. Much of the readership on Johannesburg, especially that which has emerged since the year 2000, explores the many dimensions of change in the city (Murray, 2008, 2011; Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008; Harrison *et al.*, 2014). While this scholarship remains critically important, an updated assessment of the city's socio-spatial transformations, explored at micro levels of actual places, remains key.

Below, I present a map of the distribution of some of the Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow.

Figure 7: Hillbrow's Pentecostal Spatial Distribution



The map above (where the red dots appear) shows the concentration and spatial distribution of those Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow that I was able to identify. While the concept of a church might invite different interpretations, when I refer to a church here, it is as an identifiable physical structure or building, where a group of people gather regularly for the practices of their religiosities. These places are present in many of the neighbourhood's physical structures, such as business complexes, residential units, and education facilities (schools), among others. According to various respondents, the churches presented above have an average membership that ranges between as few as 30 to as high as 500 or more congregants. These figures are also likely to be exaggerated as an indirect way of claiming religious dominance and popularity in a context of heightened competition from other religious actors in the neighbourhood. Because they use facilities that were originally designed for uses other than the practices of religiosities, it is unsurprising that some of these churches are relatively small in terms of the actual area converted for church purposes.

I identified an average of 36 Pentecostal churches whose distribution is fairly uneven across the neighbourhood. Some parts in the north, for instance, have fewer churches than the central part of Hillbrow. For manageability purposes, I selected the area falling within the boundaries of Klein Street, Bruce Street, Catherine Avenue and Kaptjein Street. For this reason, the presented data may not be conclusive, as I deliberately ignored some other parts of Hillbrow, especially the northern and southern parts, and focused specifically on areas where there is a sharp concentration of Pentecostal churches. The data provided should, however, be helpful to show Hillbrow's religious identity as an arguably emerging Pentecostal community. A previous study conducted in the same neighbourhood in 2014 indicated that there were approximately 27 buildings used for church purposes by the Pentecostals (Winkler, 2014).

While I have attempted to show the location of the majority of the Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow in Figure 6 above, it was almost an impossible and unrealistic task to identify all the Pentecostal churches and present them on the map. This was for a number of reasons. Firstly, that Hillbrow is a transient neighbourhood is common knowledge (Mpe, 2001; Nessman, 2002; Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). Transient neighbourhoods are popular for their unstable population as they usually act as ports of entry into a larger society (Niu *et al.*, 2020). Permanency in such diverse, complex, and transitory communities like Hillbrow is never guaranteed. For instance, it is extremely common for an institution, such as a church, to exist today and to disappear tomorrow when its congregants move elsewhere. This does not, however, suggest that the church might not lure new members. However, my observations

revealed that the majority of the churches gain new members through networks. In fact, in the studied churches, there is a common 'each one bring one' policy, where each week, every congregant is tasked with bringing a new member to the church. As a largely migrant community, with people constantly seeking better opportunities elsewhere, these church networks are likely to be weakened if and as congregants move away from Hillbrow or switch religious loyalty.

Second, Pentecostal practices are fluid and extend beyond church spaces, into the realms of everyday life in workplaces, streets, homes, and various other infrastructures. Pinning down every specific site where Pentecostal practices are conducted is thus an ambitious and impossible task. It would be tantamount to mapping every infrastructure in Hillbrow because the signatures of Pentecostal religion arguably exist 'everywhere', in the form of bodies, sound, images, media, etc. What I have attempted to show in Figure 7 are the specific physical sites used by the Pentecostals for religious gatherings. Some of these sites are easily identifiable, both visibly and audibly. However, some are churches in residential buildings and basements, and were difficult to locate. I had to rely on residents who helped me locate these churches through the participatory mapping exercise and through conversations. The churches that have been mapped have been in existence for at least five years.

Third, it is common knowledge that the majority of facilities used by the growing Pentecostal churches are shared with other actors, such as the business community and schools. Below is an example (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Hillbrow's shared infrastructure



Source: Author, 2020

In Figure 8 above, I present one of many of the facilities serving multiple functions in Hillbrow. This building is used as both a church and a school. As the figure shows, the church services are usually conducted after hours, from 18h00 midweek and weekends, when the facility is not used for academic purposes. It is exceptionally common for religious actors to share facilities with other actors in this neighbourhood. At the CM church (one of my case studies), I observed that the church shares the same floor and facilities (such as restrooms) with a day care centre. Additionally, some other spaces that are either shared with other users or have been transformed into spaces of worship include underground or basement facilities. I struggled to identify or locate many Pentecostal churches that use underground basement facilities because these facilities are always difficult to locate. They seem to be hidden from the general public and yet they are also appropriated and used for religious purposes.

The sharing of facilities is a common phenomenon in Hillbrow, as it is elsewhere, is largely motivated by two key interrelated factors: the growing demand for space and the need to share expenses. The relations between these actors as they share facilities are addressed in Chapters 7 and 8. While the demand for space is infinite, the available space is, however,

finite. The result is the sharing and transforming of the available space to meet the different needs of different actors in the neighbourhood.

The above illustrations show the multiple dimensions that embody space. Space, as the above examples show, is fluid, dynamic and carries multiple functions and meaning. For instance, in as much as it is physical, it is also equally social and spiritual, depending on the activities being undertaken by the users of space (Bourdieu, 1985; Lefebvre, 1991; Knott, 2005; Watkins, 2005). These shared but different facilities call for a rethinking of the existing planning and land-use management policies, which seem to take people's needs into minimal consideration, and most importantly, people's spiritual or religious needs in the context of this study. What we see from the above illustrations is the power of people to create their own spaces from the state's conceived spaces, which in most instances are too reductionist, use scientific management of space, and are economic rather than socially driven (Lefebvre, 1991; Kubbard *et al*., 2002).

5.2.1 Spatial location and the politics of profit and proximity

A glance at the map provided in Figure 6 shows that the identified churches do not follow a uniform or specific pattern of distribution or location. They are sparsely and haphazardly distributed across the studied area. That said, it is clear that there is a fairly high concentration of these churches along Pretoria and Kotze Streets. Approximately half of the churches identified are concentrated around the areas between Kotze Street and Pretoria Street. These two streets are the epicentres of economic activities and according to one respondent:

> All the money is in these two streets. The banks are here, the retail shops are here, gambling facilities are here, and many churches are here too. Everything you want is here (Interview, Thabo, September 2019).

That the two streets form the hub of economic activities in Hillbrow is reflected in the presence and location of major retail shops (such as Jet, Ackermans, Mr Price, Shoprite, Cambridge Foods, Spar, etc.); banking facilities (FNB, Standard Bank, Capitec, Nedbank, etc.), and a vibrant 'street economy' servicing the neighbourhood at different scales.[28] Additionally, the gambling economy, which sustains some of the respondents who participated in this

[28] This spatial distribution of activities also reflects on the class and income character of the neighbourhood.

study, thrives in these streets too. Gambling centres, such as Supabets and Sports Bet, are also visibly present along these streets.

I would argue that the concentration of Pentecostal churches at the centre of the neighbourhood's economic field is not random but strategic. These very busy areas of prime economic activity in the neighbourhood provide a ready market for the Pentecostal churches, as they target residents who frequent these busy streets for different reasons daily. Additionally, in the context where economic opportunities are becoming increasingly scarce, and where actors juggle various activities for a living, the location of the church close to its members provides an opportunity for the congregants to attend church and hustle at the same time. One respondent noted:

> I can work during the day and still attend a service at night. Imagine if the church was far from here (Interview, Brother Mike, October 2019).

To attract a large clientele as part of their proselytizing mission, the Pentecostal churches have made themselves both visible and audible by aggressively appropriating the neighbourhood's soundscape through their use of sophisticated sound systems (Oosterbaan, 2006, 2017; De Witte, 2008). In Chapter 7, I show how the confrontation of sound and silence in this neighbourhood is used as a spatial practice of making claims to space. For these churches, moving away from the inner city where there is a high concentration of people, to the outskirts of the city or urban boundaries, where vacant underutilised land is abundant, threatens their survival as their operations are sustained and financed by their members.

Regarding the everyday locational politics of profit and proximity, the location of the studied Pentecostal churches close to their membership is key. Evidence from the field showed that proximity to congregants is a huge factor that determines the survival of Pentecostal churches. The CD church, for instance, once opened a new branch in the Balfour area, in Highlands North, Johannesburg which later closed. According to Thando, one of the senior members of the church (who heads the media department), the branch was closed because the church could not attract any people due to a low population. She said:

> The population of Balfour is very bad, even the shops that are there are also closing because there is no business, Balfour lacks people, even if you are to go to the mall there, you can see what I mean (Interview, Thando, October 2019).

The case above points to the importance of location in the survival of especially newly emerging Pentecostal churches that often compete with other well-established actors in the religious field for membership (Meyer, 2009; Rey, 2011; Bjarnesen, 2015).

Importantly, one needs to go beyond interpreting the location of newly emerging Pentecostal churches in some parts of Hillbrow, beyond the compulsion to attract new members. It should be noted that the majority of the newly emerging Pentecostal churches are not formally registered with national bodies, such as the South African Council of Churches (SACC). These churches have been accused of contravening city by-laws and zoning regulations (Cox, 2017; Watson, 2019). Because their operations are not regulated by law or approved by authorities, location is also a strategic resource mobilised to avoid potential arrests. For instance, the areas where these churches are highly concentrated are some distance from the Hillbrow Police Station. Their removed location from institutions of law and enforcement arguably offers them an opportunity to operate under the radar, without surveillance from the state.

Having laid out in the preceding section, the spatial geography of Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow, the next section is intended to illustrate the functional role of Pentecostal religion in the everyday lives of the urbanites. I intend to show the relevance of Pentecostal religion under circumstances where insecurities and uncertainties have become significant features of contemporary urbanism. Drawing from the lived experiences of the respondents who participated in this study, I show how Pentecostal religion helps people to cope with the challenges of everyday life through its provision of both material and non-material resources. I focus specifically on three aspects of everyday life, namely violence (broadly understood), spiritual attacks and health. Whilst these are not the only key components of daily life in the inner city, they should nonetheless be sufficient to offer a broader understanding and appreciation of the role of Pentecostal religion in the lives of Hillbrow's people, particularly the Pentecostals. Of note, by exploring the functional role of Pentecostal religion during these times of great difficulties, I do not intend to romanticise religion as devoid of complexities and contestations. In the other chapters that follow, I contest and complicate the role of Pentecostal religion.

5.3 Everyday insecurities and Pentecostal religion

The growing presence of Pentecostal religion in urban spaces in many cities of the Global South today needs to be understood against the backdrop of what these churches offer or purport to offer (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2000; Meyer, 2007, 2009; Comaroff, 2009; Becker

et al., 2013; Ukah, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016). In this section, I show how Pentecostal churches find relevance in an urban context of heightened insecurities and uncertainties. I argue that the state, the city's infrastructures (both physical and social), and the 'invisible' spiritual forces all play out in creating a matrix of urban insecurities in the everyday life of the Pentecostals, as might be the case with any other groups.

5.3.1 The State's institutionalised violence

From the French Revolution and Napoleonic campaigns through to the Stalinist and Nazi genocides (Killingsworth, Sussex and Pakulski, 2016) to the Gukurahundi massacres in Zimbabwe and the Marikana killings in South Africa, the state has always had a monopoly of the 'legitimate' use of physical force or violence.[29] Weber gives great prominence to control over the means of violence as a defining characteristic of the state (Pierson, 1996; Anter, 2020). In '*Politics as a Vocation*' (1918), Weber defines the state as "a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory," (Gerth and Mills, 1946: 1). The state, through regularised staff, including a "well-paid" army, argues Weber, claims a monopoly of legitimate violence over a delimitated territorial area (ibid).

Borrowing largely from Weber and Durkheim, the link between the state and violence was also explored in detail by (Bourdieu, 1998). Bourdieu (1998) defines the state as a field of power, or a bureaucratic field, largely defined by a monopoly of the legitimate use of physical and symbolic violence over a definite territory and over the totality of the corresponding population (Bourdieu, 1998a: 3). The use of the term 'legitimate', from the given definitions, is key. The concept does not only imply that the state is the only actor with the potential to use violence within a given territory, but that it is the only actor that can legitimately authorise its use (Killingsworth, Sussex and Pakulski, 2016; Anter, 2020). I see Bourdieu's conceptualisation of the state as more appealing in defining post-apartheid South Africa since the violence perpetuated by the state is not just physical, but also symbolic. The process of monopolisation occurs not only in the exercise of force but also in administration, legislation, judicial decision-making, and other spheres (Anter, 2020).

In post-apartheid South Africa, issues of immigrants have been met with concomitant hostility from both the state and the locals (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Scorgie *et al.*, 2017; Mbhele,

[29] Institutionalised state violence may be legal but irrational.

2018). Foreign nationals are often believed to be burdening the country's various sectors, such as health, education, and other social security systems. Broadly, immigrants are often perceived to be threats to the successful crystallisation of especially black citizenship in the new South Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2006). There has been a growing discourse of escapism, where those in positions of authority blame foreign nationals for their failures to deliver especially on their promises to the electorates. This discourse of escapism, Husymans writes, "sustains a political strategy aimed at excluding particular categories of people." (Huysmans, 2000: 771).

High profile politicians have over the years taken turns to utter xenophobic sentiments over foreign nationals largely for political scores. In a speech before South Africa's National Assembly in 1994, the-then Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi stated that:

> If we South Africans are going to compete for scarce resources with millions of aliens who are pouring into South Africa, then we can bid goodbye to our Reconstruction and Development Program (Hicks, 1999: 401).

The populist rhetoric of blaming foreign nationals for the country's socio-economic ills has persisted over the years. In March 2019, Gauteng Premier, David Makhura blamed some particular forms of crime on foreign nationals. He said:

> I think some specific crimes [are committed] by some specific nationalities or foreign nationals are involved. Drugs, there's specific nationalities involved. Violent crimes and murders, including cash-in-transit heists, there is specific nationalities involved (Sibanyoni, 2019).

In an attempt to limit the economic activities of foreign nationals, especially in Gauteng's townships, the proposed Township Economy Bill prohibits foreign nationals from operating 'certain businesses' in the townships (Sicetsha, 2019). While Makhura and his predecessors have often distanced their stance against foreign nationals as xenophobic, the reality is that statements issued against immigrants, perceiving them as a problem to the 'new' South Africa have the potential to fuel xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa, especially black foreign nationals.

To assure the population that steps are being taken to deal with crime, the state has rolled out programmes, such as 'Operation Crackdown' and 'Operation Fiela'. In March 2000, during the 'Operation Crackdown' for instance, over 1 000 police and military personnel were deployed in Hillbrow to search 22 586 vehicles, 293 buildings and over 205 324 people. Of

these, approximately 7 068 were arrested on suspicion of being illegal immigrants and about 7 000 were sent to the deportation centre (see Klaaren and Ramji, 2001). Such an act reinforces the general public perception that immigrants are linked to crime. Linking immigrants to crime has persisted over the years. Launched in 2015, 'Operation Fiela' was intended to specifically target undocumented immigrants in the country, who were often blamed for a variety of criminal activities. The then-Minister in the Presidency, Jeff Radebe (2014–2018), confirmed that the majority of the arrests that were made during the first three months of the operation were of undocumented immigrants. During this period, 15 396 undocumented immigrants were repatriated (Institute for Security Studies, 2017). Additionally, of the suspects arrested for violent crimes in the Gauteng Province in 2017, the Gauteng Provincial Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General, Deliwe de Lange noted (without providing evidence) that 60% were illegal immigrants (Newham, 2017).

In one of the worst scenarios linking immigrants and crime, the police arrested about 500 Zimbabweans who had sought refuge at the Methodist Church in Johannesburg, on the grounds that these people were not only suspected of being 'illegal' immigrants, but that they were also criminals. In one of his responses, police spokesperson, Captain Bheki Mavundla said: "…we were responding to public complaints about the robbers in the church," (Kharsany, 2008). In 2019, when a fracas ensued between informal traders and the police over the confiscation of counterfeit goods in Johannesburg CBD, Premier David Makhura blamed the foreign nationals for the chaos. Posting on his twitter handle @David_Makhura, the Premier said:

> Some foreign nationals who sell counterfeit goods and occupy buildings illegally in the Joburg CBD attacked our police with bottles and petrol bombs. This despicable crime against our state will never be tolerated.

In South Africa, the relationship between foreign nationals and the SAPS is very complex and controversial. Compared to locals, foreign nationals are more likely to be stopped and questioned by the police. Following a survey conducted by the University of the Witwatersrand, 71% of the refugees interviewed confessed to being stopped and questioned by the police compared to 47% of the South Africans (Landau, 2004). The criteria used by the police to identify and arrest foreign nationals that include 'skin colour, height and the presence of inoculation marks' has been described by the South African Human Rights Commission (SHRC) as archaic and dehumanising.

Their (foreign nationals') circumstances are worsened by the fact that in most cases arresting officers do not work within the parameters of the law. According to the (Human Rights Watch, 1998), it is not a legal requirement for immigrants to carry their proof of identification, for such an act is not different from the pass system that was used by the apartheid government. In the event that an officer suspects a person to be an illegal immigrant, they have to accompany them to retrieve their documents (Human Rights Watch, 1998). To justify their acts of arrests, the police are often accused of destroying and confiscating refugees' documents. The act of confiscating and destroying immigrants' documents is largely linked to the general stereotype that the majority of immigrants are undocumented and criminals.

In South Africa, as might be the case elsewhere, the experiences of immigrants in the hands of state authorities (especially law enforcement agents) are very complicated. The handling of immigrant-related matters in South Africa has been condemned and challenged by many activists, civic organisations, academics and so on (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005; Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013). Because of the complex relationship between immigration status and the police, there seems to be a general reluctance by immigrants to report different cases for fear of being victimised, if not arrested especially in a context where the tag of a criminal is often attached to some immigrants, particularly the 'undocumented' ones. For instance, in 2005, when a Rwandan went to report a case of burglary to the police, the police requested to see his papers and then arrested him (McDonald and Jacobs, 2005). Such a handling of immigrant-related matters explains why some respondents opt for other alternatives, such as the church.

5.3.2 Pentecostal churches as solution grounds?

One of the major reasons that Pentecostal churches have proliferated in the urban spaces of many cities in the Global South today is their purported abilities to provide meanings and offer solutions to existential problems that people face in everyday life (Meyer, 2004; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Chitando and Togarasei, 2010; Chitando and Biri, 2016b). For the majority of immigrants in South Africa, the possibilities of imminent arrests and deportations is a sad reality (Hicks, 1999; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Jacobsen, Karlsen and Khosravi, 2021). These lived realities have the potential to instil everyday fear and insecurity in the everyday lives of foreign nationals and the migrant Pentecostals are no exception. The findings from the study identified the South African Police Service (SAPS) as one of the major institutions that is a source of immigrants' insecurities and fear through the use of both symbolic and physical

violence. The police, the respondents noted, have a habit of instilling fear by using different, frustrating tactics. Narrating one of his encounters with the police, Givy had this to say:

> It was one Sunday morning, and I was rushing to church. They stopped me and asked for my papers. I had left my passport [at] home, but they didn't care. They put me in their van and carried on with their patrols. For more than two hours, they were doing the rounds with me. It was a frustrating experience. In the midst of all this, I prayed silently, calling the name of my 'prophet' in the process. After a while, I was asked to come and sit in front with them. I sensed that my prayer was answered. Their mood had changed. One of them then said, 'you don't look like a *tsotsi*.'[30] Many of your friends here (Johannesburg) are criminals. They are robbing our people every day, and some of them are raping our women'. After a while, they drove me home, and told me to keep praying (Interview, Givy, June 2019).

What is striking in the above narrative is the respondent's turning to prayer and calling the name of his 'prophet' in the process. For him, his ultimate release and avoidance of potential deportation was a sign that his 'prayers' were answered. Generally, the Pentecostals have a belief that when one has Heavenly blessings which I will refer to as 'the capital of anointing', the Holy Spirit will deliver them from any situations. Preaching during one of his Sunday services dubbed: *'Destroying the Alter that is Hindering You'* Prophet Kizito explained that many of the unfortunate experiences and encounters with authorities that many immigrants face on an everyday basis boil down to a lack of heavenly blessings and faith. Sharing his own testimony, he said:

> This morning as I was driving to church, the police stopped me. Before they could say anything, one of them said, your face looks so familiar, I think I have seen it somewhere, on a poster I think. Are you a pastor? I just nodded my head and they even apologised for stopping me. This can only happen when you have an anointing[31] on you (Church Service, Prophet Kizito, August 2019).

The 'man of God' went on to acknowledge that some of his countrymen were involved in illicit dealings in the city, such as drugs and Internet scamming. His confession confirms the general perception that some Nigerians are involved in drug-related dealings especially in the inner-city neighbourhoods, such as Berea, Hillbrow and Yeoville (Interview, Jabu, March 2019). In

[30] Used in most instances to refer to an urban criminal, usually young and black.
[31] A form of spiritual capital mobilised by the Pentecostals especially as a resource to accumulate various resources in both the physical and the spiritual world.

a community, certain nationalities are linked to specific kinds of crimes, one would have expected the 'Man of God' to have been interrogated or questioned by the police, since he is also of Nigerian origin. During the same service, the church leader went on to encourage the congregants to repent and strengthen their relationship with God.

5.3.2.1 Heavenly citizenship

In both churches that were the focus of this study, the question of citizenship forms one of the major focuses of their theological teachings. Congregants are encouraged to work to acquire heavenly citizenship, which can only be acquired through giving one's life to Christ through repentance and being born again. Broadly, the concept of heavenly citizenship is borne of the belief that humans' lives on earth are ephemeral. Congregants are therefore encouraged to invest heavily in the kingdom of heaven, where life is eternal. The attainment of a heavenly citizenship does not just come with the hope of eternal life in Pentecostal theology, but also earthly rewards. For instance, in many of his church sermons, Prophet Kizito would stress that if one acquires a 'heavenly citizenship', they can belong anywhere on earth without having to worry about legal immigration documents. In this context, the heavenly citizenship is therefore regarded as superior to earthly citizenship. For a church, where membership is diverse in terms of nationality, the idea of heavenly citizenship bodes fairly well, especially with those with contested citizenship in the country.

Congregants from both churches shared testimonies on immigration, with some indicating that their relationship with state authorities (police) changed when they joined either of the studied churches and gave their lives to Christ. For some, the suspicion that accompanies one as an immigrant, that they are either undocumented or involved in criminal activities, these features automatically disappear when one acquires heavenly citizenship. Olga, a 32-year-old Ghanaian and a member of the CM church, gave this testimony:

> Ever since I became a member of this church, I have never been arrested, [been] stopped, or asked for papers by the police. Before that, hardly a month would pass without [being] stopped, searched, and asked for papers. Things have changed now, thanks to my new heavenly citizenship as a born-again Christian (CM church testimony, Olga, October 2018).

Whilst being a 'heavenly citizen' is assumed to come with the benefit of *'belonging anywhere else in this world without any problems'* (at least by the Pentecostals), this may not be the case

with other immigrants who are almost always trying to evade police arrest and potential deportation.

For the Pentecostals, bearing the identity of a Pentecostal, particularly under the spiritual care of a 'powerful pastoral figure', a 'papa' or 'mama' has the potential to exonerate the believer from the brutal force of the state. One respondent noted:

> They came to our restaurant one day and they were asking for passports. They were serious that day. I didn't have a passport, I told them I had left it home. They left me just like that. My other workmates were taken. When you are under the pastoral guidance and care of Kizito, you are safe. *Ndiri mwana waPapa Kizito* (I am Kizito's daughter) (Interview, Sandy, July 2019).

Interestingly, even those who confessed to have had unfortunate experiences with the police were adamant that their experiences were a test of faith, so they will testify to the goodness of the 'god' of the church. Patience, a 24-year-old young woman from Zimbabwe narrated her experiences in one of the holding cells at Hillbrow Police Station, where undocumented immigrants are temporarily kept before they are transferred to Lindela, the deportation centre. She said:

> When we were in those cells, I knew the 'god' of my Prophet was just testing my faith. I never stopped believing that I would still get out of that place. Going back to Zimbabwe against my will? That was never going to happen. I believed that God would make a way (Interview, Patience, June 2019).

Patience's narrative required more probing. According to her, she was not the only person being held in the police cells temporarily for transportation to the deportation centre. Unlike others, she was 'released'. Why was she miraculously released and spared deportation yet she appeared to be in the same situation as other undocumented immigrants who were not released? After probing for further clarity, the respondent confessed that her sister came and 'rescued' her by *'blessing one of the officers with a cold drink'.* This is a local colloquialism meaning that her sister had bribed one of the officers for her release. This narrative made me rethink the role of Pentecostal religion in assisting believers to cope with everyday insecurities associated with contested immigration statuses. 'Blessing' officers with 'cold drinks', is one of the most common and effective strategies used by undocumented immigrants to evade deportation. The majority of the respondents who have had experiences with the police confessed to have offered a bride to avoid deportation or arrest. However,

Patience was still adamant that it was her faith in the 'god' of the DC that rescued her from deportation. She added:

> I know of people who were arrested and deported even when they had the money to bribe the officials (Interview, Patience, June 2019).

The incidents presented above confirm the general public perception that the South African Police are generally corrupt. For instance, a survey by the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) Africa revealed that the police sector has overtaken other sectors as the most corrupt institution in South Africa, including schools, health and local government (Manyathela, 2019). In my interpretation, claims by the Pentecostals that it is their faith, not necessarily the corrupt elements prevalent within some members of the police, which has exonerated them from arrests, and potential deportations require scrutiny. Such claims obscure the true nature of corruption within the security forces, and derail attempts to fight the same especially under contexts where corruption is believed to be one of the cancerous problems derailing any form of development.

Given the complex relations between the state security agents (police) and the foreign nationals, many of whom are perceived as a threat to the successful crystallisation of black citizenship in South Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2006), and who are often blamed for the majority of the socio-economic ills bedevilling the country, the relations between authorities and foreign nationals is largely characterised by multiple levels of suspicion. The participants expressed that should they experience any problems; they would rather consult their religious leaders than the state authorities. Patience explained how she was once threatened with deportation when she went to report a case of domestic violence at Hillbrow Police Station. According to her, she had no bruises and one of the police officers could not buy into her story and proceeded to question her about her immigration status in the country. She added:

> I almost got arrested when I went to report. Some of those people cannot be trusted. I rather consult with the prophet or prophetess if I need any closure (Interview, Patience, June 2019).

The studied churches (like any other Pentecostal churches) run a consultation programme every week, where congregants meet the church leaders to discuss personal issues, ranging from marital and reproductive problems to domestic disputes and immigration issues on a one-on-one basis (Interview, Deacon Uche, October 2019). The meetings are also an opportunity for the pastors/evangelists to understand their members at a personal level.

These intimate meetings are very often ended with a prayer and some prophesy from the 'Man/Woman of God'. A basket for offerings is always placed on the table and the congregants are aware that they cannot simply consult without making a meaningful financial contribution to the church.

The cases presented in the previous sections largely have to be understood in relation to other studies that have been conducted elsewhere in Africa on the relationship between Pentecostalism, politics and the state (Van Dijk, 2002; Marshall, 2009; Frahm-Arp, 2018). In *Political Spiritualities,* Marshall (2009) detailed the dramatic rise of Pentecostal converts over the past three decades. The experience of being 'born again' as one of the major tenets of Pentecostalism was presented as an opportunity for the Nigerians to realise the promises of religious and political salvation made during both the colonial and postcolonial eras (Marshall, 2009). Like the residents in Hillbrow, Marshall (2009) detailed the everyday struggles of ordinary citizens in Nigeria coping with poverty, corruption and inequality(ies) and how Pentecostalism find relevance under these circumstances.

5.3.3 Pentecostal religion and the built environment

Over the years, the city of Johannesburg has embarked on various inner-city regeneration programmes. While these efforts are commendable, there is an emergent need to mobilise more resources to upgrade many of the dilapidated buildings in Hillbrow. The state of the neighbourhood's built environment has huge implications on the safety and security of its residents. From the study, it emerged that one of the most feared infrastructures in Hillbrow is its built space, i.e., the buildings.

With a wristband inscribed with the name of the church (DC) on his hand, one of the respondents had this to say:

> Hillbrow is scary, the buildings here are scary. They are tall and dangerous, and [for] some of them it is a matter of time before they collapse. They make me feel uneasy at times. That is why I always keep my wrist band from 'papa' with me, just in case anything happens. With this, I know I am safe. (Conversation, Moses, March 2019).

This conversation made me develop more interests in the neighbourhood's built environment, particularly the reason it emerged as one of the major sources of fear and insecurity amongst some of the respondents. As an aspiring urban ethnographer, I started

paying particular attention to Hillbrow's physical infrastructure, observing the nature of the buildings, the majority of which are very old. Some important findings are presented below.

5.3.3.1 Urban Decay and regeneration

Urban decay or inner-city decline is a common and widespread problem for many cities globally. In South Africa, the advent of a multi-racial democracy in 1994 brought with it the free movement of people and also saw an influx of people into the CBD (Mpe, 2001; Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008; Murray, 2011; Stadler and Dugmore, 2017). To date, this movement has not been matched by adequate service provision. The resulting effects have been an increase in crime, violence, traffic congestion and poorly maintained buildings, amongst others. The unintended consequences of democracy saw the migration of capital to the northern parts of Johannesburg such as Rosebank, and the emergence of Sandton as the financial capital of South Africa. The exodus of capital from the inner city led to, among other things, an increase in under-maintained buildings, office and retail spaces, slums and crime – in a nutshell, urban decay. Some examples are presented below:

Figure 9: Lorna Court



Photo by the researcher: April 2019

This neglected building is located at the boundary of Hillbrow and Joubert Park, at the corner of Twist and Wolmarans Streets, just a few blocks from Prophet Radebe's Revelation Church of God. Word has it that the building caught fire in 2005, following a case of domestic violence

where a man used a gas funnel to set his wife alight. The fire destroyed the couple and the whole building (Nicolson, 2012). Ever since it was ravaged by fire, there has never been any effort to refurbish the building, either by the state or private property developers. The building, some community members argue, does not only require some refurbishment, but also needs a ritual cleansing, because of the people who died there and the manner in which they expired. According to one traditional herbalist to whom I spoke to, the spirit of those who died in this building continue to linger, thus demanding a ritual cleansing (Conversation, Sekuru Banda, March 2019). Lorna Court is just one amongst many dilapidated buildings in the inner city.

Unlike other high-rise buildings such as the Michelangelo Towers in Sandton, the R750 million residential complex that epitomises the global trend towards imagineered urbanism (Murray, 2011), the majority of high-rise buildings in the inner-city neighbourhood are far from contributing to the city's vision of attaining a World Class City status by 2040. Dilapidated and under-serviced buildings remain the reality of the present built environment in the inner city, despite the ongoing inner-city regeneration projects in areas like Braamfontein, Maboneng and Newtown. In September 2018, a fire broke out in the Bank of Lisbon Building, which housed the Gauteng departments of health, human settlements, and cooperative government and traditional affairs in the inner city, claiming the lives of three firefighters in the process (Maphanga, 2018). Following an assessment of various buildings in the inner city in 2017 for occupational health and safety, it emerged that the Bank of Lisbon Building's complaint rate to occupational health and safety sat at a disturbing 21% against the recommended average of 85% (Tau, 2018). By his own admission, the Gauteng infrastructure development Member of the Executive Council (MEC), Jacob Mamabolo noted that there are a lot of buildings in the inner city that fall way short of meeting the required occupational and health standards. He said:

> 'Some buildings are below Bank of Lisbon' – with regards to occupational health and safety (Tau, 2018).

Following the Bank of Lisbon disaster, it emerged that government workers at some of the buildings located in the inner city refused to work in those buildings describing them as 'accidents waiting to happen' (Tau, 2018). In October 2016, about 15 people were treated for smoke inhalation following a fire broke out at a building at the corners of Nugget and Commissioner Streets in the inner city (Digital, 2016).

The above cases offer just a glimpse of the state of the infrastructure in the inner city. The state of the physical infrastructure in the inner city has to be understood in relation to its links to crime, violence, and health amongst other urban disorders (Murray, 2008, 2011; von Holdt, 2013; Scorgie *et al.*, 2017). Given the state the inner-city's built environment, with bad, abandoned and dilapidated buildings as previous studies have shown (see for instance, Murray, 2008, 2020; Rubin, 2015; Wilhelm-Solomon, 2016, 2017), it is therefore understandable why the built environment has been one of the major sources of insecurity among the respondents who participated in this study and why they retreat to the world of the religious to overcome, or at least come to terms with the different forms of insecurities born from the city's built form.

5.3.3.2 Rethinking the World Class City vision

The City of Johannesburg, through its Inner City Regeneration Scheme has, since the 1990s, adopted various instruments to curb urban decay and sustain private investments (Rubin, 2015; Wilhelm-Solomon, 2017). The overall objective has been the creation of a World Class City, which attracts capital and investments in the inner city, in particular. These instruments (among others) include the Inner-City Property Scheme (ICPS) (which replaced the Better Building Programme) and the Bad Buildings Programme (BBP). The BBP was intended to target 'bad' buildings, and these include buildings that were derelict and in a deplorable state; abandoned by owners; invaded by crime lords and 'squatters'; contravening city by-laws and regulations; having a low market value, and those that were considered to be sites of criminal activities (Rubin, 2015; Wilhelm-Solomon, 2017).

These instruments for a 'World Class City' did not, however, come without scrutiny and criticism. Rubin (2015), for instance, saw the BBP as more of a creation of a hegemonic vision for a 'neat' and modern inner-city home to international capital and a well-to-do middle class to the exclusion of the poor. In its broadest sense, the BBP envisages contrasting visions and interests in its ultimate goal for a World Class City. Put simply, the BBP was more pro-capital than it was pro-poor people. Taking my cue from those who have written before me, I argue that the slow pace of a meaningful and inclusive approach to infrastructural development (as is the case with any other form of development) threatens the very vision of a 'World Class City'. I suggest this in its entirety, threatens people's security (broadly understood). In fact, the inner city's dilapidated physical structures are often demonised by many of the

Pentecostals who participated in this study, who claim that these buildings house the devil. Let us understand why below.

5.4 Pentecostal religion and the demonisation of Hillbrow's infrastructure

> The devil is everywhere here, in those buildings, in the streets, amongst some of us. He is everywhere (Interview, Deacon Uche, October 2019).

Building on from the previous section, this section explores the demonization of Hillbrow's interlinked infrastructures, its built environment, and its people. With its purported history of violence (real, imagined or otherwise), crime, prostitution and other forms of urban disorders, there is a general consensus amongst the Pentecostals that this community is under spiritual attack and therefore needs spiritual healing and deliverance. I tread carefully regarding the argument that South African urban spaces are under the spell of the devil (Echtler and Ukah, 2015), by exploring the Pentecostals' experiences with and perceptions of Hillbrow's infrastructures, both physical and social.

5.4.1 Hillbrow's demonised built form-Vannin Court

Located along Quartz Street in Hillbrow, just a stone's throw from the 'controversial' and 'famous'[32] Revelation Church of God along Wolmarans Street, Vannin Court[33] offers some useful insights for testing what I perceive to be the 'demonisation of the built environment thesis', a common perception amongst the Pentecostals. Notoriously known as *emnyamandawo*[34]*,* Vanin Court is one of many of the unlawfully appropriated buildings in the inner city of Johannesburg. Names such as 'dark buildings', 'bad buildings', 'hijacked buildings' or 'slum buildings' have been used to refer to many unlawfully occupied buildings in the inner city (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2016, 2017).

In his ethnographic work on the unlawfully appropriated buildings in the inner city of Johannesburg, Wilhelm-Solomon (2017) employed the concept of 'ruinous vitalism' to refer to "the instability and malleability of urban infrastructures, the scars and traces these leave and the capacities for social relations and regeneration they invoke," (Wilhelm-Solomon,

[32] In November 2017, a member of the Johannesburg Metro Police Department (JMPD) was assaulted by the members of this church, following a parking scandal. Because of its large following, there has been a lot of problems related to parking and noise caused by the church.
[33] See figure 6
[34] A Zulu name used to describe a place of darkness.

2017: 175). The name *emnyamandawo* (a place of darkness), as Vannin Court is colloquially known, has multiple connotations.

5.4.1.1 Physical darkness

As a starting point, the concept of darkness has a long history and is directly linked to the colonial characterisation of Africa as space of absence, without history – a dark continent (Achebe, 1997; Mbembe, 2001; Wilhelm-Solomon, 2017). The concept of darkness as it is used to characterise bad buildings, such as Vannin Court, has hence come to be synonymous with lacking service provision and as a sign of developmental failure and neglect (Wilhelm-Solomon, 2017). These buildings are believed to be hives of criminal activities and various forms of antisocial vices and for many people, are linked to feelings of fear and insecurities. When I transferred from Braemer Court to Fontana Inn, one of many Jozi Housing properties a stone throw from Vannin Court in November 2019, the first advice I was given by one of the Jozi Housing caretakers was to "avoid Vannin Court and its surrounding streets at all cost," (Conversation Rasta, November 2019).

I employed the strategy of observing from afar-a kind of distant ethnography to have a general appreciation of the everyday life at this building. From the building's (Fontana Inn) corridor, I had the privilege to observe some of the various forms of 'urban decay' at Vannin Court. These included uncollected rubbish, overflowing sewer and water, rodents, visible cracks on the building, etc. The area is also regularly patrolled by the police, an attempt perhaps, of ensuring a relative degree of order around the area. I am not attempting to provide an alarmist version Vannin Court and its surrounding areas. Rather, my description of the area based on personal observations and other narratives shared by some people who stay at this building and other surrounding areas is intended to illustrate why the building is often demonised by some of the Pentecostals.

In 2017, the-then Mayor of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba made a surprise visit to Vannin Court to ascertain the general state of life that people in abandoned and hijacked buildings experience on a daily basis. Following his visit, Mashaba vowed to take over all hijacked buildings within the city and transform them into affordable housing properties (Dlamini, 2017a). To date, there has been very slow progress with regards to the transformation of the hijacked buildings in the city. The buildings, although offering an alternative accommodation for the desperate urbanites who cannot afford rentals charged by other private property developers in the neighbourhood, continue to be sites of criminal activities and other social

vices. In a crime prevention operation by the JMPD in June 2019, various weapons including guns, machetes and bullet proof vests were confiscated at Vannin Court and other 'bad buildings' in the inner city (*Citizen Reporter*, 2019).

5.4.1.2: Living by the grace of God: Darkness as spiritual

Whilst Vannin Court, like many 'bad buildings' in the inner city, symbolises lack and neglect in material terms, it is also believed, from a Pentecostalian perspective, to symbolise abandonment and neglect in spiritual terms. For the Pentecostals, it is not the absence of material light (such as electricity), which defines a place as dark. Rather, a place's darkness is attributed to a lack of spiritual light. The multiple forms of anti-social activities, violence, crime, etc. that have come to be associated with this building, the Pentecostals will argue, are spiritual. Praise, a 28-year-old Pentecostal woman from Zimbabwe who stays at Vannin Court, had this to say:

> How can you explain everything that happens here, the crime, the violence, everything? This whole building needs spiritual deliverance (Conversation, Praise, May 2019).

From the above, the metaphor *emnyamandawo*, as the building is colloquially known, requires scrutiny. Using the example of 'illegal' power connections that were at the building, Praise was adamant that Vannin Court is a place of darkness because of the various criminally related and anti-social activities that are associated with this building. She added:

> As a religious person, l see darkness as spiritual; it is not the absence of physical light, but spiritual light. You need spiritual eyes to understand what I mean.

According to this respondent, what is needed at Vannin Court are spiritual lights to rid the building of all evil spirits, which for her, are the major sources of all the various forms of antisocial, criminal and violent activities associated with the building.

Under circumstances where many would expect the government to take a front role in the development and renewal of 'bad buildings', such as Vannin Court, as it is currently doing through various inner-city regeneration projects, the Pentecostals I spoke to were adamant that the problems being encountered in the city are spiritual and therefore requires an approach that is spirit-centred. Praise added:

> Not even the government through whatever means can transform this neighbourhood. We need powerful 'Men and Women of God' to deliver this neighbourhood from the shackles of the devil.

Praise's understanding of 'darkness as spiritual' is in sync with the gospel that is very popular among the studied Pentecostal churches, that the various forms of urban disorders, including but not limited to crime, violence, etc. are an indication that the neighbourhood is indeed under the spell of the devil and hence requires spiritual deliverance. In justifying the location of his CD church in Hillbrow, Prophet Kizito had this to say:

> I could have gone to Sandton and establish my church there. But the location of this church here at the centre of chaos, darkness and confusion was spirit led. There is too much evil in this community and the people seem to be confused too. There are many lost souls here in Hillbrow. This community needs deliverance (Church Service, October 2019).

The belief among the Pentecostal leaders and ultimately their believers – that there are many lost souls, especially in the inner-city neighbourhoods with their multiple forms of urban disorders, confirms studies that were conducted elsewhere: that South African cities and their neighbourhoods are under the spell of the devil (Ukah, 2010; Echtler and Ukah, 2015)). This narrative, this study has shown, is also used by the Pentecostals, particularly their leaders, as a justification to set up Pentecostal bases and infrastructures from which they can unleash their spiritual ammunition to fight the evils of and in the city. Interestingly, the ultimate objective of the studied churches is massive expansion and the creation of an alternative city free from the chaos associated with urban life. The mission for spatial expansion, it should be noted is expansive and goes beyond the boundaries of Hillbrow.

In a Sunday service in October 2019, the CD leader expressed to the congregants his plan of establishing a CD city on the outskirts of Pretoria. The area, according to the prophet, was shown to him by God. He said:

> A couple of years ago, God spoke to me and told me to establish a city at a place that he was to reveal to me. I kept on praying and waiting for the signal. One day as I was asleep, I saw this other area with huge mountains on the outskirts of town. One day, I just found myself driving around the outskirts of Pretoria and saw a very huge mountain. I went there, and God spoke to me, saying that was the area where he wants me to establish a city. Since that day, I have named the mountain, CD Mountain. Many

> of you here are not yet 'ready' to visit that mountain, you cannot go there alone without my invitation (Church Service, October 2019).

The excerpt above broadly summarises the distinction between pastoral figures and the laity in religious circles. Here, the pastor establishes both his privileged relation to God and guards the secrecy and exclusivity of his knowledge of, and access, to this new space (the mountain) - thus generating its value. The power and legitimacy of the prophet, I argue, is basically derived from his ability to 'speak' to God directly and be given instructions to lead the flock. Foucault (1982, 2014). uses the concept of pastoral power to denote the spiritual direction and 'direction of souls' exercised over a population or individuals through a pastoral agent who 'represents' God or a deity. This 'pastoral power' which often promises salvation, healing and well-being as long as congregants continue to fall under the pastor's pastoral gaze (Foucault, 2014; Siisiäinen, 2015; Katsaura, 2017) is central to surviving competition in the religious field.

The identification and establishment of 'alternative' cities especially on the outskirts of some cities in Africa is a very popular mission in Pentecostal religion (Coleman and Maier, 2013; Ukah, 2016, 2018a). Writing about the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) in Nigeria for instance, Ukah (2013; 2016; 2018) reminds us of how the Redemption City emerged from the massive expansion of the RCCG and its appropriation of the physical landscape. Like the vision of the CD city, the establishment of the Redemption City was believed to be 'inspired' by a need for an alternative city to Lagos, with all its multiple forms of chaos and corruption. The controversies surrounding this alternative city to Lagos are well documented (Ukah, 2013). For instance, the development of the Redemption City has been marred with various levels of corruption (Ibid). For many Pentecostal churches today, the spatial strategies for expansion, which in most cases involve the identification of vacant land on the outskirts of a city needs to be understood against the backdrop of the existing competition within the religious field.[35]

For some respondents, it is not just the neighbourhood's 'bad buildings' that is their source of insecurity and fear. It is the neighbourhood's complex streets, which are according to one respondent, very tricky:

> The roads here in Johannesburg are tricky my friend … you need more than just Google Maps my friend; you need a spiritual compass. With a spiritual map, you can

[35] In Chapter 7, I address how this competition between fields plays out.

never go wrong. The Holy Spirit will always guide you (Conversation, Sam, September 2018).

Hillbrow's complexity (including its road network) has also been captured by other writers who have written before me. In *Welcome to Our Hillbrow*, a novel about the contradictory, alluring and painful experiences of post-apartheid South Africa, the South African writer and poet, Phaswane Mpe, for instance, offered a navigational reading of Hillbrow to one Refentse, who had to negotiate safe routes in a city where he was a recent economic migrant. Throughout his novel, Mpe kept reminding us about the complexities and unpredictability of the streets of Hillbrow where a culmination of converging routes is likely to confuse the recent immigrant and one may not, "remember where the first route began," (Mpe 2001: 2). The streets as always, are marked by 'incidences of encounters' where the 'unrespectable may happen' and where danger spots lurk, marking Hillbrow as a site of the unpredictable, insecurities and a field of chaotic realities (Ibid).

To avoid being a victim of the various unexpected encounters with the everyday, my conversation with Sam revealed that only a spiritual compass or map is of significant relevance to navigate through in a complex neighbourhood like Hillbrow. Whilst scientific applications and navigations tools, such as Google Maps, have grown to be important instruments in linking people with places, respondents like Sam are of the view that they do not necessarily warn anyone of any impending danger along the way. The Pentecostals are therefore of the view that people should possess spiritual maps or compasses. In a context where both the physical and the spiritual coexists, spiritual maps are believed by the Pentecostals to be more important than physical maps because of their ability to navigate both the world of the physical and the spiritual, something that physical maps cannot do. Prior to his *bornagainness*, Sam explained an incident when he 'got lost' and ended up in one of the most popular strip clubs in the neighbourhood, The Summit Club.[36] Here, the respondent noted that he regrettably ended up wining and dining with strangers some of whom, he now believes, were possessed with evil spirits.

5.4.2 Beyond Hillbrow's built form: everyday life and the fear of others

South Africa's urban spaces, and Johannesburg in particular, are popular for their cultural diversity. With its perceived history of economic opportunities, Johannesburg has always

[36] The next chapter details the experiences of some of the respondents with this adult entertainment facility.

attracted economic migrants since the 1890s (see Van Onselen, 1982; Crush, Williams and Peberdy, 2005). Today, the accelerated processes of neoliberal globalisation has intensified human mobilities and flows and the growing effects have, among others, been the growth of super-diverse cities (Appadurai, 1996; Castells, 2010; Anttiroiko, 2015). Johannesburg's ethno-national diversities is considered to be high by the standards of any African city (Katsaura, 2018).

Whilst super-diverse cities such as Johannesburg create platforms for co-existence and mutuality, they are also sites of tension and conflict. This study has shown that beyond the neighbourhood's built environment, it is also its super-diversity and the resulting effects of the fear of others that prompts both the demand and the retreat of some people into the world of the religious. Expressing his fear of others, uncle J had this to say:

> Forget about all those disaster-awaiting-to-happen-buildings. What scares me most in this neighbourhood are the people. The people here are scary. They come from all over the world. They make me feel uncomfortable. They do crazy things. They do anything for money.

Uncle J went on to explain his concerns and feelings of comfortability being around some people of other different cultural backgrounds some of whom he suspected worship evil gods. To prepare himself every day, to among other things, avoid being in contact with these people, Uncle J spoke vehemently about the significance of praying. He said:

> Every day I wake up at 02h00am and pray for at least 30 minutes. My prophet has advised all of us to pray during this time because this is the best time to pray, when everyone is asleep, the devil will be awake. This the perfect time to face the devil head on (Interview, Uncle J, June 2019).

Praying, a habitualised act amongst the Christians is a very common practice of religiosity among the Pentecostals. The Pentecostals are encouraged to pray non-stop, all the time. A form of communication with the divine, praying forms a key component of the everyday in the life of a believer.

In a city where various actors are capable of doing anything for money, there has been some concerns amongst the Pentecostals that some actors use *muthi*, understood in this context as a harmful substance administered by a traditional healer or diviner to achieve negative ends,

such as misfortunes, cause illness, and to gain illicit wealth through scamming people (Ashforth, 2005).

For some respondents, it is only through spiritual guardianship that one may be protected from scammers and tricksters. One responded noted:

> They are a lot of scammers here in Johannesburg. They use muthi to scam people. One day I received an email that I had won a Samsung phone as part of the MTN promotion. They said my email address was randomly selected and I was asked to provide my address and banking details to claim the offer. It looked too good to be true. Then I remembered the words from the bible. 'Watch out! Be on your guard against all kinds of greed; life does not consist in an abundance of possessions.' (Luke 12: 15). I later realised that the email was a scam. This verse saved me from the scammers.[37] You need God to protect you from these people (Conversation, Thabo, May 2019).

During one of his Sunday sermons in March 2019, Pastor Mbam of the CM church warned congregants to be mindful of scammers and tricksters in the city who draw their power from the devil. He said:

> You hear that some Nigerians are serial scammers. That's true, they consult and worship evil gods, such as Eshu. That devil gives them power to trick people and scam them. But I can assure you that if you are a member of this church, you will never fall victim to these tricksters. By fire by force, you will never be a victim (Church Service, March 2019).

From Eris, the Greek goddess of chaos to Laverna, the Roman goddess of thieves, cheats and tricksters, societies across the globe have always had at some point a deity often associated with deceit, treachery, mischief and betrayal (Wigington, 2018). As a perceived city of economic opportunities, that some people consult deities for economic reasons should be understandable. The tricksters often pounce on unsuspecting people and rob them of their economic fortunes (Ashforth, 2015). The Pentecostal ritual performances and practices therefore play a significant role in the everyday lives of the Pentecostals in Hillbrow especially in a context of heightened levels of fear, uncertainty, precarity and trickery. I argue that in as much as the city offers a series of everyday insecurities and threats identified in the preceding and forthcoming sections of this research, it also serves as centre stage for the

[37] Conversation, Thabiso, May 2019

performance of rituals. Following Simone (2004), I argue that Pentecostal religio-ritual practices are proving to be vital social infrastructures in people's everyday lives.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter had one main objective, to understand an emerging form of urbanism driven by Pentecostal religious institutions in Hillbrow. The chapter has attempted to address this major objective by showing how and why Pentecostal churches are increasingly growing and finding relevance in this neighbourhood. Broadly, I have appropriated the concept of Pentecostal urbanism (Nyuke, 2021) to illustrate the growing presence of Pentecostal religious institutions in this neighbourhood through their appropriation and transformation of various infrastructures such as business complexes, schools, residential units, basements, etc. In a city characterised by growing levels of insecurities and fear, some emerging from the neighbourhood's social and physical infrastructures, I have attempted to show the relevance of Pentecostal religion in helping people to either cope or come to terms with the different insecurities associated with everyday life. The chapter has done this by focusing on the relevance of Pentecostal ritual practices in the everyday lives of the believers. It has treated Pentecostal religion as an ideational system that informs people's everyday behaviour as they pursue various interests and objectives in the city. While I acknowledge the relevance of these ritual practices and beliefs in the everyday lives of the participants, I also question whether these are enough to cope with material insecurities associated with everyday life. The next chapter attempts to address this gap.

CHAPTER SIX

GRACE ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH: PENTECOSTAL RELIGION AND THE DEMANDS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

> To live in the universe of high modernity is to live in an environment of chance and risk … (Giddens, 1991)

6.1 Introduction

Apart from driving forward the argument that there is an emerging form of urbanism being driven by Pentecostal religious institutions in Hillbrow, as might be the case elsewhere in Johannesburg's inner-city neighbourhoods, in the previous chapter, I also attempted to show the relevance of Pentecostal religion under circumstances of heightened insecurity, precarity and uncertainty. Using the idea of 'violence from the pulpit', Nyuke (2021) has extensively argued about the complex relations between Pentecostalism and immigrants, suggesting that the relationship is both liberating and constraining. In a relatively similar fashion, while I acknowledge and appreciate the relevance of Pentecostal religion in some people's daily lives, I also warn about the potentials of exaggerating its (Pentecostal) relevance in their lives, a perspective that I think often tends to downplay people's agency. Through interpreting everyday societal problems as spiritual and therefore needing an approach which is spirit centred, Pentecostal religion tend to portray individuals as having limited capabilities to devise different ways of overcoming their daily challenges. Grace in Pentecostal tradition is often interpreted as sufficient to overcome every problem encountered in the everyday. However, I argue in this chapter that *grace alone is not enough* (Interview, Kofi, October 2019). By this, I mean that while grace is highly celebrated in Pentecostal tradition, arguably it does not automatically translate into a tangible resource that can be used to meet peoples' everyday material needs. In a highly complex neighbourhood like Hillbrow, people need tangible solutions to their various material needs, such as rentals, food, and clothing.

The chapter thus centres the individual as a rationally calculative being who devises different strategies to navigate the uncertain, precarious, and insecure terrains associated with everyday life. Precisely, I show how the Pentecostals tread rationally and calculatedly between the worlds of the profane and the sacred, as they pursue stability and other socio-economic concessions or, in the Bourdieusian sense, different species of capital (P Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1979, 2002; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell, 2008) in a highly

complex and controversial urban space. Rather than setting up a polarity between the sacred and the profane (Durkheim, 2001), I show how these boundaries are permeable, fluid, always shifting, and negotiated (Chidester and Linenthal, 1995; Tweed, 2006; Weinberg, 2013).

I use the examples of prostitution and gambling to show how the Pentecostals juggle the seemingly different and yet interrelated fields of the sacred and the profane, and draw both material and spiritual benefits (or capitals) from both. The resources accrued from these two fields are necessary for everyday survival. By exploring the different practices in these seemingly different fields, I intend to show how these fields mutually reinforce and complement each other. Juggling both the sacred and the profane worlds by some of the actors who participated in this study needs to be understood against the backdrop that the tangible material resources are instrumental for making do with the demands of daily life, which are largely materialistic in orientation.

As the actors involved navigate these seemingly distinct but interlinked worlds of the sacred and the profane, they are aware of the risks involved. As I attempt to illustrate the often-unheralded connections between the Pentecostal world and 'other worlds', I make two key points. First, I intend not to romanticise, but also to complicate and challenge the role of religion in everyday life, particularly in the context where Pentecostal religious institutions present themselves and portray an image of having the solutions to all existing human challenges. In many parts of the Global South where they have proliferated, Pentecostal churches have often presented an image of providing answers to people's everyday challenges (Meyer, 2004; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Chitando and Togarasei, 2010; Chitando and Biri, 2016; see also Chapter 5 of this thesis). Second, that 'grace alone is not enough' is not intended to portray Pentecostal religion as less relevant in the lives of many. As will be shown in this chapter, the complex experiences of both prostitution and gambling are also mediated through Pentecostal religion.

This chapter is divided into four major sections. The first section explores the intersection of Pentecostal geographies and geographies of eroticism. The section relies on narratives shared by two Pentecostals, each from the studied churches about their experiences of juggling both the 'erotic field' and the Pentecostal religious field. This section begins by offering a synopsis of Johannesburg's erotic geographies and provide a brief background to prostitution in South Africa. The second section pays attention to the Pentecostal gamblers and their gambling habits. Resorting to gambling, as is the case with prostitution, is presented as an alternative to the traditional forms of employment and an avenue to gain the material

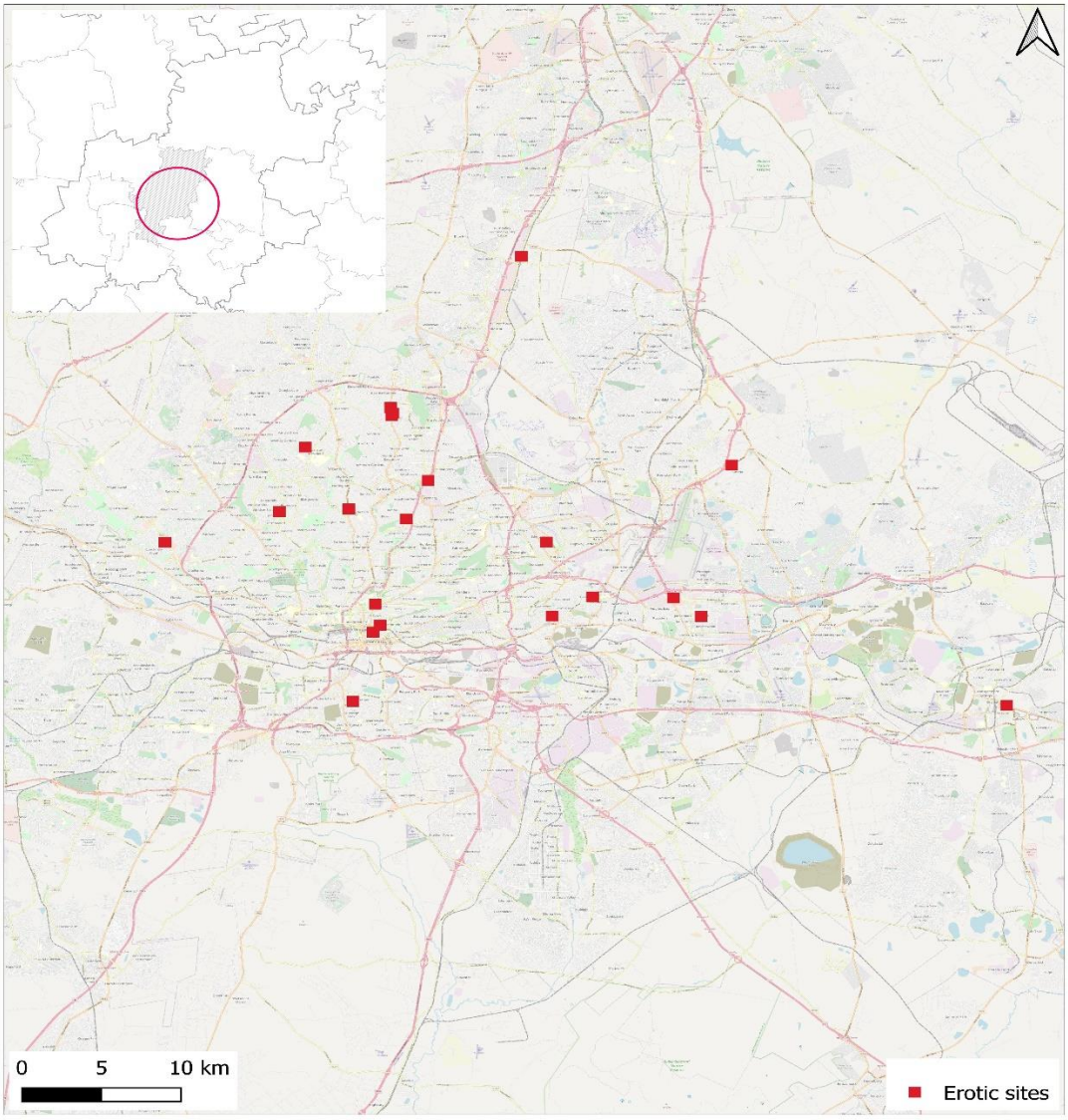
resources desperately needed for everyday life in the city. The third section, which places an emphasis on Pentecostal churches as spiritual rehabilitation centres, appreciates the role of Pentecostal churches in the lives of the prostitutes and gamblers, particularly how religion is mobilised as a resource to come to terms with the insecurities and risks associated with prostitution and gambling. The chapter then concludes by illustrating the intricate and mutually interlacing links between Pentecostal religion and Hillbrow's secular fields.

While the acts of sex work and gambling may be interpreted differently by many, and often demonised in Pentecostal tradition, with the Pentecostal actors who ply these trades often perceived as 'false believers' (Interview, Deacon Uche, November 2018), resorting to these practices need to be understood against the backdrop of two major standpoints. Firstly economic opportunities are increasingly scarce, and where they are found, are unsatisfying and precarious (see for instance, Standing, 2011). Secondly, the growing Pentecostal churches are not resourced enough and have very limited capacities to provide for their members, the much-needed tangible material resources for everyday living, beyond grace and hope. Under all these circumstances, the actors' decisions need to be understood as rationally calculated based on the alignment of such decisions to personal objectives.

6.2 Erotic geographies of Johannesburg: a brief background

As a starting point, I highlight that to understand the (dis)connections between the Pentecostal religious field and the field of eroticism, one needs to appreciate the distribution of adult entertainment facilities in Johannesburg. Below are some of Johannesburg's erotic fields.

Figure 10: Some of Johannesburg's erotic sites



The map above shows the spatial distribution of some of the most popular adult entertainment sites or 'erotic fields' in Johannesburg. These are just a few amongst many of the adult entertainment facilities in Johannesburg. Some of these 'erotic fields' are missing from this map. For instance, popular strip clubs in townships, such as Kizomba Strip Club in Braamfischer, a high-density suburb in the south of Johannesburg is missing from the map. Yet this is one of the most common and popular 'erotic sites' where services such as strip shows, and transactional sex are offered in the townships. Based on the map above, it can be argued that the presented facilities on the map are largely the upper-end establishments, usually around the relatively affluent suburbs in the north.

Considering the criminalisation of sex work, under the Sexual Offenses Act of 2007, it is possible that the majority of the 'erotic sites' may be operating under the radar. Section 20

(1) (a A) of the Sexual Offences Act for instance provides that any person who unlawfully has carnal intercourse or commits an act of indecency with any other person for a reward, is guilty of an offence (Act 23 of 1957). Under the Sexual Offenses Act of 2007, most things to do with prostitution including operating and keeping brothels are prohibited. Given this background, it can be understandable that the geography of erotic fields is not adequately represented on the map. The map above should, however, be considered as a starting point for understanding the spatial distribution of the various fields in Johannesburg.

Johannesburg is very often academically and politically perceived as the crime, violence and economic capital of South Africa, and Africa at large (see for instance, Nyamnjoh 2006; Von Holdt 2013; Burawoy and Von Holdt 2012; Murray 2011; Simone 2010; 2004). Since the dawn of democracy, the city has also witnessed an expanding geography of adult entertainment facilities (Tamale, 2011; Konstant *et al.*, 2015) thanks to (among other reasons), a 'booming' economy, and a more liberal attitude. Like gambling, sex work is regarded by some as an alternative to existing conventional forms of employment, which are becoming scarce, unsatisfying and precarious (Standing, 2011). Arguably, the city is developing into the 'erotic capital' of southern Africa and Africa[38] at large. By 'erotic capital', I refer to the geography of adult entertainment facilities, which includes but is not limited to strip clubs, brothels, massage parlours and sex work. Compared to other geographical areas across the country, Hillbrow and Central Johannesburg are believed to have the densest and highest numbers of people employed in the sex work industry in the country (Konstant *et al.*, 2015).

The criminalisation of sex work in South Africa makes it a huge challenge to estimate the number of people engaged in sex work. However, a collaborative study conducted by Sonke Gender Justice, Sex Workers Education and Advocacy Taskforce, Sisonke Sex Workers Movement and Women's Legal Centre, estimated that there are between 130 000 and 180 000 sex workers across the country (Konstant *et al.*, 2015). But it should be noted that these are estimates and to date, there are no official and reliable statistics to account for the exact number of sex workers in the country. The available data, which is more localised and focused on specific locations seem to suggest that Hillbrow and central Johannesburg have a higher density of sex workers compared to some other parts of the country (Ibid).

[38] The Summit Club for instance boasts as being the longest running adult entertainment facility in southern Africa, if not the world (www.summitclub.co.za)

The criminalisation of sex work under the Sexual Offences Amendment Act of 2007 (previously known as the Immorality Act) and the demonisation of this practice largely in Christian tradition and specifically in Pentecostal churches has, however, not deterred some Pentecostal members from plying this trade. In colonial South Africa, the criminalisation of sex was one of the racial instruments that prohibited extramarital sex between 'Europeans' and 'natives' (Immorality Act, 1927). Today, the criminalisation of prostitution is arguably linked to its promotion of child prostitution, sex trafficking, and its direct association with the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Konstant *et al.*, 2015).

Comparatively, South Africa is considered to have the highest HIV epidemic in the world with estimates suggesting that approximately 7.7 million people are living with HIV (UNAIDS, 2019). Countrywide, the HIV prevalence among sex workers is approximately 57.7%, although this varies across areas. Data shows that the prevalence is highest in Johannesburg (71.8%), Durban (53.3%) and Cape Town (39.7%) (Avert, 2020). Although the criminalisation of sex work predates the HIV pandemic, the link between HIV and sex work has been used as one of the justifications for criminalising sex work and making it illegal. In a country with arguably the highest HIV pandemic, criminalising sex work, however, exposes sex workers to different forms of violence and is in itself a threat to fighting the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The preceding section has laid out a brief foundation on South Africa's sex industry which is both criminalised and religiously demonised. In the next section, I show that despite its condemnation and demonisation in Pentecostal tradition, there exists a very close link between the seemingly separate fields of Pentecostal religion and sex work. In fact, these two fields, as might be the case with any other fields, reinforce and complement each other as will be shown in this chapter. They are relational (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Grenfell, 2008). I present how this relationship unfolds by looking specifically at one of the very popular strip clubs, The Summit Club in Hillbrow, for two reasons. Firstly, one of the respondents who participated in this study was a regular stripper and sex worker at this strip club, and therefore her first-hand experiences with this place as a Pentecostal was valuable for this study. Secondly, erotic fields such the Summit Club are often demonised in Pentecostal churches. They 'justify' the 'mission' of the Pentecostal churches to *free Hillbrow from the chains of the devil' (Pastor Mbam, August 2019).* The erotic activities that are associated with strip clubs such as The Summit Club are perceived to be 'satanic' and justifies the idea that Hillbrow needs deliverance. Located just a stone's throw from either of the studied churches, The Summit Club is often referenced in the studied churches as a site in need of deliverance.

Yet some Pentecostal members from the two studied churches have a very intimate relationship with this place.

6.3 Where Pentecostal geographies meet erotic geographies

In July 2019, during my fieldwork I attended one of the Mega Friday Services at the CD church. These services are conducted on the last Friday of each month, and are in most instances considered to mark new beginnings, as each month is deemed to possess its own opportunities and threats. Congregants are therefore strongly advised to attend these sessions at the end of each month to prepare for the future. In Pentecostal tradition, at least for the churches that have been the focus of this study, every month, new season, or new year, marks a new beginning. These new periods are believed to mark an end to different sorts of problems including attacks that are perceived to be both spiritual and physical. In both churches, the services usually last until the very early hours of the next day.

As he always does during deliverance sessions, Prophet Kizito patrolled the church aisle as though he were looking for some hidden demons amongst his congregants during this Mega Friday Service.[39] Among the congregants, one woman in her late 20s is visibly shaking, as if possessed by some kind of spirits. Her actions could not go unnoticed by the 'Man of God' who asked the church ushers to attend to the woman and bring her to the altar.[40] As the woman was brought to the altar, the congregants began shouting, *fire, fire, fire, out, out out!* These practices, which are often violently expressed are very common acts of commanding any evil spirit to come out and be destroyed by the Holy Ghost Fire.

As the 'Man of God' started praying for her, the tension in the church seemed to increase. The woman, who was now lying on the floor, started performing, what seemed to be unconscious although, highly seductive, and erotic movements, leaving the whole congregation stunned. The pastor then told the congregants that the woman was being tormented by a sexual spirit and hence the erotic performance. According to the prophet, the woman had to be delivered from this tormenting spirit. As the 'deliverance' and exorcism was taking place, Prophet Kizito asked the congregants to lift their hands towards The Summit Club, which is a few blocks from the CD church. The congregants then loudly repeated *By fire by force, by fire by force, burn, burn, burn* commanding the 'burning' and destruction of this strip club as advised

[39] This was my first all-night service.

[40] This physical space is believed in Pentecostal churches to be a site of solutions. It is not easily accessible, and congregants only have a chance to visit the altar upon the invitation of the church leader. The church leaders in most instances preach from the altar.

by the church pastor.[41] For them, the strip club is associated with all kinds of evils. After some minutes of violent prayers and yelling, the woman who seemed to have lost consciousness woke up. The pastor advised her that she needed to invest more in her spiritual life and *'forego the desires of her flesh'.* Following this incident, I tried to converse with this woman. The conversation would lead to some very crucial insights pertaining to how Pentecostals mediate between the fields of the sacred and the profane. Before I turn to these details, I present a brief background about The Summit Club and in the process, illustrating why this adult entertainment facility is highly condemned and demonised in Pentecostal tradition.

6.3.1 The Summit Club

You want to see the devil live, go inside there (Conversation, Jay, May 2019)

Figure 11: Summit Club



Source: Author, August 2019.

Located at the intersection of Claim and Pretoria Streets, two of the busiest streets in Hillbrow, The Summit Club is one of the oldest and popular adult multi-racial strip clubs, not only in Johannesburg, but in southern Africa. Its multi-raciality is reflected in its diverse adult

[41] Although the pastor did not clearly confirm whether he knew the woman was a reveller at The Summit Club, linking her seductive and erotic moves with the strip club seemed to suggest the man of God already knew a lot about this woman.

entertainers, Asians, Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians. Revellers are therefore spoilt for choices from a variety of racial and ethnic groups. The strip club is notorious for hosting exclusive and private X-rated shows, seven days a week. An alternative energy source is always on standby, in case of power outages, something that is becoming very common in the country. In addition to the common public area accessible to the 'ordinary people', the strip club boasts three different exclusive sections namely NERO[42], STARKERS[43] and LADIES BAR[44]. These sections offer different services and come with different packages.

Because of an exclusive and a variety of X-rated adult entertainment activities offered at The Summit Club, it is unsurprising that this facility has received strong condemnation from Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow who publicly demonise it. The morality of the people who frequent this place is also highly questioned and condemned as it is believed to be against Christian values. In most instances, the bible is used as one of the instruments to condemn and demonise the 'erotic field' or sex work in Pentecostal tradition. Preaching during one of the Sunday services themed: *Pharaoh, Let My People Go*, prophet Kizito spoke strongly against sex work and or prostituting. Reading from his bible (1 Corinthians 6: 16), he said:

> It (prostitution) opens the door for demonic possession. He that has sex with a prostitute becomes one body with her. And since she has had multiple partners that became one with her, you become one with the people she slept with (Church Service, June 2019).

The above condemnation of prostitution is very popular within Christian values and in Pentecostal tradition, prostituting invites evil spirits. In some testimonies that were shared by some congregants from either of the studied churches, prostituting also had long-term reproductive effects, such as barrenness. A Malawian woman who was in her early 40s once gave a testimony of how she had struggled to conceive prior to joining the CM church because of her long history as a prostitute. She noted:

> There is nothing that I haven't done in life. I was a lost sheep. I was once a prostitute, but God changed my life. When I decided to settle down with my husband who is a member of this church, we struggled to conceive. Evangelist Mbam prayed for our

[42] A premium strip club and bar.

[43] Private VIP strip venue.

[44] Offers a wide variety of services, and often considered to be VVIP section.

> union and told us that we would have kids. As I am standing here, I am eight months pregnant and expecting our first baby. Glory to the 'god' of this church (Testimony 1, Church Service, October 2018).

Narratives like the one given in the testimony above are usually followed by applause and ululations from the floor and are used by the religious leaders as reference points to claim and justify their healing prowess. The message of repentance is also emphasised by the religious leaders after such testimonies.

6.3.2 Sex work and conventional forms of employment

The findings from this study reveals that sex work, like gambling remains an alternative to the conventional forms of employment amongst some of the Pentecostals. Thobile, one of the Pentecostal sex workers who participated in this study came to Johannesburg almost a decade ago to search for economic opportunities from QwaQwa in the Free State. With no professional qualifications, the respondent explained her struggles of securing a stable job in the city. Narrating her experiences in the retail sector, she said:

> You work one month and spend the next two months seated at home. Sometimes you get half-paid. Those were my experiences in the retail sector. There are no permanent jobs here, worse when you are not educated. They can hire and fire you anytime (Interview, Thobile, October 2019).

The experiences of job insecurities shared by Thobile were not different from those shared by Solo, a 30-year-old Malawian who also lives as both a Pentecostal and a sex worker. Solo came to South Africa in 2010 during the height of the FIFA World Cup tournament with the hopes of striking economic fortunes in the city. As an immigrant with no professional qualifications, Solo found himself stuck in the private security industry, where wages are exploitatively low, coupled with precarious working conditions.

Coming from relatively similar Christian backgrounds, Thobile and Solo joined two of many of the newly emerging Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow as part of the assimilation process to the new urban context. Undoubtedly, these participants considered the church as a key institution in helping them to assimilate to the new environment.

The functional role of religion in everyday lives of different groups has populated sociological debates since the early writings of (Durkheim, 2001) and Weber (1963) (Turner, 2016). In this contemporary period of 'high modernity' (Giddens, 1991; Bauman, 2007) characterised

by increasing rates of human mobility, religion continue to be vital for facilitating or hampering integration (Hirschman, 2006; Kogan, Fong and Reitz, 2019). In host urban spaces, religious networks have in some instances, proved to be key for accessing the labour market or economic opportunities (Kogan, Fong, and Reitz, 2019; Garbin, 2014; Becci, Burchardt, and Casanova, 2013). This is, however, dependent on the strengths of the religious ties in addition to other factors, such as educational attainment and any other relevant skills among others.

For the two respondents, minimum educational levels coupled with arguably weak religious ties and few networks meant that they had very limited options to access well-paying job opportunities on a competitive labour market. Resorting to sex work therefore became a better alternative to complement the meagre salaries they used to get from their insecure and precarious jobs in the retail and security industry. Thobile used to be a regular sex worker and stripper at The Summit Club and the Royal Hotel, where she used to meet up with many of her clients. Because of the connections she had made, the respondent explained that she no longer goes to these places to solicit clients. Rather, she now relies on house calls, where she is contacted telephonically whenever her services are 'needed'.

Generally, the identity of a sex worker is usually associated with women. In the strip club (The Summit Club) where I once visited for research purposes, all the actors who were soliciting for clients were women. However, Solo's case reveals that the trade is also under-reported in the case of male sex workers. Solo explained that he uses the house-call criteria to reach out to some of his clients, the majority of whom he claims are independent and wealthy women from the affluent suburbs in the northern parts of Johannesburg. Rather than physically going to the strip clubs to solicit for clients, Solo explained that he relies on appointments that are arranged over the phone and in most instances, his clients would invite him to their homes. From the narratives provided by the respondents, it seemed to me that they had established a fairly reasonable and reliable clientele base.

6.3.3 When erotic capital meets the capital of anointing

Fields are, by their own nature, highly competitive (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 2002; Grenfell, 2008) and the field of transactional sex (or the erotic field) is no exception. In the erotic field, erotic capital is key. By erotic capital, I refer to the capital of sexual seductiveness and attractiveness used in most instances by sex workers to attract clients. Definitionally, capital is accumulated labour and a product of long-term investments

(Bourdieu, 2002; Grenfell, 2008). Erotic capital is largely gained from a series of bodily investments including but not limited to the use of 'erotic enhancement' products, such as breasts and hip enlargement products, make-up, use of skin enlightening creams, wearing of expensive weaves and seductive material objects and regular physical exercises to keep the body active and in shape. In the process, the body is transformed into a site of erotic concentrations and sexual attractiveness. Said Thobile:

> My friend, you have to look nice, dress well and have a good body shape. You also attract very good clients, the Sandton boys who can pay well without hesitation. I do everything necessary to have an 'irresistible body'. Skin creams, hip creams, breast creams, anything. I also have a very good taste of fashion. I dress very well, those labels, Adidas, Nike, you name them. All these come at a price (Interview, Thobile, October 2019).

According to the respondent, the "Sandton boys"[45] are different from other clients from elsewhere across the city. They are well-known for their lavish lifestyle of driving expensive cars, dress in designer clothes and are money spenders. The respondent went on to explain how she had benefitted extensively from the cultural initiation programmes that she had to go through in QwaQwa as part of the transitioning phase from 'girlhood to womanhood' as is the tradition among the Basotho people. She boasted:

> In my home area, girls go through initiation practices as they transition into womanhood. At these cultural practices, we are taught many things including issues of hygiene and how to sexually satisfy our husbands in future. We are taught about the sex skills at a very young age, not as a way of promoting promiscuity. But if you are in a trade like prostitution, you can as well apply these skills for your own benefit (Interview, October 2019).

Like Thobile, cultural initiation practices have also benefited Solo in his current trade as a male sex worker. Born among the Yao people in the Southern region of Malawi, Solo, like any other 'Yao boy', went through the traditional initiation, which involved circumcision and living in the camps for several days at the age of 12. During this period, Solo expressed that the young boys are occasionally forced to eat food mixed with traditional herbs to grow and strengthen their sex organs. After the initiation process, young boys are considered to be mature and are encouraged to go and practise sex, putting the lessons into practice (in a

[45] Sandton is one of the most affluent suburbs in Johannesburg.

manner of speaking) (Munthali and Zulu, 2007). Comparatively, the participant expressed that those who undergo these traditional initiation practices are more sexually experienced than those who do not.

While there have been growing concerns around traditional initiation practices, particularly their effects on people's reproductive health and the risks associated with HIV/AIDS, and in some instances, death, having undergone through these rites of passage seemed to benefit Solo. He noted:

> Look man, I know what these ladies want. I am not two-minute noodles man. I take my time when it comes to sex (Conversation, Solo, November 2018).

Solo used the idea of a 'two-minute noodles man' to distinguish himself from other men who cannot last long in bed or have erectile dysfunction. To maintain his sexual attractiveness, the visibly muscular Solo explained how he spends a lot of time in the gym to both attract and retain clients. He added:

> I have two reliable clients who call me whenever they need my services … They cannot have enough of me. They are hooking me up with their friends too. I am sure they have shared their experiences about me.

The above cases confirm Bourdieu's theorisation of capital as accumulated labour and a product of long-term investments (Bourdieu, 2002; Grenfell, 2008). The capital of eroticism these two participants expressed they possessed, are indeed accrued from long periods of investment on their bodies, which started at an early stage, as they were culturally initiated into adulthood. In both instances, we learn that there is a lot of effort and resources that are utilised in the field of transactional sex.

6.3.3.1 Appearance as capital

I, however, argue that these bodily investments also need to be understood beyond the confines of the erotic field. In both churches where these respondents attend, 'looking good and attractive' is also a sign of divine favour and gives an assumption that one has broken away from the shackles of poverty. Poverty is highly condemned and demonised within the Pentecostal tradition. While fashion or dressing may not be a useful yardstick for measuring the extent to which one has broken away from poverty, fashion in the studied Pentecostal churches is highly rated and taken seriously by most congregants who always attempt to dress well. From designer clothes to jewellery, the Pentecostals always make an effort to look

good, thanks to a relatively relaxed and yet prescriptive fashion code in these churches. The young pastors are known for their elegant dressing and expensive jewellery (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Chitando and Biri, 2016b; Katsaura, 2017; Ojo, 2018).

Speaking of dressing during one of his Sunday services, Evangelist Mbam had this to say:

> Some of you have embraced the spirit of poverty in their lives, just by looking at how you dress. We don't want the spirit of poverty in this church. You should always put on your best outfit when you are coming to the house of the Lord (Church Service, September 2018).

Beyond serving as a spiritual and sacred space where members congregate and connect with the 'most high', the church also needs to be understood as a social space, a site where social relationships are negotiated and reinforced. For some congregants, the church space is used as a 'hunting' site for serious intimate relationships that will ultimately lead to marriage. In fact, the pastors/prophets always advise those seeking serious relationships to start within the church. Although romantic relationships beyond the church are not fated, members are always advised to either start looking within the church for partners or to bring their spouses to the church, for the church to grow. 'Looking good', as one of the respondents said, therefore transcends boundaries and has benefits in all fields, the Pentecostal religious field, and the transactional sex field. In both fields though, bodily investments have the potential to attract the 'best' people, either for temporary or long-term relationships.

There is no denying that a consumerist culture is one major defining feature of contemporary everyday life (Glennie and Thrift, 1992; Baudrillard, 2012). Borrowing from Marx (1887), Žižek (1989) uses the concept of 'commodity fetishism' to explain a type of capitalistic exchange where the mind is conditioned for material consumption, with the media playing a key role in promoting a consumer culture. In a society typified by an urban consumerist culture, it is understandable that the respondents emphasised 'looking good' in the church spaces and beyond. Thobile narrated:

> …this is Johannesburg, you have to be always on point. The clothes you wear, the phone you use, all say something about your personality and the person that you are. When you go visit your relatives in the rural areas, they don't have to ask whether you have been to the city or not, they just have to see it by just looking at you. This city (Johannesburg) has money, it has style (Interview, Thobile, October 2018).

The consumption culture, driven by the desire to meet the demands of an 'urban lifestyle' is very common, especially among young people today. Using the concept of a 'consumer society', Baudrillard (2012) explains how contemporary societies have become engrained in various forms of consumption habits that are in sync with 'modern' life. Under all these circumstances, the body, writes Baudrillard (2012) is the finest consumer object. The bodily investments by the two respondents above supports this assertion. As an 'urbane religion' (Katsaura, 2019), Pentecostal religion has, in a way, promoted a consumerist culture through a gospel and an approach to life that is materialistic in orientation, something that bonds fairly well with especially the ambitious young people (Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016).

In the preceding section, I have argued that erotic capital is a key resource mobilised by the respondents to accumulate various capitals, most of which are economic and social in nature. However, it also emerged from the narratives shared by the respondents that erotic capital alone is not sufficient to attract and retain the best and reliable clients. Interestingly, the capital of eroticism (sexual attractiveness and seductiveness) is also reinforced with the capital of anointing. By the capital of anointing, I refer to the religious currency accrued repeated use of religiously 'anointed' objects, such as 'anointed oil' and 'anointed water'. It is also a currency that is dependent on one's relationship to their Pentecostal religious leader and meaningful financial contributions to the church. Like erotic capital, the capital of anointing is accrued through various forms of investments on both the physical body and in one's spiritual life. This may include the purchase and use of spiritually anointed objects, such as wrist bands, water, oil among others, which are always in stock at church premises. Some of the objects are shown in the image below.

Figure 12: Anointed objects



Source: CD Facebook page, 2019

The image above shows some of the anointed objects being advertised by some of the church members. Church members are encouraged to purchase and use these objects as an investment in their personal and spiritual lives. The objects are believed to be spiritually anointed (and hence have the capital of anointing) and can be applied and used for various reasons. These include but are not limited to economic fortunes, steady relationships, curing of various ailments and a general protection from the vices of everyday life. For the respondents who participated in this study, the capital of anointing (from the use of objects and an investment in the spiritual life) is an equally contributing factor in whether they succeed or not in their sex trade. As Thobile states:

> Is it by coincidence that whenever I apply the anointing oil I got from the church, I attract someone very nice? There is something about the oil that I use. There was a time when I had stopped using the oil because I did not have the money to buy it. Things were not just going on well for me. Some people would give me false promises (Interview, Thobile, October 2018).

The respondent went on to explain how she prepares herself before meeting up with clients. She added:

> I wash my body with anointed water and then put on some anointed oil I got from the 'Man of God'. This sounds weird but I do this regularly before I meet up with my clients. In the strip club, there used to be many of us, if you have no anointing my friend you can go for the whole day without getting a client.

The narrative shared by Thobile seems to suggest that investments in one's spiritual life has direct implications in their physical or earthly life regardless of the profession. Put differently, those who can be spiritually anointed can also experience various forms of anointing in their everyday life. Interestingly, the very intimate link between the world of the sacred (spiritual anointing) and the profane (physical) is exemplified by the fact that proceeds from sex work are also used to make meaningful financial contributions in the church and the sacred anointing also allows success in the erotic field. In the church, financial resources accumulated in the erotic field are used for tithing and the purchasing of 'spiritual objects'. Solo had this to say:

> It was very difficult to make any meaningful financial contributions in the church when I was a fulltime security guard with no other alternative source of income. I was earning very little. But now, things are better, thanks to this trade (sex work) (Conversation, Solo, November 2018).

The financial contributions made by the respondents from the proceeds of sex work potentially helps the survival of newly emerging Pentecostal churches. In a highly competitive religious field, where competition for space is a lived reality, financial resources, especially ones needed to meet the rental and other utility and maintenance costs are key. In a way, the Pentecostal sex workers also play an instrumental role for the survival of their churches.

6.3.4 Sex work and self-conflict among the Pentecostals

Despite making rational decisions to join the field of sex work (with the associated benefits of investing in their spiritual lives by for instance making meaningful contributions to the church and meeting the demands of everyday life), the study also showed that the respondents experienced conflicting feelings of cognitive dissonance. By cognitive

dissonance, I refer to especially the inconsistent feelings of guilty thoughts and beliefs associated with sex work. As one respondent noted:

> As a Christian, I feel ashamed of some of the things that we have to do for money. But what can we do? There are no jobs, and everything here in Johannesburg needs money. Sometimes you have to fake affection so that you don't disappoint your clients. If God can bless me with a better paying job, I will quit. Until then, I have to do what needs to be done to survive (Interview, Thobile, October 2019).

The experiences of self-conflict shared by the respondents are not necessarily far from the experiences of other sex workers across the country and beyond. In Thailand for instance, (Sorajjakool and Benitez, 2015) noted similar experiences of conflicting feelings among sex workers who struggled to balance the scale of morality survival. For these sex workers, as has been the case elsewhere across the globe, sex work is considered an alternative to meet the material and physical demands of everyday life. What is striking about the sex workers, who participated in this study, is their identity as 'Pentecostals', particularly considering that the practice of sex work is condemned and demonised in Pentecostal tradition.

6.4 Gambling for gold and God: Pentecostal punters and everyday life

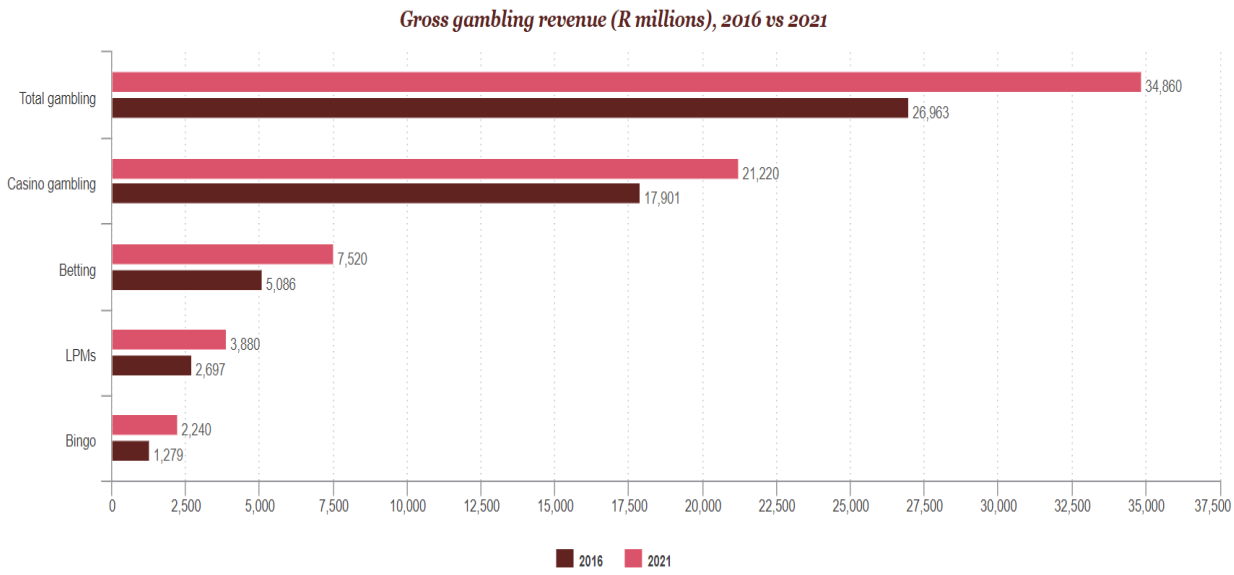
In the preceding section, I have attempted to illustrate the mutually intricate and reinforced link between the field of Pentecostal religion and the 'erotic field'. This section stretches the connection between the world of the sacred and the profane a bit further by exploring the practices of gambling among the Pentecostals as they seek immediate and long-term socio-economic concessions in the city.

6.4.1 Gambling in South Africa

Gambling, the act of wagering of money on an event that is uncertain, with the hope and intention of making profit, constitutes a very critical component of everyday life globally (David, 1962; Grunfeld, Zangeneh and Diakoloukas, 2008; Di Trani *et al.*, 2016). Unlike prostitution, gambling is legal in South Africa under the National Gambling Act of 2004 (previously National Gambling Act 33 of 1996). The act was followed by an establishment of the National Gambling Board, an organisation whose mission was to oversee the supervision and regulation of the gambling industry in the country. This involves monitoring compliance, investigating the issuing of national licences, monitoring problem gambling and monitoring competition in the gambling industry (Nzimande *et al.*, 2010).

The gambling industry has been growing both in terms of revenue and the number of gamblers (Mashiane, 2020). The graph compares the revenue collected from the different forms of gambling between 2016 and 2021.

Figure 13: Gross Gambling Revenue, South Africa, 2016 and 2021



Source: National Gambling Board 2021

As the above shows, the gambling industry has been growing over the years if one is to consider the gross gambling revenue collected over the two different years. Estimates suggest that one in every 10 in South African is a gambler (Mashiane, 2020). The popularity of gambling in the urban spaces today is reflected in the presence of gambling facilities online or physically across spatial boundaries. Below I present the spatial distribution of some of the gambling popular facilities in Johannesburg.

Figure 14: Johannesburg's gambling sites

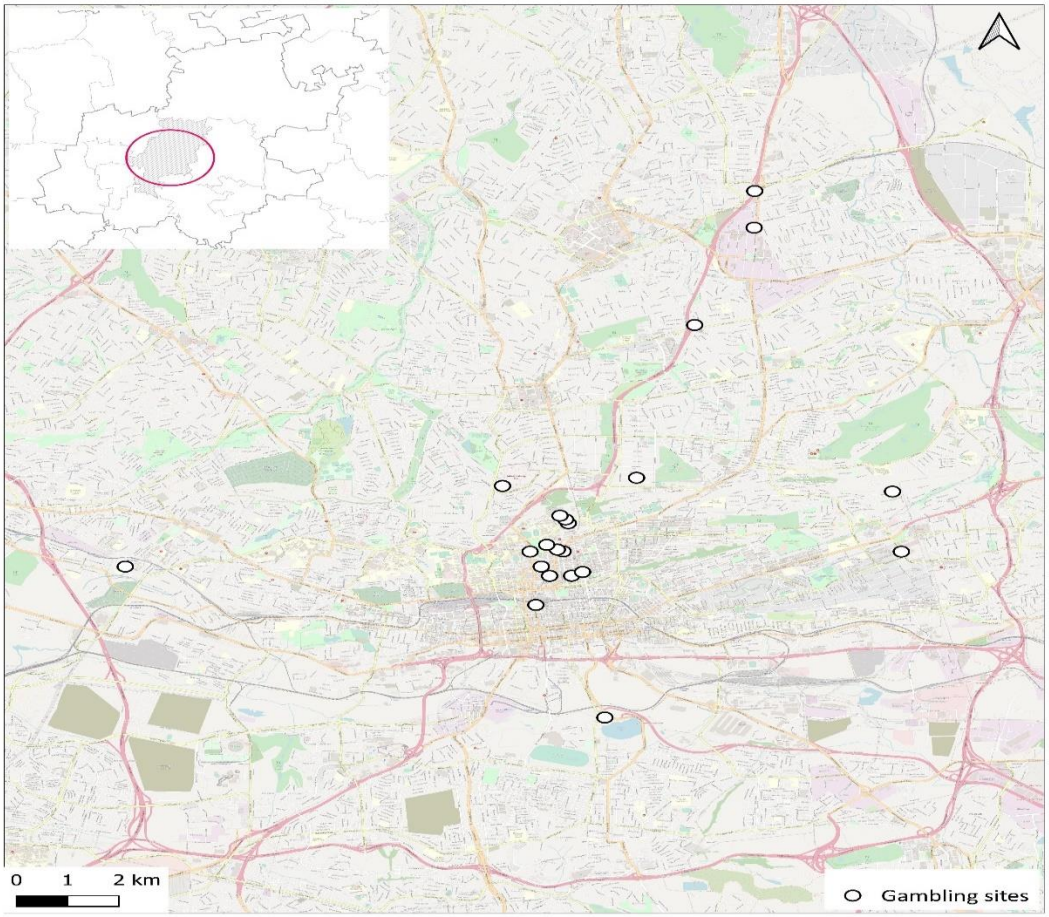


Figure 13 above shows the spatial distribution of some of the gambling facilities in Johannesburg. These facilities seem to be highly concentrated in areas around central Johannesburg and the inner city, and sparsely distributed in other areas. From the map, one can argue that there is a correlation between the concentration of gambling facilities and population distribution. Because the gambling facilities are highly concentrated around central Johannesburg and inner-city areas compared to the affluent suburbs in the northern parts of Johannesburg, one might argue that the demand for gambling facilities around central Johannesburg might suggest that it is regarded by poor people as a survival strategy or an alternative and supplementary source of income to conventional forms of employment.

Advances in technology and major investments in infrastructures for gambling, such as gambling or betting applications and betting halls among others all facilitate and promote gambling in contemporary urban spaces. In Hillbrow, it is very common to see long winding queues of people waiting to purchase gambling vouchers at various retail outlets, such as Shoprite and Cambridge Foods. Gambling shops, such as Supabets, World Sports Betting, Sports Bet are also very popular and always busy with people trying their luck in the game of

chance. From newspapers, radio, television to the Internet, gambling is explicitly and implicitly endorsed by the media in the form of sports betting, lotteries, horse racing, and charity casinos among others (Grunfeld, Zangeneh and Diakoloukas, 2008).

6.4.2 Gambling and religion

There is a huge body of literature linking religion to some human behaviours such as drug and alcohol abuse, suicide and criminal behaviour (Bainbridge, 1992; Burkett, 1993; Young, 1997; Bahr *et al.*, 1998). Comparatively, very little is known about the intricate link between religion and gambling. The available literature places an emphasis on the denunciation of gambling especially by Christian religious groups (Binde, 2007; Beyerlein and Sallaz, 2017) and in some instances, the similarities between gambling and religion. Both are assumed to have a sense of belief in a higher power (Clarke *et al.*, 2006; Beyerlein and Sallaz, 2017). More can still be done to explore the intricate and mutually reinforcing link between gambling and especially Pentecostal religion.

Gambling and Pentecostal religion have a very complex and mutually interlacing relationship. Like prostitution, gambling is both demonised and indirectly promoted and celebrated amongst the Pentecostals on various grounds. First, the condemnation and demonisation of gambling is usually supported by the doctrine on biblical inerrancy, that is, that the bible is without error or fault in all its teaching and provides authoritative guidance over spiritual worldly affairs (Grunfeld, Zangeneh and Diakoloukas, 2008). Gambling as a 'worldly' affair is associated with the worship of idols and is therefore contrary to God's omniscience, since it relies on luck or fate. In fact, the history of gambling has always been associated with turning to divine inspiration for lucky guidance by the gamblers (David, 1962). One sangoma confirmed that he was consulted by people from various backgrounds, including the Pentecostals, for luck to enable access to the city's economic fortunes, including through acts of gambling. He had this to say:

> They always come here looking for luck. I give them some *muthi* to use for luck in everything. Some of them try their luck in gambling. But they pay a token of appreciation to please the gods of the city (Conversation, Sekuru Phiri, April 2019).

From consulting Hermes, the Greek god of gambling, to Eshu, the trickster god among the Yoruba people in Nigeria, games of chance (gambling) have always been associated with divine tricksters (David, 1962; Binde, 2007). The practice of gambling is therefore condemned in Pentecostal tradition on the assumption that it is associated with the

worshiping of 'mini-gods'. Secondly, gambling is believed to violate the spirit of work ethic that is widely encouraged in Pentecostal churches due to its overreliance on perceived assumptions of 'getting rich quickly', assumptions that are believed to be part of gambling's lure (Hoffmann, 2000; Beyerlein and Sallaz, 2017). Thirdly, gambling is assumed to be addictive, and yet Christians are always supposed to be temperate and exercise self-control. Lastly, gambling is assumed to propagate greed for money and selfishness. Scriptural passages that reject greed, avarice, and covetousness are often used to justify the prohibition of gambling among the Pentecostals.

Despite being a highly a condemned practice among the Pentecostals, it should be noted that gambling, like prostitution is also indirectly promoted and celebrated by the conservative Christians (Pentecostals), through for instance, an emphasis on the gospel of prosperity. Pentecostal churches, such as the ones that were the focus of this study and the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) among others places an emphasis that success in every aspect of one's life is God's will and is a sign of divine favour (Van Wyk, 2015; Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016). The success comes through investments in both the spiritual life and in monetary terms, through the logic of 'sowing' and 'reaping', which are common features amongst the Pentecostals. In the context where economic opportunities are diminishing (for instance, the economic impacts of COVID-19 have been felt by many), an emphasis on 'sowing seeds' through such practices like tithing and offerings, places strain on members who also seek to accumulate any species of capital within the Pentecostal religious field, including recognition and status. Rom explained:

> You cannot afford to go to the church without a little something (money). But you know things are tough, jobs are scarce, so we gamble. There are no guarantees though that we win always. Sometimes we doom, sometimes we boom. Whenever I boom, I make sure that I thank God by making my contributions to the church (Conversation, Rom, November 2019).

Interestingly, winning bets are also interpreted and regarded as a sign of financial breakthrough and that prayers were heard. For some Pentecostal punters, it is an indication that the 'god' of the 'prophet' or 'papa' is very effective, reliable and a miracle worker who can deliver his people from the shackles of financial bondage. Just like in any other aspect of everyday life, the performance of religious rituals, such as praying for a bet to be successful and the use of anointed objects like washing the body with 'anointed water' to get rid of bad

luck before visiting the gambling hall are very popular ritual practices among the Pentecostal gamblers. Said one respondent:

> Before I bet, I pray. I pray that my predictions come out and I win. Sometimes I boom, sometimes I doom, but I know one day is one day. I will strike gold (Conversation, Rom, November 2019).

The narrative shared above points to a very intricate link between Pentecostal ritual practices and gambling. Whilst the impact of religious rituals and the use of 'spiritual objects' on gambling may be contested, Rom's narrative confirms the interrelation between the field of gambling and Pentecostal religion. Although the act of gambling is demonised, the managing of gamblers is ironically celebrated and often regarded as God's blessings. In 2018, Aliko, a member of the CM church in his mid-30s, was promoted to a managerial position at Supabets in Hillbrow. Prior to his promotion, Aliko had no meaningful position in the church, other than as an ordinary member. Interestingly, his elevation to a new position at work also resulted in his elevation in church. Just a week after his promotion at work, the church leader had this to say:

> Praise the Lord of this church. Aliko here is now the branch manager of one of the biggest companies here in South Africa, Supabets. This is a sign of anointing. Because he was promoted at work, I am also promoting him here in church. From now onwards, he is a member of the ushering team (Church Service, March 2018).

The elevation of Aliko to a more recognised position in the church, following his promotion at Supabets, although seen as a sign of divine favour, is somewhat controversial, as Aliko was a recent member of the CM church. Participants I had spoken to in the church had once told me about the difficulties of 'upward mobility' as a new member. Some had been in the church for almost five years, but they had no meaningful position in the church other than being ordinary church members or 'workers', a category that encompassed every adult member in the church for financial contributions.

My thinking is that elevating Aliko to a senior position in church was a strategy of keeping a hold of him, by showering him with some church responsibilities. In return, Aliko will surely make financial contributions to the church. The strategy of 'promoting' those considered to be financially stable in Pentecostal churches is understandable, considering that financial resources are key to surviving a competitive religious field.

Although demonising gambling and sex work, the pastors seem to be understanding and sympathetic towards some church members involved in these trades through their emphasis on the gospel of repentance. Preaching about repentance in one of his church services, Pastor Mbam acknowledged that there were some 'lost sheep' in the church who, despite having been 'baptised' still need to repent. He said:

> Some of you are living double lives. I know that. You have to repent. I know all the places that some of you go. You have to change your ways of living and re-submit and give your lives to Jesus (Faith Clinic Church Session, August 2019).

The message of repentance in the studied churches is very often supported by a very popular bible scripture: The most common scripture shared in both churches is Acts 3:19, which reads: *Just repent while you still have time. Confess your sins. God is willing to wash it all away.* In a field where membership is a key capital, it is understandable why there is an emphasis on repentance, rather than an approach that is direct, radical, and personal. Even when actors are known to transit and transect through the field of the profane, there is a general assumption that they are demonically possessed and therefore need deliverance.

6.5 Of everyday insecurities and Pentecostal spiritual rehabilitation

Despite offering an arguably better alternative to conventional forms of employment, the two fields of sex work and gambling are equally marred with high levels of insecurities and risks. The risks associated with these two fields have the potential to instil fear or cause violence in all its multifaceted forms (physical, social, spiritual, psychological) to both the sex worker or the gambler (Di Trani *et al.*, 2016; Latvala, Lintonen and Konu, 2019). To "lose the last cent in one's pocket," (Conversation, Givy, July 2019), for instance has the potential to instil lasting psychosocial implications in the everyday life of a Pentecostal gambler. Sex work and gambling effects are believed to affect different aspects of one's life, including psychological problems and distress, among others. Considering the effects that these fields might have on the actor, one might argue that they have the potential to cause health and spiritual related problems to the actor. Despite these concerns, religion still plays a significant role in the lives of sex workers and gamblers. One respondent noted:

> I once lost a bet that could have changed my life. I became so stressed because I had used all the money that I had borrowed from a friend. Then I remembered my prophet in one of his services saying that in the fullness of time, everything will be ok. God has bigger plans for his children no matter the situation you find yourself in. From that

> moment, I became better. I could have suffered some very serious depression (Conversation, Givy, July 2019).

From the study, it emerged that the church is often used as spiritual rehabilitation for helping to deal with the insecurities associated with sex work and gambling. The upliftment of one's spiritual life through messages of hope, the demon exorcism exercises, an emphasis on a relationship with God, and the various performances of rituals are all instrumental as part of the healing process from the insecurities of everyday life, including those related to sex work and gambling.

6.6 Sex work, Gambling, and the Pentecostals: a conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the mutually interlacing and intricately intertwined relationship between the sacred and the profane world. Centred on individual agency, the chapter has shown how the Pentecostal actors' transit and transect through the worlds of the profane and sacred as they pursue stability in a complex, insecure, and uncertain urban setting. The chapter has argued that much of the demands associated with everyday life are materialistic in orientation and yet the Pentecostal churches struggle to meet these material needs of their congregants. Turning to prostitution and gambling are rationally calculated and at times, desperate moves adopted by the Pentecostals to meet their everyday needs because grace alone is not enough.

Despite being controversially condemned in Pentecostal tradition, the two fields of sex work and gambling equally plays an instrumental role in sustaining the survival of newly emerging Pentecostal churches through the financial contributions made by the actors involved. The chapter has also illustrated that sex work and gambling are indirectly promoted in Pentecostal churches, through for instance, an emphasis on the theology of prosperity and the demonisation of poverty. In the last section, I have shown how Pentecostal religion and its associated ritual practices remain key resources mobilised by the actors to come to terms with the insecurities and challenges associated with sex work and gambling. This has been shown by a focus on the treatment of the Pentecostal church as a spiritual rehabilitation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HILLBROW'S RELIGIOUS FIELD: A RELATIONAL ANALYSIS

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters, I have offered an alternative reading of 'the urban' through the lens of its other identity as a site of religious innovation, production, reproduction, and circulation. I presented the relevance of Pentecostal religion in everyday life characterised by heightened levels of precarity, insecurity and uncertainty. Building on from the previous chapters, this chapter acknowledges Hillbrow's religious diversity and assesses the dynamics of its religious field. Precisely, the chapter illustrates how the actors in Hillbrow's religious field relates with and to one another. I present the religious field in this regard as a site characterised by conflicting relations between the religious leaders and complex exchange relations between the religious leaders and the ordinary congregants (Stolz, 2006; Rey, 2011; Echtler and Ukah, 2015). By examining these conflicting and complex relations, I intend to show how they are driven by the desire by the religious actors to produce, control and accumulate the legitimate goods of salvation and the control of the laity (Bourdieu 1991; Echtler and Ukah, 2015).

Overall, I analyse the conflicting and complex relations in the religious field from two different scales, the micro and the meso level. Micro level relations are those which operate specifically within the Pentecostal religious field, either inside the church (between the church leaders and the congregants) or between the Pentecostal churches. Meso-level contestations are presented as those that happen between religious fields. I use the example of Pentecostal religion and African Traditional Religion (ATR) as reference points to explore these relations. As will be shown in this chapter, the field of ATR offers an insightful perspective on the contestations in the religious field due to its demonisation by the Pentecostals (Echtler and Ukah, 2015; Van De Kamp, 2017).

This chapter is therefore divided into three major sections. The first section highlights the micro-level relations and contestations. Among others, I show how the Pentecostal churches relate to each other in the Pentecostal field, and the relations between the religious elites and the laity. The second part highlights the relations between ATR and Pentecostal religion. I show how these relations are driven by the desire to monopolise and control the different capitals present in the religious field. The last part concludes my statements.

7.2 Micro-level contestations: Dramaturgy and the Pentecostals

I commence my analysis of the micro-level contestations within the Pentecostal field in Hillbrow by engaging with the work of Sociologist Irvin Goffman (1922–1982). Using the metaphors of the theatrical performance in his dramaturgy model of social interaction, Goffman (1959) argues that much of the social interactions, as is the case in theatrical performances, are lived on two distinct levels, the front stage and backstage. Front stage describes the official social encounters where people conduct formal roles and performances. It depicts an area of public engagements whereby conduct is open for inspection and the visibility created is almost always geared towards desirable outcomes (Ukah 2003). Goffman (1959) used the idea of 'impression management' to illustrate how people may effectively adopt different kinds of behaviours or actions for a desirable outcome in a social setting. On the contrary, the backstage represents the 'behind-the-scenes' where the actor abandons all pretence associated with front-stage performance and relaxes from being in character (Goffman, 1956: 68–9). It is backstage, where quiet manoeuvres, silent encroachments, hidden ambitions and sloppy conducts are revealed (De Certeau and Rendall, 1984; Scott, 1990; Bayat, 2000). Often, it is backstage where public performances in the front stage are rehearsed and choreographed with the ultimate goal of not bringing offence to others (Goffman, 1959; Thompson, 1995). Goffman's dramaturgical thesis is a very important theoretical tool for understanding how Pentecostal churches fare among themselves and for interpreting micro-level relationships inside the church space.

7.2.1 Church to church relations

In South Africa, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) is the main official body and inter-denominational organisation under which churches fall. However, the SACC only has approximately 36 member churches, the majority of which are mainstream churches. The studied Pentecostal churches are not affiliated to this national organisation. However, both churches are affiliates of the Johannesburg International Pentecostal Fellowship (JIPF), a non-denominational fellowship of Pentecostals whose main objective is to unite the Christian family and bring as many lost souls as possible to Christ (Interview, Thando, October 2019). In principle, the JIPF is supposed to be the face of Pentecostal religion in Hillbrow, fostering unity and cooperation amongst different groups as guided by the principles and values of Christianity. Subscribing to such an organisation, is I would argue, a public sign of possibly attempting to foster relations between different Pentecostal actors.

Having specific organisations or institutions where various denominations are purportedly assumed to be 'united' under one name gives the impression that faith-based organisations share common values and visions in particular locations where they are established.

Apart from 'affiliating' to a common organisation, I observed that in the studied churches, invitations to some church events are always extended through various channels to other interested parties regardless of whether they belong to another church either as leaders or ordinary members. For instance, invitations are extended to all interested parties via the churches' social media platforms to join either of the churches' all-night services that are conducted every last Friday of the month, the Night of Champions at the Christ's Disciples (CD), and the Solution Night at the Christian Mission (CM). The invitation of other church leaders and any other interested parties reinforce the image of these churches as accommodating, open, and liberal. Commenting on their relationship with other Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow, Deacon Uche from the CM had this to say:

> I think our goals are all the same. To change the lives of this community. To turn Hillbrow into a better community. This community needs God. I am sure that is the mission of many churches here. We appreciate everyone who wants to change this community. We have good relations with pastors from other churches. We invite them at our church, they invite us at their churches too. Ours is a cordial relationship (Interview, Deacon Uche, November 2018).

In the same vein, Evangelist Jane from the CM church once dismissed the idea that the churches do not get along because they compete for members and are perceived by the public as "money making schemes," (Interview, Jabu, March 2019). She had this to say during one of the Sunday church services in October 2019:

> I hear they say churches are after money. We (churches) are competing for members and what what … We have had guest preachers from other denominations in this church. Let me tell you this, our enemy is the devil. We are competing with the devil, against the evil forces of this community, not amongst ourselves as Christians (Church service, October 2018).

If the above narratives are to be believed, they confirm Louw and Koegelenberg's (2003) suggestions that faith-based organisations share common values and their relations are characterised by mutual respect (Winkler, 2008), a perspective I challenge in this study. Using Goffman's front-stage performance, I argue that the details shared in the two cases

above point to the sanitisation of the Pentecostal religious field. By this, I refer to the treatment of the Pentecostal religious field as harmonious and devoid of any form of competition and contestations. My observations revealed otherwise. Contrary to the claims or suggestions that the churches are accommodative and share one thing in common, to change lives in Hillbrow, I argue that these churches are in fact closed communities and their relationship with other churches is tense and often characterised by conflict, and as the religious actors thrive for recognition and legitimacy in Hillbrow's competitive religious field. Contrary to claims that church leaders from other denominations had either been invited or were free to attend some of the services in either of the two churches, my observations, and conversations with some church members revealed that the much-publicised and celebrated invited guests were not necessarily church leaders from the local churches in Hillbrow or the surrounding areas. Rather, they were from elsewhere across the borders of South Africa. In October 2019 for instance, the CD church ran a programme entitled Open Door Conference, where two guest preachers from other Pentecostal churches were invited, a white couple from the USA and another pastor from Nigeria. The church catered for all their travelling and living expenses during their stay in South Africa. The invited guest preachers had the opportunity to preach in the two churches.

Apart from these international guest preachers who had the opportunity to preach and given the recognition befitting their status as pastors, locally based preachers were not accorded the same privileges. Narrating his experiences in one of the Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow, one street evangelist explained how he felt belittled when he was only introduced to the church as an ordinary visitor without an acknowledgment of his status as a 'Man of God'. He said:

> One pastor once saw me here in the street and said he wanted me to visit his church one day. On his invitation, I went there for a Champions Night service and was ready to share the word of God with everyone. I was just introduced to the church as a visitor and not as a pastor. I expected him to recognise me as a Man of God, and possibly give me an opportunity to share the word with his people. I was very frustrated and never went there again. As Men of God, we must recognise and appreciate each other. How can you just introduce me to the church like I am just an ordinary person? (Street Evangelist, August 2019).

Speaking on condition of anonymity, another church leader of a recently established church explained how Hillbrow's religious field is a closed entity where existing established churches rarely give opportunities to other upcoming prophets. He had this to say:

> I do not understand why they do not like competitors. It is easy for them to recruit you as an ordinary member, but they cannot do that if you tell them that you are also a pastor who needs mentorship and a platform to grow. They have spiritual fathers who mentored them, but they cannot do the same here. In new congregants, they see membership, in new leaders, they see competition (Conversation, Jay, September 2019).

To understand the conflictual relations of the different actors in Hillbrow's Pentecostal religious field, an appreciation of the Pentecostal field (and broadly the religious field) as religious marketplace is key. In its broadest sense, a market is an arena where commercial dealings are undertaken. It is a site where people meet to purchase and sell goods and services. Using the same logic, a religious marketplace is therefore a site where, religious firms produce and sell religious goods, in order to satisfy the religious needs of the consumers (Iannaccone, 1991, 1992; Stark and Iannaccone, 1994). In this regard, competition and conflict in the religious field is unavoidable as actors struggle for a niche in the religious field.

In some instances, nationality plays an instrumental role and is used as an effective tool to discredit other actors. Hillbrow's religious field and precisely Pentecostal field is diverse. In fact, many of the identified Pentecostal churches are run by immigrants from West Africa, and very few from South Africa and the other surrounding countries in the SADC region. Distinguishing his church with others run by immigrants, Pastor W of the International Church once questioned some of the practices that are conducted by his competitors from West Africa whom he accused of using "juju"[46] (or magical power) to lure and control congregants. He said:

> My church is a bible centred church. We do not use those other objects that are used in other churches like the anointed objects. For us, the bible is enough. It is not for me to judge but I do not like how those Nigerian pastors operate. Some of them are just magicians who hide behind the church. They use *juju* to remain popular and relevant. Some of the congregants in this church used to go there (Conversation, Pastor W, October 2018).

[46] Refers to supernatural powers often attributed to a charm or fetish.

The above sentiments by one of the religious actors in the Pentecostal field suggests that beyond the front-stage performances of religious tolerance, actors in the Pentecostal field engage in offstage or backstage practices, such as name calling and other heckling in an effort to discredit other actors and gain religious monopoly. I argue that the desire to produce, control and accumulate the legitimate goods of salvation and the control of the laity (Bourdieu, 1991) is the major source of contestation in the religious field.

7.2.1.1 They are a ticking time bomb

Interestingly, the tension within the Pentecostal religious field is not only limited to this field, but has the potential to spill over to the wider society. Commenting on the backstage relationship among Pentecostal churches, one leader of the Community Policing Forum (CPF) in Hillbrow expressed that the existing Pentecostal churches in the inner city are "a ticking time bomb," (CPF Chairperson, November 2018). By this, he referred to the potentialities of conflict and violence that is likely to be driven by Pentecostal churches, which has the potential to affect other residents in different ways. The participant expressed his worries that society at large is paying very little attention to the competition and conflict that exists between churches. In December 2016, the respondent noted that violence erupted between two Pentecostal groups in Yeoville, over the occupation and control of a building. Petrol bombs were thrown between rival groups on the pavement during the whole fracas, threatening the lives of others. The CPF Chairperson went on to liken the Pentecostal religious field to the taxi industry, where taxi wars are proving to be of huge concern (see Sekhonyane and Dugard, 2004; Molosankwe, 2019). Such comparisons with one of the most violent and conflict-ridden fields paint a picture of the nature of tension and contestations in the Pentecostal religious field. While taxi violence is a very common feature of the taxi industry, the field of Pentecostal religion is also witnessing an emerging form of violence largely driven by the demand for power and control.

Importantly, the contestations in the Pentecostal religious field are not only taking place between churches, but also inside the churches. In July 2020, the country (South Africa) woke up to the shocking news that at least five people were killed, and several others were injured in a hostage situation by a splinter group at the International Pentecost Holiness Church (IPHC) in Zuurbekom in the West Rand (SABC News, 11 July 2020). It is reported that ever since the death of the church leader in 2016, the church has been experiencing conflict over its leadership (Ibid). Dozens of weapons were seized at the church including rifles. Below are some of the weapons that were recovered at the scene.

Figure 15: Recovered weapons at the IPHC



Source: SABC News, 11 July 2020

The above cases are just a glimpse of the conflict and contestations that are prevalent in the Pentecostal religious field. Despite the claims of religious tolerance, it is always the objective of each church to control the neighbourhood's social space (membership), physical space and the spiritual space. Said Deacon Uche:

> I hope that people will realise that this church (CM) is the only church that can save Hillbrow and bring change in this community. Our mission is to expand and God willing, make this church the face of Pentecostalism in Hillbrow, and beyond (Deacon Uche, November 2018).

In the Pentecostal religious field, actors in their back regions devise different practices to outcompete their rivals and make claims to space as they struggle for membership, legitimacy, and recognition. The practices, which take the form of strategies and tactics (De Certeau and Rendall, 1984; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bayat, 2000) also need to be understood as a major source of conflict not only within the religious field, but across fields.[47] In this regard, the practices adopted by the Pentecostal religious actors to survive

[47] In Chapter 8, I illustrate how some of the practices by the Pentecostals breed conflict and contestations with other actors in the neighbourhood.

competition in the religious field needs to be understood beyond the parameters of the religious field.

7.2.2 Surviving the Pentecostal religious field: Strategies and tactics

I have presented in the previous section, the Pentecostal religious field as a site where agents vie for different stakes, particularly power, recognition and legitimacy (Schultheis, 2008; McKinnon, Trzebiatowska and Brittain, 2011; Echtler and Ukah, 2015). In this section, I present the strategies employed by the churches to access, accumulate, and control the various capitals (social, economic, political, and spiritual) needed to survive in the religious field. By illustrating these practices, I also dismiss some of the front stage region performances, which tend to portray the Pentecostal field as harmonious, accommodative, and arguably, conflict free.

I pay attention to the development and utilisation of infrastructures of encapsulation, use of symbolic violence and Pentecostal networks. The practices identified here are not exhaustive. Some tactics, such as alignments with the state and political parties, violent appropriation of the neighbourhood's soundscape, proximity to membership will be highlighted in other sections where the relations between the Pentecostal field and other social fields will be explored. Of note, it is some of these religio-spatial practices that are at the centre of contestations within, between and across fields.

7.2.2.1 Infrastructures of encapsulation

Encapsulation strategies, writes Rambo (1993: 104–8), refers to the various ways that churches "create and maintain worlds of their own". The 'creation' and 'maintenance' of an alternative world amongst the Pentecostals is very common as churches continuously make attempts to isolate their members from the 'outside and other worlds' for fear that members may access other alternative religious doctrines and practices, which may lead to religious switching (loyalty) and to protect them from outside influences that would likely corrupt their spirituality. To this effect, Pentecostal churches put in various mechanisms to limit the 'outside worlds' interference and influence.[48] I argue that the encapsulation strategies employed within the Pentecostal religious field are attempts to inculcate a particular

[48] Despite these efforts to confine the congregates to a particular Pentecostal world, the study showed a very strong connection between the Pentecostal world and other worlds as the congregates calculatedly transit and transect between worlds. In Chapter 6, I have highlighted how members juggle between the Pentecostal religious field and the fields of sex work and gambling.

Pentecostal religious habitus in the lives of the congregants. For Rambo (1993), these encapsulation strategies adopted by many churches operate at two different levels, the physical and the ideological.

7.2.2.1.1 Physical encapsulation: Mountain

Physical encapsulation involves "removing of people to distant locations or remote areas where communication can be controlled," such that relevant information deemed suitable is only allowed to reach the congregants at a particular time (Rambo, 1993: 106). The establishment, identification, or creation of prayer camps, where people gather for specific periods of time for religious purposes away from their homes exemplifies a form of physical encapsulation.[49] Prayer camps are a very common feature and fashionable form of modern Pentecostal religion (Ukah, 2003; Rambo, 1993). Unlike well-resourced Pentecostal churches, such as the Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) and the Deeper Life Bible Church in Nigeria, arguably two of the biggest Pentecostal churches globally (Ukah, 2016; Katsaura, 2019), newly emerging churches alternatively identify public and accessible physical landscapes, such as specific mountains, some distance away from the city as their temporary camping sites for religious purposes. One such popular mountain used as a religious pilgrimage is Mount Zion.

Located in the northern part of Gauteng, in Beula Park, Mount Zion is a very popular physical site frequently visited by Christians from different denominations in Gauteng and beyond. Because of its popularity with Christians there is also an economy of hospitality that has been established around the area to cater for the demands of the visitors. For instance, I observed that there are facilities for temporary accommodation, which according to one of the patrons of the area, are always fully booked. These facilities are rented out to visitors, some of whom stay for a week or so. The establishment of these facilities within a touching distance to the 'mountain' is convenient. Members of the studied Pentecostal churches regularly visit this mountain, which is synonymous to a prayer camp. According to one of the participants, Mount Zion is a sacred site where believers "connect with God away from the public," (Conversation, Thami, March 2020).

[49] Beyond visiting these sites which in most instances is temporal, much of the encapsulation happens in the church, at an ideological level.

Figure 16: Mount Zion



Photo by researcher, March 2020

My observations and conversations revealed that Mount Zion is a perfect site on which believers can concentrate and focus, connecting with God owing to its isolation from the city centre where interruptions or disturbances may be common. When I visited this sacred site, I observed people engaging in various religious practices, silent and violent prayers, reading bibles, singing, and meditating. Commenting on this sacred site, one respondent had this to say:

> It's peaceful here, my friend. No noise, no criminals, no troubles, no congestion. We are not allowed to switch on our phones, we do not connect with anyone when we are here'. We dedicate our time to God. It will be a special time to connect with God. No noise, no dust, nothing (Conversation, Thami, March 2020).

The relationship between mountains and Christians is well documented in the bible, from the Old Testament to the New Testament. According to the Bible 'key' events took place on the mountains such as Jesus's ascendancy to heaven at Mount Olives (Luke, 22:39–49; Acts, 1:9–12) and God's covenant with Israel when Moses received the 10 commandments (Mount Sinai) (Exodus 19–20). Today, mountains continue to carry a symbolic meaning in the lives of many Christians. Considering their history, it is understandable why mountains remain relevant in Christian life today and are used as appropriate sacred sites for connecting with the divine. Importantly, the significance of conducting various religious practices on

mountains is stressed and reinforced by church leaders and pastoral figures who always advise the congregants to visit the mountains regularly to connect with God (Conversation, Thami, March 2020). The mountain, just like places like Mecca in Saudi Arabia, and the ZCC's Moria in Limpopo, is believed to be infused with religious meanings, feelings, and emotions.

In the studied churches, members take turns to visit Mount Zion, either as individuals or as groups. The Men of Glory group in the Christ's Disciples church for instance is mandated to visit the mountain at least twice every month. However, I argue that the insistence by the religious leaders that congregants visit the mountain regularly especially in the presence of one church leader has less to do with connecting with the divine but is rather a strategy of ensuring that members have very limited time to interact with the 'other worlds' where they might be negatively influenced. At these sites, the process of indoctrination comes into full force.

To suggest that areas beyond the vicinity of the public are perfect sites for connecting with the divine is to underestimate the agency of the congregants, particularly the ability to take charge of their own time and in their convenient places. For instance, many participants expressed that they conduct prayers in their homes during the early hours of the morning because the environment will be conducive to connect with the divine, because of a lack of noise or any other disturbances. It is also during these times that the "devil and his agents are at work, and they have to be dealt with there and there," (Conversation, Thami, March 2020). If the mountain offers a suitable site for connecting with the divine (because it is free, silent and free from chaos), how then does one explain practices that are conducted in intimate spaces, at people's convenient times, when there is less chaos and noise in the city? I would argue that the mountain, just like the church, is used as a space of encapsulation.

7.2.2.1.2 Church as a site of encapsulation

While the visiting of physical sites, such as mountains, is a relatively effective strategy of physical encapsulation (Rambo, 1993), this practice needs to be understood as relatively temporal, at least in the context of the studied churches. Mount Zion is visited at least once or twice a month by members of the studied churches. In this regard, it is important to consider the physical and virtual space of the church as other sites utilised as sites of physical encapsulation. I use the example of church programmes to illustrate this point.

The studied churches have programmes that runs every day throughout the week. In the CD church for instance, Monday is a day of fasting and prayer. Congregants meet at the church at

the end of the day to break their fast, a programme overseen by the church pastor. Every Tuesdays are for consultations with the pastors. A service starts at 18h00 and runs until 22h00, which is also conducted after consultation. On Wednesdays, the church conducts deliverance sessions. On Thursdays, different categories or groups in the church meet, from the media team, Men of Glory, Women of Power, Youth, and Ushers, among others. Literally, every person is supposed to be in the church on Thursday because by default, they fall in any of the church's groups. On Fridays, there are normal sessions. If it is the last Friday of the month, the church holds its Night of Champions service, which is conducted the whole night. Saturdays are for evangelism. Different groups embark on street evangelism, distributing flyers, and at times visiting hospitals. On Sundays, the church conducts its main service, which starts at 09h00 and ends any time after 14h00.

As the above examples have shown, the churches have programmes that run throughout the week. Congregants are advised and expected to attend the majority, if not all of these sessions. In most instances, the programmes are designed in such a way that daily routines revolve around work (economic activities), church and home. Even under circumstances where congregants may struggle to access the church physically, they are encouraged to follow church proceedings virtually, through the church's social media platforms. By so doing, congregants have limited access to and influence from the outside world. The church thus becomes a field where a unique brand of religious ideas are brewed, packed and distributed through different means.

7.2.2.1.3 Ideological encapsulation

In addition to the use of physical landscapes/structures, encapsulation in Pentecostal churches also operate at an ideological level and is used as an effective strategy to control the laity. By ideological encapsulation, I refer to the development of particular and unique worldviews and doctrinal orientations for church members to resist foreign pressure from other competitive groups. It involves the infusion of a particular religious habitus in members, a habitus that aligns with the interests of the church. As Bourdieu argues, a habitus largely develops from socialisation. For one to belong to a group (a Pentecostal church in this context), a habitus that is compatible with that of a group that one intends to belong to is necessary (Bourdieu, 1990, 2000, 2010). This does not, however, suggest that the habitus is fixed and inflexible (Mantsinen, 2018). In the previous chapter, I showed how congregants exercise their agency by mobilising different habituses in different contexts, as Pentecostals on one hand and as sex workers and gamblers on the other. What I show in this section is

how through ideological encapsulation, a particular Pentecostal habitus is inculcated on congregants. This habitus is reinforced through the religious leaders and most importantly, through two educational institutions in the studied churches, namely, the Faith Clinic (CM) and the New Believers Foundational Class (CD)

7.2.2.1.3.1 Faith Clinic

A clinic, in its simplest terms, entails a facility or establishment where patients are given medical treatment especially at the advice of a specialist. Using the same logic, a faith clinic in religious terms entails a facility or institution designed to address the faith-related concerns of the believers. In the CM church, the Faith Clinic service, which is presided over by the church pastor, runs every Tuesday from 10h00 to 13h00. During the church announcements every Sunday, congregants are advised to attend all weekly church programmes, especially the Faith Clinic service for faith healing. Because the church focuses more on repentance than on strict holiness, the faith clinic becomes vitally important, particularly for members who may be struggling with overcoming old habits, such as smoking, drinking, gambling, and prostituting. One participant noted:

> They say old habits die hard my friend, but my life changed ever since I started coming to this church. I am not the same person that I used to be back then. People at my flat used to know me as a womaniser and careless drunkard and smoker. I no longer do those things, thanks to this church. Sometimes my flesh betrays me though. It keeps asking me to go back to my old habits. Whenever this starts to happen, I know it's time to revive my faith, so I attend the Faith Clinic sessions. They have been very helpful in helping me change into a new being (Conversation, Taku, November 2018).

What makes the Faith Clinic sessions more appealing to the congregants is an emphasis on personal repentance and strengthening one's relationship with God. Knowing the personal histories of some of his congregants, Evangelist Mbam also treads very carefully when presiding over the sessions, by always using his personal history as an example. In many of his sessions, he would always remind his congregants about how his life changed from being a drug dealer, womaniser, and drunkard. Many of the congregants would relate to his old lifestyle. In one of the sessions that I attended in 2018, he jokingly offered to buy one congregant a pack of cigarettes and stressed that the member would quit smoking someday, when the time was right. The evangelist would also take an opportunity during the Faith Clinic sessions to encourage members to invest in their faith by being consistent tithers and

making financial contributions to the church. Unlike during Sunday Services, programmes such as Faith Clinic give the pastor an opportunity to know each individual at a personal level, since the sessions are not always fully packed.

7.2.2.1.3.2New Believers Foundational Course (NBFC)

The NBFC is a mandatory introductory course all newcomers are advised to take at the CD church. The programme has six courses that are completable in two weeks at the minimum. The completion of these six modules is the first prerequisite towards being 'formally' accepted as a church member and precisely as a 'new being' in Christian life. After completion, members are taken for baptism and eventually drafted into any of the different groups in the church, media, ushers, workers, youth groups, men, and women groups, among others. When I requested to be granted access and use the CD church as my case study, it was mandatory that I had to first complete the NBFC to which I complied[50]. The idea, I was informed, was to introduce me to the 'general culture' of the church, and to ensure that I adhered to the general rules and regulations that govern the operations of this church. The person who mentored me noted:

> We understand that you may be here for research purposes, but you have to go through this short course. It gives you a background of the church and what is expected in Christian life. Here, we teach you the basics of life (Field notes, June 2018).

In one of the classes, entitled *What Just Happened to Me* (the transformation into a new being), members are encouraged as new believers to resist the pressure of the outside world. This involves cutting ties with old friends, who are regarded as 'people of the world' and start forging and establishing new relations with likeminded people in the church. Brother Mike, one of the senior church members who juggled both as the head of the security department, and also one of the few teachers of the course noted that:

> You cannot put on a new suit and swim in the mud. When you are a new being, a lot of things have to change (Conversation, Brother Mike, June 2018).

An emphasis on church attendance, active participation in church-related activities, financial contributions to the church, a break away from traditional religious practices among others are some of the things that are expected of a 'new believer' and are stressed during a series of these classes. As Rambo (1993: 108) has observed elsewhere, such classes are meant to

[50] See Chapter 4.3.1 on how this formed part of my waiting experiences.

indoctrinate and ritualise the members into a new set of relationships and roles that are expected of them. As members go out 'into the world', they are expected to market the church, the church doctrines, beliefs, and practices. I found the NBFC to be an effective instrument of inculcating a particular church culture on every member of the church to the effect that a certain degree of order is maintained in the church. It (NBFC) is a mechanism where the body and mind are conditioned and disciplined to align with church goals. This form of 'discipline', is also common in institutions such as schools, prisons, hospitals and military barracks (Foucault, 1977). When group members share relatively similar objectives, beliefs and practices, a certain degree of order and control can be maintained in the church. The NBFC plays an instrumental role in ensuring that a relatively common culture persist in the church.

7.2.3 Symbolic violence, domination and resistance

In the preceding section, I highlighted how encapsulation operates (physically and ideologically) with the ultimate goal of imbuing the laity with a particular habitus and a set of internalised practices that aligns with the church. The ability by the religious elites to successfully imbue the laity with a particular habitus is dependent on how these practices are presented by the religious elites as lacking any political and material interests (Echtler and Ukah, 2015; Medvetz and Sallaz, 2018). As a result, such practices are recognised by the laity as legitimate. It should, however, be noted that such recognition of the church practices and its leaders as legitimate is out of misrecognition.

In this section, I highlight the contesting power relations between the religious elites and the laity through the specific lenses of symbolic violence. In Chapter 4, I presented symbolic violence as violence, which is subtle, gentle, impeccable, and invisible even to the victims (Bourdieu, 2001:2). Because of its subtlety, gentleness, and invisibility, existing hierarchies and hegemonic systems are often accepted as legitimate to the effect that dominant principles are ingrained in mentalities and bodies (Tuğal, 2021: 154). Following Foucault (1982: 2012), such dynamics in the Pentecostal field allow the religious elites to arguably enjoy monopoly over the governance of the souls of those who fall under their pastoral gaze. I, however, argue that the existing hegemonic systems and existing hierarchies in the Pentecostal field are "not characterised by an unquestionable and unquestioned domination," (Tuğal, 2021: 155) by the laity. Congregants do not blindly embrace and conform to the church culture and its hegemonic systems. The congregants calculatedly engage in backstage practices to challenge the power of religious experts.

In this case, I present the church as a battleground of coalescing and conflicting interests between the religious experts and the laity. On the one hand, while the experts make attempts to control the congregants by inculcating in them a particular religious habitus, the congregants on the other hand engage in tactical and non-confrontational forms of resistance. By engaging in subtle forms of resistance, congregants are aware of the potential benefits associated with falling under one's pastoral coverage, a relationship they dare not compromise. They are aware of the spiritual and potentially material rewards or capitals that are linked to group membership (church), which are instrumental in surviving both the spiritual and the material world.

To illustrate how symbolic violence manifests and is resisted at different scales, I focus on four key issues that were common in the studied churches, namely: the demonisation of Pentecostal bodies, surveillance, and a 'cursing' theology. Combined, these have different implications on the body. As I show how symbolic violence manifests at different levels and scales, I also pay attention to the subtle and non-confrontational forms of resistance that congregants undertake, which include but are not limited to pretence, use of counterfeit money as an offering, and in some instances, the switching of religious loyalty.

7.2.3.1 Of demons and Pentecostal bodies

Out, out, out, leave her now, release her now, now, in Jesus' name!

The above commanding words were yelled repeatedly by Prophet Kizito during one of the church's deliverance sessions in September 2019 (fieldnotes, September 2019).[51] A woman in her late 20s was violently throwing fists in the air, screaming, and shouting, 'leave me, leave me, I do not want to die,' as if she was physically talking to someone who was holding her. Four strong men who were part of the usher team were struggling to hold and calm her. To the pastor (and of course the rest of the congregants), these were signs that the woman was demon possessed. She needed deliverance. The pastor asked the ushers that the 'possessed' woman be brought to the church's altar. It took several minutes of violent prayers, yelling, and shouting by the congregants as they joined the pastor in prayer and shouting, *release her now*! until the 'possessed' woman calmed down. She had lain on the floor for almost 15 minutes, silent and motionless until the pastor laid his hand on her in a dramatic fashion. She stood up, sweating, and visibly confused. Surely, she was unsure how long she had lain on the altar and how she was brought there. The pastor went on to make a prophecy about an

[51] These words are also repeatedly yelled out during the DC church's deliverance sessions regularly.

unresolved land dispute in her family, which had led to the death of someone. Asked to comment on this issue, she confessed and said, *"it's true papa, go deeper, I know what you are talking about".* The woman was later informed that the spirit which had been tormenting her was destroyed and she was now a free person. She grabbed the microphone in excitement, thanked the 'god of the prophet' for coming to her rescue and left the altar, visibly looking relieved.

I would argue that the woman's confession, and acknowledgment of the pastor's prophecy in the case above highlights and obfuscates the power relations between the laity and the pastor. Confession, Foucault (1990: 61–62) explains:

> …is a ritual of discourse in which the speaking subject is also the subject of the statement; it is also a ritual that unfolds within a power relationship, for one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes it and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console, and reconcile.

While Foucault explained confession with reference to sex, his ideas can just as well be stretched and applied to confessions in the religious field. Confessions in the religious field generally highlight the power relations between the religious elites and the laity.

During all the services that I attended in the churches that were the focus of this study, I witnessed the church leaders conducting controversial and bizarre deliverance sessions where congregants, especially women were violently pushed, shoved, and pinned to the ground during the deliverance sessions. Interestingly, these demons seem to attack women more than men. In a way, these demons are gendered. This does not, however, suggest that men are exempt from 'spiritual attacks' and are not therefore also 'delivered' during the sessions. My observations revealed that the deliverance practices are often violent and are characterised by congregants who are often thrown to the ground for the exorcism to take place. Interestingly, neither the congregants, nor the pastor, nor even the one purported to be a demon possessed, sees anything wrong with all the violent deliverance exercises. The display of deliverance, however, points to the pastors' spiritual prowess and of course the power he commands over hapless congregants. In this context, I present the church, as a stage of public performance, where the pastor's theatrical performances' presentation of spiritual prowess is often shaped by congregants' expectations. This capital of 'spiritual prowess' is key for keeping and attracting more members to the church, especially in a context where religious competition is growing.

Deliverance theologies have become have popular in modern Pentecostal churches (Ukah, 2003; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Chitando and Togarasei, 2010; Frahm-Arp, 2018). Not only has this theology become more popular, deliverance in Pentecostal churches has also become very violent (Van De Kamp, 2016). In Pentecostal tradition, there is a general perception that mental and bodily illness are a result of demon possession and these demons can only be exorcised violently. In South Africa, notorious and controversial pastors have been in the limelight for carrying out bizarre deliverance session services in their churches. Some of these controversial practices are presented in the table below:

Table 1: Symbolic domination in the Pentecostal field

Pastor	**Symbolic violence**
Penuel Mnguni	The notorious pastor of the End Times Disciples Ministry is known for feeding the congregants with snakes, rats, ants, hair weaves, and making them drink petrol for holy communion. The congregants were asked to consume these without asking any questions to prove their faith. Despite the widespread condemnation from the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Rights Communities (CRL Rights Commission), his church remains very famous and attracting more followers (Cilliers, 2018).
Lethebo Rabalago	Popular for spraying congregants with insecticides claiming that it heals various sorts of ailments. The '*Doom pastor*' of the Mount Zion General Assembly (MZGA) was later charged for contravening the Stock and Agricultural Remedies Act 36 of 1947, which deals with pest control operators.
Daniel Lesego	The controversial pastor of Rabboni Centre Ministries became popular for convincing his congregants to eat grass so that they could get closer to God. As if this was not enough, the pastor went on to convince his congregants to drink petrol saying that it tastes sweet and like apple juice.

The table above shows some of the various forms of symbolic violence that are common in the Pentecostal religious field, often packaged as deliverance sessions. The deliverance theology needs to be understood against the backdrop of a growing theology of wealth and health (and collapsing healthcare systems in urban Africa) that has been proliferating in

especially Africa's urban spaces (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Meyer, 2007; Chitando and Biri, 2016b; Frahm-Arp, 2018; Mashau and Kgatle, 2019).

Following my observations and conversations with participants from the studied churches, I argue that not all acts of demonic possession are genuine. Some are choreographed by the members as strategies of attention seeking. These choreographed practices are ways of constantly showing and reminding the religious elites that indeed, the congregant is dependent on the pastor and in the process give the pastor the impression that indeed he has power over the laity and can make decisions about their life on their behalf. Commenting on pretence as a form of making do, one participant said:

> My friend attention in this church is hard to come by. There are a lot of people who need the pastor's attention, but they do not get it because there are many people here, the pastor is always busy and it's not easy to access him when you are less popular in the church. I devised a strategy to get his attention one day and it worked. During one deliverance session, I pretended as if I was possessed with a demon and started screaming and shouting. Immediately, I was taken to the altar and the pastor prayed for me. He asked me to visit his office immediately after service for a one-on-one conversation. That was the first time I managed to draw the pastor's attention and it paid off (Conversation, Patience, June 2019).

Echoing relatively similar sentiments, another participant had this to say:

> At times you have to fake it to make it. I am one of those people in the church who can pretend to be filled with the Holy Spirit especially when the Man of God is praying. I respond violently and fall down, lay there for a moment, and wake up later. You have to show that the Man of God is powerful. I think he likes it when the whole church goes wild and crazy during the deliverance session. Remember that everything that happens is always captured on (video) camera broadcasted live on social media (Interview, Thuli, September 2019).

The excerpts shared by the participants above who hails from the two different churches points to conclusion that indeed the church space is a site of theatrical performances, characterised by both frontstage and backstage performances. These performances are not just random, but they have a logic to be grasped. For the participants, their limited economic capital, which might potentially give them leverage to gain access to the prophet because he "is always busy" (Conversation, Patience, June 2019) suggest that they had to mobilise

another form of capital-*the capital of pretence*- to gain the attention of the pastor. For the participants, individuals who seem to be close to the pastor or whose names are regularly mentioned in the church are more likely to have stronger networks in the church than those who appear to be distant from the 'Man of God'. These networks are key resources for accessing other capitals or resources either in the church or beyond. In a community where economic opportunities are growingly becoming scarce, such networks can be used to access the labour market. The actions of the participants in the narratives above are therefore well thought and calculated. Their acts of pretence, I would argue, are not intended to capture the attention of the church leaders alone, but the other congregants too.

7.2.3.2 Disciplinary power, church surveillance, and tactical resistance.

> …the more strictly we are watched, the better we behave (Jeremy Bentham 1748-1832).

I commence the discussion in this section by arguing that the Pentecostal field, and precisely the church is a site of power and control. I draw on Foucault's model of panopticism to highlight how surveillance systems, precisely the Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras are used in Pentecostal churches as systems of power and mechanisms of control, to create arguably, 'docile bodies' (Foucault, 1990; Siisiäinen, 2015; Stein, 2016). In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* and a series of his other work, Foucault (1979; 1997b; 2004a), observed that modern institutions, such as prisons, clinics, and I add, churches, are organised along the Panopticon structure. Originally designed by Bentham in the late 18th century, as a prison institution where the guard would be able to observe all prisoners without the prisoners seeing the guard (Foucault, 1979), this system of surveillance has been effective as a mechanism of control not only in prisons, but also in institutions, such as schools and hospitals. Through this panoptic model, people would modify their behaviour and be less likely instigate trouble (Stein, 2016).

While Foucault wrote prior to the Internet revolutionising communication, his model of panopticism is still applicable in interpreting the existing relationship between power and control in institutions, such as the modern Pentecostal churches, which are characterised by high levels of mass surveillance. Mass surveillance systems in the studied churches complement the various forms of encapsulations in the church, as bodies are (in)directly disciplined through routine forms of spatial capture. Almost at every corner of the building inside the studied churches were CCTV cameras. They capture everything that happens in the church, including who comes and who leaves, and a whole series of practices, some of which

are often dramatised and exaggerated. In a context where every action is captured on camera and video-recorded, it may not be surprising that some of the practices are dramatised, feigned, and exaggerated as part of front-stage performances. As the congregants are subjected to this 'panoptic gaze' of heightened surveillance, they often modify their behaviour and actions, and in most instances, align their actions or behaviour to the habitus of the church.

The system of offering in one of the churches (CM church) is designed in such a way that every congregant is mandated to make a financial contribution every Sunday. The ushers, for instance, ensure that congregants make their offerings row by row, which makes it impossible to leave the church without contributing. In the event that one might not have money to contribute to the church, they are encouraged to borrow from any church member during the offering service. All these dynamics and other practices are captured live on CCTV camera. During one of the services in October 2018, a R200 counterfeit note was discovered as part of the financial contributions that were made to the church. This was not the first time that counterfeit notes were discovered in the church. The church pastor condemned this act and went on to curse whoever had contributed these counterfeit notes. In a context where bodies are controlled, and every financial contribution is captured on camera, it may be that some congregants may resort to using counterfeit money as an offering to fulfil the general norm in the church, which mandates everyone to contribute to the church. Many times, I also observed congregants making endless trips to the bathrooms during the offering times, just to avoid the tactically 'forced' financial contributions.

I would argue that the strengths of the surveillance systems in the studied churches of ensuring controlled bodies by capturing everything on CCTV camera are also their weaknesses. While congregants are aware that they are under surveillance in the church, they also use the same technologies of surveillance to drive their own agenda, for instance, to claim publicity and popularity. In Foucault's views, wherever there is power, there is resistance (Foucault, 1990; Siisiäinen, 2015; Stein, 2016). The feigning practices, use of counterfeit money, endless visits to the bathrooms among others are not just random actions, but tactical moves by the congregants to overcome the potentialities of symbolic violence from the religious elites in the church. All these subtle forms of resistance are in most instances, choreographed in the backstage, where they are perfected and presented in the front region in a rationally and calculated way.

7.2.3.3 Switching religious loyalty

It is worth noting that the relations between the religious elite and the laity in the Pentecostal field are not always characterised by subtle forms of domination and resistance. In some instances, the tension between the religious elites and the congregants may become visible to the extent that some members may switch religious loyalty by joining other Pentecostal churches. In May 2019, for instance, tension brewed in the CD church between one of the oldest church leaders, Brother Mike, and the prophet. During one of the church services in June 2019, the prophet openly condemned the behaviour of one of his old, trusted 'lieutenants' – Brother Mike – whom he accused of abusing his authority as one of the church leaders and betraying the trust that some members had placed in him. A member of the South African Police Service (SAPS), brother Mike, it was reported, used his position as a respected member of the police, and a close 'friend' to the prophet, to dupe many immigrants including church members of their money by promising them legitimate immigration documents to legalise their stay in the country. All hell broke loose when it was reported that an 'outsider' came and confronted the prophet about the shenanigans by one his senior members. Following this incident, he was stripped of his senior position in the church and suspended from partaking in any church related activities together with his family indefinitely. Brother Mike had struck me as a very friendly and social person. He had mentored me in the New Believers Foundational Course. Upon hearing his 'scandals' in the church, I decided to contact him to hear his side of the story.

Brother Mike dismissed the narrative that he had duped some congregants on immigration related matters and insisted that he could have been arrested for fraud had that been the case.[52] He explained to me that his relationship with the prophet became sour earlier in the year when he was given a platform to preach in the church. According to him, his interpretation of the Bible and the message that he shared with the congregants did not reflect well on the prophet. He said:

> As I was preaching during one of the church services earlier in the year, the media team were asked to stop the broadcasting and cut me out. All of a sudden, the microphone I was using was no longer working. Immediately, I was summoned to the prophet's office. He was very angry and said I was feeding his congregants wrong information. I have grown in the ministry and I know what is wrong and what is right.

> I was referring to the Bible when I was preaching. To say that I was feeding the congregants with poison is wrong. Ever since that day, my relationship with the prophet became sour (Interview, Brother Mike, February 2020).

A visibly irate brother Mike went on to accuse the prophet of taking the church as his own family business and treating the congregants as his own biological kids who should act according to their father's will. He charged:

> I have been a senior member of the church for some time, and I have seen a lot of things happening. The pastor does not want to be challenged because he thinks he is a mini god. I left the church because of a clash of doctrines and interests. I was becoming more vocal, and he did not like that. The scamming story is just used as a cover-up story. (Interview, Brother Mike, February 2020).

The participant went on to provide a list of former church members who switched religious loyalty and left the church because of the contestations and irreconcilable differences between themselves and the church leader. That former church members may come out and attack their former leaders and lay bare their frustrations and the church shenanigans once they are sanctioned or leave the church is very common within the religious field. For instance, former members of the Rivers of Living Waters Church headed by Bishop Zondo took turns to testify against their former leader at the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL Rights Commission) (Metsing, 2020). Among other wrongs, the bishop was accused of rape, witchcraft, money laundering, and manipulative leadership.

In most instances, the members attempt to destabilise their former church and whenever necessary, influence others to leave the church and switch religious loyalty. Brother Mike said:

> I am not saying the prophet is fake, but it is my hope that people open their eyes and start questioning some of the practices that are conducted in that church. I have moved on. I hope many congregants open their eyes and move on too. Ever since I left, I hear that my name is used regularly as an example of a rebel Pentecostal. He tries to make sure that no member of the church connects with me. They call me, they tell me all these things (Interview, Brother Mike, February 2020).

The participant went on to explain that despite having moved on, he still fears for his life as he was cursed by the prophet upon his dismissal. He added:

> When I left the church, many people called me and begged me to come back to church. They kept warning me that something bad might happen to me because of the decision that I had taken. Although I have moved on, I am still scared, I honestly do not know what will happen to me.

7.2.3.4 Cursing as violence

To fend off the loss of members through the switching of religious loyalty, some pastors as the above case has shown, resort to the use of threats and cursing. When Brother Mike left the CD church, he narrated to me that the prophet threatened his life and that of his family, saying '*we will be nothing in life and we will die poor'.* Brother Mike's narrative cannot be isolated from similar cases that have happened elsewhere in the religious field. Testifying before the CRL Rights Commission in November 2019, witnesses narrated how Bishop Zondo uses charm to retain congregants and when they decide to leave the church, they are cursed and are told that they will die poor (Njilo, 2020). As will be shown in the other sections of this study, the use of violence (threats and cursing) by the religious experts is very common not only within or between the religious fields but also across fields.

Ironically, the evidence from the field revealed that in some instances, a pastor's cursing prowess can also be celebrated by other congregants. It is interpreted as the power of a pastoral figure to drive away all the evil forces not only those seen as being detrimental to the operations of the church, but also those that may destabilise the everyday lives of the congregants (Interview, Thando, October 2019). If a pastoral figure can drive away 'evil forces' through cursing, it therefore gives the impression that congregants are safe and secure under a certain pastoral figure. This is reinforced in both studied churches with very popular statements and motto that "no weapons formed against us shall prosper".

7.3 Meso-level contestations: Pentecostal religion versus African Traditional Religion (ATR)

In the previous section, I approached the contestations in the Pentecostal religious field through the micro lenses by exploring the relations between the religious elites and the laity in the church and by also exploring these relations between churches. As a religiously diverse community, in this section, I focus on the relations between fields, between the Pentecostal religious field and the field of African Traditional Religion (ATR) precisely. From the outset, I

stress that ATR is demonised and condemned in the Pentecostal tradition (Maxwell, 2002; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Van De Kamp, 2017). The demonisation of traditional spirits, beliefs, and practices by the growing Pentecostals, as will be shown in this section, is a strategy of 'othering' and delegitimising other religious actors to access and control the various capitals that are present within the religious field. Hillbrow's religious field has different actors who compete at different scales particularly to control the neighbourhood's social, spiritual, and physical infrastructures. I commence my interpretation of the relations between Pentecostal religion and ATR by providing a brief background to the field of ATR in South Africa.

7.3.1 African Traditional Religion: What do we know?

Despite its identity as largely a Christian society, with approximately 80% religiously identifying as Christians, South Africa has a diverse religious geography (Schoeman, 2017). Like Islam, African Traditional Religion remains very popular with many people today in South Africa. By ATR, I refer to the indigenous religious beliefs and practices of the African people (Awolalu, 1976; Bonsu, 2016). In South Africa, traditional medical practitioners are recognised under the Traditional Health Practitioners Act of 2007 (Act. 22 of 2007). They are highly regarded under the act, as traditional herbalists, surgeons and traditional birth attendants.

Traditional healers (both sangomas and inyangas[53]) in many African contexts are commonly known for the burning of incense (plants) and sacrificing animals during the practice of their rituals. Very often, a sacred place such as a hut (in rural areas), where the ancestors are believed to reside is used for the ritual practices (Cumes, 2004). Where a hut is not available, a make-shift sacred space is used. In urban spaces today, it is common that traditional ritual practices are now conducted on public spaces or in residential units. ATR has become a very common feature of Johannesburg's urban form.

Below is an example of one of the shops selling traditional objects usually used for ritual practices in ATR tradition.

[53] Like a sangoma, an inyanga is also a traditional healer or diviner. For the purposes of this study, these two, sangomas and inyangas are used to refer to traditional healers in the African context.

Figure 17: An ATR shop in Hillbrow



Source: Author, November 2020

The image above shows one of the shops selling ATR objects along Quartz Street in Hillbrow. The objects range from a variety of products made from animal skin to traditional medicines and the majority of these products are used during ritual practices in ATR tradition. ATR has over the years received a variety of condemnation especially from some scholars, missionaries and media outlets who often describe it as barbaric, primitive, and backward (Bonsu, 2016). This image is further reinforced by the media where in most instances, ATR is portrayed as *juju* and related to ancestral worship. In Nollywood and Kumawood[54], movies for instance, the portrayal of African traditional priests as *juju* men or fetish priests people consult when they are seeking revenge on someone or seeking economic fortunes is very popular.[55]

With this background, the demonisation of ATR by modern Pentecostal churches who assume the status of an urban and modern religion should not come as a surprise. The Pentecostals view the world as a spiritual battlefield between demonic forces and heavenly forces (Anderson, 2013; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2013). Among others, their mission is to ensure that the

[54] Nigerian and Ghanaian film industries respectively.
[55] The Movie, The Last Ritual offers a good example (see link https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3C42RDQY4KA).

'good' heavenly forces triumph over the evil demonic forces. In Pentecostal tradition, ATR is condemned and demonised. Among other reasons, it is believed to be associated with ancestral worship and the use of magic or *juju*. Because Christianity is a monotheistic[56] religion, ancestral worship for instance is highly condemned and challenged. The location of Pentecostal churches in a society where some people practice religiosities that are linked to the worship of other gods (ancestral gods in ATR) is often interpreted by the Pentecostals as missional. The following quotation by one of the Pentecostals from CD church is instructive.

> When we moved to Kangelani Court, there were a lot of *sangomas*[57] in that building. There were a lot of people who believed in traditional practices. They used to burn *impepho*[58] and slaughtering chicken for ritual purposes in that building. The whole building was under the control of the sangomas, we had to drive them away (Interview, Thando, October 2019).

The CD church is located at Kangelani Court, one of the residential buildings located at the intersection of Caroline and Claim Streets in Hillbrow. In many of his sermons, prophet Kizito reminds his congregants that the identification of this place was spirit led and he is a man on a mission to 'drive away' all the evil demons in Hillbrow. During one of his sermons, he said:

> I could have established this church in Sandton, but the spirit directed me here in Hillbrow, specifically to this building. This place needs divine intervention, it is under spiritual attack. As a man of God, I have to fulfil God's mission, to ensure that good triumphs over evil. There are still people who worship other gods, and these people needs to be delivered. We have to drive those demons away, and make sure that they know God (Sunday Church Service, August 2019).

To get clarity on why the prophet kept insisting that the building was under spiritual attack, I followed up with one of the oldest members of the church, who had this to say:

> When we started the church at that flat, it was a huge problem. There were many sangomas who used to stay in that building, as we speak now, the sangomas are no longer there. We drove them away. Every time, they would just go to the management and say, we want this church to close down, they are disturbing our work and all that.

[56] A belief in a single and powerful God.
[57] A sangoma is a traditional healer or diviner. Sangomas are legally recognised, under the Traditional Health Practitioners Act of 2007 alongside herbalists, traditional birth attendants, and traditional surgeons.
[58] *Impepho* is an indigenous plant that is burnt as a way of communicating with the ancestors. The burning of plants and the sacrificing of animals is very popular way of communicating with ancestors in many African cultures.

> You cannot contain God and the sangomas at the same time. It is a crush. When power meets power, the lesser one has no choice but to obey (Interview, Thando, October 2019).

The excerpt above confirms studies that have been conducted elsewhere on the condemnation and demonisation of ATR (sangomas in this context) by the Pentecostals (Ukah, 2016; Maxwell, 1995, 2000; Van De Kamp, 2017).

Known for their radical stance towards traditional beliefs and practices, Pentecostal churches have proliferated in many African countries over the years. Maxwell (2002), for instance, observed that the growth of Pentecostal churches among the Hwesa people of the Katerere Dynasty in the north-eastern part of Zimbabwe in the 1990s had significant implications on the practice of their traditional beliefs. At both the household and societal levels, the Hwesa peoples' relationships were centred around the spirits of the dead, commonly known among the Shona culture as *vadzimu* (ancestors). The emergence of Pentecostal religion in this community though, in the 1950s, was key to religious renewal. The members of the community for instance were encouraged (through Pentecostal churches) to erect strong boundaries between themselves and the world by abstaining from following traditional belief systems (Maxwell, 2002). In the same vein, the Pentecostals from the studied churches are encouraged to shun all practices associated with traditional religion. Commenting on traditional religious practices, Deacon Uche from the CM church said:

> Those cultural things are some of the things that we are battling with here in Hillbrow. There are some people who still believe and worship the ancestors. Even in our church, there are some people who are possessed with the spirit of dead people. We deliver them from these ancestral demons during our deliverance sessions (Interview, Deacon Uche, November 2018).

That acknowledgment by Deacon Uche that some of the Pentecostals are still attached to traditional practices suggests that the borders between Pentecostal religion and ATR are permeable with actors trading between these seemingly different but related fields. They are related in the sense that they serve relatively similar functions; helping people to cope with the insecurities associated with modernity. One sangoma confirmed:

> They come here for different reasons. Even those who go to those 'papa churches' (Pentecostal churches), they come here for help. I do not say, because you go to this

church, I am not going to help you. I help everyone (Conversation, Sekuru Phiri, May 2019).

7.3.2 Why the radical stance towards ATR?

By and large, the radical stance that the Pentecostals have towards ATR is arguably justified by an assumption in Pentecostal tradition that ATR is directly linked to the devil. At Kangelani Court, there are claims by the CD church that the building is no longer under the spell of the devil because they have exorcised the demons in that building by driving away the sangomas who used to stay there. In the words of Thando, one of the church members, she said:

> …now there are no sangomas in that building and people can sleep peacefully. We drove them away (the sangomas), by thunder, by fire. We have won many souls from that building. They used to complain about how the sangomas would made them have sleepless nights. There was no place to show that we really mean business than starting by attacking those sangomas who used to stay in that building. People are free now, and some of them (residents of the flat) are now our members (Interview, Thando, October 2019).

The driving away of other actors (the ATR in this context) needs to be understood against the backdrop that the religious field is a highly competitive field where actors compete for different stakes. To drive away other competitors, I would argue, is equally a strategy of making claims to space.

Figure 18: Marketing in the religious field



Source: Author, November 2020

I have used the above picture as an illustration of the inherent competition in the religious field. Pentecostal churches are popular for presenting themselves as solution grounds by focusing on the gospel of healing, prosperity, and deliverance. In many instances, the church leaders also present themselves as marriage or relationship counsellors. The above advert shows that traditional healers/prophets/herbalists also present themselves as having answers to some of these everyday life challenges. The healing of 'all-natural diseases' by the traditional herbalists is synonymous with the Pentecostals' approach to health through their healing and deliverance sessions. In this regard, the religious field needs to be understood as a marketplace where actors compete for the best clients. Interestingly, the tension between Pentecostal religion and ATR goes both ways. Despite being demonised and castigated by especially the Pentecostals, of the herbalists I spoke to also accused the modern Pentecostal prophets of faking miracles and using magic to control their members who sustain their lavish lifestyles. Sekuru Phiri said:

> Whatever *muthi* they use to control their members is very strong. They are here for money and nothing else. We know their mission. It is never about the people, but it is

about the money. They fake miracles, they fake everything. They are fake prophets (Sekuru Phiri, May 2019).

Even the leaders of these Pentecostal churches (old and new) are aware of these 'accusations' that they are fake and are only after making economic fortunes. In their defence, the leaders from the studied churches always use the location of their churches (Hillbrow) as reference points to deny these allegations and maintain that they are indeed on a mission to make Hillbrow a better place.

The contrasting views presented in the two cases above is a confirmation that the religious field (as might be the case with any other field) is a site of struggles and contestations. The demonisations and accusations of faking miracles shown above are both strategies of 'othering' other religious actors and pushing competitors to the fringes of Hillbrow's religious marketplace or field. The contestations between Pentecostal religion and ATR therefore have to be understood against the backdrop of the desire to access and control the city's growing urban population (clientele).

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide a relational analysis of Hillbrow's religious field through a focus on these relations on a micro and meso scale. The micro level contestations explored the relations between the religious elites and the laity on one hand the broader church to church relations on the other. I presented the Pentecostal religious field as a site characterised by contested and exchange relations between the religious leaders and the ordinary congregants (Stolz, 2006; Rey, 2011; Echtler and Ukah, 2015). These complex relations, I have argued, are driven by the desire by the actors in the religious field, to produce, control and accumulate the legitimate goods of salvation and the control of the laity (Bourdieu 1991; Echtler and Ukah, 2015). To achieve these objectives, I have shown how the churches employ different strategies of encapsulation, both physical and ideological, to inculcate a particular habitus in the laity, a habitus that aligns with the interests of the religious elites.

The ability by the religious elites to successfully imbue the laity with a particular habitus is however dependent on how these practices are presented by the religious elites as lacking any political and material interests (Echtler and Ukah, 2015; Medvetz and Sallaz, 2018). In this respect, the chapter has stressed on the use of symbolic violence in the churches as an effective tool of power and control. Among others, I have explored how symbolic violence

manifest through the demonisation of especially female bodies, use of surveillance technologies as systems of power and control and the use of a 'cursing' theology.

The chapter has argued that wherever there is power, there is also resistance. In this regard, the various strategies of resistance, which are subtle and non-violent, often choreographed and rehearsed in the backstage are employed by the laity as ways of making do. I showed that the different forms of symbolic violence are also equally met with symbolic forms of resistance. I argued that the different practices by the laity are not just random but have a logic to be grasped. The congregants often employ the cost-benefit-analysis, by looking at what they stand to gain by belonging to the church, either spiritually or materially and it is these factors that often influence some of the practices they employ in the church.

At a meso level, this chapter has explored the relations between the Pentecostal religious field and the field of ATR. I have argued that the demonisation of traditional spirits, beliefs, and practices by the growing Pentecostals, is a strategy employed by the Pentecostal actors of delegitimising and othering other religious competitors and in the process, are attempts to drive other actors to the fringes of Hillbrow's religious marketplace.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONTESTING URBAN SPACE IN THE INNER CITY: PENTECOSTALISM AND HILLBROW'S OTHER FIELDS

"…to think the field is to think relationally" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96).

8.1 Introduction

While Pentecostal religious institutions continue to play a significant role in co-producing the urban[59] in many cities across Africa, Asia and Latin America (Oosterbaan, 2006; Becker *et al.*, 2013; Kong, 2016; Ukah, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016; Katsaura, 2018, 2019) there has been mixed and divided opinions from different actors on the growing presence of Pentecostal churches in the inner-city neighbourhood of Hillbrow. The process of '*pentecosturbanisation',* as developed and appropriated in this study to illustrate the growing presence of Pentecostal religious institutions in Hillbrow is not developing in a vacuum. It is developing in the context where other actors continue to play an instrumental role in co-producing the city, shaping its structure, form, and the everyday in multiple and diverse forms.

In a community characterised by diversity where different actors pursue varied socio-cultural, economic, political, and spiritual interests, I show how the Pentecostal field relate with other actors in the neighbourhood. This is done in the spirit of Bourdieu's insistence that fields exist in relation to each other (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Specifically, I focus on how the Pentecostal religious field fares with the: residential field, business community, political field, and the field of planning. Without discounting other actors in the city, the identified fields should provide an overall picture of the relationship between Pentecostal religion and other actors in the city.

Seeing through the lens of relationality, I argue that the production, consumption, and circulation of Pentecostal religion in Hillbrow illuminate a variety of societal perceptions, feelings, and emotions. I characterise the relationality between fields as one of contested mutualities. By contested mutualities, I refer to a complex relationship characterised by the constellation of coalescing and competing interests over the appropriation, production and use of urban space. Put simply, it is a complex relationship of both conflict and mutualism,

[59] Chapter 5 illustrates the intersection of Pentecostal religion and everyday life.

one that is both conflictual and beneficial to other users of urban space. If, however unchecked, the contestations over urban space have the potential to threaten the stability and daily life of the city. This chapter is divided into five key sections: the relations between the Pentecostal religious field; a) the residential field; b) the business field; c) the political field; d) the field of planning, and e) the chapter then concludes.

8.2 Pentecostal field versus the residential field

The findings of the study revealed that there exists a *'bittersweet'* kind of relationship between the Pentecostal churches and the residents in Hillbrow. The relationship between the two is very complex, characterised by competing forces of mutualism and conflict. In Chapter 5, I have shown that Pentecostal religious institutions continue to be key actors in helping, especially their members, in coming to terms with the forms of insecurities that characterise everyday life. To understand the complex relationship between Pentecostal churches and the residents, I use the example of safety and security as a reference point.[60] I ask the question, what roles do the Pentecostal churches play towards the securitisation of Hillbrow? To answer this question, I rely on narratives shared by the participants who consider Faith Based organisations (FBOs) as key actors in the production, maintenance, and insurance of safe neighbourhoods. Although I appreciate the significant role of FBOs in the creation of liveable safe neighbourhoods, I argue that it is some of their religio-spatial practices that are the major source of conflict and contestations with the residents in Hillbrow. I have opted to analyse the relationship between Pentecostals and the residents through the lens of safety and security because they are some of the everyday challenges in Hillbrow. In fact, cities globally continue to struggle with meeting the everyday security needs of their residents to the effect that security issues are everyday urban concerns (Tudor, 2003; Sandercock, 2005; Parnell and Pieterse, 2010).

8.2.1 Pentecostal religion and the securitisation of Hillbrow

Some residents I spoke to, expressed their appreciation of churches in Hillbrow by arguing that Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) have indeed revamped the face of Hillbrow particularly in relation to safety and security in this neighbourhood. Said one respondent:

[60] While the studied churches were not set out to directly provide security, as might be the case with the state security institutions and other private security companies, they (in)directly play an instrumental role in urban (in)security production as the cases in this chapter will show.

> My brother, I have been staying here in Hillbrow for the past seven years. This community used to be scary. I have seen a lot of changes; things are getting better here in Hillbrow thanks to the non-stop activities of the churches here in this neighbourhood. They operate 24/7, non-stop every day. I think that they are doing a very good job. We need more churches here (Conversation, Jack, November 2018).

Another respondent who spoke on condition of anonymity indicated that churches are one of the overlooked actors in fighting crime and ensuring the safety of people in the neighbourhood. The mission to Christianise or Pentecostalise every resident for instance was indicated as one way of fighting crime and violence in the city. The participant noted:

> How can you be a Christian and still carry guns and rob people? Christians do not do that. Crime, hate, violence are forbidden in Christian beliefs. In fact, I do not think that there is any religion that support people to commit crimes and violence. So, the more religious the people, the less we can have these problems (Anonymous, June 2019).

The above excerpt suggests that some people believe that churches generally influence behaviour towards compliance with the law (Stark, Kent and Doyle, 1982). Among other functions, churches provide basic values of right and wrong; reinforce crucial societal norms; legitimise social arrangements; promote a sense of unity, meaning, and belonging and serve as mechanisms for social change (Turner, 1985; Shepard, 1987). In some of the inner-city neighbourhoods in America, history has shown that churches and other religious institutions have always been key actors in crime control(Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Wright, Frost and Wisecarver, 1993; Smith *et al.*, 2002).

The effects of religion on crime have a long history (see for instance, Hirschi and Stark, 1969; Stark, Kent and Doyle, 1982; Turner, 1985). Early sociologists, such as Durkheim, for instance, have conceived religion to be an essential social control tool for the maintenance of conformity to social norms (Durkheim, 2001). Like the family and education, social institutions, such as religion are instrumental in building individual involvement, attachment and commitment to society and in the process also help to prevent crime, considering that such individuals would avoid endangering societal relations and attachments (Salvatore and Rubin, 2018; Sumter *et al.*, 2018). The active role of the modern Pentecostals in the production of relatively 'safe' neighbourhoods needs to be understood against the backdrop

of their mission and attempts to 'Pentecostalise[61]' Hillbrow. Prophet Kizito would always share his vision about Hillbrow in many of his services. He would always state that people in Hillbrow need God, and it is his duty to ensure that more people turn to God every day. For this reason, the church has a strategy called 'soul winning' whereby church members actively recruit other residents to the church. Additionally, at times church groups, such as Men of Glory, embark on a soul-winning exercise as a group. They engage in street evangelism and distributing religious pamphlets to everyone. Whether these strategies are effective or not is, however, debatable. For instance, every week, there are always new members in both churches. Some stay and some do not.

Another way that churches might be directly or indirectly contributing towards the safety and security of the neighbourhood is through discourse. Using the hellfire hypothesis, Hirschi and Stark (1969) argue that religion tends to deter individual crime levels by using the threats of supernatural punishment and creates normative behaviour through the promises of heavenly rewards. The committing of crimes, such as theft, murder, rape, etc. are considered to be a breach of the 10 commandments and are therefore the perpetrators are subject to punishment in hell. On the other hand, shunning all criminally-related activities will be rewarded with heavenly paradise (Sumter *et al.*, 2018). While the hellfire hypothesis seems to be relevant to people who are already members of the studied churches, their influence in the wider society cannot be underestimated. Apart from being church members, congregants are also societal members who may influence others in different ways.

I would argue that one of the reasons there seems to be an under-appreciation of the FBOs in ensuring safe and secure neighbourhoods is the fact that society has largely relegated the fields of safety and security to the state, particularly its well-trained and resourced departments, such as the police, the army and other security agents. Among others, the South African Police Service (SAPS) mission is to prevent and combat anything that may threaten the safety and security of any community (www.saps.gov.za). Without overlooking the important role of the country's security forces in fighting crimes and ensuring people's safety and security, I argue that there is a need to move beyond perspectives that tend to portray state institutions as the sole actors in the production of safety and security (Walker, 2006; Bauman, 2013; Caldeira, 2020). In this regard, FBOs need to be appreciated too as key actors in the construction of liveable safe neighbourhoods. One resident said:

[61] Attempts to turn Hillbrow into a Pentecostal religious community.

> It was very rare to walk around this neighbourhood at night without being mugged since I started here in 2000. The *tsotsis* [62]would be hiding for you in dark places and then ambush you. I know one street (Goldreich), which was very popular with *tsotsis*. These days they cannot hide because there are lights everywhere. Some of the lights are from the churches along that street. Sometimes the churches have all night services, so even though the street might not be busy with people, it will still be alive (Conversation, Taps, October 2019).

The excerpts shared above points to the conclusion that the FBO are significant actors in the production of safety and security in the neighbourhood. My observations and conversations revealed that besides the everyday church programmes, some of which runs throughout the night, the technologies of surveillance (cameras) placed outside the church buildings (and some inside), and the very bright lights used, especially during night services all deter criminal activities in the surrounding areas. I argue that the church programmes conducted at night in addition to the systems of surveillance that put both inside and outside the churches contribute to a 24-hour city, and precisely, a 24-hour neighbourhood, a neighbourhood that does not sleep.

The concept of the 24-hour city is largely grounded in Jane Jacobs' arguments about the benefits of a lively and populated night-time city (Jacobs, 1989). Globally, the concept has been based on three basic principles, namely providing safe cities for leisure and recreation, developing a booming night economy, and improving the image of cities (Adams *et al.*, 2007; Lerner, 2014; Van Liempt, Van Aalst and Schwanen, 2015; Kelly, 2016). In the *Production of Space,* Lefebvre (1991) explained how certain activities, especially the 'illegal' ones happen in some certain areas at night. In *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs (1989) reminds us that having many eyes on the streets is a huge contributing factor for the creation of safe neighbourhoods (Jacobs, 1989). With its history of crime, violence and fear (Mpe, 2001; Nessman, 2002; Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008; Stadler and Dugmore, 2017), it is key to note that Pentecostal religious institutions are playing a key role, either directly or indirectly, to the promotion of a safer neighbourhood through their various activities.

[62] A popular name given to a young street urban criminal.

Importantly, it was also observed that some of the physical infrastructures used for religious purposes by the Pentecostal churches where once-neglected buildings or sites of criminal activities. For instance, the CD church transformed one of the basement facilities in a residential apartment into a place of worship. Speaking on condition of anonymity, one of the local residents explained how this basement facility was used as a hideout by some of the criminals in the neighbourhood. He said:

> That area was a no-go area my friend. It was a good hunting ground for criminals because it is close to the taxi rank. They targeted especially those who would come late from work or leave early to work (Conversation, Anonymous, September 2019).

Hidden and often informally regulated (Rubin *et al.*, 2016), basements, like other neglected buildings can be used for criminally related activities (Nicolson, 2012; Wilhelm-Solomon, 2016; *Citizen Reporter*, 2019).

In addition to basements, religious institutions have also appropriated and transformed some of the 'bad buildings' that had the potential to harbour criminals. The image below shows one of the buildings used for religious purposes.

Figure 19: A transformed building



Source: Author, August 2019

The image above shows one of Hillbrow's less maintained buildings used for religious purposes. To the left is the entrance to the building. The broken windows, fading paint and visible scratches on the walls confirm that this building is not well maintained. According to the *Broken Windows Theory* under-maintained buildings, such as the one shown in the image above have the potential to create conducive environments for criminal activities, civil incivilities, and violence (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Harcourt and Ludwig, 2006). By appropriating and transforming such buildings into spaces of worship, Pentecostal churches are also contributing towards liveable neighbourhoods.

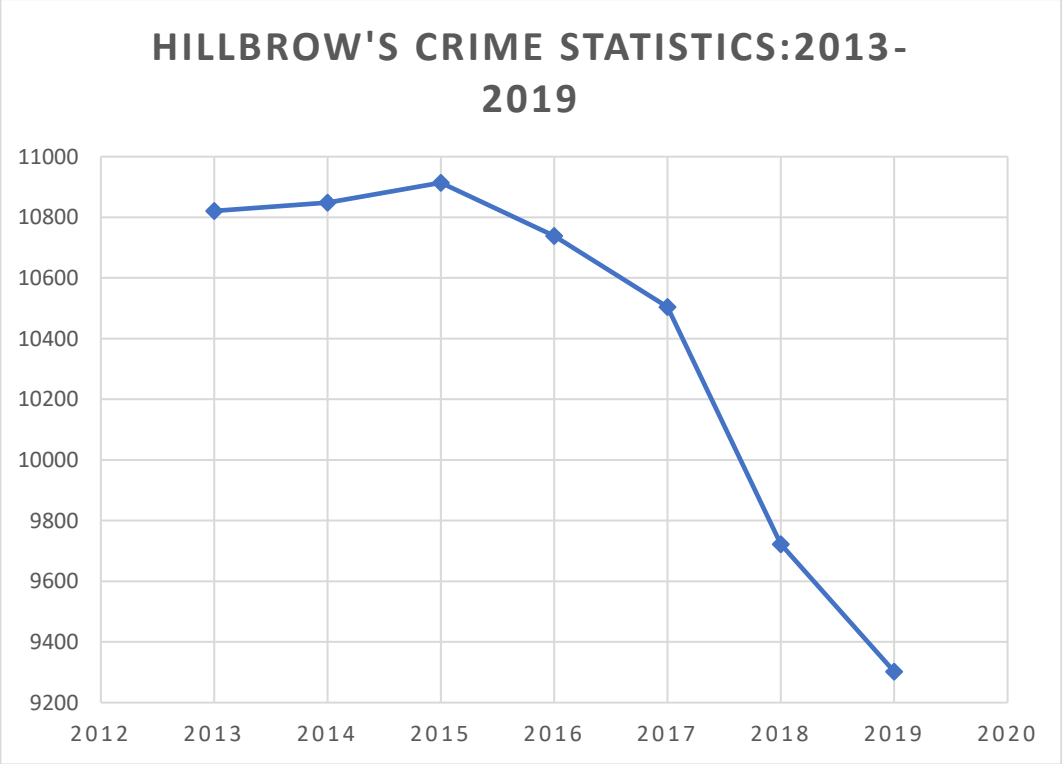
8.2.2 You cannot change the mindset of hardcore criminals

While some residents acknowledged that FBOs are playing an instrumental role in promoting safety and security in Hillbrow, either directly or indirectly through their various practices, some participants were adamant that it is the nature of the Pentecostal churches to seek public attention by claiming victories that are not theirs. One of the residents, Nomasa (not her real name), noted that some of the Pentecostal pastors in the neighbourhood have a tendency of diverting people's attention to some of their controversial practices by claiming that they are saving Hillbrow and delivering her from the chains of the devil. The participant gave examples of how churches have become business entities, who indirectly rob their followers their hard-earned cash and the pretence that they are investing in the Kingdom of Heaven and brainwashing their members to see almost everything in life through the Pentecostal lens. The participant went on to cast doubt on the perceived assumption that FBOs are key actors in the reduction of crime in the neighbourhood. She charged:

> The reduction of crime in this community has nothing to do with the presence of these churches but has everything to do with the improved active role of the police, especially after the re-instatement of Bheki Cele as the Minister of Police. Cele is a no-nonsense man. He is known for his very tough stance towards criminals. They all know him. I hear that he introduced a shoot-to-kill policy, returning fire with fire. Here in Hillbrow, things are getting better, and I am sure these criminals have changed their hunting grounds or strategies. This community used to be way too dangerous. I am not saying things have completely changed, but things are better now. (Conversation, Nomsa, October 2019).

The recent crime statistics in Hillbrow arguably seem to confirm Nomsa's views on the reduction of crime in the neighbourhood. The graph below compares the crime statistics in Hillbrow prior to and after Bheki Cele's re-instatement as the Minister of Police. Whether this decline can be attributed to the increasing policing by the state through the SAPS, or other actors such as the Community Policing Forum (CPFs), is debatable.

Figure 20: Hillbrow's Crime Statistics: 2013-2019



Source: Crime Stats SA, 2019

The above line-graph shows the crime statistics recorded at the Hillbrow Police Station during the period 2013–2019. Whilst the figures may not offer a complete reflection of the crimes that were committed during this period (for instance, the statistics are based on cases that were reported), it is suffice to note that there seems to be a drop in the crime rate since the re-instatement of Bheki Cele in 2018, and a year prior to his re-instatement, when rumours about his re-instatement began to gather momentum in 2017. Whether this drop can be attributed to Cele's re-appointment is, however, debatable because prior to his re-appointment, the figures were dropping (for instance, between 2015 and 2018).

Contrary to views that FBOs are playing a key role in reducing crime in the neighbourhoods, some authorities I spoke to accused some of the churches of being involved in criminally related activities. Speaking to one of the Community Policing Forum (CPF) leaders in August 2018, the suspicions, accusations, and concerns that some religious spaces are being used for illicit dealings was raised. The CPF leader, however, argued that linking some religious institutions to crime is a very complex and sensitive matter, and admitted that no one really wants to be at the forefront of "these kinds of conversations," (Conversation, CPF Chairperson, August 2018). He narrated:

> In our monthly meetings, the issue of drugs is always raised as you are aware that there are a lot of drug-related activities happening in this neighbourhood (Hillbrow). In one of the meetings, one of the residents challenged us, as the custodians of the peace, security, and safety of this neighbourhood to start looking at areas that have we have not been looking at before, the churches. I am very certain that some of the people who are going to these churches are drug dealers, so they use the church to clean their monies. I hear that they make huge pledges in these churches and they help the churches financially. (Conversation, CPF Chairperson, August 2018).

In October 2018, I attended one of the CPF meetings at Hillbrow Police Station. The agenda of the meeting was on improving safety and security in the neighbourhood. One participant asked the attendees about their comments on churches that were purported to be harbouring criminals. No one commented, behaving as though the matter were trivial. I then remembered a previous conversation I had had with the CPF Chairperson, who had said that such topics "are very sensitive and they can open a can of worms," (Conversation, CPF Chairperson, August 2018).

One of the police officers at Hillbrow Police Station, however, noted that their station sometimes receives tip-offs from members of the public about church members and leaders involved in illicit dealings. She said:

> When you do operations, churches are the last places that you can go and search or suspect of any wrong doings. Where do you even begin? It is not easy to enter a church building and say, we are here to search your premises. Those people will curse you. But we have cases where we have arrested some self-proclaimed pastors, most of

> them from Nigeria on drug-related charges (Conversation, Police Officer Thabo, November 2018).

In October 2019, the Johannesburg Metro Police Department (JMPD) raided 144 'illegal churches' in the inner city. Amongst these churches, it was reported that some were dealing in drugs (Watson, 2019). In January 2020, *The Sowetan* published the disturbing story of a woman lured into the drug industry by her 'pastors', from a local church in Yeoville (Dlamini, 2020). The woman was recruited under the pretext that she would be importing carpets from Iran to China, only to discover later that the business was drug related. These backstage under-dealings are a worrying phenomenon, particularly in a context where many people trust religious institutions implicitly.

Because of a certain level of trust that society allocates to religious institutions, it becomes challenging to detect or suspect any possibility of wrongdoing in the church. My conversation with a Director of Region F, revealed that the challenges of making connections between churches and criminal activities boils down to the question of morality. She said:

> It is easy for us to invade a tavern and start searching for drugs or whatever, but you cannot do that in a church, it is just morally wrong. The other challenge is that some of our members and colleagues go to these churches. It does not create a good working environment if you say to your colleague, let us go and do the raids on the church (and your church) because we are suspecting that they are dealing with drugs. Someone might misinterpret it and say, because I am a member of this church, so you think I have a hand in all the illicit dealings that are happening in the church? You do not want to create an unnecessary conflict in the workplace (Interview, CoJ Region F Director, September 2019).

The preceding sections suggest that the relationship between the church and the community is highly contested. It is characterised by a combination of both trust and betrayal. Broadly, the church sits in a very complex position with the community, a position where it is both trusted and suspected of wrongdoings in the community. As highlighted and confirmed by some residents in this section, Pentecostal churches are proving, through their various activities and investments in surveillance systems, contributing towards urban security. However, some actors blame the churches for promoting criminality, either directly or

indirectly. For instance, some church facilities are perceived to be drug storage facilities. With their 'open door policy', they are also accused of harbouring criminals. One cannot, however, dismiss the fact that some of the accusations might be driven by hate and intolerance, especially considering that the majority of the Pentecostal churches are run by foreign nationals. I stretch the discussion further on the relations between the Pentecostal churches and the residents in the next section by focusing on the aural.

8.2.3 Confronting sound and silence in the inner city

When I first moved to Hillbrow in 2014, one of the main things that struck me was the vibrancy and conviviality of this neighbourhood. Regardless of the time of the day, there is always some activity happening somewhere; hooting cars and taxis, non-stop traffic flow (although traffic density is dependent on time), loud music from the electronic shops, local taverns and the residents playing assorted genres of music, this inner-city neighbourhood is never devoid of some activity. At a flat I was staying along Klein Street, I would always be woken by the noise from one of the Pentecostal churches that used a section of the building. They had programmes that ran throughout the week, some of them extending to the wee hours of every morning. When I officially moved back in 2018 for fieldwork purposes, my experiences with this neighbourhood were the same.

From my apartment at Braemar Court, I could hear the loud and amplified sound of the church music, sermons, the screams, and shouting coming from the CD church. Braemar Court is located a stone's throw from the CD church. Because of the proximity of the flat to the church, it is very common to be aware of whatever activity might be going on at the church. Located strategically at the intersection of Caroline Street and Claim Street, the church is both visible and audible to many people living within the surrounding areas. It is close to a taxi rank, the market, a Spar (and other supermarkets). Many people who access the services from these facilities come into contact with the church in one way or the other. Like other Pentecostal churches, the gate to the CD church is almost always open and the amplified sound helps as part of the church's outreach to the non-converted residents.

In the church auditoriums of both the CD and CM, I observed a wide range of sophisticated sound systems used for extremely high energy sermons and church music. In Pentecostal tradition, sound plays a key role in the sacralisation of space and the mediation of the spiritual (Oosterbaan, 2006, 2017; De Witte, 2008; Ogungbile and Anikade, 2010; Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016). In Pentecostal beliefs, what makes the spirit flow is not just the symbolic

quality of sound, but also its physical, tactile quality (De Witte, 2008). In this regard, high-powered praise and worship sessions, and the use of very loud voices with many people speaking in tongues, all invoke the Holy Spirit. Interestingly, the presence of the Holy Spirit among the congregants manifest in different forms. My observations revealed that involuntary bodily expressions and movements, such as shaking, clapping hands, and screaming among others suggests either the presence of the Holy Spirit or may also be interpreted as a sign of the manifestation of "witchcraft power" (Asamoah-Gyudu 2005: 187). Either way, the battle between the spiritual powers of good and evil are fought aurally (De Witte, 2008; Oosterbaan, 2006).

For the residents, the sound emanating from the various Pentecostal practices is a huge concern. This sound has been interpreted as noise pollution and in this regard, the Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow, as elsewhere are accused of noisemaking and disturbing the peace of others in the neighbourhood. Speaking to one of the residents at Kangelani Court where the CM church is located, the resident was furious about the noise generated by the church during many of its services. He said:

> Having a church in a residential building like this was a very bad idea. They have activities every day and sometimes very late at night, you hardly sleep. They will be shouting and clapping hands. They have a band, and they play very high [loud] music. You can only sleep when their sessions are over (Conversation, Resident 3, August 2019).

I present below, an image of some of the musical instruments used in the CD church.

Figure 21: Musical instruments at the CD church



Source: CD church Facebook Page, 2019

The image above shows a drummer playing some of the instruments used at the CD church. The high-powered sound produced from these instruments has been one of the major sources of contestations between the church and the residents. Another resident expressed that she could not wait to vacate the flat as she feared that her children might end up with hearing impairments from the noise generated by the church. She noted:

> I am in the process of looking for an alternative accommodation. This time, I will not stay in a building where there is a church or any church nearby. My kids are very young, and I have heard that too much noise can affect their hearing abilities. These churches make too much noise (Conversation, Resident 2, August 2019).

Studies have shown that modern Pentecostal churches have often been accused of 'noise-making' in the communities in which they are located (De Witte, 2008; Lanz, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016; Oosterbaan, 2017). In South Africa, newly emerging Pentecostal churches are believed to contravene city by-laws, particularly those related to Public Health, Pollution and Encroachment on Property and this is a huge concern for urban safety

(Interview, CoJ Official 2, September 2019). This has prompted other city officials to suggest that:

> The churches should not be allowed to develop anywhere. It is a concern in the city. They create problems of parking and littering (Interview, CoJ official 3, August 2019).

Because of a growing public outcry about the noise generated in Pentecostal churches, the city authorities have often responded by confiscating the musical instruments of these Pentecostal churches (Cox, 2017; Watson, 2019).

Sadly, those who dare to question the excessive use of sound by the Pentecostal churches are often cursed and labelled as the enemies of the gospel. Said one participant:

> They are very arrogant; you cannot even engage with them. As one of the members of the Hillbrow Residents Association (HRA), I have attempted to engage with one of the churches following complaints about noise and parking on one of the properties here in Hillbrow. Instead of listening to the concerns of others, they said we need to know God, we need to obey the laws of God. The pastor said if I keep on persisting bothering and destabilising his church, something bad will happen to me. I did not take these threats lightly; these people are capable of doing anything. I am worried of what might happen to me if I keep on pursuing this issue (Conversation, HRA member, July 2019).

In defending their excessive use of sound, the Pentecostals often quote a popular verse in the bible which says:

> "Make a joyful noise to the Lord" and "praise him with loud clashing cymbals" (Psalms. 100 :1)

My observations revealed that even the small churches with very low membership use loud sound systems not necessarily for addressing a handful of their membership, but as a way of establishing sonic presence (and physical presence) in a highly competitive religious field. The confrontation of the aural or sonic space also needs to be understood not only within the Pentecostal religious field (between Pentecostal churches), but also across the religious field and beyond. For instance, I observed that Hillbrow is generally a site of sonic competition between different actors, residents, business community, churches, etc. It is, however, during weekends, especially Sundays when this competition largely plays out between religious fields (such as Pentecostal churches and African Initiated Churches). These sonic battles point to the symbolic, physical, and spiritual control of space.

The above issues were also raised with the city's Public Safety Department who expressed concern that indeed some of the practices of the growing Pentecostal churches are a threat to the lives of other users of space as they contravene city by-laws, especially those related to public safety and public health (Interview, CoJ Official 2, September 2019). The participant noted that one major challenge to 'dealing' with the growing Pentecostal churches is that they are protected by the constitution. The right to freedom of religion (and its practices) is enshrined in South Africa's constitution (see Chapter 2 of the Constitution of South Africa).

However, while the constitution is clear on its protection and promotion of religious rights, this has not deterred the city authorities from acting against the perceived 'illegal' and 'problem' churches. In 2017, the-then mayor of Johannesburg, Mashaba, vowed to clamp down on all 'illegal' churches in the city (Cox, 2017) because they were contravening city by-laws and zoning regulations. While these concerns might be genuine, one also needs to appreciate that the labelling or naming of some urban behaviours as illegal or problematic can be a tactic to assert order over urban space (Howard, 2003).

The ability to confront and dominate the neighbourhood's soundscape is an important resource in Pentecostal churches. It is mobilised to make claims to space, physical, social, aural, and social. It is a marker of space. Those who can dominate the neighbourhood's soundscape have the potential to attract more membership. For this reason, it may be understandable why growing Pentecostal churches invest in expensive and sophisticated sound systems.

What we learn from the narratives in the preceding section is the ability of sound to transgress spatial boundaries of both private and public spaces. Sound has the potential to infiltrate people's private spaces (homes). In neighbourhoods characterised by high levels of proximity and to some extent (dis)association the amplification of sound carries the Pentecostal presence beyond the boundaries of the church. As observed elsewhere (see Oosterbaan, 2006, 2009; De Witte, 2008), the politics of presence in dense neighbourhoods such as inner cities, *favelas*/informal settlements are exercised by different actors through the control of the aural or soundscape. The resulting effect in dense neighbourhoods of plurality and proximity has seen disputes over noise (Van Dijk, 2002; Baily and Collyer, 2006; Oosterbaan, 2006). In fact, the soundscape on its own is a site of power and conflict (Hervieu-Léger, 2002)

8.3 Pentecostal field versus economic field

This section attempts to show the relationality between the Pentecostal religious field and Hillbrow's economic field, a site of economic exchange. As a starting point, I present the relationality between the two fields as both conflictual and mutual. To this end, I present two key points in this section. First, the Pentecostal churches growing presence is threatening the survival of other business actors. Second, their presence has attracted business opportunities especially for informal traders, to the extent that there exists a growing urban economy driven and sustained by the churches in Hillbrow. The Pentecostal churches also find themselves in an uncomfortable position of both promoting and threatening economic activities in the neighbourhood.

8.3.1 The money offered by them is just too much to resist

Some members of the Hillbrow business community (independent businesspeople) expressed their dissatisfaction with the growing presence of Pentecostal churches arguing that these religious institutions are driving their businesses away from the prime areas of the business activities. One of the participants expressed his disappointment of having been pushed away from a place where he had established his electronic shop and where his business was booming when the rentals were inflated, thanks to an irresistible offer that property owners received from an unnamed church. He narrated:

> I used to have this electronic shop close to Shoprite and my business was doing very well. Then these Nigerian guys came, they went and spoke straight to the owner of the building and said they wanted to rent the other part of the building for their church. The property owner initially did not want [to] because he knew people would complain but then the money that was offered by these guys was too much to resist. The next month, we were told that the rentals were going to increase by more than 150%. We were given a choice to stay and pay those huge sums of money or leave the building. Nobody stayed, we all left. As we speak now, there is a church run by Nigerians there. When we complain, they say we are xenophobic (Interview, Zweli, March 2019).

The above excerpt highlights the inherent competition in Hillbrow's social fields. Access to the neighbourhood's prime economic sites, as the above has shown is dependent on one's economic capital (in addition to other forms of capital, such as religious, social and political). However, my findings revealed that despite the attempts by some religious actors to drive away other actors from the prime economic areas of the community, such efforts have in

some instances, been resisted. The following example of one of the Day Care Centre(s) is instructive.

Figure 22: Anastacia's Pre-School



Photo taken by author: August 2018

The image above shows one of the institutions that shares the same floor and facilities with the CM church in Hillbrow. According to the caretaker of this pre-school, the pre-school was established in 2002 and became operational on this building the same year. Initially, the whole floor was strictly reserved for day-care activities. As with Zweli's case above, the church came later and offered an irresistible offer to use the whole floor and driving the day-care centres away. They inflated the rentals and some pre-schools moved out, paving the way for the church, but the owners of Anastacia's Pre-School resisted. They managed to convince the owner of the building that they should stay and continue paying a reasonable rental fee. In a desperate attempt to drive away the pre-school and control the whole floor, the participant noted that the church started employing frustrating tactics, such as closing the shared ablution facilities in a bid to get rid of the pre-school. The pre-school, fought back and responded by cutting off electricity to the church since they had the sole access to the main power supply (switch). One Sunday morning, the owner of the pre-school visited the site and

switched off electricity and disappeared. Without a power back-up, the church service was hugely affected.

Eventually, circumstances forced the two institutions to compromise and reach to agreement regarding the use and sharing of facilities in the building. The pre-school also managed to convince the church that children from their members would also join the pre-school, at a negotiated fee, a move that was welcomed by the church. Commenting about their relationship with the church, the caretaker had this to say:

> I cannot really say that we get along very well, but what I can say is that we need each other. The church needs us, as much as we need the church. We share bills, we take care of their kids (at a fee of course) and it is also a good thing to have a church in this floor. They provide us with security. Before they came, we had numerous cases of criminal activities here, but ever since they came, such cases are very rare now. There are always people in the church, they have programmes every day (Conversation, Monada, August 2018).

The narrative shared by the respondents above confirms the findings from studies that were conducted elsewhere across the globe about the effects that the establishment of places of worship might have on property and rental values. In Mario County in Florida, US, Bielefeld *et al.* (2006) cited in Brandt, Maennig and Richter (2013) for instance observed a price increase of 5.1% for residential properties that were located within a radius of one mile of places of worship. Elsewhere in Nigeria, an arguably Pentecostal epicentre, Katsaura (2019) observed that well-resourced Pentecostal churches, such as the Mountain of Fire Ministry are buying people out of their residences by doubling the market value of their property as part of their mission to expand. The increasing demand for establishing churches is believed to be one of the major sources of inflated property prices in Nigeria (Siollun, 2019).

Whilst buying people out of their residential homes and the purchase of warehouses, which are in turn transformed into spaces of worship, has been an effective strategy in Nigeria (to some extent amid resistance from the owners of the properties) (Katsaura, 2019; Siollun, 2019), this strategy is, however, less effective in Hillbrow. For instance, the purchase of a building for religious purposes comes with the uncertainties of whether the building will be approved for rezoning or change of use by the city authorities considering that many

buildings were not planned for religious purposes. Because they are aware of the challenges and delays associated with applying for the permanent change of use of the buildings, the Pentecostals instead resort to renting private properties. The study revealed that it is the transformation of buildings that are meant for other uses, which is also the source of conflict between the business community and the Pentecostals. One participant vividly sums this up by saying:

> They occupy places that should be used for shops. They are turning many properties here into spaces of worship. There is nothing you can do because they have money. Many people have been forced to abandon their business areas to pave way for a church (Conversation, Street Trader 1).

My observations revealed that the majority of the businesspeople who complained about the growing presence of Pentecostal churches are those with small businesses and informal traders. The contestations between the two fields were therefore centred on controlling Hillbrow's prime economic areas. This has been evidenced by the concentration of these churches in specific areas and not in others. Many churches are located along Pretoria Street, Kotze Street, Esselen Street and Claim Street, arguably the busiest streets in Hillbrow. The neighbourhood's banking facilities, gambling facilities and popular food and fashion shops (Spar, Cambridge Foods, Shoprite, Supabets, Jet Stores, Ackermans, Mr Price, etc.) are all located along Pretoria and Kotze Street. These areas are clearly targeted because they are busy and provide fertile ground for the churches outreach and proselytizing mission. These areas are also convenient and well-serviced by the transport network, which make them appealing in a competitive field.

Apart from driving away other actors from the prime areas of business in the neighbourhood, complaints were also raised that the endless church activities also threaten other actors' source of livelihood. The case of one parking tout deserves some attention here. Lebo, a 30-year-old man from KwaZulu-Natal has been staying on the streets of Hillbrow since he was 10. He explained to me that from a tender age, he helped motorists to find parking, which has been his major source of livelihood. In his words, he has always been a 'hustler'. He explained:

> This is whole area (pointing to a sizeable area along Pretoria Street) is my parking territory. I control it. Some motorists pay me well, and some do not pay. But at least I

> get something. However, I have problems with most of your brothers who claim to be Christians. Whenever they come for their church services here (pointing at one building) they fill-up all the parking spaces along the streets and just go. On Sundays, we know that we do not get much from the motorists because all the public parking lots are filled by these church people all day. After their services, they just get into their cars and go, they will not even give you a single rand. They know we do not have anything here in the streets, but they do not care. I wonder which version of Christianity they practice (Conversation, Lebo, April 2019).

Lebo's account highlights a set of propositions about how 'good' or 'bad' people ought to behave that holds them accountable for hypocrisy as purported Christians. His narrative vividly sums up the struggles over public spaces between the different actors in the city. Public spaces such as streets may be interpreted as no-mans'-land by the church goers as the above narrative has shown, and yet, these public spaces also play an economic function in the lives of minority groups. Basically, it is the various interpretations of the use of space that breeds conflict and contestations over public urban space between different groups.

8.3.2 Churches and the creation of business opportunities

Whilst some participants expressed their dissatisfaction about the growing presence of Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow, some respondents argued that churches have actually enabled their businesses to grow. Speaking to one of the workers at a fast-food restaurant just across the CM church, the participant noted that their sales usually peak on Sundays when the churches (CM and other nearby churches) hold their main services. She said:

> There are a lot of churches around this area. Those are our target market. We have food for everyone, we diversify. The church services are always long. Some people will come in-between the services just to grab a drink or something. These people also have kids, and you know kids cannot go for longer periods without food, so they come here. Business is always good on Sundays, thanks to these churches (Conversation, Locadia, November 2018).

The narrative shared by the respondent above are similar to the observations that I made elsewhere in Hillbrow during my fieldwork. Prior to the nationwide lockdown (in response to COVID-19), with its restrictions on large gatherings, members of the Revelation Church of

God (RCG), an African indigenous initiated church, arguably the biggest church in Hillbrow in terms of followership would queue at a local fast-food outlet to purchase food during and after the church service. This trend continued even after the restrictions on lockdown regulations when church gatherings were permitted under Level 1. Apart from a 'booming' fast-food industry, informal traders also target the church goers lining up close to the churches.

Figure 23: Traders opposite the RCG church



Photo taken by researcher, November 2020

Figure 22 shows that there is indeed an emerging economy evolving around – and sustained by – various religious groups in the inner city. Some of the traders to whom I spoke expressed that they had expanded their niche market to meet the demands of the local Pentecostals. Apart from fruits and a variety of fast foods, products that are usually used for ritual purposes in Pentecostal churches were also on sale. Coarse salt[63] and white eggs for instance are used for different purposes in some Pentecostal churches. In the CD church, white eggs resemble fertility. Many women who experience fertility problems are therefore encouraged to bring white eggs for reproductive healing. This trend cuts across religious fields. One informal trader confirmed:

> These eggs are not different from any other eggs, but they have a unique meaning in the lives of many believers. They are always on demand and as you can see, I am

[63] Used for demon exorcism in the DCC church. Congregants are also encouraged to springle it in their homes to get rid of evil spirits.

> already running out of stock. I sell them 5 times the price of the other 'normal' eggs that you know. People still buy because they are advised to bring white eggs by their pastors or prophets especially those with reproductive problems (Conversation, Max, October 2019).

In plain economic terms, whenever the demand of a product exceeds its supply or availability, those in possession of the same product may inflate prices. In the case above, the price of an ordinary egg is inflated because of its demand and perceived reproductive healing properties. Interestingly, products such as white eggs and coarse salt do not form part of the churches' spiritual products that are branded and sold in the church, such as holy water and holy oil. This creates an opportunity for other business actors to tap into this gap.

In this section, I have highlighted the mutually interlacing and yet complicated relationship between the Pentecostal religious field and Hillbrow's economic field. I have argued that while the churches create economic opportunities for especially small-scale traders, such as vendors and those who operate fast-food restaurants, the churches also threaten the economic activities of other actors when the price of commercial space is inflated. Overall, Hillbrow's fields are also sites of not only competition but are characterised by moments of negotiation and compromise.

8.4 Pentecostal field versus political field: A marriage of convenience?

> A politically divided church is a spiritually divided church (Conversation, Brother Mike, June 2018)

The relationship between the church and politics has been explored since the pioneering writings of early sociologists, such as Durkheim (1912). Following Durkheim, scholars have largely focused on the influence of religion on political participation (Guth *et al.*, 2006; Driskell, Embry and Lyon, 2008; McCauley, 2014). These studies concluded that increased levels of religious participation or behaviour leads to increased levels of political participation. I argue that as Pentecostal and political experts seek legitimation from one another, the Pentecostal and political fields become sites of shifting coalitions, where both actors compete for ideological and material resources (Maxwell, 2000; Marshall, 2009). On the one hand, for the newly emerging and growing Pentecostal churches, they require support and legitimacy from the existing political parties, which is key for their survival in both the Pentecostal religious field and beyond. The growing membership in these churches,

on the other hand, is an important resource for political actors. Through the various mechanisms deployed by churches including indoctrination, religious elites may influence their members to side with the ruling party. I conceptualise the relations between the two fields as a marriage of convenience where both actors are conscious that their relations are of mutual benefits.

During one of the New Believers Foundation Courses, which I attend, my mentor stressed the importance of unity among the believers and argued that a divided church in all aspects of life may not witness the blessings of the Holy Spirit. Like any other Pentecostal church, the CD regards itself as a family of believers who are almost always under the spiritual guardianship of the church leader, whom they regard as Papa/Mama (father and mother respectively). As a father attempts to guide his children across different aspects of like, so is the prophet/pastor/evangelist in the Pentecostal field. These dynamics are key as starting points to illustrate how church members relate with political parties.

The City of Johannesburg is divided into six regions, A to G (www.joburg.org.za). The studied area broadly falls under Region F and precisely Ward 62[64]. Politically, Ward 62 is under the mandate of the ruling ANC government. Without overlooking the importance of exploring the relationality between the Pentecostal field and other political parties, precisely the Democratic Alliance and the Economic Freedom Fighters, my focus was mainly on exploring the relations between the Pentecostal churches and the ANC, the ruling party in Ward 62. My main reason for focusing on the ANC was informed by the fact that the area under study is politically under the mandate of the ANC. Apart from gathering details directly from the political actors, part of the details regarding the relations between the two fields were gathered from the CPF officials who maintain close relations with the political leaders in Hillbrow.

The study showed that emerging Pentecostal churches align more with the ruling ANC government even though this alignment is at times not clearly presented because the churches always attempt to dissociate themselves from earthly politics. During the church services, which I attended in both churches (CM and CD), it was the norm for the church leaders to always pray for the ruling party and its leadership, asking God to bless them and

[64] The boundaries between Ward 62 and Ward 63 are permeable, such that some parts of Hillbrow falls under Ward 63 (Berea). However, these different wards have their own different councillors, both from the ANC. My focus was on Ward 62 under Councillor Zama.

give them more wisdom to lead. Before ending every Sunday Service, Evangelist Mbam would say:

> Let us not forget to pray for our political leaders. Let us always pray for our president, Ramaphosa and his deputies. We have political leaders here in Hillbrow, they were ordained and chosen by God, let us continue to pray and support them (Fieldnotes, November 2018).

The above excerpt is similar to the observations that were also made at the CD church where emphasis on praying for the country's leaders and their deputies and that leaders are chosen by God were made by the church leaders during almost every Sunday church service. By insisting that leaders are chosen by God, and that church members continue to pray and recognise the current political leaders, the religious actors in a way campaign for the ruling party or legitimate their stay in power (Guth *et al.*, 2006).

8.4.1 Spiritualising urban problems

Emerging Pentecostal churches' canny relationship with the sitting government is also reflected by the fact that these churches do not publicly condemn the government or hold it accountable for different challenges that are faced in the city. A struggling economy, poor service delivery, corruption scandals, crime, violence broadly understood, poverty, infrastructural problems and any other challenges are not directly seen as government failures or neglect but are rather seen as the work of the devil. For this reason, the Pentecostals propose an approach that is more spiritual than physical to address the existing problems in the city. I realised there is a belief that the country should turn to God for solutions to these problems. The evidence suggested that there are enough economic opportunities for everyone in the country, and hence joblessness and poverty are the work of the devil. This gospel of relegating all challenges to the spiritual world thus bonds very well with the political leaders and shields them from taking full responsibilities for some of their failures. The focus in Pentecostal tradition on evangelisation and personal salvation in addition to some other social services offered in these churches, such as counselling, gives the impression that the growing Pentecostal churches will rather nurse the victims of predatory socio-economic systems rather than challenging the oppressive and inefficient structures of society (Olufunke, 2004).

Commenting on their relationship with Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow, one of the political leaders who spoke on condition of anonymity had this to say:

> We have a very good relationship with churches. We have no problems with them. Here and there we hear complaints and some accusations of certain things especially in the media, but I think they are offering a very important service to this community. We are a divided community, and the churches are doing their best to bridge this gap (Anonymous 2, June 2019).

That churches are providing essential services, both materially and spiritually has been illustrated in the preceding chapters where the link between religion and everyday life was explored (see Chapter 5).

Whilst the political leaders do not publicly condemn some of the controversial religious practices that have been at the centre of conflict between the church and the residents for political expediency, they however engage in backstage practices of naming and shaming other religious actors behind the scenes. Said one of the CPF leaders:

> During our regular meetings, those comrades from ANC come out and say this or that church is disturbing the community because of noise or something. They only discuss these issues in closed door meetings with us, but they do not do that publicly because they want to remain in power. They go to them soliciting for votes during campaigning times. Some of the members of these churches are eligible to vote and have voted for these councillors (Interview, CPF Chairperson, November 2018).

The narrative shared above suggests that the relationship between the Pentecostal churches is largely a marriage of convenience and is dependent on what one gets from the other. This does not however suggest that a relationship of mutuality devoid of conflict and contestations characterise the relations between the fields of politics and religion.

Some churches have always been vocal about the inefficiencies of governments. Since the dawn of democracy in Zimbabwe for instance, the ruling ZANU-PF government saw a decline of support from the mission churches, such as the Catholic Church as a result of corruption scandals, human rights abuse, and the mismanagement of the economy (Maxwell, 2000). In 2014, the relations between the ANC and the South Africa's mainstream churches (SACC) deteriorated under former President Jacob Zuma's administration (Mataboge and Hunter, 2014). The ANC was accused of being too comfortable with charismatic churches, owing to their lack of criticism for the ruling party.

At the Methodist church's conference in September 2014, the president of the church expressed concern about the state of affairs in the country (South Africa). He was quoted as saying:

> We have the sorry state of affairs where millions of our people are still in dire need of basic services like water, electricity, sanitation, housing, etc, the list is endless (Mataboge and Hunter, 2014).

Unlike mainstream churches, contemporary charismatic churches have a tendency of siding with ruling governments and hardly criticise them. Elsewhere in Nigeria, well-established and powerful Pentecostal churches have always had a very close relationship with ruling parties. In fact, the RCCG leader 'prophesied' and campaigned for the presidency of former president Obasanjo (1999–2007) of the People's Democratic Party (Ukah, 2003; Ojo, 2009). I would argue that supporting ruling governments is a strategy of ensuring survivability within and beyond the religious field. The Pentecostal participation in politics has also been observed in Brazil and the whole of Latin American countries (Olufunke, 2004).

What I have attempted to show in the preceding section is the complex relationship between the Pentecostal religious field and the political field in Hillbrow, a relationship that I perceive to be a marriage of convenience. The relationship between the two fields is largely based on what one stands to gain from the other. The political actors need religious actors to shield them from the responsibilities associated with poor governance such as crime rates, unemployment, violence, etc., which are often interpreted as spiritual problems in Pentecostal tradition. Additionally, the Pentecostal religious field is also used by the political actors as a hunting ground for votes. On the other hand, the Pentecostal religious actors also gain political capital, which is an equally important resource for surviving competition in the religious field. In a way, the Pentecostal religious actors gain part of their legitimacy from the political elites.

8.5 Pentecostal field versus the urban planning field

In its simplest sense, planning involves the making of decisions about how people use land. It is the ideology of how people define and use space (Gunder, 2010). Broadly, it is about the governing of space (Cowell and Owens, 2006). From its earliest development, the field of planning has always been modern in orientation, characterised by the privileging of scientific knowledge and empirical data as the sole, valid, and convincing form of knowledge beyond the divine and unseen (MacLaran and McGuirk, 2003; Howe, 1994, cited in Mwathunga

(2014). To this end, Sandercock (1998) identified five key pillars that characterise modernity and these have been foundational in the development of urban planning practice. These are, rationality[65], comprehensiveness[66], scientific reasoning[67], state action[68] and public interest[69]. The field of urban planning thus emerged on the premise that well-ordered cities can be created by applying the uncovered laws of spatial behaviour and organisation (Johnston, 2004).

The field of urban planning and its concern with the management of urban change (Pacione, 2009) has a long history arguably dating back to the 19th century. This field developed as a direct response to the industrialising effects of rapid urbanisation, unhealthy and polluted living conditions for poor people, and environmental threats among others (Ratcliffe, Stubbs and Shepherd, 2004; Watson, 2009). The field of planning therefore among other reasons, emerged as a remedy to squalor conditions, deprivation and growing levels of inequality necessitated by the industrial revolution in Europe. In the UK for instance, urban planning emerged as a stimulus to the concerns over the health and living conditions of the urban population owing to the succession of epidemics in the densely populated inner sections of many British cities (Mwathunga, 2014). Pacione (2009) noted that under the Public Health Act of 1875, local authorities were given the powers to close down bad buildings that were deemed unfit for human habitation.

Elsewhere, in the US, the field of urban planning also developed due to a growing concern for population congestion and public health in addition to the chaotic juxtaposition of land uses (Boyer, 1983; Beauregard, 1989, cited in Mwathunga, 2014). The above cases indicate that urban planning as a field was born as a panacea to the ills generated by the industrial revolution in Europe and spreading to the rest of the continents. Specifically, abstract spaces or representation of spaces were developed as a solution to urban challenges. In the UK, Ebenezer Howard's model of Garden Cities, for instance, was produced as spaces of order, an

[65] The social problems and inefficiencies associated with land use or allocation of resources can be resolved by the application of logic.

[66] Is based on the premise that cities are integrated systems of social and economic relations susceptible to coherent management and therefore can be comprehensively planned.

[67] Planners, by virtue of their scientific knowledge and expertise, have claimed a significant distance from political views and values and from the conflicting interests of labour, capital, and the state itself (Beauregard, 1996, cited in Mwathunga, 2014).

[68] The state as a progressive institution is regarded as an agency to implement master plans (Sandercock, 1998).

[69] This pillar is premised on the argument that social groups are united by public interests (Sandercock, 1998) and in this regard, it is the duty of the planners to identify those public interests for the common good for all.

alternative to the disorderly and chaotic cities produced by the industrial revolution (Kallus, 2001; Pacione, 2009).

In African cities, colonialism introduced Western planning ideas and resulted in the creation of new townscapes (Yuen, 2011). For Lefebvre, the production of abstract spaces in the cities of colonised countries was directly related to the production of the same in Western colonial cities (Lefebvre, 1978). Kipfer (2007) for instance noted how Algeria was conceived as part and parcel of the colonial motherland in France. In this regard, the production of space in post-colonial African cities, including Johannesburg, and precisely Hillbrow cannot be fully understood without considering how history (of colonialism) has shaped and facilitated the production of space. The relationship between colonialism and the production of urban space, particularly how colonial authorities used physical and spatial policies to consolidate power in colonial African cities is well documented (Yeoh, 2003; Home, 2013; King, 2015).

The brief background about the history of planning presented is an important starting point for understanding the contestations over urban space, a phenomenon that continue to characterise contemporary African cities (Rubin, 2008; Mwathunga, 2014).

I specifically attempt to show how these contestations play out between the Pentecostal religious field and government planning policies. From the onset, the current urban planning and Land Use Management (LUM) systems in place in South Africa have their roots in British planning activities that developed during the Industrial Revolution (Charlton, 2008). Unsurprisingly, the current land management practices in South Africa are largely modernistic in orientation. That modernity has had an unsettled relationship with religion throughout history is well documented (Hancock and Srinivas, 2008; Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013; Becker *et al.*, 2013). The limited discussions of religion in current LUM practices should therefore not come as a surprise.

I argue that the contestations over urban space between the Pentecostals and the city authorities are manifestations of the existence of diverse perceptions and ideas about urban space. The contestations are thus born from the mismatch between space as conceived (by planners and technical experts) and space as it is lived and experienced in everyday life by situated individuals (Lefebvre, 1991; Jabareen, 2006). As Simon (1999) noted, people in African cities have been increasingly bypassing the state and its formal procedures because they are not in sync with their needs and aspirations, leading to contestations over space. In the context of this study, evidence from the field suggests that despite the city bylaws and zoning regulations some of which prohibit the establishment of religious institutions

particularly in residential buildings, the Pentecostals, in their own ways continue to produce urban space. They produce religious spaces out of abstract spaces or the spaces of the technocrats and experts. This includes transforming warehouses, basements, and public spaces such as parks into spaces of worship. Earlier on in this chapter, I have indicated that one of the studied churches, the CD church, transformed a basement facility at Kangelani Court into a place of worship.

One of the major sources of contestations over space in the inner city, this study has shown, stems from the fact there seem to be a bias in the city's land management systems on the economic dimension of urban space as a site of capital accumulation and other social activities on one hand and a limited consideration of its spiritual or religious dimension on the other. The current spatial instruments (Spatial Development Framework-SDF, Integrated Development Plan-IDP, and other Land Use Schemes), which provide guidelines for land use and management in Johannesburg are very limited in their approach towards an emerging form of urbanism driven by religious institutions.

Much attention has been on addressing the spatial injustices of the apartheid period-the spatial inequalities and inefficiencies in the city (City of Johannesburg, 2016). Driven by the vision of a Compact Polycentric city and ensuring that Johannesburg becomes a spatially just World Class City by 2040, the SDF for instance stresses on addressing the legacy of apartheid by ensuring that the distance between where people live and where they work and access to other amenities such as schools and healthcare is reduced (Ibid). While religious institutions may fall within the categories of other social amenities (like schools and healthcare) (Interview, CoJ Official 4, August 2019), there is very little if any details in the SDF of where people church. Yet church going is a key component of everyday life in the city. Commenting on the SDF's oversight on places of worship, one of the city officials from the Development Planning Department had this to say:

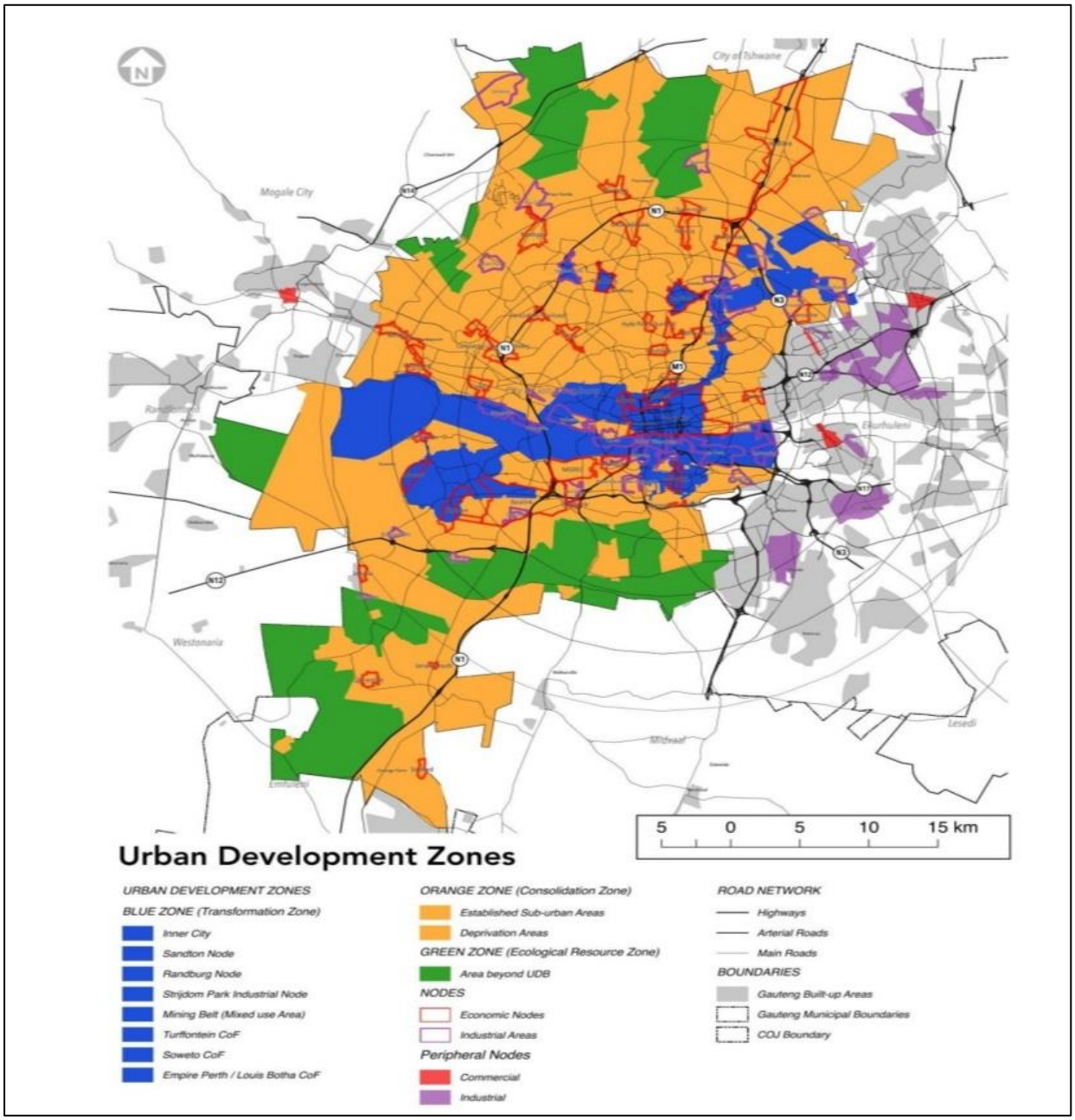
> In the SDF review, we did quite detailed mapping on access to amenities and other things but not churches. Maybe it was an oversight not to look at the churches. Churches however have primary rights[70] outside the Urban Development Boundary. There, land is abundant and cheap. (Interview, CoJ official 1, September 2018).

By definition, the Urban Development Boundary (UDB) can be conceptualised as an area containing two elements, namely, the Urban Development Area (UDA) and Urban Expansion

[70]These are permitted use rights without the need to first obtain the Council's consent. For instance, for residential, the primary right is dwelling.

Area (UEA) (Miami-Dade, 2008). The UDA denotes the real areas where development is taking place in the city whilst the UEA illustrates the future development direction in terms of the area located between the current urban development area (UDA) and the future development boundary. The UDB therefore becomes the area between the urban development area (UDA) and the urban expansion area (UEA). The figure below shows the various urban development zones of Johannesburg.

Figure 24: Urban Development Zones in Johannesburg



Source: City of Johannesburg, 2015

As the above figure shows, religious institutions are granted primary rights beyond the shaded green area, the UBD, especially those that lure large congregants. Even for those that are newly emerging, the unpredictability of their expansion and growth also explains why religious institutions may be given primary rights beyond the UDB. I would argue that granting primary rights to religious institutions in areas beyond the UDB suggests that it is in these areas where newly emerging religious institutions should be practically established.

In a context characterised by high mobility, fluidity and multiple forms of complexities, attention has been paid through various spatial instruments (IDPs, SDF, LUM) to ensure speed, efficiency, and order in the city. Understandably, granting primary rights at the fringes of urban space to institutions that attract large congregants is arguably one of the ways of easing congestion in the city centre. That said, these spatial practices are one of the major sources of contestations over space between authorities and the Pentecostals. In the production of space, Lefebvre reminds us that planners and designers of space have a tendency of seeing from 'on high and afar' (Lefebvre, 1991), that is, knowing all about space, and in the process, determining what needs to be done where, when and how. This approach towards planning, Scott (2008) argues, is likely to result in failed planning policies as it fails to reconcile the actual economic and social functions (religious in this context) of an area with the individual needs of its inhabitants. In this respect, Kallus (2001) strongly recommended that planners and designers of space need to adapt their plans in line with the requirements of various users of space in communities.

8.5.1 Informal churches and city by-laws

Since the dawn of democracy, South Africa's urban spaces have witnessed a proliferation of churches and this growth has largely been driven by Pentecostal religious institutions (Winkler, 2008; Ukah, 2010). While statistics are hard to come by, there is a general belief that the majority of the churches operating, especially those in the inner-city neighbourhoods of Johannesburg are 'illegal' churches. By 'illegal', I refer to those churches whose operations are not recognised and approved by city officials. In most instances, these 'illegal churches' are stubborn in their disregard of city by-laws, particularly those that are related to zoning regulations and land use in terms of the Town Planning Schemes. A study conducted by Winkler (2008) on FBOs in Hillbrow for instance revealed that the majority of the FBOs in Hillbrow do not have official consent use in terms of the Town and Planning Schemes to run religious organisations (Winkler, 2008).

The trend of 'illegal churches' in the inner city has persisted to date. The city authorities have condemned the operations of these churches, which are believed to contravene various city by-laws, especially those related to land use and public health. In 2017, the-then Mayor of Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba welcomed a court order by the South High Court, which prohibited a church in Yeoville to continue operating following a public outcry about the church's activities and noise (ANA, 2017). The owner of the church had transformed a house into a place of worship. The church, it was reported, was operating in contravention of city by-laws relating to building and land use.

The contravention of city by-laws by religious institutions is a very common phenomenon in the inner city. One of the studied churches (CD church) uses a basement facility at one of the residential properties in Hillbrow. In her own admission, one of the pioneering members of the church in Hillbrow explained how they demolished some of the pillars in the basement facilities to create space for worship. She explained:

> It was a lot of work when we moved to that facility (basement). We had to renovate the whole area and removing other things (built structures) to create space for congregants. You should have seen how it looked before we moved in (Interview, Thando, October 2019).

While residents may apply for a rezoning and change-of-use of a building, one of the city officials explained that such applications are not always approved, especially when they are likely to impact on other users of space. In this regard, it is highly likely that the church was not given permission to use this basement facility as a place of worship, since it is located in a residential unit where the church do not have primary rights. Churches are, however, given primary rights in the UDB in the new SDF.

8.5.2 Newly emerging Pentecostal churches beyond the UDB? No chance!

This study has shown that the prospects of ensuring that newly emerging churches get established away from the inner city is both practically and spiritually unrealistic. Firstly, it contradicts with one of the key objectives of the SDF, that is, people's accessibility to services (in this regard, the church). The proximity of the church to the congregants is a key resource

mobilised by the religious institutions to survive and yet at the same time, meeting the religious needs of the residents. As one participant noted:

> The church is very close, so I can afford to attend every service including those weekly sessions even after work. Imagine if the church was located somewhere else. I do not think I would afford to go, both moneywise and timewise (Conversation, Peshy, October 2019).

Importantly, the religious institutions are largely sustained by their own members. For newly emerging Pentecostal churches with very limited financial resources, moving away from the majority of their members may be disastrous for their survival. Location in this context is a significant factor to survive in a competitive religious field. From a Pentecostalian perspective, the location of the studied churches in the inner city also needs to be understood from a 'spirit-led' point of view. The church leaders and other participants expressed that the choice of selecting Hillbrow had nothing to do with the presence of available space for establishing the church. Instead, the choice was led by the spirit (Interview, Thando, October 2019). As a neighbourhood perceived to be operating under the influence of evil and demonic forces, the Pentecostal actors believe that the neighbourhood offers a conducive environment to unleash their religious mission, and transform Hillbrow into what it is not, and its residents into heavenly citizens. Put differently, it is not the areas beyond the UDB that needs to be delivered, but the inner city and its residents. Moving away from where the 'spirit' directed them to areas designated by authorities in the master plans is therefore likely to be resisted. Resultantly, there has been a growing transformation of and appropriation of various cityscapes into places of worship within the neighbourhood.

Additionally, the findings from this study revealed that the establishment of the Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow is also linked to the Pentecostal religious leaders' history and attachment with this community. Speaking about the changed personality and character of Evangelist Mbam of the CM church, Deacon Uche explained how the now 'man of God' transformed from being a gangster and drug dealer who used to ply his trades in the streets of Hillbrow before he was shown a 'vision' to start a church (Interview, Deacon Uche, November 2018). Considering that he has been involved in illicit dealings, the participant expressed that the evangelist saw the need to change the lives of people in this community, some of whom used to be accomplices. In many of the services that I attended at the CBM church, the evangelist would always use his personal history as reference point and reminding congregants to dedicate their lives to Christ.

What I have attempted to show in the preceding section is that there has been a relatively less considerations (in the planning instruments) of the spiritual dimension of space (for instance the belief that Hillbrow is under spiritual attack) which influence how different actors perceive, use and attribute meanings to space. For the Pentecostals, the spiritual/religious attachment and investments in place, community and personal histories all play a significant role in the production, reproduction, and contestations over urban space.

8.6 Conclusion

Seeing through Bourdieu's lens of field relationality, which is premised on the view that fields do not exist independently, but rather in relation to each other (P Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Bourdieu, 1998a; Echtler and Ukah, 2015; Medvetz and Sallaz, 2018), this chapter has adopted a macro-level approach to illustrating the relations between the Pentecostal religious field and Hillbrow's other social fields. Precisely, I have addressed the complex relations between the Pentecostal churches and the residential field, political field, economic field, and the planning field. Broadly, the chapter has argued that there exists a complex relationship characterised by a combination of contested mutualism and conflict. On the one hand, some residents consider Pentecostal churches to be playing a significant role in the creation and promotion of security through their various practices. On the other hand, the Pentecostal churches are also accused of directly and indirectly threatening the safety, security, and peace of others through their different programmes and activities, such as the use of high-powered sound systems. Because the churches command large followings, they are also used by political leaders as hunting grounds for potential votes. The relegating of urban social ills to the world of the spiritual, this chapter has shown, bodes well with inefficient politicians and especially the ruling party.

From a business perspective, the chapter has shown how Pentecostal churches are both promoting and threatening business opportunities of other actors through inflating rental prices and hence driving other competitors away from Hillbrow's prime economic sites. I have also shown how some small businesses are sustained by faith-based organisations. From a planning point of view, the chapter has highlighted how the limited attention to people's religious needs by the planning 'experts' and technocrats is one of the major drivers of the contestations of urban space between the Pentecostals and other actors in the neighbourhood. The chapter has thus called for a serious considerations of people's religious needs in the existing government planning policies.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Preamble

This thesis drew inspiration from and added a voice to a growing body of literature that is centring the religious in contemporary urbanism(s) (Maxwell, 2000; Meyer, 2004; Becker *et al.*, 2013; Biri, 2014; Garbin, 2014; Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016; Katsaura, 2017, 2019; Ukah, 2018b). Based on the evidence presented throughout the preceding chapters, I reiterate the following key arguments of this thesis: One, an alternative reading into the imprints of everyday life is not only desirable, but long overdue (Chapters 3 and 4). Two, there is an emerging form of urbanism – a kind of Pentecostal urbanism– that is being driven by Pentecostal religious institutions leading to the transformation of urban space in Hillbrow (Chapter 5). Three, in a context marred with high levels of insecurities and uncertainties, people transit and transect between sacred and secular worlds (Chapter 6). Lastly, this thesis has argued that the growing presence of Pentecostal religious institutions, and their various practices, breeds contestations over urban space with other stakeholders in Hillbrow at different scales (Chapter 7). A field relational analytical approach was incorporated to illustrate these dynamics.

In the sections that follow, I illustrate the relevance of my study findings and suggests other areas for further research. As a starting point, I show why the demand for Pentecostal religion has been growing, amidst multiple forms of insecurities and uncertainties.

9.2 Pentecostal religion and urban insecurities

This thesis has joined a growing body of literature that has illustrated that over the past decade, cities of the global south have been epicentres of region-wide religious revival driven by Pentecostal religious institutions (Meyer, 2004, 2007; Becker *et al.*, 2013; Garbin, 2014; Echtler and Ukah, 2015; Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016; Ukah, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016; Katsaura, 2017, 2019). Building on from this rich body of literature and without discounting other religious actors, such as Catholicism, Methodism, African Initiated Churches and African Traditional Religions, I reiterate that that there is an emerging form of urbanism driven by especially Pentecostal religious institutions in Hillbrow, as might be the case elsewhere in cities of the Global South.

Building on Simeone's (2002) assertion that the present holds times of great difficulties, I have attempted to show how Pentecostal religious organisations find relevance in urban spaces typified by heightened forms of insecurities and uncertainties (Giddens, 1991; Glennie and Thrift, 1992; Hancock and Srinivas, 2008; Anter, 2020). During these contemporary times, characterised by growing levels of precarity (Standing 2011) and an 'economy of illegalism' (Foucault 2009), typified by heightened levels of poverty, informality, violence, and insecurities, the retreating to the world of the religious by many people in urban areas is a significant characteristic of everyday life. Religion plays a functional role in helping people cope with existing urban challenges (Katsaura, 2017; Oosterban, 2005; Simone, 2004), particularly in a context where the state is becoming overwhelmed in meeting its social service provisions.

The retreating of many people into the world of the religious proves the outdatedness of the secularisation thesis which long predicted the demise of religion with the growing modernising of societies (Becci, Burchardt and Casanova, 2013). On the contrary, modernity, and its effects on human survival has not only necessitated the demand for Pentecostal religion, but has also aided its growth and popularity in different urban localities. In contemporary cities, the growth demand and presence of Pentecostal religion is contestably owing to its potential to simplify the complexities of urban life.

The signatures of religious institutions in Johannesburg's physical and social spaces points to the conclusion that the city is arguably turning into a 'churching city' and its society into a 'churching society' (Katsaura, 2017: 249). My observations and everyday engagements and experiences with Hillbrow as a resident of this community confirms Katsaura's (2017) arguments that indeed, the city is witnessing an upsurge of religion, including the religious appropriation of not only the public sphere, but also its private spaces such as residents' homes. I used the religious institutions' aggressive appropriation of the neighbourhood's soundscape as they compete for public presence to show how religious practices indeed infiltrate people's private homes as an example. However, whilst I agree with above sentiments that Johannesburg's communities are indeed turning into churching societies, I have suggested that seeing the city through the broader 'churching' lenses has the potential to underscore the specific form of religiosity whose influence is comparatively remarkable. Without overlooking other religious actors whose presence in Hillbrow is not only visible but also audible, the mapping exercise I conducted suggests that the neighbourhood is not only turning into a churching community, but specifically into an arguably Pentecostal religious community (see Chapter 5).

Despite its increasing presence in Hillbrow's various spaces, this thesis has also been very conscious of and avoided over romanticising Pentecostal religious institutions as providers of potential solutions to the neighbourhood's challenges. I have shown that the everyday life requires tangible material things, and these are rarely provided in Pentecostal churches. In Chapter 6, I showed how some members of the Pentecostal churches straddle between the worlds of the sacred and the profane in their attempts to meet their everyday needs, many of which are materialistic in orientation. To this effect, I presented the argument that grace alone is not enough for meeting the everyday needs of different people.

9.3 Contesting urban space in Hillbrow

Broadly, I have attempted to show how the urban field is a site of coalescing and conflicting interests between different stakeholders as they pursue different stakes or interests in the urban space. Specifically, the thesis has argued that the growing presence of Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow is also breeding contestations over urban space. As the preceding chapters have shown, these contestations over space manifest at different scales, micro, meso and macro.

At micro and meso levels, I argued that stakeholders in the religious field struggle to acquire various forms of capital such as spiritual capital (to control Hillbrow's spiritual scapes), recognition and legitimacy within and beyond the religious field (political capital); economic capital, with a gospel that is economic oriented-a gospel that demonises poverty; symbolic capital in the form of prestige and honour within and beyond the religious field and most importantly, social capital (membership). These different species of capital (Bourdieu, 2002; McKinnon, Trzebiatowska and Brittain, 2011; Echtler and Ukah, 2015) are instrumental for surviving a highly competitive religious field. As stakeholders struggle to access and control the key resources (capitals) in the religious field, especially membership, they devise different practices. I reiterate that some of these practices by the Pentecostals are at the centre of the contestations and conflict with other users of space in the neighbourhood. In the next section, I briefly highlight some of the practices employed by the Pentecostals as they struggle for legitimacy and recognition within and beyond the religious field.

9.4 Pentecostal practices and the struggle for legitimacy and recognition

From the onset, I reiterate that the religious experts in the Pentecostal field develop infrastructures of encapsulation which are intended to inculcate a particular Pentecostal

religious habitus that aligns with that of the church. These infrastructures of encapsulation as alluded to earlier on in this thesis operate at both the physical and ideological levels (Rambo, 1993). In explaining how the encapsulation manifest at a physical level, I gave an example of the endless trips to Mount Zion where communication with the outside world is restricted. Mount Zion is synonymous to a prayer camp where members visit for religious purposes for a significant period of time, usually in the presence of some of the church leaders (Ukah, 2016, 2018).

Beyond appropriating physical encapsulation strategies where members are practically distanced from the 'outside world', infrastructures of encapsulation as this study has shown are also mobilised at an ideological level. Educational institutions such as the New Believers Foundational Class and church programmes such as the Faith Clinic are for instance used as mechanisms to control the laity. The success of these measures, one would argue, is dependent on how they are presented as lacking any material interests by the religious experts. As Bourdieu (1991) argues, the recognition of the legitimacy of the religious elites and their dominant practices is out of misrecognition by the laity (Echtler and Ukah, 2015; Medvetz and Sallaz, 2018). Overall, the infrastructures of encapsulation adopted are an attempt by the religious experts to produce hegemonic or dominant structures in the religious field.

However, the study has also argued that these dominant structures are also equally challenged by the church goers in rationally calculative ways that are not meant to disrupt the structures within the Pentecostal religious field, but rather, survive within these structures. To this end, the study benefitted much from scholars who have written extensively on the subtle forms of resistance employed by less powerful groups in the face of dominant hegemonic structures (De Certeau and Randall, 1984; Scott, 1990; Bayat, 2000, 2007). I stress that the symbolic forms of resistance employed by the congregants are not just random actions but have logic to be grasped (De Certeau and Randall, 1984). The congregants are aware of what they stand to benefit both at a spiritual and to some extent material level (through church networks) and hence they devise tactics that are subtle and non-confrontational. I observed a duplication of these practices in both the studied churches.

In a complex urban setting where different actors co-produce the city, I attempted to show how the Pentecostal churches relate with other actors of fields in the neighbourhood. I concluded that the relations between Pentecostal churches and other fields is both mutual and conflictual. At a mutual level, I explored the significant contributions of Pentecostal

churches in the promotion of safety and security by transforming some of the dilapidated structures that could potentially be used for crime related purposes (see Chapter 7) into places of worship. Other surveillance systems and church programs that runs throughout the week also make the neighbourhood active and alive at all times and in the process deters some criminal activities. From a livelihood perspective, this study has also shown that religious institutions are also creating economic opportunities for especially small businesses and informal traders. I argued that there is a growing urban economy that is sustained by religious institutions in general and Pentecostal churches in particular.

At a conflictual level, I showed how the various religious practices by the Pentecostals are the major sources of conflict and contestations over space with other stakeholders in the neighbourhood. I reiterate that the use of sophisticated sound systems by the Pentecostal churches as they attempt to: a) invoke the 'Holy Spirit' and b) control the neighbourhood's soundscape and in the process making claims to space breeds contestations and conflict with other users of space, particularly the residents. The ability of sound to transgress spatial boundaries suggests that public sound can infiltrate private spaces such as people's homes and can have detrimental effects to other people's well-being. In a community characterised by high levels of proximity and socialisation, the competition to control the aural creates conflict in the neighbourhood.

Although I have illustrated that there is an emerging urban economy being sustained by religious institutions, I also acknowledge that Pentecostal churches' appropriation of various spaces in the neighbourhood is also threatening other business actors who are pushed away from the prime economic areas of the neighbourhood. I have shown in Chapter 7 how the churches are in some instances, manipulate the rental prices.

9.5 Perceptions about space

While some practices such as the violent appropriation of the neighbourhood's soundscape were highlighted as being at the centre of conflict between the Pentecostals and other stakeholders in the neighbourhood, I observed that the different understandings and perceptions about space is also huge factor contributing to contestations over space in Hillbrow. My observations and conversations showed different stakeholders seem to overlook the multiple dimensions and functions about space to the extent that they consider space as rigid and fixed, and lacking any potential to serve multiple functions. Yet Lefebvre (1991) reminds us of the multidimensionalities and fluidities of space. The challenges

associated with other stakeholders' perceptions about space as lacking multiple functions seem to be influenced by how space has been conceived by technical experts in the field of planning. The field of planning for instance has the power to produce space through its various instruments.

The conversion of abstract space or conceived space, i.e. the space of technocrats, architects, planners, and scientists, into lived spaces by the users of space points to the limitations in the existing planning instruments to attend to the different needs of people in the community. The transformation of various spaces such as basements, warehouses, residential units etc. into places of worship has to be understood against the backdrop of a lack of considerations of the different religio-social needs of people in the community in existing planning instruments. Following this line of argument, I concur with Simon's (1991) observations that people in African cities continue to bypass the state and its formal procedures because they are not in sync with people's aspirations and needs. As Rubin (2008: 23, 23) argues, land use in Johannesburg is taking place in a variety of ways "that are ignoring the official land use schemes and zoning regulations precisely because they do not support a range of activities that are in demand by the people living and working in these areas." The existing conflict and contestations over urban space is thus a result of the formal regulation of an area and the actual activities that are taking place in that area (Ibid). I reiterate that by paying less attention to the religio-social and spiritual needs of people in various communities, the field of planning, broadly understood is perpetuating contestations and conflict over urban space.

9.6 Key lessons of the study

Cities of the global south, particularly cities in Africa are experiencing growing rates of urbanisation (United Nations, 2014, Harrison 2017). The need to develop new ways of understanding cities of the global south-a new range of urbanism (Parnell and Oldfield 2014; Shatkin 2007, Roy 2009) is not only desirable, but long overdue if we are to keep pace with contemporary developments in our cities today. As this study has shown, there is an emerging form of urbanism being driven by Pentecostal religious institutions. In this regard, I offer a sympathetic and yet cautious reading of the city through the Pentecostal religious lenses.

Sympathetic in the sense that the current urban developments, call for an urgent need to revisit, rethink and recentre the religious in contemporary theorisations and understandings of our increasingly urbanising cities in the global south. The recentring of the religious in

understanding contemporary urban processes in the global south is very key, particularly in a context where there is not only the growing presence of religious institutions and its appropriation of the public sphere, (De Witte, 2008; Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016; Ukah, 2016; Oosterbaan, 2017), but also where discussions about religion in urban spaces have received scant attention compared to other fields such as governance, informality, violence, security, migration among others (Murray, 2008; Parnell and Robinson, 2012; Haferburg and Huchzermeyer, 2014; Harrison *et al.*, 2014; Parnell, 2014; Parnell and Pieterse, 2014; Rubin *et al.*, 2016). Following Katsaura (2017), I reiterate the need to read the African city by recounting rather than discounting the religious.

On a cautious level, I also warn of the potentialities to over-religionise cities of the global south for such an approach may risk overlooking other aspects of city life that equally deserve attention. In this regard, I propose the multiple readings of the cities and a focus on all socio-economic, spatial, political, religious aspects of city life. One way of doing this is by reviving Bourdieu's lost urban sociology (Savage, 2012). His 'thinking tools' of the field, habitus, capital, practice has the potential to offer novel thoughts on contemporary urban developments including the growing presence of Pentecostal religious institutions and their relations with other stakeholders or actors in the cities.

Concurring with others who have written before me (Rubin, 2008; Katsaura, 2013; Mwathunga, 2014), I suggest that the field of urban planning needs to be conscious of and appeal to the various needs of different groups in the society, what has been refereed elsewhere as *social town planning* (Greed, 1999). Social town planning, writes Greed, may be understood as any movement to introduce policies that take into account more fully the needs of the diversity of human beings who live in our towns and cities (Greed, 1999: 4). Following Greed (1999), I suggest that the culture and composition of the planning field needs to be more representative and reflective of the different needs of different groups in the society, including needs related to the practices of religiosities. The approaches to planning that are too technicalistic in orientation and lacking a social dimension (religious needs for instance) undermines the different needs of certain groups in the community and are likely to be resisted at different levels.

An approach to planning that considers the above has the potential to contribute towards the minimisation of conflict and contestations over space either between the state and different actors in the society, or amongst the different stakeholders on their own. What has been identified as one of the major sources of contestations and conflict over urban space in

Hillbrow are the different understandings and perceptions of space, with many stakeholders seeming to have a non-flexible understanding of space because it has been designed for a particular use by the experts. Considering the different needs of people therefore has the potential to overcome societal 'rigid' and non-flexible understanding about space, and in the process, minimises the potentialities of contestations and conflict between different stakeholders.

At a methodological level, I challenge researchers to engage and consider waiting as a methodological tool that has the potential to enrich research in diverse ways. Rather than seeing waiting through the unproductive lenses, waiting has to be mobilised as an important tool of research, and a valuable condition for conducting ethnographic research. I suggest there is need for a rethinking of conducting ethnographic research beyond observations and embedding oneself in the lifeworld of the research.

9.7 Areas for further research

Building on from studies that have explored religious institutions' appropriation of not just the public but also private spheres in contemporary urban spaces (De Witte, 2008; Becker *et al.*, 2013; Garbin, 2014; Lanz and Oosterbaan, 2016; Ukah, 2016; Wilhelm-Solomon *et al.*, 2016; Oosterbaan, 2017; Katsaura, 2019), this study has also opened up new areas for further inquiry. The following are my suggestions.

Although the focus of this study was on Pentecostal churches, it would be key to explore how other non-Pentecostal religious institutions, such as the African Initiated Churches, specifically the Revelation Church of God (RCG) whose beliefs in culture and tradition are in stark contrast to Pentecostal beliefs. The RCG attracts a huge following in the inner city and is also contributing towards the transformation of the urban in various ways. Very little if any scholarly attention has been paid on understanding the relevance and significance of this church in the inner city and its relations with other stakeholders beyond just its history and controversies published in newspapers (Collison, 2017; Dlamini, 2017b; Sunday News, 2021).

There is an urgent need to analyse how the field of planning and its related instruments on land management are perpetuating conflict and contestations over urban space considering their arguably lack of considerations on the activities that people engage in on an everyday basis. A study that reflects on these dynamics has the potential to improve and enrich the planning field and might minimise the contestations over urban space. This is a key for a city

with a vision of attaining a world class city status by 2040. I suggest that the vision to attain a world class city status begins by ensuring that conflict and contestations over urban space are minimised. A conflict-ridden world-class city status is not only unsustainable, but also elusive.

While this study was limited to the inner-city neighbourhood of Hillbrow with a specific attention on two immigrant-run Pentecostal churches, I suggest the need for a large-scale study to gain an appreciation of Pentecostal religious institutions' transformative force of the urban. Such a large-scale study may use this research as a starting point.

This study also challenges other researchers to explore alternative and innovative ways of doing qualitative ethnography particularly under circumstances where traditional modes of doing ethnographic research may be threatened by unforeseen challenges, a pandemic for instance. The current COVID-19 pandemic requires innovative ways of doing research. This study has offered distant ethnography as a starting point. Future researchers can build on this idea and also explore other alternative, authentic, and reliable ways of gathering information.

Despite the challenges, both anticipated and otherwise that were encountered in this research, this study has however managed to offer a significant alternative reading of the urban (Johannesburg) through a focus on its Pentecostal religious identity. Broadly, the study has thus contributed to a situated theoretical and empirical approach to questions related to Pentecostalism, spatialities, relationalities and the everyday life of a post-colonial city in Africa. Policy-wise, the study has called for a rethinking of the existing spatial policies and land management systems which somehow seem to be modernistic in orientation and lack a serious considerations of people's religious needs.

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11. Appendices

Appendix A: Fieldwork Activities Summary

Data Gathering Technique	Frequency of deployment	Activity
Participant Observation	Almost 2-3 times per week	Regular attendance of weekly church services, interchanging between the studied Pentecostal churches.
In-depth interviews	52 Interviews were conducted	Interviews were conducted with church members and key informants. The key informants were the church leaders, City of Johannesburg officials, and Community leaders.
Informal conversations	Countless	The informal conversations were conducted with especially residents and street traders. Participants would also help to locate some of the Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow.
Street ethnography	Almost everyday	This involved moving around the neighbourhood and interacting with people on a daily basis.
Virtual ethnography	During the lockdown period	The restrictions on movements and church gatherings as efforts to contain the COVID-19 virus made physical contact nearly impossible. Church participation was therefore done through the virtual space.

Appendix B: List of Respondents, church members and key informants

Name	Age	Gender	Organisation
Thando	24	Female	Christ's Disciples (CD) church
Brother Mike	43	Male	CD church
Givy	38	Male	CD church
Sandy	28	Female	CD church
Patience	25	Female	CD church
Moses	30	Male	CD church
Kofi	28	Male	CD church
Thobile	29	Female	CD church
Rom	28	Male	CD church
Thami	32	Male	CD church
Peshy	25	Female	CD church
Anonymous	N/A	Female	CD church
Nane	21	Male	CD church
Sister Zee	38	Female	CD church
Emmanuel	22	Male	CD church
Anonymous	20	Female	CD church
Magogo	N/A	Female	CD church
Tawaz	38	Male	CD church
Lindo	26	Female	CD church
Panasy	22	Male	CD church
Uke	28	Male	CM church
Olga	25	Male	CM church
Praise	28	Female	CM church
Uncle J	30	Male	CM church
Thabiso	30	Male	CM church
Solo	30	Male	CM church

Taku	26	Male	CM church
John	N/A	Male	CM church
Sunshine	24	Female	CM church
Victory	27	Female	CM church
Anonymous	N/A	Male	CM church
Skyler	N/A	Female	CM church
Tafa	32	Male	CM church
Kris	18	Male	CM church
Leigh	23	Female	CM church
Nyasha	45	Male	CM church
Sibongile	33	Female	CM church
Mavy	22	Female	CM church

KEY INFORMANTS

CoJ Director	N/A	Female	City of Johannesburg, Region F
CoJ Official 1	N/A	Male	City of Johannesburg, Planning
CoJ Official 2	N/A	Female	City of Johannesburg, City Safety
CoJ Official 3	N/A	Female	Johannesburg Development Agency
CoJ Offical 4	N/A	Female	City of Johannesburg, Planning
CoJ Official 5	N/A	Female	City of Johannesburg, Planning
Pastor W	42	Male	International Church (IC)
Street Evangelist	44	Male	N/A
Prophet Kizito	N/A	Male	Christ Disciples church
Deacon Uche	41	Male	Christian Mission church
Community Leader	45	Male	Hillbrow Residents Association
Sekuru Phiri	N/A	Male	Traditional healer
CPF Chairperson	45	Male	Community Policing Forum
Anonymous	N/A	Male	ANC

Appendix C: Conversation guide

Section 1: Background Data

- Date and place
- Gender, age, neighborhood of residence, religious affiliation

Section 2: Pentecostals

1. For how long have you been going to this church?
2. Why do you go to this church?
3. Describe your average day/week and how is your belief system/church affiliation woven into it?
4. Do you have any religious objects (like wrist bands, holy oil, calendars, stickers etc) that you have received either from your church or from anywhere else?
5. If yes, what do you use them for? If no, would you want to have them? For what reasons?
6. What do you think of Hillbrow?
7. Are there any changes regarding the way you conduct your religious practices here in Hillbrow like you do in your home country?
8. What are the similarities and differences between Hillbrow and your home area (country of origin) and how do these distinctions or similarities impact on your religiosities?
9. Do you attend the same church back at home (country of origin)?
10. If yes, how are these churches related? If no, what are the commonalities and differences between this church and the one you attend back home?
11. How often do you contact your fellow church members from your country of origin, how, and under what circumstances?
12. How does the church relate with the community?
13. How does the church relate with other churches or religious groups?

Section 3: Key Informants

a) Community leaders (CPF), CoJ members

1. What do you think of Pentecostal churches in Hillbrow?
2. What is their relationship with other organisations or institutions in the city?

3. What are the perceptions of the community on Pentecostal churches?
4. What contributions are Pentecostal churches making in the neighbourhood?
5. Are there any policies governing the operations of newly emerging Pentecostal churches in the city?
6. In what ways have Pentecostal churches changed spaces in the city?
7. What are the implications?
8. Are there sites that are strictly allocated for religious purposes?
9. What measures are put in place on churches that contravene city by-laws?

b) Religious leaders

1. Can you elaborate on the history of the church?
2. When was the church established here in Hillbrow?
3. Why was it established here?
4. How was this branch established?
5. What challenges did you encountered when you were establishing this church in Hillbrow and how did you overcome them?
6. Do you have any other branches here in Johannesburg? If yes, where, if no, then why are you located in Hillbrow?
7. How big is your membership?
8. Who are the members of your church (group composition)?
9. How do you attract new and retain old members?
10. Why do you think these people come to your church?
11. How best can you describe your church in relation to other churches or religious institutions?
12. How often do you conduct your religious practices here at church? What programmes do you have for your followers?
13. Are there circumstances which impact on your religious practices? What are they?
14. Can you elaborate on your relationship with other influential Pentecostal churches in your home country?
15. Can you explain your church's leadership structures?
16. Why is this church important in this community?
17. How does the church relate with the residents, political parties, city authorities and business community?
18. Do you own this building, or you are renting?

19. What are your opinions on traditional beliefs and practices?

Appendix D: Ethics Clearance

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Murahwa

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	PROTOCOL NUMBER: H10/06/24
PROJECT TITLE	Migrant pentecostal churches and the transformation of urban spece in Johannesburg
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Mr B Murahwa
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Architecture and Planning/
DATE CONSIDERED	22 June 2018
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved Permission letters are required before data collection can commence
EXPIRY DATE	07 August 2021

DATE 08 August 2018 CHAIRPERSON (Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr M Rubin and Dr O Katsaura

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. **I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.**

Signature

24 / 08 / 2018
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix D: Plagiarism declaration

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

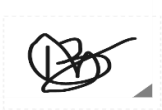
School of Architecture and Planning

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY

Declaration by Students

I, Brian Murahwa (Student number: 762676) am a student registered for the degree of Urban and Regional Planning (PhD) in the year 2021. I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that ALL the work submitted for assessment for the above course is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.



Signature

Date: 30 April 2021