

MEGA-CHURCHES AND THE NEO- PENTECOSTALISATION OF SOUTH AFRICA’S BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

at

Rhodes University

by

Amuzweni Lerato Ngoma

ORCID ID

26 May 2023

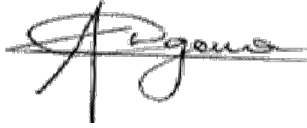
Abstract

This thesis argues that the presence and expansion of South African neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (neo-PCCs) and mega-churches holds significant political economy consequences. Methodologically, the thesis is anchored on digital and in-person ethnography, life history and in-depth interviews. The central argument of this thesis is that neo-PCCs and mega-churches are holding spaces for societal change. The symbolic capital of neo-PCCs and mega-churches and the neo-Pentecostalist habitus, which is co-produced by middle-classes acts as a conduit that facilitates social transitions of political and economic orders. Indeed, religion emerges as a transition mechanism as Durkheim argued for France. It has helped South African social groups to extricate themselves from racist discourses, foster non-racialism and build empowered, somewhat deracialised modern middle-class discourses and tastes. White and Black middle classes have co-produced neo-Pentecostal habitus in the post-apartheid era, that have first, built dispositions for neoliberal capital democracy from apartheid capitalism, second as a middle classing and elite making mechanism and field, third as a stabilising, consolidating and upward strategy of social reproduction. In this way, neo-PCCs and the Black middle class have significantly affected the post-apartheid social formation by producing dispositions that uphold financialised neoliberal capitalism. Significantly, accumulated cultural capital is an indispensable resource in initiating and building post-apartheid institutions. As in the neo-PCC field, it has been pastors, prophets and bishops that have demonstrated the capability to accumulate, transubstantiate and maintain cultural capital that has made their churches comparatively durable social institutions.

In a political economy context of state-capture and corruption, a post-GFC-and-COVID-19 milieu characterised by the absence of economic growth, rising unemployment, business closure and ever-increasing interest rates that affect indebted middle-class households and the poor alike, the mega-churches studied herein and their neo-Pentecostalist Black middle class adherents expressed an intense dislike for South African politicians across party lines, and especially the poor performance of the African National Congress-dominated state. So that it is possible that mega-churches and their leaders will outlive many new political parties and independents in the same way that they have outlived post-1994 political parties such as the New National Party, Agang South Africa and the Independent Democrats. Much like the buffer Black middle class that was promoted by the apartheid state as a project of reforming apartheid in the 1970s, whose political activism was pragmatically disengaged, this will likely continue, unless if, generally the post-apartheid Black middle classes shift their sociality from in-ward looking-enclaved social anxiety.

Declaration

I declare that this report is my own unaided work. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy at Rhodes University, Makhanda. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'A. Ngwenya', written over a horizontal line.

10 May 2023

Dedication

Mama

Anne Tshepo Ngoma

20.12.1957 – 26.08.2019

Mama. I love you. You're so lovely. I miss you fiercely.

Rest in Peace. Rest in Power. Rest in Love. Rest in Love. Rest in Glory and Joy.

I see you in everything.

Kia is well. She's a kind, gentle and brilliant human person. So thank you.

I finished it for you. (not a new verr-pha, I promise schmomise).

Acknowledgements

I thank the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIHSS) for financial support. I owe so much to every BMC person that I interviewed. Thank you so much. Roger and Lucien, thank you. Fumes and Francesco Biagini thank you for caring for me. My besties Tumi le Tebo. Bo mamogolo baka Ohara, Mina and Silly. Mmane Olly le Dorcas. Malome Champie. Wandile Ngcaweni for listening to me day in and day out, and checking my references. Lots of love to you all.

Kia wa mama! Ke go rata rati, my BDF! Best Daughter Forever 😊

Le wena Bafana, ke a go leboga.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Declaration.....	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	v
CHAPTER ONE	15
Introduction.....	15
The South African Christian landscape.....	15
 The need for definition	18
Neo-Pentecostal Charismatics.....	18
Middle Class.....	21
Driving forces of Black middle class neo-Pentecostalisation	24
Context of the Research	37
The research problem: Meanings and identities of Black middle classness.....	37
Purpose of the Study.....	42
Research Aim and Question	43
Methodological Approach.....	44
The Case Studies: Rhema, Grace and Rivers	44
Methods	45
Profile of the BMC neo-Pentecostals.....	46

Sermons.....	48
Scholarly Value.....	50
Thesis Outline	51
CHAPTER TWO	53
Theoretical and Conceptual Framework.....	53
Introduction	53
Classical Sociology of Religion	53
Durkheim: the sociological method, society and social facts	56
Durkheim’s collective effervescence	58
Sacred/Profane dichotomy	59
Social Solidarity	59
Motivational source.....	60
Social Control.....	60
Marx’s ‘Opiate of the masses’	61
Weber’s Verstehen and Protestant ethic	63
Weber’s types of Social Action.....	64
The Reformation	65
The Doctrine of Predestination	66
The Calling.....	66
Reformist Political Attitudes	67
Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice.....	67

Habitus	69
The Field	74
Capital	75
Spiritual Capital.....	78
Symbolic violence	80
Bourdieu's theory of social differentiation: Secularisation	81
Discussion Bourdieu's Sociology in the analysis of religion and class	83
Operationalisation	85
CHAPTER THREE	88
The Pentecostal Inheritance.....	88
Introduction	88
A Pentecostal Inheritance Framework	89
Growth and Size of Neo-Pentecostal Charismatics	89
South Africa's Christian field.....	91
The numbers: South Africa's Religious Landscape	91
Christian denominational affiliation by race	94
Christian denominational affiliation by sex	94
Theological Character of Pentecostal Charismatics.....	95
Institutional Change: development of the field and capital.....	101
Missions and Land.....	104
Racialisation: Schism and Breakaways	105

Black leadership: Autonomy, dissent & secession	108
Fragmentation and its implications for Black unity	111
Church structure and ministries	113
Relationship with state, politics and leaders	113
Ordering Social Lives: development of the habitus	114
Features of early South African Pentecostalism	122
Conclusion: inherited Pentecostal Practice	123
CHAPTER FOUR	125
Inception story as a Prosperity Artefact and Devise	125
Introduction	125
Inception Stories	127
About Rhema Bible Church	127
Rhema: Growing towards mega-church status	135
McCauley: charisma and church growth	138
McCauley's association in the neo-PCC field	142
About Grace Bible Church	145
Grace: growing towards mega-church status	147
Sono's association in the neo-PCC field	156
About Rivers Church	160
Becoming a mega-church	163
Rivers: overcoming racism	166

Olivier's association in the neo-PCC field	168
Political Postures of megachurch leaders	170
Conclusion: self-stylised symbolic capital	174
CHAPTER FIVE	176
Generating a digitised prosperity habitus	176
Introduction	176
Fields as the driving forces of the neo-PCC habitus and capital.....	177
Digitisation and professionalisation as a driving force	178
<i>Digitisation: electronic and social media</i>.....	182
Digital Applications (Apps)	183
Social Media and the online presence of mega-churches.....	185
Generating a socialised prosperity habitus: a schematic approach	187
Figure 4: Structuring structure - neo-PCC habitus, Source: author formulation.....	190
Structuring the Habitus – Generating the organising principles	190
Charisma of the leader.....	190
Vision, mission and statements of faith.....	191
Rhema, Grace and Rivers' vision, mission and values	191
Rhema, Grace and Rivers' statements of faith	192
Church Ministries.....	194
New believers, baptising and volunteering	195
Services	196

Sermon structure, style and practices.....	197
Tithes and Offering	199
Liturgical styles and practices	200
The church campuses and buildings	202
Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Pulpit.....	206
CHAPTER SIX	213
Introduction.....	213
Neo-PCC Field Contestation Framework.....	214
Constitutional Right to Freedom of Association and Religion.....	214
Fracturing legitimacy: occurrences of neo-PCC fallout	215
State legitimacy: CRL Investigation	222
CRL Aftermath and its former chairperson	226
CRL Aftermath and SARS	227
CRL Aftermath and Metropolitan Police.....	228
COVID-19 Regulation and Neo-PCCs	229
Social legitimacy: miracles and healing	232
Classificatory struggles: Ordained Credentials and State regulation?	235
Mega-Church leader legitimacy	237
Contesting the money aspect of prosperity	242
Limits to the Prosperity Gospel habitus	243
Balancing the Prosperity Gospel habitus.....	247

Negativity around tithing and giving	248
Pentecostal rootedness & habitus (symbiosis v. contestation)	251
Societal legitimacy: sexuality	255
Conclusion	257
CHAPTER SEVEN	259
‘I’m blessed and highly favoured:’ Pentecostalist Socialities	259
Introduction	259
Conversions	259
The neo-Pentecostalisation of BMC identity	266
Neo-Pentecostalising BMC consumption practices	274
Neo-Pentecostalising BMC political dispositions	277
Conclusion	286
CHAPTER EIGHT	287
Conclusion: The Quest for Stabilisation	287
Contemporaneous urbanisation and BMC neo-Pentecostalisation	287
Social mobility and doctrinal changes	290
On Consumption	291
On their Theological Habitus	292
On the neo-PCC field	292
The digitised Prosperity Habitus	293
Mapping mega-church symbolic capital	295

REFERENCES	302
Table 1: Recode of Religion by Occupation and Race*	17
Table 2: Rhema, Grace and Rivers mega-church indicators	45
Table 3: Mid-year population estimates for South Africa by population group and sex, 2021 ...	45
Table 4: Life interviews	47
Table 5: In-depth interviews	48
Table 6: Cited Sermons	49
Table 7: Cited Talks.....	50
Table 8: Cited Radio and Television Interviews	50
Table 9: Pentecostals Evangelicals by Race and Province	90
Table 10: Christians in South Africa from 1911 – selected years.....	92
Table 11: Identification with a Religion, Census 2001.....	92
Table 12 Christian denominational affiliation by Race.....	94
Table 13: Christian denominational affiliation by Sex	95
Table 14: First Wave Pentecostal Practice: field, habitus and capital.....	123
Table 15: Selected Recode of church affiliation by Population group - Person weighted 15-64 years. October 2001 boundaries	128
Table 16: Grace Bible Church Financial Performance, 2016.....	147
Table 17: Grace: Number of branches & buildings.....	148
Table 18: McCauley, Sono and Olivier political posture.....	172
Table 19: Churches and church leaders appearing before CRL	224

Table 20: Alert level summary, objectives & criteria for determination and lockdown dates ..	229
Table 21: Church biography of BMC neo-Pentecostals	259
Table 22: Third Wave Pentecostal Practice: field, habitus and capital	291
Figure 1: Recode of Pentecostal Charismatic Churches by Occupation and Race.....	16
Figure 2: Bourdieu’s types of capital (adapted from Walther, 2014:11)	78
Figure 3: Percentage distribution of Christian denominational affiliation, Source: Community Survey 2016, Stats SA	93
Figure 4: Structuring structure - neo-PCC habitus, Source: author formulation	190
Figure 5: Typical church ministries of Rhema, Grace and Rivers, authors formulation	194

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

A tangible feeling of anxiety that has only vague contours, but is still acutely present. ... We live today, in a state of constant anxiety about the dangers that could strike unannounced, at any moment. Your job, even in the most reputable and apparently very rich company, may suddenly disappear tomorrow morning. You go to bed. You may wake up redundant. People in the middle class, at the moment self-assured and at the moment well-off. But damn afraid that it may not last, that they may at any moment lose their social position.

Zygmunt Bauman, 23 July 2016. Aljazeera interview.

... it is important to observe that a petty bourgeoisie- or, indeed any class - does not simply appear full grown, defined and self-conscious.

Cobley, 1990:3.

The South African Christian landscape

This thesis examines the neo-Pentecostalisation of the post-apartheid Black middle class (BMC). It studies how parts of the post-apartheid BMC and mega-churches in the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field craft a socialised Prosperity Gospel habitus as a new, added layer and form of post-apartheid social identity.

The rapid emergence of the post-apartheid Black middle class and the exponential growth of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (neo-PCCs) are South Africa's highly visible, novel and significant socio-cultural, economic and political developments. Neo-PCCs, as explained below, are a new generation of charismatic evangelical churches that have been emerging since the 1970s, and rapidly so in the 1990s. Their explosive proliferation in South African society is also evidenced by their numerical dominance. Between 1993 and 2003, the BMC expanded by 21% per annum (Schlemmer, 2005), while every 2.1 days, a new neo-PCC was created (Marjorie Froise, 1996 cited by Chipkin and Leatt, 2011). About 20% of the new BMC experienced "rapid social mobility" as they previously held no jobs and had instead been political activists, unemployed or students (Schlemmer, 2005:7).

Based on changes between the 1996 and 2001 Census data, Pentecostal Charismatic Churches, comprising the classical, mega and community churches grew by 65% (Schlemmer, 2008:24). This rate of growth is higher than the overall rate at which Christianity grew, recorded at 17% and how much all

the Apostolic Churches grew, stated as 25%, *ibid.* According to data from the Census of 2001,¹ Pentecostal Charismatic Churches are the third largest South African religious group at 15%, after Mainline Protestant Churches (MPCs) at 25% and African Initiated Churches (AICs) at 32% (Rule and Mncwango, 2010). According to the Community Survey of 2016 by race, the top three denominational affiliations for Blacks are first the AICs at 13 539 103, followed by Pentecostal or Evangelistic Churches at 7 043 021 and the Roman Catholic Church (RCC) at 2 852 341 (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Comparatively, the Reformed Churches dominate among whites, with 868 486 adherents followed by the ‘other’ category at 547 161 and non-denominationalism at 453 700 (Stats SA, 2016).

By race and class, the working-class occupational groups dominate the Pentecostal Charismatic Churches. This occupational distribution by race and class reflects South Africa’s labour market structure, in which there is a disproportionate distribution of workers across occupational groups, with more workers across all racial groups represented at the working-class segments.

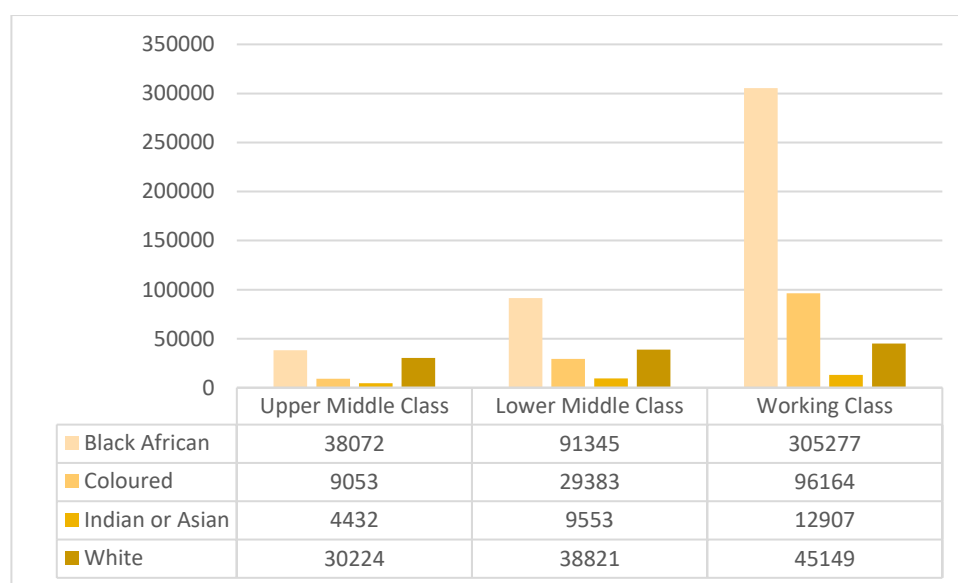


Figure 1: Recode of Pentecostal Charismatic Churches by Occupation and Race.

Source: Author’s calculation from requested Stats SA data, October 2018.²

*Person weighted 15-64 years, October 2001 boundaries.

¹ The subsequent Census of 2011 omitted the denominational question, but included it in the Community Survey of 2016.

² Upper middle class comprises legislators; senior officials and managers and professionals; the lower middle class comprises technicians and clerks, and the working class is made up of the service workers; ship and market sales workers; skilled agricultural and fishery workers; craft and related trades workers; plant and machine operators and assemblers and elementary occupations (Schlemmer, 2005).

There have also been denominational changes by class. For example, the concomitant numeric rise of the post-apartheid BMC is also reflected in this group's growth within neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches. Across all occupational groups, except for the professionals category, the number of Black adherents at neo-PCCs grew phenomenally between 1996 and 2001. The highest increase is recorded among the technicians and associate professionals' occupational group at 291%, followed by clerks at 154%.³

Table 1 details the Black-African representation within Pentecostal Charismatic Churches in 1996 and 2001.

Table 1: Recode of Religion by Occupation and Race*

Black-African Class Changes - PCCs 1996-2001	1996	2001	% Change
Legislators; senior officials and managers	6511	12707	95%
Professionals ⁴	34148	25365	-26%
Technicians and associate professionals	12228	47855	291%
Clerks	17136	43490	154%
Service workers; ship and market sales workers	29714	48730	64%
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	7835	8942	14%
Craft and related trades workers	40294	51199	27%
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	27840	42813	54%
Elementary occupations	81224	128410	58%

Source: Requested calculation from Statistics South Africa, October 2018

*Person weighted 15-64 years, October 2001 boundaries.

³ Statistics South Africa says "a special warning must be given about labour market statistics. Census estimates of these statistics for October 2001 differ substantially from those contained in the September 2001 Labour Force Survey. Labour force participation rates are lower, unemployment is higher and employment levels are lower in the Census. This can be attributed in large measure to differences in the questions asked, which are more detailed in the labour force survey. It is not feasible to include all the labour force survey questions in any Census. On the other hand, the labour force survey is subject to greater sampling error than the census and may also contain non-sampling errors. The census can yield estimates of labour market variables in small areas, which the labour force survey cannot do. ... the council believes that the census labour market estimates should be released but recommends that analysts interpret them against the background of all sources of labour market information" (Stats SA, 2001).

⁴ A special note must be made up front with respect to the phenomenal decrease noted in the occupational category of professionals between 1996 and 2001. Statistics South Africa attributes this to an undercount for some occupations. Additionally, the highest decline in the professionals category between 1996 and 2001 is recorded among Black female professionals (Stats SA, 2001).

The need for definition

Because race, neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity and class are theoretically polysemous, it is necessary to clarify their conceptual application in this thesis.

Apartheid policy constructed hierarchised categories of race and dispensed unequal social, political and economic rights and privileges through this system. In the hierarchy, whites were first and top, Blacks at the bottom, with Indian / Asian and Coloureds in the intermediary rungs. Though not unproblematic, this chapter deploys the terms descriptively and analytically. The terms Black and Black-African are used interchangeably, but exclude the Coloured, Indian / Asian populations. Black and Black-African includes African nationalities beyond South Africa. African is used as a geographic term and refers to people on the continent.

Neo-Pentecostal Charismatics

Theologians and social scientists agree that Pentecostalism defies easy definition (Kalu 2008; Schlemmer, 2008; Frahm-Arp, 2010; Robins, 2018). Using the work of Oosthuizen (1997), Anderson (2005), Frahm-Arp (2010) and Dickow (2012), I derive three types of Pentecostal Churches:

- Pentecostal mission churches (e.g.: Apostolic Faith Mission)
- Indigenous Pentecostal Churches (e.g.: Grace Bible Church)
- African Initiated Churches (amaNazaretha Church of Isaiah Shembe)

I differentiate two types of Pentecostal Churches by the revival period from which they emerge, an approach used by Frahm-Arp (2010). I refer to the Pentecostal Churches that emerged from the first charismatic or revival wave of the 1900s as the Pentecostal mission Churches. These are also commonly referred to as the classical Pentecostal churches (Frahm-Arp, 2010), a nomenclature I also apply. Anderson and Pillay (1997) state that no other Pentecostal mission churches emerged in South Africa after 1910. The Apostolic Faith Mission is an example. The second type are the Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches that emerge out of the 1970s global and third charismatic wave. The said authors have used this approach with Rhema Bible Church and Grace Bible Church being examples.

South Africa also has what is referred to as African Initiated / Indigenous Churches (AICs). In terms of nomenclature, Nel (2015:147) explains that AICs have variously been called “‘spiritual churches,’ ‘Spirit-type churches,’ ‘independent African Pentecostal churches’ or ‘prophet-healing churches.’” He explains that AICs constitute the “majority of so-called African Independent/Initiated/Instituted (or indigenous) churches” (2015:147). Frahm-Arp (2010:47) also uses the same nomenclature, describing them as Pentecostal-type churches, spirit type churches, Zionist, Zionist type and Apostolic churches. These churches emerged from the late 1800s. Frahm-Arp

(2010:47) describes AICs as “localised, hybrid or syncretic forms of Christianity.” Oosthuizen (1997) usefully distinguishes two types of AICs which allows for neither treating them as completely different or hyper conflating them. There are AICs that result from secession from Western churches such as the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches but kept the core theological and organisational practices of the ‘mother’ churches, and a second type that developed distinct and hybridised Traditional / Christian practices – often drawing from traditional religion. An example of the latter are “the Zionist-Shembe-Apostolic churches” that may “appear phenomenologically similar to some types of Pentecostal or Charismatic Christianity” (Frahm-Arp, 2010:48).

Therefore, I use the terms ‘neo-Pentecostals’ or ‘Pentecostals’ or neo-Pentecostal Charismatics interchangeably to describe adherents of the classical and/or neo-Pentecostal Charismatic churches. Evangelic Churches lay emphasis on Jesus Christ as the focus of faith (Anderson, 1992; Schlemmer, 2008:12). I treat Evangelic Churches as part of the Pentecostal Charismatic Churches. Scholars such as Balcomb (2004) and Frahm-Arp (2010) have also taken an approach of including Evangelic Churches with or as part of Pentecostal Charismatic Churches. However, Balcomb includes mainline or ecumenical churches (which I exclude). They are included here so that the study thus gains a Pentecostal/Charismatic/Evangelic continuum, an approach successfully applied by Frahm-Arp (2010:48; 2018) and Rule and Mncwango (2010) in their research. Importantly, Statistics South Africa adopts the same approach, combining Pentecostals, Charismatics and Evangelicals into a single denominational group in the 2016 Community Survey.

Anderson (2013) argues that neo-Pentecostal or neo-charismatic churches overlap but are neither identical nor interchangeable. So, for example, a methodist congregation can be Charismatic but not Pentecostal. That is why I use the full word: neo-Pentecostal Charismatic. Dickow (2012) writes it as: Pentecostal/Charismatic, while Asamoah-Gyadu (2005) and Kaunda (2015) call them new Pentecostal churches (NPCs). In this research I use the prefix ‘neo.’ This practically means that I distinguish and have five church groups in this research: the MPCs, RCC, AICs, classical Pentecostal churches and neo-PCCs.

The centrality of being born-again, baptism in and acceptance of the Holy Spirit or Ghost and its gifts is what distinguishes neo-Pentecostal Charismatics from the broader Christian movements. Importantly, it is interaction with the Holy Spirit and “something other than human reality” that adherents seek, “there is interaction with the Holy Spirit that connects the worshipper with a transcendent and immanent God” (Aldred, 2006). Aldred’s (2006:16) explanation of the importance of the Holy Spirit in Pentecostalism is crucial to heed, thus an extended quotation is provided here. He states that Pentecostals understand their God as expressed in three Persons:

Father, Son and the Holy Spirit. God is expressed as the Holy Spirit which was in the beginning at work creating the cosmos and humanity. The Holy Spirit accomplishes – materially and manifestly – the Will of God. Biblically this goes to the moment when God’s judgement was against Judah. Judah repented and called out to God, where the rest of Jerusalem also did so, (for its restoration). When the sons and daughters of Jerusalem thus called out to God, and they were saved. This saving was manifested by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit – evidenced by prophesy, dreams, visions, wonders in the heavens and on the earth, blood, fire and billows of smoke; the sun would turn dark and the moon the colour of blood. The outpouring of the Holy Spirit brought with it spiritual, social and political liberation.

Fundamentally, it is Aldred’s explanation or reminder that the coming of the Holy Spirit in Pentecostalism is “universalistic, liberationist, equalising, and empowering. And it is evidenced by the supernatural and unnatural” (2006:16). This is evident too in Luke 4:18-19 in the Standard English Version Bible where the Holy Spirit was upon Paul and anointed him to proclaim good news to the poor:

He has sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord’s favour.

Biblically, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are endowed from the day of Pentecost in the Book of Acts 2:1-2, 4:

When the day of Pentecost came, they were all together in one place. Suddenly a sound like the blowing of a violent wind came from heaven and filled the whole house where they were sitting. ... All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them.

The gifts of the Holy Spirit or Ghost include speaking in tongues (glossolalia), the ability to prophesy, interpret tongues (xenolalia), perform exorcisms, heal divinely, achieve prosperity and success (Schlemmer, 2008; Maxwell, 2006). Aldred (2006:21) lists other gifts or “fruits” of the Holy Spirit as love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control (Galatians 5:22). The gifts of the Holy Spirit are apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers (Ephesians 4:11). Corinthians (8-10) lists the gifts of the Holy Spirit as the message of wisdom and knowledge, faith, miraculous powers, prophecy and the ability to distinguish between spirits. Therefore, the gift of the Holy Spirit is the “emancipation of human beings from all that oppresses” (Aldred, 2006:21).

Another central difference between classical and neo-Pentecostal Charismatics is the emphasis by the latter on a five-fold ministry. This is set out by the Apostle Paul in the Bible under Ephesians 4:11, and comprises a church structured according to an apostle, prophet, evangelist, pastor and teacher (Balcomb, 2004; Schlemmer, 2008:15).

This ‘apostolic team’ is a highly mobile, trans-local instrument that works nationally and internationally to evangelise, plant churches, ordain elders, and give teaching and direction. Pentecostal thus have a highly marketable message and an extremely slick marketing method, hence their growth” (Schlemmer, 2008:15).

Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches have significant breaks with the classical Pentecostal churches before them. Neo-PCCs have abandoned the rigid sectarian ethos and millennium expectation, prominent in the classical Pentecostal churches emerging in the 1900s. They have shifted towards emphasising the Kingdom of God in the present, and the immediacy of what God is saying to adherents (Schlemmer, 2008:14-15). Neo-PCCs are well-associated with preaching the Prosperity Gospel and have adopted capitalistic management styles of church administration; have invested heavily in church buildings and telecommunications media and have well-planned performance in politics (Maxwell, 2006; Schlemmer, 2008; Dickow, 2012; da Silva Moreira, 2018:3). Their Prosperity Gospel is variously known as the “positive confession theology,” “Word of Faith Movements,” “Health and Wealth gospel,” “name it and claim it” or more derogatively the “blab and grab it” (Bukasa, 2017:2; Frahm-Arp, 2018). The Prosperity Gospel entitles believers to good health and material wealth (Bukasa, 2017:2).

In addition, this research also defines neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches are those that are “marked by Prosperity Gospel and the vast use of mass media: and the preaching of “worldly well-being, joy” and directed towards consumer culture (Koehrsen, 2016:10). Besides mass media technologies, the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches studied herein are also characterised by their fixation “with commodities ... their emphasis on rupture with the past through conversion and rhetoric about individualisation...” (Maxwell, 2006:12).

Even with this broad typology, it is important to emphasise that neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches are not an amorphous Christian category, to use Rule’s (2007:419) words that “there are distinct denominational confessions, nuanced interpretations of the Bible, varying regularity of attendance at church services and different levels of commitment, faith and religious practice.”

Middle Class

Classes are identified in this thesis by their ownership and role in the social and production processes. Broadly, neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian approaches hold that modern capitalist societies comprise the bourgeoisie or capitalists who own the means of production; the working class who own

and sell their labour, and the middle class that trades its knowledge and skills or own a small business or trade that can be exchanged for income in the market. This means that “the specific position that each ‘individual’ acquires in the social relations of production constitutes the initial condition that determines his or her class integration” (Milios, 2000:5). The occupational structure has been used in neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian approaches as a proxy for class (Crompton, 1998:165). In neo-Marxist terms, the middle class, while lacking the ownership of the means of production, exercises supervision and control of the production process. The position and relative amount of control and supervision of the production process is determined by location in the occupational system.

As Bourdieu and Marx defined different forms of capital, Weber also differentiated types of social power which serve as the structural determinants of society. Importantly, the concept of multiple forms of social power differentiates Weber from Marx. Weber argues that there are status groups and parties that stratify society. Status groups determine the quality of lifestyle. Parties, such political parties, trade unions and church groupings strive for societal domination. Classes also stratify society. Class location is determined by life chances that determine participation in the market in which the skills and credentials that an individual possesses determine the market situation and therefore class position. Skills and credentials are a form of property, exchangeable for income and privilege under modern industrial capitalist societies (MacDonald, 1995:37).

For Bourdieu, social life is relational. He emphasises that class analysis cannot be reduced to economic relations, as he recognised the existence of multiple forms of capital (Wacquant, 2013). Bourdieu asserts that the existence of other theoretically meaningful factors in society. He identified these as symbolic relations, which can be approximated to Weber’s status communities. He asserts that culturally specific competence earns cultural capital, which is acquired through the investment of time.

His theory of social class is derived from analysis of survey data on a variety of indicators of the economic and cultural capital possessed by individuals located throughout the occupational system. Bourdieu says that class analysis consists of economic and symbolic dimensions. The combination and interaction of the material/economic and the symbolic – cultural and social forms of resources or capital, their volume indicates the class location of individuals. So that, class is derived from the “webs of material and symbolic ties.” According to Wacquant (2013:2) class formation involves a struggle in society for multiple forms of capital:

Class as a modality of social grouping, and spring of consciousness and conduct, emerges and obtains in and through the endless competition in which agents engage across the varied realms of life for the acquisition, control, and contestation of diverse species of power or ‘capital.’

The total volume of cultural and economic capital possessed by incumbents determined their class location. The total volume of cultural and economic capital can be found on the occupational division of labour, in which location therein is differentiated by the distribution of capital in each position. Industrialists, private sector executives and university professors occupy the upper end of the axis and are the dominant class. Manual workers, farm workers occupy overlapping positions on the other end of the axis. The second axis differentiates class locations and fractions. For example, professors have low economic capital but possess high cultural capital. Industrialists and commercial employees have high economic capital but low cultural capital. Thus, class fractions are about the composition of cultural capital an incumbent possesses.

In keeping with South African scholarship on the middle class, this thesis follows a heterodox approach that combines structuralist and cultural aspects. It combines the structuralist neo-Marxist, neo-Weberian and Bordieuan approaches, in which power, class, status and inequality derive from the ownership of the means of production and location on the occupational system.

Schlemmer (2005) segments the middle class in the following way:

- Upper Middle Class: Senior executives of large businesses, highly ranked professionals, judges, surgeons, and others who tend to earn very high fees rather than salaries, and very senior administrators in the public and semi-public sectors (State owned enterprises or corporations).
- Middle-Middle class: middle-level executives, owners of medium sized businesses or small businesses that are capital, technology or knowledge intensive, salaried professionals, and the middle management levels of the public and semi-public sectors.
- Lower middle class: Small businesspeople, clerical and sales workers at responsible levels, modestly paid salaried professionals such as school teachers, and nurses, technical and skilled non-manual service personnel.

The middle class is not structurally homogenous (Schlemmer, 2005:2-3). Ultimately, the Black middle-class members in this thesis are higher professionals drawing salaries, fees and profits, either as managers or entrepreneurs in the public, semi-public and private sectors; identified and selected through purposive and snowball sampling techniques. The BMC higher professionals studied herein also worked as finance executives and senior managers, lecturers, lawyers, medical doctors, Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) managers, economists and engineers. Higher professionals form part of the upper middle class (Schlemmer, 2005). Business owners or entrepreneurs running businesses and drawing profits in the ICT, environmental, retail and service businesses, straddling the upper and middle-middle class strata were also part of this study. Sales managers of multinational corporates were also purposively recruited, and they form part of the middle and lower-middle class strata.

Schlemmer's schema is limited as it does not indicate how we may place founder-leader pastors and bishops of mega neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches in the middle classes. As cultural producers they share proximity to professors, but the volume of their economic capital distinguishes them, especially from professors. Thus, they approximate industrialists and commercial employees on account of the volume of economic capital. This thesis argues that founder-leader pastors and bishops of mega neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches share the same axis as artists who are cultural producers that earn high fees for their products. But are distinguished from artists by the fact that their "products" which is the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus, has a precarious value and non-fixed value as, while combining, cultural, social and economic capital, it is anchored on symbolic capital – prestige and status. Symbolic capital especially in the neo-PCC field is critical for accruing all other forms of capital, and losing it also implies or risks the loss of the other forms of capital. Symbolic capital does not have a fixed value, making it abstract capital in Marx's terms (see Chapter 3).

Following from the above, Bourdieu's sociology is useful for explaining the contemporary relationship of segments of the post-apartheid BMC and the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches. This is because it allows us to bring to the fore and examine the heterogeneous interaction of Black people and neo-PCCs middle classing themselves. Middle classing themselves, both at the objective material level, as well as the symbolic, behavioural, status level.

Bourdieu's cultural approach, in which the concentration of cultural and economic capital stratifies classes and consumption as a performative element of class location is important for the analysis of how market or professional, political and consumption identities of the new BMC are constructed and neo-Pentecostalisised, with important developmental and political consequences for South Africa. As such, Nolutshungu's (1982:51) injunction that those uninvolved in physical or material production are not necessarily classless is instructive. Therefore, like Garcia-Rivero et al. (2003) higher education students whose parents were middle class are treated as proto-middle class, as they are still in the process of capital accumulation and class transitions (Bourdieu, 1984).

Driving forces of Black middle class neo-Pentecostalisation

The rapid growth of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches is attributable to the neo-Pentecostalisation of Black South Africans. Between the 1996 and 2001 censuses, the Pentecostal / Charismatic denomination grew so rapidly that it earned a distinct denominational category in the 2001 census. This is evidenced by the fact that the four Censuses prior to 2001 (1960, 1970, 1980 and 1991) had 7 denominational categories: *Nederduistse Gereformeerde Kerk* (NGK) or the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC), Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran, Roman Catholic, African Initiated and other Christian (Goodhew, 2000). It is only in 2001 that the Pentecostal Charismatic category is extracted or separated

from the 'other Christian' category into a distinct category, with other denominations and groups of large churches also gaining own categorisation, *ibid.*

Several studies have examined the contemporary role of the neo-Pentecostalisation of the South African religious landscape from an urban studies perspective, as religious practices form an inter-constitutive and often instrumental element of people's lived experiences (Landua, 2014:292). Within this urban-themed analysis, scholars weave the theme of class and urban making in post-apartheid South Africa. These studies examine the intersection between urban identity and religion. Examples are Egan, 2007; Schlemmer, 2008; Frahm-Arp, 2010; Rule, 2011; Dickow, 2012; Chipkin, 2012; James, 2015; Heer, 2015 and Hyslop, 2003. While recognising that the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic movement and its churches have shown growth across all levels of community, class and society, these authors examine the relationship between white-founded Evangelical-Pentecostal churches and the new, suburban Black middle class. They have examined the urban forms of Pentecostal religiosity as a form of urban cultural expression, social engagement and institutional change. "When linked to political and institutional configurations, religion becomes one of many potential sources of social cohesion and division, as well as an important resource for social, political and economic mobilisation of oneself and others" (Landau, 2014:292).

Anderson (2005) and Dickow (2012) explain the origins of the neo-Pentecostalisation of Black communities. Dickow (2012:18) states that "before the first free and democratic elections in 1994, the new Pentecostal wave played no role in Black communities." Through the American evangelically styled crusades of Reinhard Bonnke, that involved large-scale tent missions in Black townships and homelands in the 1980s, the neo-Pentecostalisation of Black people took-off (Anderson, 2005; Dickow, 2012). The scale of Bonnke's tents was massive, he had a yellow and big tent with 10,000 and 34,000 seating capacity respectively that he pitched at his crusade locations (Arweck and Keenan, 2006). According to both Anderson (2005) and Dickow (2012) these large-scale tent missions produced thousands of converts but many of the newly neo-Pentecostalised remained members of other churches, suggesting a new dualism in denominational adherence in South Africa, and tempered rootedness to neo-Pentecostalism. A further nuance is necessary, because as Anderson (2005) points out existing and new Pentecostal churches in the townships gained these new converts, while Morran and Schlemmer (1984:2) described this expansion as "astonishing." This thesis highlights this inheritance, showing how the work of classical Pentecostal churches was inherited and expanded by neo-PCCs such as Grace Bible Church which emerged within the politically tumultuous 1980s time and place. It also points out this denominational pluralism where neo-PCC converts move between different or original churches and neo-PCCs, as well as neo-PCC themselves share, swap and transfer converts between each other. This therefore suggests that BMC neo-Pentecostals are religiously mobile, rather than deeply rooted in

one denomination or church. Furthermore, Bernstein (2008:25) recognises that many scholars and observers have

Pointed to the difficulties posed in identifying the various forms of the Pentecostal-Charismatic Movement. This is particularly complex not at the level of mega-churches or the classical old Pentecostal churches, but rather amongst the community based and township churches, where the lines between Pentecostal churches and the African independent churches can be blurred. ... Furthermore, in the township church culture there can also be overlaps between Pentecostals and certain local mainstream Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. Given the partially shared roots of the Pentecostal and the African Independent Churches the overlaps are not surprising.

Thus, this stands against the idea that before 1994 the Pentecostal wave played no role in Black communities. Schlemmer (2005) and Egan (2007) were the earliest analysts to note an increase in the post-apartheid BMC's adherence to neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity. Drawing from Durkheim's conceptualisation of religion as a bond that glues society, Schlemmer (2005:13) argues that religion underpinned shared interests across races and has the potential to "bridge racial divisions and to act as a binding factor in South African society." About 20% of the new BMC that Schlemmer (2005) surveyed had experienced "rapid social mobility" as they had previously held no jobs and had instead been political activists, unemployed or students (Schlemmer, 2005:7). As members of the new Black middle class, 6 out of 10 of them were "very religious" measured in terms of belief and observance indicators. Schlemmer (2005:7) further asserts that the meaning of religion to this new BMC related more to confidence in own ability, self-discipline and hard work than in "transcendental terms." Importantly, Schlemmer also asserted that this new Black middle class reflected the social values and lifestyles commitments that suggested an "ethic of deferred gratification and self-discipline" (2005:13). On this basis he suggests that the BMC therefore possesses "the capacity to generate confidence and self-reliance, with implications for development and perhaps similar to the Pentecostal revolution in Latin America." In later research undertaken by the Centre for Development Enterprise (CDE) in a series edited by Schlemmer and still following a Durkheimian notion, Schlemmer (2008:11) states that the Pentecostal Charismatic movement imbues "followers with an intensity of motivation." Similarly, Theron (2011:9) cites research by Miller and Yamamori (2007) who found that "progressive Pentecostals" are individuals and groups that have benefited from their commitments to Christ by gaining financial stability and experienced upward mobility. Progressive Pentecostals emphasise active social ministries and take money matters very seriously, *ibid*.

In the post-apartheid period Rule (2007) is one of the first set of large-scale surveys that examine the relationship and effect of religiosity on socioeconomic circumstances. Rule (2007) did this by examining religiosity from the perspective of the quality of life (QoL) of South Africans. To do this

analysis, he extracted three measures of QoL, defined as possession of modern conveniences; self-assessed life satisfaction and the level of satisfaction with government institutions from the South African Social Attitudes Survey conducted in 2004. These were used to assess the nature of the relationships with three measures of religiosity (doctrinal orthodoxy, religious denomination and frequency of attendance at religious meetings).

Rule finds that those that attend religious meetings most frequently and hold the most orthodox religious views were “more likely to have access to modern conveniences and to be satisfied with their lives” (2007:417). Rule’s findings confirmed that South Africans that practice religion have higher levels of satisfaction with their lives than those that do not (2007:417).

His findings reflect that in terms of self-assessed satisfaction emerges as higher amongst people who claim to hold views that are most closely aligned to the teachings of the church and the Bible, and those who attend religious services or meetings most frequently and for people who consider themselves as belonging to religious groups as opposed to those who do not (Rule, 2007:432). He also found that overall there was a “correlation between quality of life and religiosity, albeit not very strong” (Rule, 2007:432). “Members of Pentecostal or Charismatic Christian churches emerge as having the highest levels of life satisfaction, slightly ahead of Roman Catholics, mainline Protestants, Hindus and Muslims” (Rule, 2007:432).

Egan (2007:459) notes that the neo-PCCs’ appeal to the new BMC increased from 1994. The new and suburban BMC is drawn to the “spiritual and emotional community offered by churches like Rhema Ministries” and access to the networks of new and old (white) elites offered by the neo-PCC spaces. In the neo-PCCs’ social space, BMC members attend “emotionally-charged worship” services. Thus, new BMC members having physically moved out of previously racially designated areas such as townships and former Bantustans, enter deracialising residential areas and attend neo-PC mega-churches as a mechanism of fostering their belonging and place making, since they are socially separated from their place of origin.

Some studies have explored how neo-PCCs can affect the social structure in terms of promoting social cohesion, transformed racial attitudes and relationship with the state and the broader social order. Multi-racial neo-PCCs also help to produce transformed racial attitudes in South Africa. The neo-Pentecostals that Ganiel interviewed in a Cape Town suburb said that “their attitudes about race had changed and said that they had been enriched by worshipping with people from other cultures” (2008:271). This was achieved in the way that the neo-PCC structured the content of their worship: songs in multiple languages and music styles and sermons that foster racial harmony. Ganiel states that the neo-PCC leadership, which remained white sought to change the racial exclusion that the church had in the 1980s. Ganiel (2008:272) states that there were Black, white and coloured Pentecostals that

left the church as they “contended that there was little meaningful social interaction across different races, and that the preponderance of white leadership limited ‘real’ integration” and the dismantling of “racially aligned power structures.”

Maria Frahm-Arp’s (2010) *Professional Women in South African Pentecostal Charismatic Churches* is one of the few studies that examine Pentecostalism classical professionals such as lawyers and bankers. Interestingly, Frahm-Arp’s professionals extended beyond the classical sociological definition of professionals, to include Black women that self-identified as professionals. Frahm-Arp (2010:15) examines how neo-PCCs promoted economic development and uses Bourdieu’s theory of practice to “think with.” This enabled her to include access to Bourdieu’s cultural and social capital as part of her definitional approach to understanding Black and female professionals. Importantly, self-identification as middle class was used again by the University of Johannesburg’s researchers in the *Class in Soweto* study (Alexander et al., 2013). The criteria for these professionals were: tertiary education, authority over other people; independent decisions making in job, and “firm expectation of a career trajectory and have begun to realise some of these” (Frahm-Arp, 2010:15). This approach is important as it would prove fruitful because unlike class and labour, sociological enquiry of the professions in post-apartheid period remains underdeveloped, while the effects of the retardation of the professions is reflected by state capture and corruption (Von Holdt, 2019).

This helped these professionals to maintain and consolidate their middle-class position. Mentored on communication and management techniques in the workplace, Black and female professionals accessed the cultural capital necessary for navigating corporate spaces (Frahm-Arp, 2010). The repertoire of modern-township cultural capital was insufficient in the said corporate spaces, *ibid*. She argues that neo-PCCs have thus provided social networks and spaces for mentoring in the communication and management techniques needed to navigate what she narrowly describes as “English, white, male-dominated corporate spaces.” A more accurate view is white and male dominated corporations at the management and executive levels. Frahm-Arp’s framing thus gives neo-PCCs the “civilising effect” on the Black and female professionals she studied in the same way that the early missionaries – particularly those from the English-speaking MPCs (Nyquist, 1983; Cobley, 1990) had on the Black educated at the turn and first half of the 20th century.

Through an urban anthropological perspective of religious spaces Heer (2015) appraises the urban spatial dynamic of a neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Church called ‘Love Reaching Communities Church’ (LRC) based in a Johannesburg suburb called Linbro Park. Heer (2015:348) deploys Lefebvre’s perspective on space, explaining that beyond acting as a container for social practice, space “can be understood as the result of social processes constituted by three interrelated dimensions, namely the material, the communicative and the lived.” For Heer the “material building, its actors’ perceptions, its

governance structure and its statistics on churchgoers” constitute the material dimension (2015:348). The communicative dimension which can be discursive or conceived constitutes the ways in which the church leadership and churchgoers represent and think about the church. The lived dimension refers to the “interactions between churchgoers and their experiences as well as the meanings they associate with them” (Heer, 2015:348). She also uses Goffman’s (1959) “dramaturgical perspective” to understand the ways in which “individuals present themselves to others and how actors reach an agreement about situations through interaction” (Heer, 2015:348). She thus approaches “the church as a material space, describing its activities and power structures and providing a broad characterisation of its churchgoers” (Heer, 2015:345). She concludes that these neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Church spaces are “shaped by the tensions between the crossing of social boundaries and distancing: a moral community struggling with the differing ways of how its churchgoers experience and relate to each other” (Heer, 2015).

Schlemmer (2005) and Khunou (2013) observed the mutual racial distancing between the white and Black middle classes. Schlemmer and Khunou write about distancing as a function of Black middle class individuals’ experience of social closure in the Weberian sense, or boundary making in the Bordieuan sense, from white middle class individuals, on account of their race. Khunou (2013:1) says that this results in BMC individuals feeling “othered in interaction with whites and white spaces.” But, in the CDE analysis, Schlemmer extended this position, affirming that neo-PC mega-church spaces strengthened “identities that lie deeper than party and class” (2008:11). In neo-PC mega-church spaces, new BMC members get an opportunity after the service “to network between new and old elites on the common basis of faith.” The neo-PC mega-church strips the “security fences of suburbia” and flattens social class allowing adherents a common space in which to interact with each other.

The use of faith as a community building fact is a form of historical continuity between the first, second and third charismatic waves. This is because the charismatic waves acted as ways of transitioning through different periods of South Africa’s social formation: from colonialism to apartheid to democracy evidenced by some South Africans that actively used and created church spaces as way of building new communities and new behaviours, like multiracial worshipping. As apartheid was unwinding, churches slowly became multiracial, and they slowly became spaces where races could mix with each other within the church social space that purports to flatten social hierarchies as opposed to creators thereof. Schools, and in particular former Model C schools which were “fee-paying, formerly whites-only public establishments” (Southall, 2016:100) also became spaces of multiracialism.

Hansen (2013:268) studied the neo-Pentecostalisation trend in Chatsworth, an Indian dominated township in KwaZulu Natal. He states that “all the large cinema halls and several big industrial halls in the township, some holding two thousand people at a time, have been converted into churches. In open grass areas one finds a variety of tent missions that are often conducted by Pentecostal splinter groups”

(2013:261). Hansen sets out three reasons for the conversion of Indian people to Pentecostalism. The first is that the church community, whatever size it is provides warmth and mutual support, the second relates to the pleasure derived from live gospel and soul music that has a Black-American feel and origin to it, as well as the ability to pray and sing in a language that adherents understand (i.e.: English) and third is the ability of prayer to heal and to keep the evil forces at bay. The third reason is taken as the most important (Hansen, 2013:268). Citing other reasons for Pentecostal conversion, Hansen (2013:264) quotes a community activist and African National Congress (ANC) member who stated “these conversions have to do with poverty and desperation. The last big wave of conversions was in the 1960s when thousands of families had come here and felt uprooted and alone ... when we were fighting in the 1980s, few people had time for the pastors, but now again they are fishing among our people, the poor, the widows, and so on.” This statement also shows that while there are widespread conversions, there are sections of the community that do not necessarily welcome them.

Another township-based study was undertaken by Motseke and Mazibuko (2013:201) who examine “the various ways in which the most popular denominations in Soweto handle class.” These authors assert that people are likely to associate with churches in which they feel comfortable. Motseke and Mazibuko (2013) examined class and denominational intersection in Soweto. They state that in their survey, they had not asked a question about Grace Bible Church, but that the church had been “referred to frequently” in their qualitative interviews (Motseke and Mazibuko, 2013). The authors assert that the church seems to have experienced rapid growth, which they associate with the church opening its “large and prominent” church building (Motseke and Mazibuko, 2013:213). Based on the classifying Soweto survey of 2006, the religious affiliation of Sowetans was 26% AIC, 27% MPC, 12% Pentecostal and 35% all other (Motseke and Mazibuko, 2013:214). This survey result indicates the relative dominance of Pentecostalism in Soweto and is comparable with the results of the Census 2001, as outlined at the beginning of this chapter.

Pentecostalism and neo-Pentecostalisation is gendered. Robins (2018:5) describes a Pentecostal gender paradox in which Pentecostal practices, “modus operandi” or habitus affirms “selected elements of patriarchy” that serve consciously or unconsciously as “a strategy for expanding women’s empowerment overall.” But South Africa has fewer female Pastors, especially in the more popular mega-churches (Frahm-Arp, 2010:12, 148-149). Typically, the majority of Pentecostal followers are women, and it is women who usually lead the conversion of others to Pentecostalism. Hansen (2013:282) explains the intersection of gender and healing in neo-Pentecostal conversion. Hansen explains that most of the Indian men in Chatsworth became neo-Pentecostalist through the crisis of illness of either a mother, sister or wife. After the exhaustion and failure of “every option and healing method available” the ill woman would approach “a pastor who was known for his healing powers. Through prayer the pastor would heal the woman, who would immediately convert” (Hansen,

2013:282). However, the men's conversion would be gradual rather than immediate, requiring the giving up of a "selfish life with alcohol, smoking, dance and women" (Hansen, 2013:282). The gradual process of drawing men into the church would be led by the "healed and purified wife, sister or mother," *ibid*. This is what Maxwell (1998:352) describes as a process wherein "Pentecostalism begins with the remaking of the individual, and rapidly progresses to the family."

The role of women in prominent leadership within the church is usually as wives to the leadership. So, in Pentecostalism, wives too claim special access to the gifts of the Spirit endowed upon Pastor husbands. Maxwell (2006:2) describes Eunor Guti, wife of Ezekiel Guti in this way "but more than that, she seemed to claim a special access to his revelations, which at times she sought to amplify." Thus, the role of the women in neo-Pentecostal churches is to amplify the men in leadership positions within the church in different ways in the church. This may include amplifying the male pastor's credibility or legitimacy.

The neo-Pentecostalisation of segments of the post-apartheid BMC indicates the deracialisation of what is historically a white religion and white space. At the moment of South Africa's political transition (1993 and 1994) Hyslop (2003:230) conducted interviews in Roodepoort and Krugersdorp among white Afrikaners. He sought to explore the social world of white poverty and shows that "it was fragmentation, not unitary identity, that characterised white South Africa at the end of apartheid" in contending the notion of unitary dynamics amongst whites. Hyslop (2003:230) states that "a particularly important dimension of fragmentation of Afrikaner identity in the 1980s and 1990s was that of religion." Hyslop notes that up until the 1980s the DRC was able to hold its dominance of Afrikaner society, and it had the allegiance of the Afrikaner poor (2003:230). Hyslop (2003) observes that the fusion of Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) with Pentecostal and Evangelical theologies, the neo-Pentecostal and Evangelical church's openness and enthusiasm began to influence white society, which resulted in a rapid rise across class lines in Afrikaner society, so that poor and wealthy Afrikaners were neo-Pentecostalised. While on the other hand "the Dutch Reformed Church came increasingly to appear to poorer Afrikaners as an establishment institution, which did nothing for them" (Hyslop, 2003:230). Two decades after Hyslop's article this transition persisted. This is reflected by Chipkin (2012) and Chipkin and Leatt (2011) who observed that from Stellenbosch, Cape Town to Roodepoort, Johannesburg, Afrikaner youth were moving away from the DRC. Hyslop (2003) finds multiple reactions to the demise of apartheid by whites, but a significant one for this thesis is that he says some of those that converted to Pentecostalism used the conversion to extricate themselves from racism.

Chipkin and Leatt (2011:45) assert that for Afrikaans-speaking university students "the embrace of Pentecostalism is as much a spiritual act as a political one," and its embrace is "a repudiation of Afrikaner nationalism." In Roodepoort's modern townhouses and gated-communities, the DRC is seen

as old-fashioned and repudiated mostly on account of a general aesthetic. So that, Pentecostalist Afrikaans-speaking youth are switching their church as a modernising tool as they do not attend the church of their parents and grandparents (Chipkin and Leatt, 2011:45). These authors conclude that for white Afrikaners “Pentecostal practices allow many people to distance themselves from apartheid and the institutions associated with it, without forsaking their attachment to speaking Afrikaans and identifying as Afrikaners” (2013:45).⁵

Dickow’s (2012) research is important for illustrating that in the 1990s African charismatic leaders also contributed significantly to deracialising the neo-PCC field, though with the caveat that the neo-PCC leadership remains largely white. He states that

In the 1990s, Charismatic church leaders from Nigeria, Kenya and Ghana began to preach in South Africa. The end of apartheid and a fresh political start in 1994 was accompanied by a fresh spiritual start. Growing numbers of Black believers found their way to the Pentecostal / Charismatic Churches. Today’s congregations of the Rhema church are largely Black, no longer white as the end of the apartheid era, although, admittedly, the leadership of mega-churches is still disproportionately white. The coloured and Indian – often self-proclaimed – ministers are founding Pentecostal /Charismatic Churches in the cities and their environment and attracting large numbers of adherents (Dickow, 2012:18-19).

Landau and Freemantle (2010), Bukasa (2017), Hartman (2011) and Katsaura (2017) also study migrant-initiated neo-PCCs in South Africa, deepening an understanding of the intersection of urban identities, class, race and migration. Churches initiated by Nigerian migrants are especially prolific and “ever-expanding” in the inner city of Johannesburg (Landau and Freemantle, 2010:385; Bukasa, 2017; Katsaura, 2017). Bukasa (2017) estimates that Johannesburg hosts 75% of Nigerian initiated neo-PCCs.

Landau and Freemantle (2010:385) found that migrants drew on religion to fashion “an organisational form that at once bridges barriers with South Africans (and South Africa) while also preparing people for a ‘life beyond’ South Africa.” These authors refers to this and other strategies as ‘tactical cosmopolitanism’ (Landau and Freemantle, 2010:375). These authors assert that “in some instances, the preaching bears only the faintest influence of biblical pronouncements but is instead fabricated out of contemporary challenges and generalised evangelical Christian philosophy” (Landau and Freemantle, 2010:385). Of importance is that the churches offered migrants in South Africa from

⁵ While it is beyond the scope of this thesis, de Wit and Theron (2007) give a fascinating historical account of the Hatfield Baptist Church, started in 1964. They outline the hostile reaction of the DRC to the charismatic wave that was also enabling lay preachers to declare the power from the gifts of the spirit.

all countries help. Many of the churches offered ‘health and wealth’ promises to address the “material deprivation many migrants experience” (Landau and Freemantle, 2010:385).

Bukasa’s (2017) research takes this argument further, as he explains the mechanisms and the role of migrant-initiated neo-PCCs in the South African religious community. He argues that migrant-initiated neo-PCCs are prolific participants in the production of South Africa’s dynamic and hybrid religious culture. Bukasa says that migrant pastors in Johannesburg prioritised their church’s local integration in South Africa. This is because local integration was a key strategy for the church’s survival. It was meant to draw and attract South African churchgoers in order to obtain “the tangible and intangible assets they bring to church.” As such, migrant pastors worked to undress the church of its migrant identity in order to attract and keep South Africans. South Africans on the other hand, joined migrant-initiated churches to access the unique feeling of worship and status, jobs, sensational preaching and self-actualisation at a lower cost.

Hartman also studied the religious practices of some migrants in Alexandra, a township in Johannesburg. Hartman (2011:35) argues that belonging is formed across social cleavages of ethnicity, race, religion, and class, and that migrants in Johannesburg arrive “for the purpose of making money” for short or long stays, and that to do this they join religious networks to navigate Johannesburg city life, access housing and jobs.

Katsaura (2017:232-3) studied the SBSC, a 2009 founded neo-PCC located and headquartered in the inner-city of Johannesburg. It was founded by Ekwusa, a Nigerian pastor. Ekwusa claims the ability to heal HIV and AIDS, cancer, diabetes, high blood pressure and psychological, psychiatric and spiritual distresses, and says that sceptical medical doctors accuse him of being a ‘Nigerian magician’” (Katsaura, 2017:241). Katsaura also explains that Ekwusa also routinely prays for objects like ordinary oil. After this is prayed for, congregants sprinkle the oils on their vehicles, houses and bodies for everyday protection against illness, accidents, criminality and violence – major problems encountered in a city such as Johannesburg – as well as to attract good fortune” (2017:240). Furthermore, “other objects, such as ‘anointed’ stickers, calendars, handkerchiefs, T-shirts, and religious books are used in the everyday lives of believers. Stickers are put on cars and houses; calendars are hanged in households and offices; handkerchiefs are carried in followers’ pockets and in their cars, and T-shirts are put on frequently, for (supposed) everyday protection” (Katsaura, 2017:240).

James (2012) and Southall (2016) suggest that the financial precarity and indebtedness of large parts of the aspirant and emergent post-1994 BMC drive the turn to religion. Southall (2016:194) suggests that neo-PCCs spaces that create a sense of belonging, of direction, and personal and spiritual fulfilment for parts of the new BMC. Following Weber, he argues that neo-PCCs can give spiritual sanction to the rational pursuit of economic gain (also see Schlemmer, 2008), while providing

legitimacy for inequality. James holds that neoliberal injunctions match Pentecostalism's miraculous return (2016:203). The Weberian analysis of the relationship between religious values and economic behaviour is taken further by Meagher (2009), Comaroff (2012) and James (2016).

Meagher (2009) reviewed the academic treatment of religious movements and revivalism in Africa. She identifies a trend in which scholars tend to view revivalism and religious movements taking place in Africa as "occult economies." She terms this a "cultural fascination with the invisible" (Meagher, 2009:401). By focusing on witchcraft, human sacrifice and other so-called "enchanted" forms of religiosity, these views paint African religious revivalism as anti-modern in Weber's rationalist perspective of modernity. Because of this, they miss the effects of how religious revival movements influence forms of informal governance and economic life. The result of such analyses is the association of "African spiritual impulses with an anti-Weberian ethic that undermines rather than promotes productive economic change" (Meagher, 2009:401). Thus, in exploring the role of religious movements in informal economic governance, Meagher finds that religious movements shape economic strategies and processes of class formation outside the bounds of state regulation (2009:399). They also capture the attention of the state through their organisation. She argues that Pentecostal networks are generating greater and new economic opportunities (Meagher, 2009:400). She evidences new religious movements in Nigeria at the end of the 20th century that "provided important mechanisms for occupational solidarity and economic advancement, particularly in the weaving and garment clusters" (Meagher, 2009:410). She based her research on three enterprise clusters: weaving in the Yoruba Muslim town of Ilorin (south-western Nigeria) and two Christian shoe and garment artisans in Aba town (south-eastern Nigeria) (Meagher, 2009:405-6).

Her research finds that Pentecostalist garment producers took up alternative ethics of economic conduct. This took place through the resocialisation by the new religious networks, which encouraged breaking with the past. Pentecostalist garment producers changed their forms of socialising: breaking with tradition. This break encouraged modest dress, no alcohol drinking and desisting from participating in cultural and ceremonial activities in their hometowns (Meagher, 2009:416). Fundamentally, Meagher asserts that this changed their consumption patterns, and redirected funds that would have been spent on obligations related to their social, familial and cultural obligations. So that the expenses or costs associated with ceremonies, social and familial contributions and payment to hometown associations were cut as these informal artisans that disassociated with these networks. For Pentecostalist garment producers the results of new religious association were hampered by class-based marginalisation within Pentecostal churches which attracted "middle-class and elite participants" (Meagher, 2009:417). In addition, Pentecostalist garment producers had fostered an 'ethic of accumulation through skills and hard work ... (and) an anti-patrimonial strategy of economic advancement' (Meagher, 2009:417). This religio-economic stance derived from their "disillusionment with the unreliability and corruption of

patrimonial networks.” They did not seek out patrimonial relationships as political, government officials and influential “townsmen” had proven unreliable sources of assistance. Ultimately Pentecostalist garment producers’ attempts to replace old communal and family networks by building new networks through business and religious connections, “and the pursuit of indirect access to formal institutional channels” was thwarted by their “informal status and political marginality” (Meagher, 2009:418). Their efforts to build sustainable informal enterprises were thwarted by Asian import competition, infrastructural collapse and the absence of state support.

Meagher states that the majority of shoe artisans converted “to expand their social networks rather than to transform them” (Meagher, 2009:418). They changed their church in search of entrepreneurially conducive networks reflecting “an orientation towards patrimonial strategies of economic behaviour,” *ibid.*

She states that for a time the religious movements provided important mechanisms for occupational solidarity and economic advancement. Important outcomes for economic behaviour and social cohesion were that the Muslim and Christian movements encouraged educational attainment and facilitated relationships of trust and solidarity within and beyond sub-ethnic groups and ethnic groups (Meagher, 2009:410). Meagher concludes that middle-class forces, entrepreneurial religious leaders and political elites have captured and are instrumentalising religious movements for their own economic and political objectives (2009:420).

Meagher’s argument is important as it relates directly with the central argument of this thesis, wherein neo-Pentecostalisation is a habitus that emerges in order to transition from one social, historical, political and economic era, period or circumstance. However the forms of agency that promote education, skills accumulation and building sustainable businesses outside the bounds of the state are thwarted by religious entrepreneurialism, political instrumentalization and the lack of adequate state support.

James (2012) and Kaunda (2015) observe that neo-PCCs are democratic organisations that might be tapped into for broader political organisation. Kaunda (2015:124) reflects on the potential of New African Pentecostalism (NAP) as a social force and strategy for nation-building and social cohesion. NAP as a cultural movement has the potential to contribute “enormously to reshaping the cultural identity of post-apartheid South Africans” (2015:124). Kaunda argues that in the South African context of enduring socioeconomic challenges such as high youth unemployment, crime and poor access to economic infrastructure (like electricity), social spaces that take young people in and positively shape their identity are positive forces of social cohesion, as they may divert the attention of youth from social unrest and crime. He says that NAP Churches can act as a positive force of social cohesion based on youth Pentecostal rootedness. He defines youth Pentecostal rootedness according to young people’s

regular Sunday and in-week church attendance and the uptake of the church's ideology. Kaunda's approach to African Pentecostalism mirrors what James (2012) described as research that identifies policy-like orientation of the neo-Pentecostal movement. Kaunda states that new African Pentecostalism is theologically weak, despite its "cultural advantage" of "social mobility." He thus offers 'Pentecopolitanism' as "a new ethical frame" that can catalyse the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic movement's capacity for "efficaciously" building the process of social cohesion for the country.

The neo-Pentecostalisation of the Black middle class is evidenced by its consumption of the Prosperity Gospel; and its socialisation through neo-Pentecostal Charismatic rituals, practices and a variety of events, products and services is a new socio-religious and cultural moment in South Africa's post-apartheid political economy. Nyuke (2016) refers to the use of everyday objects as Pentecostal urbanism. By examining Pentecostal adherents in Zimbabwe he finds that they use objects such as wrist bands, stickers, anointed pens, anointed condoms. He argues that the use of this is the attempt by adherents to turn everyday ordinary objects into sacred things which has dominated the urban landscape and lifestyle in the city for a decade. This convergence represents a historical break and/or a loosening relationship with the RCC and MPCs; i.e.: Methodist, Anglican, Lutheran, Congregationalist, Presbyterian churches. To engage with the neo-Pentecostalisation of the BMC, I use the Weberian concept of charisma and Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, capital and symbolic violence. I also apply Bradford Verter's *'Spiritual Capital: theorising religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu'* given that it is conceptually useful in articulating the production and acquisition of spiritual capital for analysis of the neo-Pentecostalisation of the new Black middle class. This is because Verter (2003:157) extends Bourdieu's social economics of religion by "returning his cultural theory to its origins and exploring the dimensions of spiritual capital." I also relied upon Asimaki and Koustorakis's (2014) article *'Habitus: an attempt at a thorough analysis of a controversial concept in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice'* to understand and conceptualise the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus.

The neo-Pentecostalisation of the BMC is seen through the uptake of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic practices. These neo-Pentecostal Charismatic practices involve participation in the multiple and varied church services, activities and events; the practice of gifts of the Holy Ghost/Spirit; i.e.: (1) conversion, glossolalia, prophesying; healing; (2) the uptake and deployment of Pentecostalist practices: tithing, purchase and use of neo-PCC products (books, DVDs, memory sticks, oils, water, T-shirts, arm bands, and other merchandise), use of services (HIV, TB, blood pressure checks, marriage / couple counselling, requests for prayer); the everyday use of the Pentecostal lexicon and the social practices of volunteering, weekly participation in 'home-cells,' attendance of the multiple events, typically 'conferences' with

global, local and popular church leaders.⁶ As a “socially constituted system of dispositions” (Weininger, 2002:118), the central neo-Pentecostal habitus is also directed towards achieving financial, business and/or professional success. This is present in the neo-PCC value structure is evidenced by the books that neo-PCC leaders author about financial stability and success. It is evidenced by neo-PCC sermons, business and leadership seminars and conferences, podcasts and publications that are organised and hosted, recorded and published. These aim to provide a guide, principles and tools for achieving business, financial and professional success, evidenced the accumulation of money. These also include what Bukasa (2017) calls “less costly and inimitable religious goods” which is the consumption of sensational preaching, the opportunity to get a “unique feeling” and/or experience and self-actualisation, meet people and possibly find work, knowledge, status/improved social standing and other forms of capital.

Context of the Research

Lawrence Schlemmer (2005:10) was among the first to assert that the post-apartheid BMC lacked a “high level of internal coherence,” and that it was not a consolidated and stable social group. Interestingly, he also identified the BMC’s increasing adherence to neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches and stated that this had important implications for racial cohesion and the BMC’s socio-economic advancement. The neo-Pentecostalisation of the new Black middle class, *and* the middle-classing of neo-Pentecostalisation through the Prosperity Gospel problematises the entrenched notion that the post-apartheid BMC lacks a coherent middle-class identity. Instead, this thesis argues that new forms and layers of identity are being formed in different social spaces, or fields. I argue that the *a priori* criteria-based classification of a Black middle class creates an expectation that people fulfilling such criteria should display so-called middle-class attitudes and behaviours. The expectation and requirement has been that for Blacks that criteria-based location of Black people in a constructed middle-class location means that those placed, classified and labelled *must now* concomitantly be able to identify with, have ascribed behaviours and have developed a sense of belonging associated and constructed as middle-class. But, while the Black middle class has quantitatively expanded in the post-apartheid era, it is widely understood that it has not developed a coherent middle-class identity.

The research problem: Meanings and identities of Black middle classness

Since Schlemmer, a growing body of qualitative literature, comprising postgraduate theses; books, journal articles, documentaries, etc. examining and exploring the emergent social meanings, identities and processes of being Black and middle class has emerged. This body of work has offered textured

⁶ Pentecostal lexicon is seen through congregants affirmation of what is said, completion of the religious leader’s sentence or simultaneous utterance, and answering of the questions.

and nuanced social understandings of this prominent social group. For example, the *Class in Soweto* research found that the Sowetan middle class identity was not singular, rather that it was mediated by the socio-economic factors of Soweto's high unemployment and poverty, alongside entrepreneurial attitudes. Using a subjective approach to class Mosa Phadi and Claire Ceruti (2011) allowed us to understand that the meanings of being middle class in Soweto were contextually and locally construed. Discursively, the meanings of being middle class in Soweto were about the ability to afford basic needs, such as eating every day or eating at a restaurant in the middle of the week, financial self-sufficiency, social mobility and responsibility. Notions of affordability and self-sufficiency as middle classness interestingly resulted in the unemployed, skilled and unskilled workers and entrepreneurs all self-identifying as middle class Sowetans.

Multiple meanings of being Black and middle class help us to understand that being Black middle class is heterogeneous, complex and continuously being renegotiated. Grace Khunou (2015:91) tells us that "the Black middle class is lived and experienced from a subjective point of view." Blade Nzimande (1991:275) made a similar point: "classes are not merely 'objective' categories, but that they carry within them a baggage of subjective experiences." This is why different scholars have called for studying the lived experiences of people when studying class (Bourdieu, 1984; Nzimande, 1991; Khunou, 2015).

Related to the varied interpretations of middle classness, Khunou and Krige (2013); Khunou (2015) and Monama (2015) found that BMC individuals developed relational understandings of being Black middle class and/or being Black *and* middle class that were mediated by cleavages of race and gender; as well as place and space. For Monama (2015:91) the BMC of Mokopane, Limpopo appropriated middle classness as a new identity through their capacity to freely move between the rural and township areas into suburbs. The ability for rural-township-suburban mobility became a function of *Blackmiddleclassness*.

Uncharacteristic of post-apartheid BMC studies, Khunou (2015) conducted life-story interviews with two Black women that came from historically BMC households. One of her respondents – Aganang came from a former Bantustan village and her father was a teacher who also farmed and was able to sell that livestock to pay for school fees (Khunou, 2015:93). The first key marker of social difference was the presence of both parents in the household, whereas for the majority in the village, many had travelled to 'white' and urban South Africa for work. Other markers of social difference were that Aganang's home was large enough that she had her own bedroom. Additionally, her father had a car in which "come month end, your father and mother possibly you too get into this car, you go to town to buy groceries, you do all these things that the other kids don't do..." (Khunou, 2015:97).

An intriguing finding is how migrant labour, the backbone of apartheid capitalism warped and disciplined Aganang's middle class social position and differentiation. The coalescing of produced

scarcity, the absence of parents in the home to bake bread coupled with the absence of a village shop that sold every day fresh bread made dikokola: dried bread previously smeared with butter and jam a treat for the children and families of domestic workers. Domestic workers would take left over bread from their white employer's table, smear it with butter and red jam, dry it up and send it home in a box, alongside other goodies such as clothing. Aganang, whose mother made fresh bread and dumplings in their home explained her envy and desire for dikokola. The scarcity of dikokola, and the elation and performativity at its arrival probably disciplined or tampered with Aganang's own daily access to nutritious food. Aganang's middle classness - in this case, her family's self-sufficiency - is shaped by place: small village, with no shop and political economy history: apartheid SA, how migrant and working classness (practices of survival) dominantly shaped lived experiences. It's no wonder then that scholars such as Johnston and Bernstein (2005:13) could (without further interrogation) claim that the new Black middle class:

Does not have a cohesive identity and internal coherence: because its rapid emergence, no single identity is typical of the African middle class. For example, while more than half of its members define themselves as falling within the range of the lower to upper middle class, a substantial number are reluctant to do so, and identify with the workers and the poor, while a small minority perceives itself as an 'elite.'

I have previously argued that Black professionals, managers and entrepreneurs saw their Blackness as an immutable and visible identity in comparison to their "middle class" identity, which they saw as mutable and malleable and open to exploitation by marketers/advertisers and political parties (Ngoma, 2015). Besides being reluctant to see themselves as middle class, other individuals outright refused to "be put in the middle class by whatever ... specs are put" (Ngoma, 2015:40). The refusal "be put" in the middle class must be seen an important socio-political aspect of the new BMC's identity, rather than as indicative of the absence of the so-called "cohesive identity." Indeed, as Johnstone and Bernstein (2005) argue, BMC members refused to see themselves as middle class despite what classificatory indicators (such as income) pointed to, because they had assumed 'working class' as a political identity (Ngoma, 2015). While BMC individuals recognised that the 'middle class' location could be acquired through credentials, expertise, income and debt – in the classic Weberian sense – they saw their location as tenuous and precarious, fluid and novel (Ngoma, 2014, 2015). This research takes these conceptualisations further. Mcebisi Ndletyana's (2014) analysis was along these lines, where he argues that new BMC members carry with them working class cultural values and practices. In the early post-apartheid political economy, Black middle class individuals abrogated the middle-class description, describing, instead, their class subjectivity as working class or poor. But, unlike what Joe Slovo professed: "objectively speaking ... the immediate fate of the Black middle sections is linked much more with that of the lack workers and peasants than with their equivalents across the colour line,"

(Maré, 1978:4) almost 3 decades into democracy, the subjective solidarity that the early post-apartheid Black middle classes with the working class is eroded. As this thesis shows, the subjective descriptions of middle class identity by members of the BMC have broken from an alliance or solidarity with the working class, and anchor on liberal notions of credentialization and affordability.

There is a myriad of complex and specific ways in which new BMC members have their middle classness, or specifically ‘self-sufficiency’ shaped, influenced and disciplined by contexts of high and acute deprivation and poverty; by place and history and by race and gender. Fundamentally, Phadi and Ceruti (2011); Khunou and Krige (2013); Khunou (2015) and Monama (2015) studies told us that the Black and middle-class identities were multiple, intersecting and relational.

Of great importance too, was that new BMC members rejected the middle-class label because they recognised it as an exploitative title meant to construe them as “this insatiable monster that just consumes material” (Ngoma, 2015:40) or mass of conspicuous consumers (Khunou, 2015). Jannie Roussow (2016), an Economist from the University of Witwatersrand has argued that the average middle class South African is only two pay cheques shy of financial hardship. While the ‘two-pay cheques away middle class’ discourse has become popular knowledge, Roussow, like many other scholars, attributes this financial precarity to individuals’ inability to live within their means. He argues that living a middle-class lifestyle requires individual discipline, careful planning, hard work and diligent saving. Roussow’s argument thus invokes the Weberian Protestant thesis in its reiteration of the Protestant maxims of saving, planning and hard work (Wuthnow, 2005:604) and chastisement of excessiveness and vulgarities of consumption by the average South African middle-class person.

Southall (2016:163) explains that South Africa’s Black middle class, particularly in terms of the *Black diamonds* discourse, has been constructed as hyper-consumptive; “high-spending, hard-living, and showy individuals” that are living beyond their means. Ben Fine (2012:565) states it crudely, presenting the BMC as “a new Black elite [that] has benefitted from the processes of economic and social restructuring in a way that has been entirely parasitical and the exact antithesis of an aspiring indigenous, developmental bourgeoisie.” Similarly, the Democratic Alliance’s (DA) Eastern Cape then leader Nqaba Bhanga, also a former ANC member, commented that the ANC wanted to oust former DA mayor of Port Elizabeth Athol Trollip, because of the DA’s win of the Nelson Mandela Bay Metropolitan Municipality the party had stopped tenders: “the chairs of Cubana⁷ are empty because

⁷ Popular restaurant-cum-night club franchise. It is the same place where the former Minister of Higher Education, Mduzuzi Manana assaulted a woman, for which misdeed he resigned.

there are no tenders!” (The Herald, 2017).⁸ Johann Rupert, a billionaire whose family benefitted from colonial and apartheid exploitation of the former African peasantry, also argued that South Africa’s Black middle class lacked the Weberian Protestant ethic; unlike Afrikaners in South Africa that had gained their wealth through education and saving.

In a sense the Afrikaner was downtrodden. They were driven but they studied. They studied like crazy. They didn’t buy BMW’s and hang out at Taboo and The Sands all the time. Johann Rupert, 4 December 2018 *PowerFM* interview.

Rupert also argued that the younger Black generation (40-year-olds or so) lacked the quality of political leadership like Nelson Mandela and Steve Biko:

I don’t see your age group going to jail for nearly two decades. In your generation, I have not seen leadership coming out. Johann Rupert, 4 December 2018 *PowerFM* Interview.

Reflecting on Krige’s (2012) argument, Khunou (2015:91) explains that the construction and emphasis of the new BMC as conspicuous consumers results from the “racialisation of the meaning of middle-classness.” Adding to this reflection, I argue that the racialisation of the consumption practices of the different middle-classes in terms of race constitutes a narrative that valorises how not to do and how not to be middle class.

Christianity, along with the associated advancement of capitalist industrialization, had a profound impact on early South Africa’s social, economic and political landscape. Importantly, the 19th Christianization and the provision of ‘western’ education of an otherwise reluctant, materially dispossessed and destitute; but aspirant segments of the indigenous African population, produced a minute land-owning, educated and income earning segment of Africans. These are identified as the African political elite and middle-class group of the period. On the other hand, the majority of land dispossessed Black-African men were re-inserted into South Africa’s otherwise industrialising social formation mainly as cheap and exploited labourers. In addition, and similar to other African colonies in the early 20th century, Christian conversion and western education contributed to the emergence of a particular form of political consciousness among the educated Black-Africans; most of them male. The formation of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 by mission educated and Christianized Black-Africans such as Langa libalele Dube; Sol Plaatje; Pixley ka Isaka Seme and Silas Molema who are also first-generation African nationalists, (Erlank, 2012:83) is an often-cited example, and of course

⁸ Bhanga said this addressing a DA rally of supporters that were gathered against the impending vote of no confidence against Athol Trollip by the ANC and EFF as the DA had voted against the Land expropriation without compensation Bill.

a topic that has attracted much study. Tengo Jabavu and Silas Molema were also part of the early nationalists.

The post-apartheid Black middle class continues – in similar ways to its historical predecessors – to deploy forms of Christianity as a mechanism of, firstly co-producing and co-developing its socio-cultural identity; secondly as a supporting instrument of upward social mobility and middle class consolidation and reproduction. In addition, I argue that the overriding scholarly attention paid to the new Black middle class' patronage with the ANC as the ruling party has limited our understanding of this social group's identity; and the way that it interacts with different social or public institutions. Instead, studies continue to show that as poverty and unemployment rise, the ANC's ability to influence the social attitudes of Black South Africans has declined, and that many supporters of the ANC are withdrawing, realigning their interest with other public institutions such as the family (Mosoetsa, 2011) and churches (Egan, 2007; Rule and Langa, 2010).

Generally, research by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) found that by 2005 South Africans' trust in public institutions had begun to wane. The South African Social Attitudes Survey of 2005 as analysed by Rule and Langa (2010) shows that local government trust was (49%), with political parties getting (43%). The highest proportion of public trust was 83% for churches. Interestingly big business was slightly higher than local government and political parties was at 54% (Rule and Langa, 2010:11).

Purpose of the Study

This thesis examines the relationship between South Africa's contemporary Black middle class and neo-Pentecostal Charismatic churches. Anchored on Bourdieu's theory of practice and taking place within the context and conditions of continuing urbanisation and global financialised capitalism and its discontents, it explores the neo-Pentecostalisation of parts of the post-apartheid Black middle class.

I explore the ways in which the neo-PCC field and the Prosperity Gospel habitus, new layers of social, religious, cultural, political and economic practices are shaped and reshaped and added to South Africa's post-apartheid sociality. I argue that the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field and socialised Prosperity Gospel habitus, and the meanings, practices and values they produce, promote and police middle class making and reproduction, and is also aimed at ameliorating, and removing socio-economic precarity and consolidating the middle-class position. I also examine the middle classing of the new BMC through the Prosperity Gospel teachings. The content of the Prosperity Gospel preached and delivered by the three neo-PC mega-churches is broadly similar in structure given that it seeks to shape attitudes and behaviours of the BMC. The specific or exact content of each neo-PC mega-church's prosperity messaging is differentiated by location, race, gender and class cleavages according to such

criteria as the race and gender of the lead pastor, whether the mega-church is located in a formerly white-suburb or currently Black township, which also affects the demographic content of its congregation. The cultural and political content of the neo-PCCs is also differentiated by these cleavages, thus producing a particular socio-cultural identity of the BMC and the neo-PCC membership. There is a conglomeration of differentiation in the interplay of neo-Pentecostalism for each BMC neo-Pentecostal. Therefore, each one's religious biography and its interplay with Pentecostalisation is reviewed and highlighted. I look at the interplay between the BMC and neo-PCC's Prosperity Gospel as to how it seeks to socialise the BMC, in terms of its cultural, social, political and economic ideas and behaviours. All of this is therefore about vying for a developing and ever-changing Black middle class post-apartheid identity and sociality. And therefore, how the neo-PCC field produces a neo-Pentecostalised *Blackmiddleclass* habitus, as one form of post-apartheid middleclassness.

The thesis is therefore a look at how the BMC uses Pentecostalism as a repertoire of tools to navigate the contradictions of shifting political alliances and privilege, extreme inequality and economic precarity and insecurity in a neo-liberal-democratic-capitalist society. There are also specific discourse on Blackness, Black attitudes, ways of thinking, dispositions, gender and cultural ideas and practices that are at play here between the BMC and the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic movement, which produces active, moderate or passive forms of social and political participation by the BMC neo-Pentecostals.

This thesis is a suburban-based study, taking place in the Gauteng province's City of Johannesburg (COJ) and covering areas such as Pimville in Soweto, Morningside in Sandton and Bromhof in Randburg. Although the Black middle class individuals taking part in the study came from all of South Africa, and Africa, reflecting the transnational nature of neo-Pentecostalism, and mobility of the Black middle class. This research is about how neo-Pentecostalism functions as repertoire of tools that the post-apartheid Black middle class uses to navigate the contradictions of shifting political alliances and privilege, extreme inequality and socio-economic precarity in a neo-liberal capitalist and democratic society.

Research Aim and Question

Owing to colonial and apartheid systems of exclusion and despite its spectacular growth the new Black middle class not only hails from poor and/or working-class backgrounds; it is also materially insecure. The characteristics of its newness and historical material insecurity thus compromises and constrains the post-apartheid BMC's continued social mobility (which is occupational mobility), sustainability and reproduction of the middle-class position. Therefore, I examine the meanings that BMC individuals attach to neo-Pentecostal Charismatic values and practices, and how these interact with their socio-cultural, professional and political attitudes. This research is about the behaviours, attitudes and strategies that neo-Pentecostal Charismatics produce among the post-apartheid Black

middle class, thus producing a uniquely raced and classed identities. These identities are thus deployed as mechanisms for the consolidation and reproduction of the middle-class position. My central research question is therefore:

How are neo-Pentecostal Charismatic doctrines, values and practices structured to influence the social lives of the post-apartheid Black middle class?

Methodological Approach

The Case Studies: Rhema, Grace and Rivers

This research focuses on three neo-PCC case studies: Rhema Bible Church North (Rhema) founded in 1979 by Pastors Raynor (Ray) and Lyndie McCauley, Grace Bible Church International (Grace) founded by Bishop Mosa Sono in 1983 and Rivers Church (Rivers) founded by Pastors André and Wilma Olivier in 1992. Sono now leads Grace with his wife Overseer Gege Sono. These three are among South Africa's prominent neo-Pentecostal Charismatic leaders and mega-churches. They attract thousands of adherents, among them members of the post-apartheid Black middle class as adherents (Egan, 2007; Rule, 2011; Frahm-Arp, 2010, 2018; Dickow, 2012; Chipkin, 2012; Southall, 2016; James, 2007; James, 2012; 2016; Ngoma, 2021).

Mega-churches are defined as churches with a minimum of 2,000 weekly attendance and are often located in middle class suburbs of large cities (Ruhr and Daniels, 2008). They bring “together thousands of worshippers from all walks of life” and “are also known for generating significant income through tithes, donations and merchandise” (Thompson, 2019). Rhema Bible Church is a part of the International Federation of Christian Churches (IFCC). According to the Census 2001 the IFCC had 82,943 members nationwide (Stats SA, 2001). However, Eliseev (2006) states a different size: reporting that Rhema has a national membership of 70,000, with the Church Image Network (2017) placing this at 45,000. Under the leadership of Ray McCauley there is a group of South African churches under the Rhema Family Churches, which has 168 branches nationwide (Matlhare, 2021). Over 17,000 people attend Rhema Bible Church North services every weekend (Sono, 14 September 2022, Word Explosion, Day 1). Grace has “71 branches” under its name (Mosa Sono *Twitter* page, 12 March 2023). A 2002 report says that Grace has 11,000 members, and its Sunday services draw over 8,000 people (Sono, 31 March 2022, *PowerFM*) up from 5,000 in 2002 (Joburg, 2002). Mokete (2020) placed Grace's membership at 30,000. The Rivers' visitors brochure states that there are over 15,000 attendants of Rivers services over the weekends, with 20,000 members across its five campuses (Rivers Church, 2021). The five campuses of the Rivers Church are Sandton, Kyalami, Centurion, Durban-North and Ballito. These numbers are indicative of the size of these neo-PCCs, although Maxwell's (2006:6) caveat is important to note here – as he accuses born-again of being obsessed with church size and prone of exaggeration. All three neo-PCC cases are urban-based neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-

churches, where, with the exception of Grace's Pimville-Soweto church, the first and main church sites are in formerly white suburbs.

Table 2: Rhema, Grace and Rivers mega-church indicators

Mega-Church	Membership Rate	Weekly Attendance	Number of Branches
Rhema	70,000	17,000	168
Grace	30,000	8,000	71
Rivers	20,000	15,000	5
Total	120,000	40,000	244

Source: Author compilation

Notes on Weekly Attendance: Rhema and Grace's weekly attendance is only for the main churches. It excludes their branches/ extension sites. Rivers church attendance is for all the 5 campuses.

Stats SA (2022:17) states that the South African mid-year population in 2021 is estimated at 60,14 million, with Black African population as 81% of the population with 48,6 million people. It is followed by the Coloured population at 5,294 968 at 8,8%, the white population at 5,3 representing 7,8%, the Indian/Asian population at 1, 545 222 and 2,6%. The majority of South Africans live in Gauteng Province, which has 15,81 million people (26,3%), followed by KwaZulu-Natal with 11,5 million people (19,1%), *ibid*. The Northern Cape had 1,303,047, Free State 2,932 441, North West 4,122 854, Mpumalanga 4,743 584, Limpopo 5,926 724, Eastern Cape 6,676 590 and Western Cape 7,113 776 (Stats SA, 2022).

Table 3: Mid-year population estimates for South Africa by population group and sex, 2021

Population group*	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Black-African	23 761 051	80.9	24 879 278	80.9	48 640 329	80.9
Coloured	2 578 930	8.8	2 716 038	8.8	5 294 968	8.8
Indian/Asian	790 412	2.7	754 810	2.5	1 545 222	2.6
White	2 257 654	7.7	2 404 805	7.8	4 662 459	7.8
Total	29 388 047	100.0	30 754 931	100.0	60 142 978	100.0

Source: Statistics South Africa, 2021, Mid-Year Population statistics

*Percentage distribution

Methods

This study relies on digital and in-person ethnography. This involves photographs, ethnographic notes, observations both digitally and in-person. My interview-based research and participant

observation extended across a range of settings. I conducted 9 life-story interviews and 11 in-depth interviews with BMC neo-Pentecostals (see tables 4 and 5).

I designed and deployed a qualitative research design anchored on ethnography, life-story and in-depth interviews with BMC neo-Pentecostals. The ethnographic format was digital and in-person, while both forms of interviews were semi-structured and audio-recorded. I obtained verbal consent to record from all the BMC neo-Pentecostal research participants. I relied on the *YouTube* channels of the mega-churches for the observation and analysis of the services and sermons. The mega-church cases studied herein also post a substantial amount of their church activities on *Facebook*, *Instagram* and *Twitter*. As such, *Facebook*, *Instagram* and *Twitter* were largely the social media platforms that I relied on to understand and immerse myself in their church life. *Twitter* played a slightly differentiated digital ethnography role from *Facebook* and *Instagram*. Over the course of my research, relative to *Facebook* and *Instagram*; *Twitter* became a far more heightened public site on which much of the societal contestation associated with the mega-churches played out. It was also the public site on which meg-church contestation was sustained over several days or weeks. This means that more than *Facebook* and *Instagram*, the public discourse and scrutiny was durable or attained longevity on *Twitter*. Importantly, *Twitter's* durability and longevity comes from its *retweet* function, which allows past discourses and scrutiny to be recycled at a different period.

I relied on my personal notes for the services and conferences that I attended in-person. I knew numerous BMC neo-Pentecostals and through the snowball sampling technique I secured nine of the BMC neo-Pentecostals research participants. I wrote a BMC neo-Pentecostal acquittance from Rhema requesting her participation in the research. She greatly assisted by identifying and introducing me to others. She created a *WhatsApp* group comprising her personal BMC neo-Pentecostal contacts. I contacted them individually through emailed letters requesting their participation, from which I secured 6 participants. The other 5 participants came from further snowballing. Nine of the BMC neo-Pentecostal participants were known to me through my school, university and work life.

Profile of the BMC neo-Pentecostals

The BMC neo-Pentecostals studied herein were all employed or running successful businesses at the time of the research. They all individually had 10 or more years of work, having worked at three or more organisations. Two lived in rented property, while all the others had a house for which they were repaying a bond. All had cars. All had their first degree and/or diploma(s). Eight had Masters degree and one had a Doctor of Philosophy. Their children attended schools in Johannesburg's suburbs, both in the private and public Model C schools. Four had children that were attending university (public) and College (private) studying for their first diplomas and degrees. The assets (cars, house and

household appliances), credentials, work experience and occupational level, middle and senior management suggests a consolidated middle class position. At middle class to upper middle class levels.

Table 4: List of life interviews

Occupation	Sex	Church biography	No. of Interviews & Date(s)
TV Producer	F	Rhema (formerly Anglican)	2, 27 February 2017, 08 March 2017
Coal Engineer	F	Rhema (formerly Catholic)	1, 02 July 2020
Marketer: Beverages	F	Rivers (formerly Catholic)	2, 15 June 2020, 16 June 2020
Marketer: Tobacco	F	Rivers (formerly Lutheran)	2, 1 July 2020, 9 July 2020
Private Banker	F	Rivers (formerly Methodist and transitioned from Grace to Rivers)	2, 11 March 2017, 18 August 2017; 20 August 2017
Development Banker	M	Rhema (formerly Catholic)	2, 17 June 2020, 22 June 2020
Manager: Information, Communication & Technology (ICT)	F	Rivers (Catholic, Methodist and Grace)	2, 10 June 2020, 12 June 2020
Manager: Cyber Security	M	Just Christian (formerly Apostolic)	2, 11 March 2017, 24 March 2017
Lawyer	M	Formerly Rivers (formerly Anglican)	3, 13 January 2017, 14 August 2017, 14 January 2018

The in-depth interviews were mostly conducted with women. I began and completed these interviews between 2017 and 2022.

Table 5: List of in-depth interviews

Occupation	Sex	Church	No. of interviews & Dates
Manager: Lobby & Advocacy (L&A)	F	Grace (formerly Methodist)	20 November 2022
Executive: Monitoring & Evaluation (M&E)	F	Former Rhema (formerly Lutheran)	08 November 2017
Programmer: Information, Communication & Technology (ICT)	F	Rivers (formerly Methodist)	09 July 2017
Brand strategist: Private Bank	M	Former Rhema & Grace (formerly Anglican, Methodist)	16 March 2017
Lecturer	F	Former Rhema (formerly Anglican)	08 May 2017
Country Director	M	Rhema (formerly Catholic)	18 June 2020
Executive: Human Resources (HR)	F	Methodist (formerly His People & Rhema)	02 July 2020
Executive: Public Relations (PR)	F	Catholic (Rhema & Grace)	19 June 2020
Business owner: services	F	Rhema (formerly Apostolic)	30 August 2017
Business owner: construction	F	Rhema (formerly Anglican)	14 August 2017
Lecturer	M	Former Rivers (formerly Lutheran)	08 April 2019

Sermons

I watched and attended as well as transcribed some of the sermons. The other sermons I accessed through CDs and DVDs that I bought. While there are several more sermons that I listened to and attended, the table below details the cited sermons in the study.

Table 6: Cited Sermons

Mega-church	By	Title	Date
Rhema	Ray McCauley	Vision Sunday 2017: Xtreme Dreams	11 April 2017
	Ray McCauley	The Two Sisters: Pride and Shame DVD	2009
	Ray McCauley	How to overcome your giants DVD	2009
	Ray McCauley	Defeating the storms of life DVD	2009
	Ray McCauley	Worship as a lifestyle DVD	2009
	Ray McCauley	What are you focused on DVD	2009
	Ray McCauley	Four faces of Jesus DVD	2009
	Ray McCauley	CRC Dreamweek Conference	2 October 2018
	Chris Hill	Crouching Tiger-Hidden Dragon CD	2012
	Chris Hill	Fire Nation CD	2012
	Chris Hill	I still got it CD	2012
	Kabelo Mabalane	David's Armour (personal notes)	22 January 2017
Grace	Mosa Sono	12 Reasons every Christian should win souls	20 March 2016
	Mosa Sono	Our God, a builder – Part 1.	22 June 2016
	Mosa Sono	Making your vision come true: Part 3.	23 January 2017.
	Mosa Sono	Resilience: Grace Wits Student Society Launch.	23 May 2017
	Mosa Sono	Grit: The power of passion and perseverance	17 June 2018
	Mosa Sono	The seven pillars of Wisdom-Prudence sermon.	5 May 2019
	Mosa Sono	The integrity of God's Word	28 June 2022
	Ezekiel Mathole	Business Seminar: Word Explosion (personal notes)	5 October 2018
	Various	Good Friday celebration 2014 CD	20 April 2014
Rivers	André Olivier	Rivers Church Hillsong Announcement	11 April 2014
	André Olivier	Playing our part in reshaping our nation, Part 1.	
	André Olivier	Playing our part in reshaping our nation, Part 2.	17 February 2019
	André Olivier	Life by design	
	Sam Chand	So, what does a pastor do?	8 November 2022
	André Olivier	Seizing our God-given opportunities	20 September 2022
	André Olivier	Wisdom with Money	6 September 2020

Talks / Events / inserts

Table 7: Cited Talks

	By	Title	Date
Rhema	Zelda Ireland	Remarks at Women's Conference	24 August 2016
Grace	Ezekiel Guti	Grace Bible Church, 06 December 2019, Apostle Ezekiel Guti honoured at Grace Bible Church led by Bishop Mosa Sono in Soweto	6 December 2019
	Mosa Sono	39-years of Grace	4 September 2022
Rivers			
	THiNK International	Church Building Design — Rivers Church Sandton Building Tour	2 December 2015
	Rivers adherents and associates	Rivers Church 30 Year Celebration Video	6 November 2022

The table below details the television and radio interviews.

Table 8: Cited Radio and Television Interviews

	By	Title	Date
Rhema	Ray McCauley	Cynthia Garret with Ps Ray McCauley (TBN)	18 September 2019
	Ray McCauley	Profile Interview with Pastor Ray McCauley (702)	8 May 2020
Grace	Mosa Sono	Visionaries' Lounge (SABC2)	12 May 2016
	Mosa Sono	Leadership dialogue (PowerFM)	31 March 2022
Rivers	Shaun Lewarne and Nareen Kogi	Cultivating unity in our churches with the Rivers church team	9 August 2022
	André Olivier	Xolani Gwala Show (702)	28 June 2016

Scholarly Value

This study is distinguished by its observation of neo-PCCs in the COVID-19 and post-COVID-19 periods, allowing determinations of how the churches behave and approach rebuilding of the churches in terms of attendance and interest from middle classes that have been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Despite the rapid post-apartheid growth of both the South African Black middle class and neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches, the story of the neo-Pentecostalisation of segments of the post-apartheid Black middle class and BMC neo-Pentecostalism is largely untold. Instead, South African scholarship of the post-apartheid BMC has mainly been about this group's political attitudes, voting patterns and levels of potential consumption and actual consumerism. The latter studies have been economistic in nature, produced by market research agencies and multi-national financial institutions,

such as the World Bank and economics and/or marketing departments in universities such as the University of Cape Town's Unilever Institute of Strategic Marketing and Stellenbosch University.

By examining the neo-Pentecostalisation of parts of the new BMC this thesis develops understandings of the ways in which the BMC constructs and lives out intersectional and rapidly forming identities and the implications these have for deepening democracy and socio-political stability. This enables the extrapolation of the implications of the neo-Pentecostalisation of the new BMC has for social, political and economic stability, by understanding how social institutions are developing and co-producing.

The study of the Black middle class neo-Pentecostalisation is a look at the socio-cultural identity making of the BMC, a socially and economically important segment of democratic South Africa. Middle classes can be economically, socially and politically stabilising for emerging economies and democracies. In this way, it is important to study how the post-apartheid Black middle class is attempting to socio-economically stabilise itself in the changing and precarious political economy of South Africa, and what can be said about African middle classes.

In segregated 19th century South Africa, the African bourgeoisie or middle class emerges out of the civilising endeavour of Christian missions; wherein formal education, Christianity and Westernisation become “inextricably interwoven” (Kuper, 1965:73). The educated Africans became ordained ministers/clergymen, agents at law, barristers at law, teachers, headmasters, nurses, doctors, writers and journalists through mission education and European and American universities (Kuper, 1965:74-77). Besides the physical separation of the educated African who resided in mission stations, “education fostered occupational diversity and the opportunity to escape the common fate of the peasant and labourer into (the) highly prized position of (a) minister, teacher, clerk and interpreter” (Kuper, 1965:75).

Thesis Outline

This thesis combines at least two major theoretical areas in sociology: stratification and religion theories. It is structured into eight chapters. The introductory and conclusion chapters (one and eight) are largely analytical while the second chapter covers the theoretical and methodological approaches of the thesis. The definitions, shape and size of the Black middle class and neo-Pentecostalism is introduced in Chapter 1, but also woven throughout the thesis. Chapter 3 offers a broad socio-historical engagement of Pentecostalism with the view of extracting the key elements that South African neo-Pentecostals in the post-1994 era inherited. Chapter 4 crafts the inception stories of the three mega-churches studied herein, seeking to trace the journeys to mega-churches of the churches and founders to mega-church status. The chapter also details the socio-political forces and capitals that were at play on the journey from small start-up church to mega-church status. The chapter also extracts the political

postures of the mega-church founder leaders: McCauley, Sono and Olivier. Chapter 5 follows history by detailing the mega-church habitus that has been structured by the cases, and how this therefore teaches middle classness to the new BMC. As a build up from chapters 3 to 5 (the neo-PCC field's capital inheritance and its habitus) Chapter 6 details the classificatory struggles in the field from the perspective of the mega-churches, adherents and the state. Chapter 7 outlines the neo-Pentecostalisation of the BMC focusing on the nature of the relationship between the BMC and neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches and the Prosperity Gospel. Chapter 8 concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Introduction

This theoretical and conceptual framework occupies itself with the delineation of the theories, concepts and approaches applied in this research. It also reflects on and details how the chosen theoretical and conceptual framework dialogues with the study's empirical results. This is necessitated by the fact that as with many other sociological areas of study, class, race and religious analysis are theoretically heterogenous areas of study.

Classical Sociology of Religion

As an enquiry into the neo-Pentecostalisation of parts of South Africa's post-apartheid Black middle class, this study examines the South African social structure through the interconnectedness/dependencies of cultural and material forces. It examines the South African social structure through the social reproduction mechanisms of the Black middle-class in the post-colonial-and-apartheid era. In so doing, this thesis considers interrelated theoretical areas. *Critically, it studies the relationship between culture and class, engaging with class both as a structural category and as a force of social identity.* As an enquiry into the neo-Pentecostalisation of parts of South Africa's post-apartheid Black middle class, it therefore explores protestant Christianity as an enduring ecological force (or even subaltern) in South Africa's social formation, its economic, sociocultural and political life. Thus, within a context of global and crises ridden neoliberal capitalism, social mobility, class, race and religion form the specific areas of this academic enquiry.

Broadly therefore, this study draws from Durkheimian, Marxist and Weberian sociology but relies on Bourdieu's theory of practice. I rely on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and capital. I also use his other associated concept of domination and symbolic violence. In the citation below, Bourdieu explains the concepts of the hexis-habitus and field:

(by) Structuralism I mean that in the social world there are...objective structures independent of the consciousnesses (awareness and desire) of the carriers and capable of orienting – guiding or forcing – restricting their practices or their performances. By the term constructed I mean that there is a double social genesis. On the one hand, forms of attitude, thought and action are shaped which are essential elements of what I call hexis-habitus, and on the other, the social

structures, what I call fields and groups, mainly what we usually call social classes (Bourdieu, 1987:147 cited in Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014:123).

I use Bourdieu's theory of practice to examine what BMC neo-Pentecostals do in the pursuit of symbolic and material forms of capital in different and overlapping (social) fields (i.e.: church, family, work, state, school, etc.) according to their attitudes, dispositions, skills, tastes or cultural competencies that make up their habitus. I look at the ways in which a Black middle class neo-Pentecostal habitus is produced and how it shapes practice in different and overlapping fields. I examine how the co-produced neo-Pentecostal habitus shapes particular forms of *Blackmiddleclassness* and social life to respond broadly, collectively and ontologically to the mechanisms and forms of domination (their predications) present and reproduced in the South African society.

Certain analytical aspects of Bourdieu's theory of practice draw from Durkheimian, Marxist and Weberian thinking on class and religion. Brubaker (1985:747) argues that the "intellectual source of Bourdieu's works: [is] classical social theory, especially the writings of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber;" and as Rey (2014:vii) adds "not least of their work *on religion*, precisely." Brubaker (1985:747) explains that Bourdieu's "central concern with class and reproduction" and his "critical, oppositional tone" earned him an identity, erroneously among some, as a Marxist. On the other hand, as Brubaker tells us, Marxists too tend to ascribe Bourdieu a Durkheimian identity, owing to his (so-called) excessive concern with "the integrative functions of culture" (1985:747).⁹ Brubaker integrates both these intellectual identities stating that "Bourdieu is indeed indebted to Marx and Durkheim for his theoretical program, which may be described as an attempt to unite the (sketchy) Marxist program for a sociology of reproduction with the Durkheimian program for a genetic sociology of symbolic forms.

⁹ In his own words, Bourdieu describes what he thinks about being called a Marxist, Weberian or Durkheimian: "I have never thought of myself in such terms as being 'a Marxist' or a follower of Weber. I usually object to such questions. Primarily because, when one asks these questions, it is nearly always with the intention of polemic, to place me in a class, to catalogue me, kategorisieren, to accuse me publicly: 'Deep down, Bourdieu is a Durkheimian'. This is pejorative from the point of view of the one who says it: that means: he is not a Marxist, and that is bad. Or even: 'Bourdieu is a Marxist'. And that is not right either. In any case, the answer to the question of knowing whether an author is a Marxist, a follower of Durkheim or of Weber produces hardly any information about that author" (Mahar, 1990:31).

¹⁰ Swartz (1997) argues that Durkheim's central thesis of the sacred/profane opposition provided "Bourdieu with one of the most important paradigms of his social theory" which is the construction or formulation of symbolic power (cited by Rey, 2014:8).

Swartz (1997:47) states Bourdieu extends Durkheim's sacred/profane opposition to an analysis of contemporary cultural forms. More generally, Bourdieu believes that the religious sacred is but a particular case of the more general idea that social distinctions, whether applied to individuals, groups, or institutions, assume a taken-for-granted quality that elicits acceptance and respect. Symbolic power is a power 'to consecrate', to render sacred. He thus associates the concept of the sacred with legitimation, particularly in high culture and art where boundaries are particularly strong. In this sense, he can declare that his sociology of culture is in reality a "science of the sacred" (cited by Rey, 2014:8).

Brubaker (1985:747) asserts that if Bourdieu's programmatic aims are derived from Marx and Durkheim, the substance of his theory is Weber.

Therefore, before proceeding, it is important to foreground the use of Bourdieu as the central theoretical and conceptual framework by detailing the classical triumvirate sociological theory on religion by Durkheim (1858-1917), Marx (1818-1883) and Weber (1864-1920).

Social order, the meaning of collective or social life, and how societies create collective and social meanings in ways that make them function and cohere have been important issues of classical sociology (Turner, 1991). Religion is therefore a core sociological theme, with Durkheim, Marx and Weber having examined the relationship between society and religion in the wake of 19th century industrialisation.¹¹ They emphasise that religion, like the family, schools and state are economic organising units that are important societal institutions and/or forces. If Durkheim's functionalist perspective thesis holds that religion is a human construct that reflects humanity to itself rather than a supernatural force and that it makes society possible by acting as a bonding agent that produces cohesion; then the Marxist and Weberian conflict approaches recognise the role of religion as an organising force in economic life. However, Marxism is distinguished from the Weberian approach for its postulation that religion is an ideological instrument that maintains the domination of society by capitalists, legitimises class inequality and the exploitation and alienation of the proletariat class. Moreover, religion perpetuates the capitalist mode of production, which will be overridden by a classless and religion-less communist mode of production. This will happen when "workers realise that they have nothing to lose but their shackles" (Marx and Engels, [1888] 2015). On the other hand, Weber was concerned with "ethical personality" and sought to "understand the social conditions under which effective political leadership could be achieved in order to secure his particular vision of liberalism against bureaucracy and the state with the ethical objective of sustaining the individual and individualism with a rationalised world" (Turner, 1999:25). The Weberian thesis holds that religion makes economic life possible.

The sections that follow provide greater explication.

¹¹ Turner (1991:3) says "the second characteristic of much modern sociology of religion is its primary concern with the subjectivity of the social actor, manifested in the analysis of religious beliefs, world-views, definitions of alternative realities, commitments to the sacred cosmos and so forth. There are clearly good credentials for such a position in the interpretive sociology of Max Weber ..."

Durkheim: the sociological method, society and social facts

Albeit not to the same extent as it was at its height of dominance up to the 1960s,¹² functionalism arguably remains a relevant analytical framework. This is due to its central aim of seeking to understand the ways in which social groups *can and do* function during periods of steep or sustained/long-term social change or transition. Therefore, its analytical relevance derives from its ability to help explain the 21st century, whose transition from the 20th century has been characterised by steep transitions (e.g.: economic growth of the Asian Tigers; 2nd-3rd- 4th industrial revolution, global urbanisation), sharp economic turns (e.g.: 1930s depression; 1970s oil slump; removal of the dollar from the gold standard; 2008/09 Global Financial Crisis (GFC)), significant changes to social formations and modes of production (e.g.: political independence of African states; fall of the Soviet Union).

Influenced by the changes taking place in his personal and social world, Durkheim was concerned with understanding French society as it underwent revolution and war (Turner, 1991:45). Turner (1999:92) says that Durkheim conceptualises a “conservative reaction to social change” made up of five themes: “the primacy of society over the individual; the necessity for moral restraint over human passions; the importance of authority in the organisation of communities; the dependence of society on religious values; and the organic character of social relations.”

Durkheim’s theoretical approach builds from the concern of how societies in transition build social solidarity that make them possible. Durkheim is a major intellectual figure who profoundly influenced sociological thought and method. Like Bourdieu would later do, Durkheim commented on the revolutionary changes that affected French society between 1789-1914 that ended up catapulting modern society and life across the globe: in which “the Napoleonic period experimented with and then exported the elementary principles of modern society, namely liberty, equality, and fraternity (or secular solidarity) (Turner, 1999:89). His work shapes sociological thinking in complex and challenging ways. It is particularly useful for its capacity to systematically or methodically examine the ways in which social order and morals are constructed in society, especially in social contexts where the “economy had become somewhat detached from other social institutions” (Turner, 1999:88). Like Bourdieu, Durkheim’s focus on this helped him to develop significant theoretical insights.

Durkheim demonstrated that society consists of a region of reality that exists in its own right - *a sui generis* reality - one that is unique to itself and irreducible to its composing parts (Harrington, 2005:10). Society is a supraindividual force existing independently of the factors that compose it. It supersedes the existence of any one individual in complexity, depth and richness. A *sui generis* social

¹² In the 1960s, structuralism came under sustained attack, especially in the United States. It was criticised variously for its limitations in explaining social change, structural contradictions and conflict in societies and “its reliance on stability” (Marshall, 1998:241).

reality means that society exists independently of individuals, wherein social reality is ascribed to the group rather than the individual (Young, 1962:19), where the conscience collective is more binding than the individual conscience.

Durkheim asserts that society is more than the groups of individuals living in the same geographical location, instead it is “an ensemble of ideas, beliefs, and sentiments of all sorts that are realized through individuals; it indicates a reality that is produced when individuals interact with one another, resulting in the fusion of individual consciences. This fusion of individual consciences is a *sui generis* reality.” Thus, this ensemble of ideas, beliefs and sentiments when fused forms society.¹³ Durkheim believes that the conscience collective makes society possible and that societies need something to cohere around.

There can be no society which does not feel the need of upholding and reaffirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which makes its unity and its personality. Now this moral remaking cannot be achieved except by the means of reunions, assemblies and meetings where the individuals, being closely united to one another, reaffirm in common their common sentiments (Durkheim, 1912 [1995]:474–5).

I turn, briefly, to his “complex notion” (Marshall, 1998:612) of social facts.

Determined by collecting, data, “social facts are conditions and circumstances external to the individual that nevertheless determine the individual’s course of action” (Edles and Appelrouth, 2010). In *Rules of the Sociological Method* Durkheim (1982:52) defines social facts as “a category of facts which present very special characteristics: they consist of manners of acting, thinking, and feeling external to the individual, which are invested with a coercive power by virtue of which they exercise control over him.” Social facts are also internal to the individual and can be material or non-material in nature. Importantly, it is only through individuals that social facts can exist. Social facts are external, constraining, coercive, have an objective reality that is observable, measurable and are ineluctable (Marshall, 1998:612; Abercrombie, 2000:322) externally imposing social or moral constraint over behaviour (Turner, 1999). For example, time and space are objectively measurable and ineluctable social facts. Marshall (1998:612) explains that the capacity of social facts to impose moral and social ways of acting “emanate from collectively elaborated and ... authoritative rules, maxims, and practices, both religious and secular” and are to be understood within Durkheim’s conception of the conscience

¹³ Society for Durkheim is a collective of ideas, beliefs and sentiments, also seen produced when individuals acquire traits, language, a monetary system, values, tendencies for suicide or technologies through social facts – the conscience collective.

collective and collective representations. Social currents, or social movements in the contemporary period are also part of the collective conscience (Durkheim, 1964:4 cited by Turner, 1999:92).

Thus, common to average citizens of the same society is the totality ideas, values, norms, sentiments, acquired traits and, language, beliefs and religious belief systems, symbols, institutions, technology financial systems as “more or less solidified forms” that give a conscience collective - a “determinate system which has its own life” (Durkheim, 1893:79). This is society. So that, another important characteristic of the conscience collective is that it is diffuse, independent of any organ, autonomous too of the conditions or circumstances individuals find themselves in. “It is the same in different locations, classes, and occupations; it connects successive generations rather than changing from one to another; and it is different from individual consciences, despite the fact that it can be realized only through them.”

Durkheim’s collective effervescence

The *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* is Durkheim’s (1912) last publication. The book is concerned with how religion is expressed in society and what that means for society. Centrally, Durkheim establishes that religion is a *sui generis* reality - a thing unto itself, a social fact. Religion [is] the eminent form of the conscience collective (Turner, 1991). It is an expression of society – because it is based on the nature of things, it is the belief in the power of society. Durkheim studied the earliest form of religion – among the hunter and seed-seeking Arunta tribe of Australian aborigines. From this observation, he was able to generate an understanding of what makes society possible and enduring. He argues that religious belief and practice produces social order. Talcott Parsons (1973) also believes that religion makes societies function because of its integrative and socialising capacity. Durkheim defines religion as a (1912:62) “unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden.” Religion is a set of beliefs and practices “which unite into one single moral community called a church” and are made up of “all those whose adhere to them,” *ibid*.

Central to Durkheim’s theoretical approach to religion is that it has unifying, collectivising or bringing together of what would otherwise be atomic features into a cohesively acting collective. As Turner (1991:44-5) explains, this view represents a theoretical deviation from the way that religion was previously conceived. Pre-Durkheimian conceptions of religion saw it as a property isolated to the individual, a primarily cognitive phenomenon, a system of propositions which aimed to provide explanation to reality by reference to supernatural entities (Turner, 1991:44-45). Notably, pre-Durkheimian views dismissed or ignored the social or political significance of religion for society. And “since positivist science was taken to be the only criterion of rationality and truth, the explanations of reality which were contained in religious beliefs were necessarily false” (Turner, 1991:45).

Four elements are critical in the Durkheimian thesis of religion.

Sacred/Profane dichotomy

The first relates to the property of religion. Durkheim posits that a dichotomy between the sacred and profane is a central feature of religions, rather than supernatural beings, spirits or gods. Durkheim stresses that all religions had “one common characteristic: they presuppose a classification of all the things, real and ideal, of which men think, into two classes or opposed groups, generally designated by two distinct terms which are translated well enough by the words profane and sacred” (1912:52).

The sacred are things that are set apart from society, that are forbidden, that are awe-inspiring and deserving of reverence, they are isolated and protected by powerful interdictions, while the profane are things that are things of everyday part of life (Jones, 1986). Thus, certain places, objects and experiences can be exalted as sacred or demoted to the profane. Durkheim eliminated belief in the supernatural, gods and spirits in his explication of religion.

Social Solidarity

Second, religion is “eminently a collective thing,” (Durkheim, 1912:47) a binding force of society, religion is the essential glue that makes the whole possible. By providing collective values and shared norms, religion enables the formation of collective bonds and promoted social cohesion, this facilitates social order. The importance of religion for Durkheim is that it plays a dualistic function through its unified and shared symbols, norms, regulatory laws and values it produces social solidarity and value consensus. Social solidarity is “the ensemble of beliefs and sentiments that are common to the average member of society (Evans, 1977:42). Regular rituals and practices performed as the sacred in spaces such as churches bind individuals into a single community making social consensus possible; as the space, practice and rituals make individuals feel part of a collective bigger than themselves. Churches are gathering spaces for people and form the backbone of social life as people come together.

Importantly, it is through ritual and rites that the emergence and existence of community rests – because ritual is done collectively. Ritual and rites thus helps to reassert belief and produce mechanical solidarity of that community (Durkheim, 1917), where “the collective sense of transcendent is created and re-animated in special places using special rituals, which further energise the people how participate in them (Martí, 2014:507). In *The Division of Labour in Society* Durkheim (1893) defines mechanical solidarity as a form of social solidarity that is “rooted in everyone doing or feeling the same thing” and characteristic of small, traditional societies in which specialisation is not a feature, wherein the social setting compels individuals to produce and distribute a variety of goods (Durkheim 1893:103), organic solidarity being a second type of solidarity. The latter is a feature of social settings in which specialisation has emerged, and there is complexity in the production and distribution system.

Individuals are interdependent of each other, with complex networks of cooperation, so that there is individuation and specialisation which forms organic solidarity (Durkheim, 1893:105).

Because it offered shared moral ideas, such as fairness, charity and justice, religion promoted social cohesion. Thus, social consensus or cohesion is produced through shared norms and values that are followed by individuals. Religion as a social institution thus functions as a cohesive glue in society, helping to make the interconnected parts of society that work harmoniously together to produce society, and to shape and direct members of society. Importantly, religion and churches had to continue to their 'functional requisites' of socialisation or suffer relegation and irrelevance in society.

Motivational source

Third, besides acting as the bonding agent of the parts that make up society: work, economy, family, schools, etc. Durkheim sees religion as an important motivational source and impetus for individuals, one that gives individuals' life meaning and purpose, as well as it generates a sense of belonging for them. It provides a prism for people to understand their social world (Schlemmer, 2008), and it is a system of belief capable of enabling individuals to navigate life's tragedies, transitions or change, as it offers individuals the strength and motivation to overcome trials and obstacles that would otherwise have defeated them. Durkheim holds that religion "strengthened the bonds between the individual and society, but strengthened the human psyche" (Schlemmer, 2008:5). Believers who pray and connect with their God gain strength, motivation for progress. For Durkheim, a believer "who has communicated with his God is not merely a man who sees new truths ...he is a man who is stronger," *ibid.*

Social Control

Fourth, religion is a form of social control, where religious beliefs and practices and their varied rules of social engagement and behaviour that believers must adhere to acts as a form of social control.¹⁴ Religion as a social fact constrains members of society, produces conformity, it constrains "ways of acting, thinking and feeling, external to the individual, endowed with a power of coercion, by reason of which they control him." Religion creates patterns of behaviour that it regulates according to set standards. In this way, religious behaviour is regulated behaviour.

Although Durkheim postulated that though religion was like something eternal, he argued that the social significance of religion as an integrating force in industrial societies would decline as other social

¹⁴ As such, there are accepted rules, religious beliefs and practices within Christianity, in which spraying adherents with a pesticide, and purporting to raise a man from the dead fall outside of the realm of accepted Christian practices.

forces such as the educational system provided or became the basis of social solidarity “rather than the rituals associated with more simple societies” (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995:479).

Marx’s ‘Opiate of the masses’

Geoghegan (2004:585-6) states that for Karl Marx “religion is distinctive ... in that its critique was the original arena for Marx’s radical theorising, and that, therefore, the struggle with religion is fundamentally inscribed in the very genesis of this thought. The centrality of religion was evident in the 25-year-old Marx: ‘criticism of religion is the premise of all criticism.’” On religion, Marx is commonly known to have said (Turner, 1991:76):

Religion is at the same time an expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religious is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people.

Classical Marxist thought on religion is premised on a conflict position. Marx was mainly concerned with the relationship between power, politics and economic life. He formulated a thesis of how power and politics affect economic life and the ways in which religion affected this (Tucker, 1991). His examination “emphasized the importance of religion in relationship to the development of modes of production and class conflicts” (Turner, 1991:65). Marx’s work on religion is considered brief, and it is Frederik Engels’ dominant ideology thesis, functioning specifically under the feudal mode of production, and looking at the Catholic church and its control of social thought and ideas that is mostly reviewed in classical Marxism. And, unlike Durkheim’s social cement thesis, Marx saw religion as the dominant ideology of the ruling class, i.e.: the bourgeoisie that functioned to stunt, dull and diminish the revolutionary capacity of oppressed, exploited and subordinate proletariat (Turner, 1991:85).

The ruling classes used religion to legitimize their position and prosperity, which subordinate classes also used religion to give meaning and purpose to their subordinate social positions and holding on to the view that the after-life would be better (Turner, 1991; Carpenter, 2012). Turner (1991:77) explains:

Religion directs working class opposition and resentment against this world on to the next world or, as in millenarianism, to a distant period in the future. Class hatred was thus projected into the next world as a form of moral revenge as in the Beatitudes. Domination over the rich and the proud in the next world is the compensation the poor receive for their resignation in this life.

Religion obfuscated reason, masked the truth and misguided followers. The social and economic location of individuals in society were taken to be God’s plan, while rulers framed their position as their

God-given right. Tucker (1991:73) explains the Marxist dominant ideology thesis as developed by Fredrick Engels asserts that class relations were 'clothed' in the language of religion, and the demands of the various classes were folded in a 'religions screen.' This took place through the monopolisation of church monopolized mental production through its educational institutions, forms of social and political domination were necessarily expressed through the medium of religious language and ritual.

Thus, Marxist thesis is that religion functions as a mechanism of social stratification that served to entrench and perpetuate social and economic inequalities; as it directed their attention away from political solutions to mundane exploitation (Tucker, 1991:80). Feminist thinking has subsequently built on this social conflict theory, adding too that religion has also tended to create and maintain racial, ethnic and gender inequalities. Marx argued that religion functioned as a form of social control; wherein it legitimized the differential power between the proletariat and bourgeoisie by "emphasizing individualism and just rewards of entrepreneurship" (Wuthnow, 2005:604).

Like with Weber, Marx's work inspired many historical studies on the relationship between power and politics, and how these shape economic behaviour. However, Marx was not always anti-religion as Geoghegan (2004:587) tells us that Marx "left school with a conventional Christian piety," his views changed later in life. Marx sees religion "as the ideological instrument by which the state legitimises its domination through social and political institutions" (Verter, 2003:153). Particular forms of ideology permeate and dominate society based on the type of mode of production at play. For societies dominated by a capitalist mode of production, religion, religious thought, practice and institutions are the dominant ideology that permeates society. Religion is seen as encouraging the oppressed to accept their social condition in the hope for a better life in the next. Geoghegan (2004:588) states that it is through his thinking and writing on religion that Marx conceptualised his ideas on ideology:

"the concept of ideology was to emerge out of his analysis of religious consciousness. ...where Marx used processes in religious consciousness to explain processes in political consciousness."

In Marxist analysis, industrialisation diminishes the role and importance of religion in society. As capitalism becomes replaced by a classless communist society, so too will religion, whose main function is to legitimate inequality in class societies. In materialist terms, the type of work one does shapes their beliefs. Similarly, the mode of production determines dominant type of religion in society.

Structural Marxist Louis Pierre Althusser postulates that society is made up of three structures: the economic, political and ideological levels, in which the church is an ideological apparatus of the state. Althusser sees the political and ideological levels as relatively autonomous from the economic level. The political and ideological levels are capable of affecting the economic base. This contrasts with the

orthodox Marxist view where the economic base is the superstructure that affects all society. The state is an important political and ideological apparatus for capitalism. It has a repressive arm, like the army and police and an ideological arm like the media and school system. The state's ideological function is important for socialisation – instilling false consciousness – that manipulates how people think and act, without having to use the army and/or police (revisesociology, accessed 9 October 2022).

Weber's Verstehen and Protestant ethic

Because Weber's work is "large, complex and diverse," there is debate on whether Weber's body of work has a "coherent organising theme or principle" that integrates "his rather diverse collection of publications into a systematic whole" (Turner, 1999:13-14). Rationalisation is posited as the theme that permeates Weber's work, including his famous work on the development of modern rational capitalism (Turner, 1999:14; Adair-Toteff, 2016:79). As a central and generalized feature of modernity, Weber (1919 [1958]:139) explains that rationalization means "that principally there are no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather, that one can, in principle, master all things by calculation."

Adam (2009:11) says that for Weber, the modern world comprised of science, economics, education, medicine, law, politics and religion as its major spheres, and as we shall see below, these are what Bourdieu refers to as fields. Weber's rationalisation refers to an ongoing process in which social interaction and institutions become increasingly governed by methodical processes and calculable rules (Turner, 1999:14). It is "the systematic application of scientific reason to [the] everyday world and the intellectualisation of routine activities through the application of systematic knowledge to practice," *ibid.* Weber argues that the of rationalisation of society derives from the increased importance of rational science (instrumental rationality) in everyday life ... where this involves the increased dominance of the power of expert and professional knowledge, alongside a decline in charismatic forms of authority. Importantly, this also forms Weber's argument on how secularisation takes place (Turner, 1999:81).

Much of Weber's work was published post-humously because his illness prevented him from doing much research, so that some of his works were published as separate essays and even collated as notes by his students towards the end of his life (Turner, 1999).

Like Marx, Max Weber seeks to understand the basis for human action and economic life: both Marx and Weber "shared the ontological problem of human beings in bourgeois capitalism," in which they saw capitalism "as a destructive economic system, but one that also opened up new possibilities through the transformation of traditional systems" (Turner, 1999:17). Weber argues for culture as a motivational force for social action, deviating from the Durkheimian and Marxist position of the primacy of materialist conditions as the central motivating force for social action (Kessler, 2011:72).

Verstehen is Weber's method of sociological inquiry, which seeks to broadly understand the meaning and motivation behind human action. This underpins Weber's theory of social action. The task of the sociologist is to place themselves in the position of actors, to understand through direct observation, the meaning, beliefs and motives that drive action (Kessler, 2011; Turner, 2019:245). Through interpretive sociology, the sociologist is enabled to study human consciousness, (thoughts, feelings, meanings, intentions and self-awareness) that form the system of meanings. Causal explanations can be derived from interpretive sociology, provided that they derive from the understanding of the systems of meanings that actors give to their actions.

Weber's types of Social Action

Action is premised on distinct categories of meanings. Weber defined these in his *Economy and Society* (1913/1978). He defined four abstracted ideal-types of social action and types of rationality that characterise societies. Importantly, these are to be treated in abstract terms, as their existence does not depend on "societal, cultural, or historical constellations, these types of social action "stand outside of history" as anthropological traits of man" (Kalberg, 1980:1148; Kessler, 2011). The first type is goal or purposive-rationality (Zweckrational). This is about rational calculation and goal orientation. Choices and decisions are made on the basis of utility, or as a means to an end, and their foundations are logical and scientific. The second is value rationality (Wertrationalität) which is anchored on ethics and morals, beliefs and ideals, vocational considerations and visions of how the world ought to be. Action is based on subjective values, as value for its own sake, despite the prospect for successful outcome. Although informed by different clusters of motives, both types of rationality are characterized by a future orientation that guides actions in a systematic and thorough-going manner. Emotional-rationality (affectual), as the third type relates to an individual's emotional state at a particular time. Finally, the traditional is about custom, unconscious habit. Action is anchored on tradition and custom which is taken as naturalised and unquestioned.

Other important proponents of interpretive sociology are Georg Simmel and Edith Stein, who have also built on Weber's initial outline of Verstehen (Turner, 1999). Kessler (2011:72) states that "the goal of the sociology of religion is not only to uncover the external causes of religious ideas but also to grasp the subjective factors that contribute to their development."

One of Weber's major contributions to sociology and economic thought is *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. In this work, Weber seeks to understand how religion shapes social values,

institutions and personality.¹⁵ This work demonstrated the ways in which “religious transformation could set in motion unintended consequences for economic development” (Becker et al., 2018:23). As such the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* has inspired many historical and comparative studies examining the relationship and effects of power and politics; institutions, customs and conventions on economic behaviour and outcomes. This is because of its capacity to combine the study of the structure of society and social interaction and life.

In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* Weber argues that the Protestant-Calvinism was crucial to the development of Western capitalism. He examines the evolution of Western religion, starting with ancient Judaism which gave way to medieval Catholicism and Catholicism to Calvinism as a process of religious rationalisation.

Weber’s argument was mainly directed at *Marx’s Communist Manifesto and Capital (Volume I)*, Weber argues that religion induces social groups to tolerant and accept capitalism, whereas Weber argues that a set of Protestant ideas shaped economic thought and behaviour that ultimately, though accidentally, contributes to the development of modern capitalism. He states that Protestant societies such as the Netherlands, England, Scotland and Germany were the most highly developed capital societies and their most successful business leaders were Protestants. He examines the role played by the Protestant ethic in the rise of ‘rational bourgeois capitalism (Wuthnow, 2005:604).

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism was the radical change in religious outlook from Catholicism to Protestantism. Weber argues that Protestants, more than Catholics, were more likely to value capitalist ideology, and that they believed in hard work and saving, on account of Protestantism placing more value on individual achievement rather than community in Catholicism. Unlike the Catholic confession, Protestantism offered no immediate opportunity for the purification and absolution of a sinful life. Furthermore, while catholic priests could offer absolution after confession, and its associated entrance into heaven, Protestantism held that only God could forgive sins. The moral responsibility of protestant is cumulative rather than repentant and forgiveness as with Catholicism.

The Reformation

Certain aspects of the reformation gave rise to *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. For one, the ‘calling’, discussed below, is “a unique product of the reformation” (Barbalet, 2000:334). As Turner (1999:15) explains, it was “the problem of theodicy which generated specific world views

¹⁵ By personality, Weber means the conscious development a life-plan or a structure within which the chaotic events of the life cycle can be located (Turner, 1999:63; Tucker, 1991:xii). Personality is the rational order of existence (Tucker, 1991).

that acted as motivations towards action.” Its key figures are Martin Luther and John Calvin, and include other Protestant reformers, who lead an alternative form of Christianity to the Roman Catholic Church.

The Doctrine of Predestination

The doctrine of predestination which emerged in the 16th and 17th century reformation is a crucial explanatory factor in Weber’s Protestant thesis and was developed by John Calvin. The doctrine of predestination is not followed by all Protestants but rather by Puritan Protestants and in particular Calvinists. The Church of England and Anglican Protestants in contrast, did not and still not follow a doctrine of predestination. Puritan Protestants believed that people are predestined for eternal glory or damnation, that only some were chosen to be saved for salvation from damnation, as per the prescript of the doctrine of predestination. Only God had made this choice at birth, and only God knew who was predestined for eternal glory or damnation. Those that were predestined for absolution and eternal salvation are the elect. For Protestants, not knowing if they were the elect created uncertainty and about anxiety. Weber refers to this as “the torment of ‘inner loneliness’” (Weber [1990] 2005:xii). It also generated “a fixation” among them to determine eternal salvation (Wuthnow, 2005:604).

The Calling

Another important feature is the belief of who can and cannot do holy work. Distinct and unknown to Catholics, Protestants believed that every job was a divinely sanctioned “calling,” vocation, or Beruf – it is a life-task, a definite field to work (Barbalet, 2000:334). The calling is the “highest form of moral obligation is to fulfil his duty in worldly affairs” world (Weber [1990] 2005). In the Reformation, Luther introduced the idea that doing God’s work was not limited to the work done by nuns, priests and monks. Kessler (2011:74) calls this the democratisation of the religious idea of a calling. Of this Marx in a contribution to the critique of Hegel’s philosophy of right (1844) says of Luther:

Luther, we grant, overcame bondage out of devotion by replacing it by bondage of conviction. He shattered faith in authority because he restored the authority of faith. He turned priests into laymen because he turned laymen into priests. He freed man from outer religiosity because he made religiosity the inner man. He freed the body from chains because he enchained the heart.

The concept that all work was holy work was critical. In Luther’s conceptualisation of the calling, a person had to hold and keep “the station that God placed them.” Calvin took this further seeing “a calling in any activity in which a person engaged” (Barbalet, 2000:334). As such excelling at one’s professional ‘calling’ whether as an accountant or engineer was doing God’s work which would be rewarded. Usefulness to community, or doing ‘good works’ is at the core, rather than personal enjoyment or leisure. This outlook resulted in the encouragement of constant striving at worldly pursuits

and the achievement of enormous material success. Self-control and self-discipline were the key behavioural attributes to achieve this. Thus:

Self-control in both overcoming natural impulse and maintaining and realising constant motives... It is through such self-discipline and application to an external purpose, realised through the acceptance of a calling, that persons experience the psychological process of becoming 'a personality' (Barbalet, 2000:331).

This commitment to hard work, sobriety, service, moral discipline and asceticism were the behavioural ways of obeying God. This constitutes what is meant by the term 'inner-worldly asceticism.' Inner-world asceticism requires active self-control, and projects religious behaviour into the day-to-day world. This pragmatic and this-worldly asceticism, derives from an "ethical religious doctrine" that directed patterns of social action achieved through a "psychological premium" (Kalberg, 1980:1152). This concept was developed during the reformation and called for the rational mastery of this world, and it contrasted with Catholic theology which emphasised transcending this worldly life (Barbalet, 2000).

The uncertainty and anxiety caused people to develop moral and economic behaviours that were conducive to capitalist development. These behaviours enabled wealth accumulation. Professional and wealth prosperity was thus taken as a blessing from God and a sign of the elect. Thus, the rational capitalistic acquisition took place from the point of rational instrumentalism. Wealth accumulation was sanctioned if combined with a sober, industrious career, and wealth condemned if it was used to support a life of idle luxury or self-indulgence. Calvinism provided the moral energy to drive the capitalist entrepreneur and demanded discipline from its adherents.

Reformist Political Attitudes

Adair-Toteff's (2016) work on Weber and religion is helpful because he also turns to the political attitudes of the reformers who Weber mentioned without exploring the implications of their ideas about politics and economics for the Protestant ethic. Martin Luther had a "conservative and passive theology that shunned politics and avoided political conflict (Adair-Toteff, 2016:80). Conversely, John Calvin held a "radical and active theology, where he took political stances, and justified "rebellion and revolution" *ibid*.

Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

Bourdieu's theory of practice is important for its capacity to combine the material and symbolic dimensions of society (Navarro, 2006), and thus it has high utility for reading and analysing the mechanisms of cultural and social reproduction (Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014). Practice is the result of the relationship between an individual's habitus (their way of being in the world which is a product

of their socialisation), different forms of capital (which includes material and symbolic forms of capital), and the field of action (the field is society or a social arena). Asimaki and Koustorakis, (2014:123) state that Bourdieu denoted practice and the relationship between habitus, capital and field as:

$$[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

Thus, practice is what people do in the field, which is also informed by their habitus and volume and structure of their capital (Rey, 2014).

Bourdieu (2010 [1977]:72) describes his theory of practice as “the theory of a mode of generation of practice, which is the precondition for establishing an experimental science of the dialectic of the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality.” I interpret this as the dualistic, interdependent and dynamic process of subject and society making, and a way of acting in social spaces, the social arena or society. I see practice as the continuous interactive production by and between the individual, the group, classes and society more broadly.¹⁶ This means that I interpret Bourdieu’s “dialectic of the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality” as the dynamic tension present in the making of the individual in the social group or class and the social group or class in the individual.

Described as Bourdieu’s most trusted translator, Loïc Wacquant (2005) cited by Rey (2014:42-43) describes the Bourdieu’s theory of practice as “an exceptionally sophisticated attempt to develop a coherent theoretical framework for the analysis of the social world.” Thus, for Wacquant, critical to the Bordieuan approach of reading the social world are four foundational principles:

- the ‘radical historicization’ of the particular field under analysis, and especially of ‘its vocabulary, its official discourse and ordinary representations, its distinctive devices and associations, and, last but not least, the discipline that claims to study it;’
- the systematic excavation of the social conditions of possibility of practice in a given field.
- the critical examination of ‘those two states of the social that are objective systems of positions and subjective bundles of dispositions deposited in agents in the guise of the cognitive and conative schemata that inform their thoughts, feelings, and conduct:’ and
- the devotion of ‘special attention to the specific efficacy of symbolic power and to the social tricks it plays on us all’ (Rey, 2014:43).

¹⁶ Importantly, this can also be understood as what the habitus is – thus illustrating how habitus is the central concept of Bourdieu’s of theory of practice. This highlights that people’s and groups’ preconceptions, perceptions, and how these direct their response, reaction and social action as a critical mechanism of society-making.

This is why Bourdieu's theory of practice can be understood as the analysis of human behaviour, action and practice in social space (Rey, 2014); or the analysis of human behaviour and how different modes of practice are generated (Bourdieu, 2010:72). This makes Bourdieu's theory of practice useful in reading the mechanisms of cultural and social reproduction. Much like Bell (1992) and Brubaker (1997) cited below, Asimaki and Koustorakis (2014:122) state "Bourdieu was especially interested in an approach to the mechanisms of domination and cultural reproduction of social hierarchies, as well as the connection between individuals [sic] social origins with their preferences and practices."

Habitus

Habitus is the central concept in Bourdieu's theory of practice (Walther, 2014; Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014). Habitus "runs through, gives meaning to and unifies all the aspects" of his theory of practice (Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014:122). As the first concept that Bourdieu developed from his research in Algeria (Rey, 2014), habitus bridges the formerly conceived dialectical relationship between structure and agency; and objective and subjective of 19th century sociology. Wacquant and Bourdieu (1992:136) say of this

"[t]he notion of habitus accounts for the fact that social agents are neither particles of matter determined by external causes, nor little monads guided solely by internal reasons, executing a sort of perfectly rational internal program of action."

Bourdieu's theory of practice sought to overcome the theoretical dichotomy, in which the objectivist approach, closer to Durkheim's thinking too, considers the "the structure (unseen relationships and entrenched institutions) exercise force on the individual, and affects his socialisation and his integration into the social world" and the subjectivist which holds that it is the "individual whose action is neither produced nor defined by the structure. Conversely, it is produced and defined by the actor himself since he sets objectives, has aspiration and makes choices" (Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014:122).

Specifically, Bourdieu's (2005:2) own explanation of the genesis of habitus is that he developed it "as part of an attempt to account for the practices of men and women who found themselves thrown into a strange and foreign economic cosmos imported from and imposed by colonialism, with cultural equipment and dispositions – particularly economic dispositions – acquired in a pre-capitalist world, which being elaborated and deployed at a more or less the same notion of capital ..." A general similarity can be inferred here between Durkheim and Bourdieu, who both developed ways of understanding societies undergoing social and economic transition. It is worth repeating Turner's (1999:88) take that the main trope of the social transition is the decoupling of the economy from other social institutions.

Even with this centrality, or perhaps deriving from its central binding theoretical power, these authors explain that the concept of habitus has given rise to many misunderstandings and incorrect use, while also attracting doubt, disagreement and confusion, *ibid.* Perhaps Rogers Brubaker's experience reflects many other social scientists' (including myself) intellectual experience in grappling with Bourdieu's concept of habitus:

In the first place, the core concepts are not—and are not supposed to be— precise and unambiguous. When I first encountered Bourdieu's work, I collected a dozen or so definitions—or what I took to be definitions—of 'habitus' in an attempt to pin down its precise meaning. Only later did I realize that the attempt was not only vain but misdirected, that Bourdieu was not in fact defining but rather characterizing the concept of habitus in a variety of ways in order to communicate a certain theoretical stance or posture, to designate—and inculcate—a certain sociological disposition, a certain way of looking at the world. The same could be said of the other fundamental concepts: interest, capital, strategy, field, and so forth. (1997:217 cited by Rey, 2014:42).

Importantly, and even more elucidating is what Rey (2014:110-1) also says about Catherine Bell's experience. In her highly acclaimed *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* Bell (1992) describes Bourdieu's habitus concept as awkward and unclear. Notwithstanding this common complaint, she asserts that it helped to explain myth making as an act that generates, organises, and unifies all practices; where the very act of which (i.e.: myth making) is about world making, where myth making is the process that produce's and reproduces the social world. For Bourdieu then, it was important that myth making should not be seen as "a completed event laid out neatly for analysis" (Rey, 2014:110-1).

Even in reading Rey (2014), who is also essential in translating and applying Bourdieu's theory of practice to the study of religion, the complexity, trickery and slippery understanding and execution of the habitus concept is experienced and evident. It has been intellectually challenging to pin down Bourdieu's concept of habitus. Therefore, it is important to heed Rey's (2014:42) cautionary reminder that "Bourdieu's theory of practice was a work in progress" and "that all of the concepts that are essential to his theory are intended to be flexible and adaptable." Better still, seconding Brubaker is the explanation provided by Asimaki and Koustorakis (2014:121) who say that Bourdieu did not appreciate professorial definitions of concepts in sociological theory. A better explanation is provided by Weininger (2002:120) for this notoriety of exact definitions in Bourdieu's work. Weininger says that "Bourdieu was generally sceptical of attempts to work out the theoretical logic underlying his works in isolation from their empirical deployment, and that Bourdieu referred to such attempts derisively as 'scholasticism'" (2002:120).

As a result, tracing and locating a “single, distinct or clear definition of habitus” and his other concepts from his work is elusive. A further consequence of this is the variety of ways in which Bourdieu analytically considered and deployed habitus. Thus, in what follows, I enumerate the properties or characteristics that Bourdieu ascribed to his concept of habitus. This thesis thus proceeds from this articulation.

First, as stated, it is an essential concept that bridges the dialectical relationship between structure and agency, and between the subjective and objective social realities. It is a concept that dually inserts people in social life, and social life in people. Interaction, production and co-production are central aspects of the habitus. The habitus is created through a social, rather than an individual process. It is the language of practice between structure and agency. This is also captured by Navarro (2006:16) who puts it like this “through habitus, social practices are neither the mechanical imposition of structures nor the outcome of the free intentional pursuit of individuals.”

Second and related to the first, the habitus socially organises, orients, shapes and regulates people’s social interpretation and behaviour. Wacquant (2005:316) gives us this about habitus (which I have already stated in brief above):

It is a mediating notion that revokes the common sense duality between the individual and the social by capturing ‘the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality’ [in the famous expression of Bourdieu], that is, the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting disposition, or trained capacity and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinate ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and solicitations of their extant milieu.

It is a “socially constituted system of dispositions that orients (i.e.: shape, regulate, govern, direct)” cognitive aspects such as skills “thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions” (Weininger, 2002:118), as well as beliefs and values. Asimaki and Koustorakis (2014:125) state that Bourdieu defines dispositions as “the individual’s positions and tendencies, in terms of the particular way they think, feel, act, understand and which they have embodied and internalised, not in a conscious way but through pedagogical processes and socialisations at the base of the objective social conditions of their existence, but also of their social ‘orbit.’” The content of the habitus shapes the expectant responses individuals have of those around them and that of society.

Helpfully, Weininger (2002:121) explains that “in Bourdieu’s sociology, action generated by the habitus can certainly approximate that specified by rational action theory.” This is only possible if this

is “situated within a social context sufficiently similar to that in which the habitus was formed.” So that for Bourdieu, rationality is “socially bounded.”¹⁷

While Bourdieu explains the habitus is an “enduring ‘clusters of habits,’” the habitus is not a habit. According to Bourdieu, “one of the reasons for the use of the term habitus is the wish to set aside the common conception of habit as a mechanical assembly or performed programme,” or as unreflective, routinised and repetitive action in the ordinary sense that habit is (Weininger, 2002:131). A habit mainly reproductive while a habitus is productive and dynamically generative (Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014:126). Instead, the habitus is more flexible, “requires the active role of the social agent in the construction of the social reality” (Walther, 2014:12). The following distinguishes between habitus and habit in an analogous way, and helpful way:

Gambling may be a habit, an urge. But the habitus is the social and economic conditions that structure the game, the location, the likeliness of a person gambling. Habitus does not just refer to the instinct of habit. Rather than just being physical, the way we think, rationalise, strategies about a situation, how we should build the casino for example is dependent on the habitus. We can see how similar *habiti*¹⁸ affect both the bookmaker and the gambler (Then & Now, 2019).

It proceeds the physicality of habit. Because it is a structuring structure (Bourdieu, 1984:170) with historical properties.

Third, habitus is a product of history. It is produced through and in time, giving it historical properties that integrate past experiences. Navarro (2006:16) states that habitus is not fixed or permanent and can be changed under unexpected situations long periods of time.”

In each of us, in varying proportion, there is part of yesterday’s man; it is yesterday’s man who inevitably predominates in us, since the present amounts to little compared with the long past in the course of which we were formed and from which we result (Bourdieu, 2000:78–79).

Thus, as Bourdieu (1977:261) puts it, understanding habitus produced through history and seen through practice is:

The product of a dialectical relationship between a situation and a habitus, understood as a system of durable and transposable dispositions, which integrating all past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions, and make it

¹⁷ Weininger cites Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992 for this determination/inference.

¹⁸ Used as the plural form of habitus.

possible to accomplish infinitely differentiated tasks, thanks to the analogical transfer of schemata acquired in prior practice.

Fourth, because Bourdieu also said that the habitus is “a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions’ (Bourdieu 1977:82–83). It is a cluster, a matrix, an integration – which thus gives it the property of being stable but dynamic. Because the habitus is socially produced, it has patterns that are enduring and transferrable from one context to another, but that also shift in relation to specific contexts and over time.

Fifth, its ability to orient and regulate dispositions and cognitive aspects, makes it a “structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices” (Bourdieu, 1984:170). It also reflects the different positions people have in society, for example, whether they are brought up in a middle-class environment or in a working-class suburb. The habitus is “part of how society reproduces itself” (Bourdieu, 2000:9). Social groups and classes share and are bonded by the habitus that socialises them. Social collectivities are identified and identifiable through various social practices. Social practices are “social collectivities” or “status groups,” that operate by establishing “symbolic boundaries between individuals occupying different location in the class structure” (Weininger, 2002:122). The domain of consumption situates various social practices, where the type of consumption can be used to classify, differentiate and hierarchise social groups, *ibid*. The social process of group making, class making, collectivising is a contentious “classificatory” struggle (Weininger, 2002:122).

Sixth, the habitus is embodied: it is the “physical embodiment of cultural capital” (Longhofer and Winchester, 2016). Bodily dispositions, tastes, distastes and specific ways of understanding the world and people’s place in it derive from the socially constituted habitus, into which individuals are socialised. This means that in the social space, people act, perform, present, display, voice, they are and they exist according to the content and form of their habitus and the level or the volume of their cultural capital.

Habitus as an embodied form of mastery derives from Aristotle’s hexis (Navarro, 2006; Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014). Forms of attitude, thought and action are the hexis-habitus (Bourdieu, 1987:147) cited by Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014:123). Hexis outlines the body’s positions, capabilities and skills, acquired through education and/or training. These lay the foundation for the actions. Hexis is achieved through practice, that is, education and work. This makes education, the social environment and collective history an important part of the habitus. Bourdieu distinguished two forms of the habitus and how each was acquired. The primary habitus is acquired during childhood in the family and though it is longer lasting and more decisive, it can change and develop beyond its first

formation (Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014). The secondary habitus is gained through education and work.

The habitus can produce contradiction, since “it may vary in accordance with the social environment, because unstable social domains may produce unstable systems of dispositions that generate irregular patterns of action” (Navarro, 2006:16). If the conditions of the social field change but the habitus does not it can create clumsy or inappropriate or unsuitable responses to things, social situations, create outdated practices which do not correspond to the present situation or position in the social field. This is what Bourdieu called hysteresis in the habitus, which can come about due to inactivity.

The Field

Social life takes place in social space. A field is where the rules of social life and action are defined and where social life and action takes place, competitively. Fields make up the social world that comprises “a series of relatively autonomous but structurally homologous¹⁹ fields of production,” within which material and cultural resources circulate and are consumed (Navarro, 2006:14). The combination of the material and symbolic unifies social life, *ibid*. Similar to his treatment of habitus concept, McKinnon et al. (2013:356) explain that Bourdieu wearied of providing a strict definition of the field. Notwithstanding, an early definition of the field is:

a hierarchically structured social arena (market) in which actors compete for money, prestige, and power. Like competitive athletes, players in a field must have a sense of what is at stake, an investment in the outcome, a mastery of the strategies required for success, and above all, ‘a feel for the game’, a talent for innovation within continuously changing circumstances (Bourdieu, 1990:66).

In a later definition, domination, social space, inequality, struggle and the changes possible in the field feature in his definition (Bourdieu, 1998:40-41):

A structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and people who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which the various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the

¹⁹ Having the same or corresponding relation, relative position, structure, value or purpose

competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies.

In different fields, social actors and institutions agree, negotiate, compete and dominate each other.

A field is simultaneously a space of conflict and competition, the analogy here being with a battlefield, in which participants vie to establish monopoly over the species of capital effective in it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:16-17).

Fields are thus social spheres of cooperative and/or competitive interaction where social groups and classes as actors with varying levels of capital compete or struggle against each other for power and resources, they act largely on the basis of their habitus and are structurally located in the field on the basis of the type and volume of their capital. The hierarchy in fields means that fields also contain sub-fields (Bourdieu, 1990:66). In differentiated but relational social spheres, the specific rules of the field govern the competition / struggle “for money, prestige and power,” and this struggle contributes to “conserving or transforming its structure” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:16-17; Bourdieu, 1998:32). In his words, Bourdieu says (1998:32):

That is what I mean when I describe the global social space as a field, that is, both as a field of forces, whose necessity is imposed on agents who are engaged in it, and as a field of struggles within which agents confront each other, with differentiated means and ends according to their position in the structure of the field of forces, thus contributing to conserving or transforming its structure.”

Concepts of the inequality, power struggle and capital within the field are inspirations from Marx. Navarro (2006:16) explains that “from Marx, [Bourdieu] was inspired by the idea of social reproduction and his theory incorporates historical materialism and the idea that class conflicts and material interests are primary pillars of social inequality.”

Though a materialist when he links human consciousness to material life, he rejects, however, the class reductionism that is so common in Marxist discourse. He also confers a great importance on the idea of false consciousness but refers to it as the ‘misrecognition’ of power relations to explain why individuals are not aware of their own subordination to powerful agents. He also incorporates the Marxian idea that symbolic systems help consolidate forms of domination (Navarro, 2006:16).

Capital

Smith (2006:99) offers a nuanced description by inserting how capital functions within and structures the field. He states that a field can be understood as “any nexus of social struggles whose

unity and specificity are provided by the fact that those struggles take place over a form of capital which is distinctive to that particular field or pertinent to that field (Sullivan, 2002:145), ownership of which is recognized to bestow symbolic authority within that field.” This means that in the economic field the nexus of social struggle is for economic capital, scientific capital in the academy, cultural capital in the field of cultural production; (Sullivan, 2002:145) and religious capital in the religious field (Verter, 2003).

While the stakes and particular forms of struggle will be different in different fields, for Bourdieu capital is always a resource (symbolic or material) that can be used to maintain or improve one’s position in a given field. Within the field, there exist multiple forms of capital, the most important of these being economic and cultural capital. Weininger (2002:123) explains cultural capital as “culturally-specific ‘competence,’ albeit one which is efficacious as a ‘resource’ or a ‘power’ in a particular social setting.” Thus, artists hold cultural authority in the artistic field, and scientific authority is held by scientists in the science field. Capital relates to the kind of capital that operates within that field, which also creates hierarchy and difference. Thus, for example, cultural authority operates in the artistic field and scientific authority in the scientific field, and sacerdotal authority in the religious field. Agents struggle for the power to decree the hierarchy and ‘conversion rates’ between all forms of authority in the field of power. In the course of these struggles, the very shape and divisions of the field become a central stake, because to alter the distribution and relative weight of forms of capital is tantamount to modifying the structure of the field. McKinnon et al. (2013:356) explain that “the positions in every field are hierarchical because capital cannot be evenly distributed.” These authors explain that the stakes and particular forms of struggle are different in different fields. Symbolic or material capital “is always a resource that can be used to maintain or improve one’s position in a given field.” The current shape of any given field will largely reflect the history of struggles in that field for specific forms of capital (Swartz, 1997:79-81). Agents and institutions deploy strategies in their attempts to gain and maintain control of a field’s capital, and these struggles shape and reshape the basic dimensions of the field” (McKinnon et al., 2013:356).

Capital is a form of value and is a central concept in this study of class and Christianity, thus, this section collates the different conceptions of capital. Marx defined two types of capital: constant and variable capital. Constant capital is the basic tenet of production. The facets of production are physical assets, land and labour (Palmer and Wong, 2013). These are invested in the production process. Variable capital is a social aspect of capital. It is abstract and subject to change and accrues material value via circulation (Palmer and Wong, 2013). These authors state that with this conception of capital is both material, a “concrete entity” but also as a fluid resource that circulates *and* mobilises resources. Therefore, and importantly, variable capital has the capacity to circulate and accrue material value (Palmer and Wong, 2013).

Bourdieu identifies four forms of capital: economic, cultural, symbolic and social capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). He states that cultural capital comprises not just economic goods but symbolic resources. Symbolic resources include values, language use, education, and daily practices. Cultural capital is accumulated through education and is “connected to individuals in their general educated character ...; connected to objects - books, qualifications ...; and connected to institutions” (Grenfell and James, 1998:21). Cultural capital refers to the value, knowledge, experience, behaviours, and/or skills individuals gain from belonging to a particular culture (Palmer and Wong, 2013).

Symbolic capital on the other hand, includes “culturally significant attributes such as prestige, status and authority” (Mahar et al., 1990:13). Symbolic capital performs and is valorised in fields. For example an academic reputation obtains and holds value in the academic field.

Bourdieu asserts that social capital is the “network of lasting social relations” that agents have established and continue to build. Social capital is found in social relationships within which resources are embedded. It is therefore about “networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam, 2000:66). Deriving from Putman’s definition, social capital is thus dependant on cultural capital as it performs, functions and thrives within the specific social networks from which it is developed. As Bourdieu says, social capital emerges out of social relations of participation and engagement in networks bound or cohering on some or other goal-oriented action. Significantly, it is collectivised or cohesive goal-oriented action the outcome or outcomes. And it is the outcomes or set of outcomes that may or may not have *concrete material value* (Morehouse, 2020:116) [own emphasis]. So that, *outcomes* have material value and not social capital in and of itself. This is why Morehouse (2020:115) asserts that social capital is not itself a commodity or product.

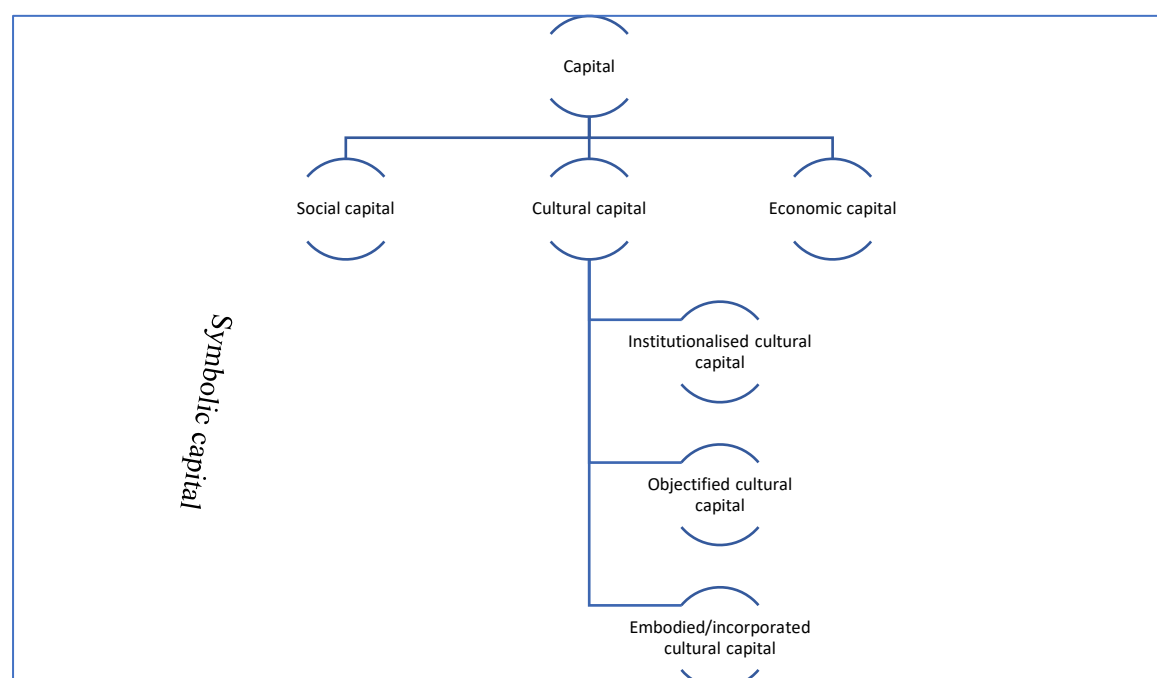


Figure 2: Bourdieu's types of capital (adapted from Walther, 2014:11)²⁰

Spiritual Capital

Bourdieu states that cultural capital exists in the embodied, objectified and institutionalised states. Spiritual capital, which comprises knowledge and resources takes these three forms and originates from cultural and social capital. Spiritual and religious capital are intertwined. Religious capital is defined as the outcomes of religious participation, where the individual or believer gains knowledge, resources and an attachment to a type of religious culture. Religious capital is thus gained through participation and the uptake of religious behaviours specific to a type of religious culture. It is indicated by an individual's proficiency, mastered skills, familiarity and experience with church ritual, doctrine and even friendships with other congregants (Morehouse, 2020). Religious capital is what believers regard as valuable (Morehouse, 2020:116 citing Iannaccone, 1990:299).

Applying Bourdieu's forms of cultural capital, spiritual capital in the embodied state thus becomes "a measure of not only position, but also disposition, it is the knowledge, abilities, tastes, and credentials an individual has amassed in the field of religion" (Verter, 2003:159). Embodied spiritual capital "is the outcome of explicit education or unconscious processes of socialisation," *ibid*. Its efficacy resides in misrecognition. Embodied spiritual capital is not recognised as a product of primitive accumulation within a struggle to impose an arbitrary symbolic hierarchy in the field. Instead, it is "mistaken for competence within a naturalised social order. Like cultural capital, spiritual capital is embodied in the habitus, the socially structured mode of apprehending and acting in the world" (Verter, 2003:159).

In the objectified state, spiritual capital "takes the form of material and symbolic commodities – votive objects, exegetical texts, and ritual vestments, as well as theologies, ideologies, and theodicies." Embodied and objective capital are distinguished by the form of consumption that takes place, where embodied cultural capital is "measured by acts of consumption" and "objective capital is measured by the goods consumed" (Verter, 2003:159). Verter also emphasises that Bourdieu notes that capital in the objective state is largely dependent upon embodied capital, one must possess the technical expertise to properly consume or appropriate these objects, texts, and vestments.

Proper consumption in the religious field implies knowing the operations through which sacred objects release their power. But religious commodities may have a fetish value even for consumers who lack the technical abilities required to implement these objects toward the purpose for which they were manufactured.

²⁰ Walther (2014:11) bases this depiction on the basis of Bourdieu (1972) and Hermann (2004).

The institutionalised state is “the power that churches, seminaries and other religious organisations exercise to legitimate an arbitrary array of religious goods, promote the demand for these goods, and feed the supply by bestowing qualifications on a select group of authorised producers” (Verter, 2003:160). Bourdieu’s treatment of class is empirically derived, and only borrowed from classical sociologists such as Marx and Weber when necessary (Weineinger, 2002). In contrast, Bourdieu’s sociology of religion derives from and is an extension of Weber’s work on religion (Verter, 2003).

Religious life is relational and entails the analysis of symbolic relations amongst religious groups and communities, which consist of economic and symbolic dimensions. Religious and cultural capital are

irreducible forms of power. These forms of capital can be produced under different strategies and command of resources, accumulated and exchange with other forms of capital, including economic capital. They are resources and are transformed into capital when they function as social relations of power. They are also the mechanisms that give rise to social hierarchies, thus becoming objects of struggle as valued resources (Navarro, 2006:14).

Within the religious and Christian field, actors, i.e.: churches, religious leaders, adherents are self-interested agents, a concept that is drawn from Weber, but which Bourdieu expands, and all religious practice is oriented towards the maximisation of material or symbolic results, capital and power (Navarro, 2006:14). The economic or material and the symbolic – cultural and social forms of resources or capital structure and are battled over.

Important distinction from Marxism is that Bourdieu did not definitively hold the idea that economic capital is the superior form of capital under conditions of capitalism (Navarro, 2006:17). Instead, cultural capital has become for Bourdieu quite prominent under conditions of capitalism, *ibid.*

Religious habitus is “the generative basis of all thoughts, perceptions and actions conforming with the norms of religious representations of the natural and supernatural worlds (Bourdieu, 1992a:22, 1987b:126 cited by Verter, 2003:157). However, Bourdieu did not “theorise how religious habitus might affect social dynamics beyond the arena of competition between religious professionals (Verter, 2003:157).

Distinct in his method of class analysis is that he rejected the separation of classes *a priori*: and is based on his study of the French society in the 1960s and 70s. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, he paid attention to the relationship between “social class position, lifestyle and tastes of actors in French society.” For Bourdieu, social life is relational, therefore he emphasised that class analysis could not be reduced to economic relations, but entailed the analysis of symbolic

relations, which can be approximated to Weber's status communities. Bourdieu's class analysis consisted both the economic and symbolic dimensions.

Symbolic violence

The emphasis of relationality, rules, struggle, force, power and competition are important to understanding, not only the unequal and hierarchical location of different social actors, players, groups and institutions within fields, but the effect of fields on social relations. The habitus and the field both assume and are co-produced by their histories, as in, for example, the field's rules are its vocabulary, "its official discourse and ordinary representations, its distinctive devices and associations" (Rey, 2014:43). So that an important associated idea of the field, besides capital is symbolic violence. This is the effect or the outcomes, both in terms of ontological and structural experience, that practice – in terms of its constituent parts: capital, field and habitus, produce: symbolic violence. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence is probably just as important as the ideas of capital, field and habitus. By symbolic violence, Bourdieu means the imposition by the dominant of arbitrary forms and systems of meanings of the social order that are 'misrecognised' by the dominated as somehow un-arbitrary and natural. They are that form of violence that "can be exercised only with that sort of complicity ... via the effect of misrecognition encouraged by denial, by those on whom that violence is exercised" (Bourdieu, 1991d:210 cited by Rey, 2014:5).

Symbolic violence is thus what Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:247) say are specific rules of the field - a "doxic experience of the world," these are tacitly accepted rules of the field or 'game,' they give shared systems of meaning. By symbolic violence, Bourdieu means, in which "the contribution of various forms of symbolic violence make to the reproduction and transformation of structures of domination" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:14); meaning that symbolic violence contributes to the reproduction of the field. Thus, fields appear to function as naturalised, as naturalised structures because of the rules and the shared systems of meaning. The rules and beliefs operating within fields bestow an appearance of a natural order of things, they give a taken-for-granted system within a specific field and "wider forces of social power." So as Rey (2014:5) puts it – Bourdieu's view of the symbolic violence of religion as:

To claim, for instance, that one person's poverty and another's wealth are the will of God, and that they therefore must be accepted, is a glaring case in point, and to 'impose' this belief upon others, or to 'inculcate' it into their 'vision of the world' is, for Bourdieu, an act of symbolic violence par excellence.

Bourdieu thus sought to demonstrate the role of religion in the establishment, legitimisation and reproduction of social inequality and all of its incumbent injustices (Rey, 2014:5). Another example of

the above is given by Smith (2006:99), who gives an example of how symbolic violence functions within the artistic field: it “those beliefs, such as the idea of artistic genius, which justify success and failure in naturalized terms. Furthermore, Smith (2006:99) also says the rules that naturalise the structure of power within fields also “serve to place the powerful out of critical reach.” Smith asserts that Bourdieu’s aim is to strip the veil and to reveal and highlight that “cultural games are not ‘fair games’” (2000:214-15). Smith (2006) explains that Bourdieu, in highlighting the genesis of fields, was “heretical” in a sense because he dispelled the notion of a naturalised order, place and function of social life within the field.

Bourdieu’s theory of social differentiation: Secularisation

Common among Durkheim, Marx, Weber and Bourdieu is that they say the relationship, place, role and importance of religion would wane (Dianteill, 2003; Ladwig, 2011). This is an expectation of the secularisation of society, where secularisation is understood as “the process whereby religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance” (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995:479). Premised on his theory of differentiation, Bourdieu expects that the modernisation of society, characterised by the processes of growth in scientific knowledge, industrialisation and urbanisation; which in Weberian terms is the rationalisation of society, “dissolves” the societal importance of religion (Ladwig, 2011; Rey, 2014). Modernisation and rationalisation processes catalyse social and economic changes, including the restructuring of labour led by a process of specialisation. Changes in the division of labour, and the attendant specialisation outcomes produce social differentiation (Ladwig, 2011:201). Like Durkheim, Weber also saw decline in the institutional significance of religion. Weber argued that the rational pursuit of goals (rationalisation) would progressively reduce the importance of religion (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995:479).

In Bourdieu’s theory of differentiation modern societies are characterised by the presence of differentiated fields, while premodern societies lacked field differentiation. Modern societies have fields such as the economy, arts, and religion. Of significance is that these fields constitute relatively autonomous entities and are structured according to rules, forms of capital and actors specific to them (Ladwig, 2011:201). Ladwig (2011:201) explains that in the *Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field* (1991), Bourdieu offers a theoretical macro-analysis of the development of world religions. In modern and urban societies religion increasingly the specialisation of religious leaders leads to the genesis of the field, which does not emerge whole nor does it fall apart, but undergoes a process of separation and secession, leading to a certain autonomy of the field. Ladwig (2011:201) explains that “with dissolution Bourdieu does not mean an overall secularization and disappearance of religion but denotes the changes of the borders of the religious field.” In differentiated societies, religion increasingly becomes marginalised (Dianteill, 2004:82). Bourdieu’s “conviction that religion is a declining institution in differentiated societies” is Weberian inspired, and it has been labelled a

“unidimensional” view that fails to address questions of bricolage in religion and beliefs outside of institutions (Dianteill, 2004:82; Furseth 2009:102).

These social structures, what I call fields or groups, mainly what we usually call social classes (Bourdieu, 1987:147, cited by Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014:123). The religious field is a competitive arena, in which the structure determines “both the form and the representation of religious dynamics” (Verter, 2003:153). Religious fields, like other social fields are structured differently in different times and places, where religious leaders struggle for the monopoly of religious capital within religious fields (Verter, 2003).

Importantly Verter (2003:157) problematises Bourdieu’s narrow conception of religious capital and how it circulates within a field, religious or otherwise. In the extended quotation below Verter (2003:157) explains:

For Bourdieu, religious capital circulates within a closed system: it is produced, accumulated, traded, consumed, and recognised (or misrecognised) only within a narrowly circumscribed field of religion. There is little sense of how religious capital might be related to other species of capital, such as cultural, social, and economic capital. Furthermore, Bourdieu’s Voltairean vision of religious exploitation distracts him from looking at more subtle dynamics. As a medium of social relations, religious capital certainly may serve as an instrument of symbolic violence employed to legitimate social differences. In Bourdieu’s vision, the accumulation of religious capital is limited to those who produce it; he explicitly disavows the notion that laypeople might accumulate and wield religious capital.

Religious actors’ experience in local and national fields can be considered in conjunction with transnational religious fields, and importantly local and national religious fields are embedded in transnational religious fields. The structure of a given field is the product of its history, in which previous struggles have resulted in a particular constitution of that field, and the established value of particular kinds of capital.” Bourdieu differs from Weber in terms of his definition of the religious field and preachers: “the religious field is thus a competitive arena, the structure of which determines both the form and the representation of religious dynamics (Verter, 2003:153). The “notion of conflict between religious specialists is a crucial one,” *ibid*. While Weber notes the rivalry between priests, prophets, and magicians, Bourdieu considers their competition for religious power to be the central principle informing the dynamics of the religious field (Verter, 2003:153).

McKinnon et al. (2013:356) argue that the religious fields have become increasingly distinct from other the cultural, political and economic fields, and other fields. The distinction results from a process

of professionalisation, where the development of a body of religious professionals and religious ideologies has systematised and differentiated the religious field.

Discussion Bourdieu's Sociology in the analysis of religion and class

Pierre Bourdieu is considered an iconoclastic thinker that “radically, often convincingly questioned how reality was constructed and perceived” (Rey, 2014:2). Bourdieu's theory of practice has been used to explain a range of social practices from “haute cuisine in Paris” to “... gender relations on the floor of the stock exchange” and “... divination in Nigeria ...” (Rey, 2014:3). Bourdieu's work has been influential in understanding cultural processes. He is well regarded and known for his scholarly work on education, cultural production, social structures and human practice. He has “left an indelible mark on the field of educational and cultural sociology” (Rey, 2014:2). However, within this prism of praise, there are scholars, such as Bradford Verter (2003); McKinnon et al. (2011) who lament that Bourdieu's contribution to the field of religion is less well known. They also point out that it was Bourdieu's work on religion that led to the development of his theory of practice (Diantell, 2003; Verter, 2003; Echtler and Ukah, 2016). Writing the preface of Terry Rey's *Bourdieu on Religion: Imposing Faith and Legitimacy* (2014:vii) Otto Maduro observes of Bourdieu and the status of his work on religion:

A sociologist ... but no less of an ethnologist, an anthropologist, a linguist, and a philosopher, with a postmodern bent for flouting and cross-pollinating disciplinary tradition, Bourdieu was an heir, among others, of the work of Marx, Engels, Weber, and Durkheim – and not least of their work on religion, precisely. Surprisingly, however, his name is often all but unknown for many US specialists in the social-scientific study of religions.

Bourdieu's work on religion has generated limited attention in African scholarship too. Magnus Echtler and Asonzeh Ukah have an edited volume *Bourdieu in Africa: Exploring the dynamics of religious fields* (2015) with different Bordieuan analysis of country case studies on religion. In their opening introduction, Echtler and Ukah (2016:1) observe:

Religion can be considered as both central and marginal with regard to the work of Pierre Bourdieu: marginal because in his overall oeuvre only few publications are explicitly concerned with religion, and central because he developed some of the central concepts of his theory of practice – field, habitus and symbolic power – against the backdrop of the sociology of religion of Marx, Durkheim and especially Weber.²¹

²¹ Ladwig (2011:201) specifically states that Bourdieu's development of the concept of the field emerged from his critical reading of Weber's work on religion.

These authors have sought to bring in Bourdieu's work on religion "which offered a macro-analysis of the development of world religions" (Ladwig, 2011:201) also where Bourdieu argued that religion can be analysed as a system of symbolic power, and this theoretical and conceptual framework extracts and relies on selected aspects of their arguments.

Notwithstanding the lack of attention to Bourdieu's so-perceived tangential work on religion, there are a handful of scholars across the world that have used Bourdieu's sociology to read the intersection of class and religion. These include Jens Koehrsen (2016) and Andrew McKinnon (2017). Koehrsen (2016) applied Bourdieu's concepts of boundary work and theory of practice to study Argentinian middle-class Pentecostalism. Koehrsen specifically examines how the Argentinian middle-class Pentecostals navigate and moderate the Pentecostal habitus. Koehrsen (2016:22) explains that Bourdieu's sociology was a useful theoretical framework because "it emphasises the relationship between social class and practice and thereby allows for explaining potential tensions between class position and religious belonging." McKinnon (2017:1) in empirically reading the operations of different forms of capital in the Church of England, examines "the operation of class within religious communities by examining the conversion of different types of capital into religious capital." He was thus able to extend Bordieuan sociology and show the inter-constitutive nature of religion and class from Bourdieu's relational sociology.

Post-apartheid scholarship of class, religion and the new BMC also reflects the Bordieuan inspired cultural turn. The *Class in Soweto* book has some of its chapters that study perceptions of class mobility. For example, Wale (2013:169) directly engages Bourdieu's sociology, arguing that "cultural capital is an important constituter of class for ... Sowetans, who construct the 'uppers' in terms of their ability to afford glistening, stylish and expensive consumables," based on Bourdieu's (1984:6) assertion that "taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier." Wale (2013:170) examination of social mobility, affordability and consumption in Soweto combined market position with Bordieuan concepts of cultural capital and taste where, still centred on the idea affordability, Sowetans asserted "that different forms of cultural consumption" indicated "different levels of economic capital rather than different aesthetic preference." In the book authors such as Ceruti and Phadi (2013) allowed the subjective identification of class, where Sowetans were asked to self-select their class position. This approach was also aligned with the neo-Weberian market situation approach, and the authors like Wale (2013) found that Sowetans constructed middle classness as the ability to afford commodities and luxury times. Conversely, the chapter dedicated to class and religion takes a different approach. Motseke and Mazibuko's (2013) analysis of class and religion in Soweto uses 'popular markers' of class such as a car, education, dress and language spoken in the sermons, with English being associated with middle classness – thus deployed taste as a signifier of class. They conclude that Rhema Bible Church and Grace Bible Church are perceived as middle-class churches. The *Class in Soweto* book is a multidisciplinary approach to

the study of class combining Marxist, Weberian and Bordieuan concepts in a critical, but non-dogmatic way.

Instead, Motseke and Mazibuko (2013) use Sean McCloud's analysis of how class affects religiosity, which is, as McKinnon's work above shows, not far from Bordieuan sociological considerations. McCloud (2007:853) acknowledges that Bourdieu's conceptions of symbolic and cultural capitals are useful in highlighting the interdisciplinary nature to the study of class and religion. This is due to their capacity to help understand the answers to "who might the religious actors under study be identifying themselves to? Why do some groups reverse the value meanings allotted them, and why do others accept them and attempt to mould themselves into imposed ideals?" (McCloud, 2007:853).

As stated in the preceding chapter, Frahm-Arp's earlier *Professional women in South African Pentecostal Charismatic Churches* (2010) book is a good example of Bordieuan scholarship of class and religion in post-apartheid South Africa. Frahm-Arp (2010; 2011:50) used Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital to explain how Black neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Church networks produced and provided the cultural capital that Black women needed in navigating, as new labour entrants the "largely white, male, English-dominated world of corporate South Africa."

Operationalisation

Because Bourdieu's theory of practice offers analytical richness in understanding the relationship between structure, culture and agency, this dissertation applies it as the central theoretical framework.

First, I broadly read the South African religious landscape as a symbolic economy. Importantly, I try to illustrate that South African neo-Pentecostalism is not only part of the symbolic economy, but part of the 'real' economy. This is evidenced by the outcomes of the COVID-19 pandemic. During the COVID-19 pandemic period when lock-downs were the main operating response to the pandemic and vaccination development was still ramping up, social and economic life was truncated, with only a few and 'essential' sectors able to continue with relatively fewer restrictions. These were largely the health and food services. The religious sectors' physical meetings were prohibited. Similarly, businesses were restricted from operating. Mega-churches in the religious sector thus experienced the same 'real economic effects' that enterprises and businesses, large, medium or survivalist experienced. As such, mega-churches and other institutions in the religious sector, like businesses, lost income, patrons and likely ran into debt, with some churches and businesses permanently closed as a result.

Second, I deploy the conceptual tools of field, habitus, capital and symbolic violence set out in Bourdieu's theory of practice to describe and construct an understanding of the post-apartheid neo-Pentecostalisation of parts of the Black middle class and the middle-classing and elite making of neo-

Pentecostalism. The latter is about the Black middle class's co-production of multiple middle class neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field and habitus and labour towards the accumulation of capitals. I rely on Bradford Verter's *Spiritual Capital: theorising religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu* to read, understand and explain the post-apartheid neo-Pentecostalisation of members of the Black middle class and the middle-classing of neo-Pentecostalisation. Bourdieu's theory of practice is applied because for its conceptually utility in articulating the production, acquisition of spiritual capital in the analysis of the neo-Pentecostalisation of the BMC. This is because Verter (2003:157) expanded Bourdieu's social economics of religion by "returning his cultural theory to its origins and exploring the dimensions of spiritual capital." This analytical extension goes beyond what scholars such as David Swartz and Erwin Dianteill have previously done, because they read Bourdieu's texts on religion without relating these to his theory of culture. Instead, Verter searches for Bourdieu's views on religion within his writings on cultural sociology and argues that "one can find the necessary tools for forging new concepts useful in the study of religions" (Dianteill, 2003:547). Verter (2003:150) uses Bourdieu's theory of culture as a rich conceptual resource for the social-scientific study of religion, and thus he reinserts Bourdieu's theory of culture into the social-scientific study of religion. Through this reimplantation and expansion work, Verter offers the social-scientific study of religion the concept of spiritual capital, which Dianteill recognises as "innovative" (2003:547).

As reflected in chapter one, the neo-Pentecostalisation of parts of the new BMC is evident through the uptake of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic practices. These neo-Pentecostal Charismatic practices involve participation multiple and varied church services, activities and events. These include Sunday morning, evening and weekday services where preaching, bible study, special prayer sessions are held. The practice of gifts of the Holy Spirit or Ghost such as conversion or being born again (accepting Jesus as the Lord and saviour of one's life), glossolalia or praying in tongues, prophesying, performing healing acts are also neo-Pentecostal Charismatic practices. The uptake and deployment of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic values, practices such as tithing, volunteering in different church activities, the purchase of neo-PCC products and sermon motivation and advise and the everyday use of the neo-Pentecostal lexicon.²²

Bourdieu (2010:72) explains that the theory of practice is about human behaviour and how different modes of practice are generated. Though far more complex, Bourdieu's theory of practice is undergirded by the concepts of practice, fields, capital, habitus and symbolic violence (Rey, 2014). Bourdieu's theory of practice comprises multiple, different, interrelated and overlapping fields that

²² Pentecostal lexicon is seen through congregants affirmation of what is said, completion of the religious leader's sentence or simultaneous utterance, and answering of the questions.

make up society and within which practice takes place. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice may, for introductory purposes, be boiled down to a handful of its most fundamental concepts. The first is *practice*, or what people do in society. Invariably, *practice* takes place in any number of the interrelated and sometimes overlapping *fields* that together constitute society.

CHAPTER THREE

The Pentecostal Inheritance

Introduction

The current chapter analyses the relevant elements in the literature that relate to the core questions of the study using the theoretical and conceptual tools outlined the preceding chapter. Schlemmer (2008) asserts that faith remains and is a powerful organizing principle in South Africa, as such the aim of the chapter is to extract the fundamental elements of the classical Pentecostal Charismatic Churches to illustrate the inheritance and character of contemporary neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches. The chapter begins with the contextual analysis of Pentecostalism and specifies its size. This is followed by an outline of the structure of the South African Christian field according to the quantitative distribution of denominations. Like Schoeman (2017), I use religious affiliation and adherence as indicators to describe the South African religious landscape.

This chapter offers the “radical historicization” of the Christian field, observing “its vocabulary, its official discourse and ordinary representations, its distinctive devises and associations” (Rey, 2014:43). Casting the Pentecostal Charismatic movement and churches in a broad historical view sharpens the analysis of the contemporary neo-PCCs, the field, capital and habitus. This is because an examination of certain aspects of history enables the drawing out of the key factors, circumstances that the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field, habitus and capital benefited from. Indeed, this history helps to illuminate the accepted rules of the field and its accepted symbolic systems. This is because Bourdieu (1993:33) explains that “no cultural product exists by itself, i.e. outside of the relations of interdependence which link it to other products.” Scholars such as Maxwell (2006), Kalu (2008), Frahm-Arp (2010) and Cabrita and Erlank (2018) agree, stating that spirit-filled Pentecostal and Charismatic churches that erupt in the 1970s and 1980s are not a novel phenomenon but are linked to the past, sharing a lengthier lineage of Pentecostal Protestantism in South Africa. Instead “Pentecostalism’s origins in South Africa go far back into the early 20th century, and the more recent wave of the past several decades need to be interpreted within a much longer narrative of continuity as well as rupture” (Cabrita and Erlank, 2018:311). Importantly, Cabrita and Erlank (2018:309) do what Bourdieu recommends which is the study of practice, including the discipline that claims to study it, breaking with the traditional approach to viewing South African Christianity within the dichotomous view of African / indigenised / Africanised and Western / European and reinserting “Protestant Christianity into the broader historical literature of South Africa in this century.”

A Pentecostal Inheritance Framework

In this chapter I develop a Pentecostal inheritance framework that helps to examine the evolution of Pentecostalism in South Africa, that simultaneously differentiates classical Pentecostalism from neo-Pentecostalism and demonstrates the close linkages or continuities in different periods of the South African political economy. From this framework I examine selected features that the literature identifies as some of the driving forces of Pentecostal growth and dominance in the religious sector, especially in the post-1994 era. Some of these features are extracted from those identified by Frahm-Arp (2010:47) who characterises the period between 1910 and 1940 which falls into the first revival wave (Dickow, 2012) as one of Pentecostal institutionalisation in South Africa. This chapter thus focuses on an examination of the institutional change, cultural expression and social engagement of classical and neo-Pentecostal Charismatics. This approach was also taken by Robins (2018). The Pentecostal inheritance lens that I build in this chapter foregrounds and is expanded by the Pentecostal habitus approach I formulate in Chapter 5. I review the Pentecostal inheritance according to four overarching themes under which I also detail associated sub-themes and topics of analysis. I examine institutionalisation through the themes of racialisation that caused church breakaways. I look at black leadership and lay preachers as a driving force of Pentecostal growth in the 20th century. I include an examination of the church structure that some Black Pentecostal preachers undertook. This chapter also focuses on Pentecostalism's ordering of social lives, made possible through the charisma of the Pentecostal pastor and personal holiness as a cultural moment. I conclude by reviewing Pentecostal practice in terms of conversion practices such as altar calls and revivals to illustrate the Pentecostal inheritance of the contemporary neo-PCCs.

Growth and Size of Neo-Pentecostal Charismatics

Citing Marjorie Froise's *South African Christian Handbook* for the 1986/87 period, who states that a new neo-Pentecostal church was created in South Africa every 2.1 days, Chipkin and Leatt (2011:42) inform us that neo-Pentecostalism has been the fastest growing religio-social movement in South Africa. As part of the third global wave of charismatic awakening or Christian revivalism; and even in the case where accurate figures are difficult to obtain as Maxwell (2006)²³ warns, the neo-Pentecostal movement has experienced significant growth in the global South: Latin America; Africa, Asia and Oceania (Hollenweger, 2004; Maxwell, 2006; Kalu, 2008; Dickow, 2012; Gifford, 2015). Using an all-inclusive definition of independent; new immigration churches in Europe and charismatic groups in all historical churches, Hollenweger (2004) places worldwide Pentecostal adherents at 500 million for 1998. The same estimate was offered by Vinson Synan, a prominent Pentecostalism historian, who states that Pentecostals or Charismatics represented 25% of the world's 2 billion Christians (Maxwell,

²³ Maxwell (2006:6) accuses born-again of being obsessed with church size and prone to exaggeration.

2006:7). According to Nel (2016) there are about 2,18 billion Christians in the world. Using the definition “Pentecostal and broadly associated charismatic religions” Bernstein (2008) and Schlemmer (2008) cite David Martin’s (1996) estimation, placing global adherents at 200 to 250 million with congregations in 150 countries. Citing McGee (2012:35), Nel estimates that there will be a billion Pentecostals by 2025, most of whom will be in Africa, Asia and Latin America (2016:2). For Africa, Meagher (2009:389) estimates that the 1970s Christian revival resulted in over 10,000 neo-Pentecostal churches and groups across the continent. Importantly, African Pentecostals are initiating large congregations in Europe, the United States (US) and other countries (Hollenweger, 2004; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005).

In South Africa, the rapid growth of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches is attributable to the neo-Pentecostalisation of Black South Africans. Between the 1996 and 2001 censuses, the Pentecostal Charismatic denomination grew so rapidly that it earned a distinct denominational category in the 2001 census. This is evidenced by the fact that the four Censuses prior to 2001 (1960, 1970, 1980 and 1991) had 7 denominational categories: NGK, Anglican, Methodist, Lutheran, Roman Catholic, African Initiated and other Christian (Goodhew, 2000). It is only in 2001 that the ‘other Christian’ category is expanded, and the term Pentecostal emerges. Other denominations also gain categorisation.

The table below indicates that there are far more Black-African Pentecostal /Evangelic adherents in Gauteng (1 793 397), followed by KwaZulu Natal (KZN) (1 109 756) and Limpopo (1 074 705). The lowest number is recorded in the Northern Cape (88 184). This is not surprising given that the Northern Cape province has the lowest population in the country. The Coloured population is also well represented in the Pentecostal Evangelic group, as they were 11,4% for South Africa. Most of the coloured Pentecostal/Evangelic are in the Western Cape Province (593 659). This too, is not surprising as the Western Cape has the most coloured population in South Africa. However, a surprising finding is the low number of Indian/Asian Pentecostal/Evangelic, where there were all but 194 in the Northern Cape! In the same way that the Western Cape had most coloured Pentecostal/Evangelic, the KwaZulu Natal recorded the highest number of Indian/Asian Pentecostal/Evangelic at 81 266 followed by Gauteng at 15 404.

Table 9: Pentecostals Evangelicals by Race and Province

Pentecostal / Evangelistic					
Province	Black-African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Total
Gauteng	1 793 397	85 200	15 404	153 639	2 047 640
%	87,6%	4,2%	0,8%	7,5%	100,0%
KwaZulu Natal	1 109 756	23 948	81 266	29 796	1 244 766
%	89,2%	1,9%	6,5%	2,4%	100,0%
Limpopo	1 074 705	4 260	499	9 688	1 089 151
%	99%	0,4%	0,05%	1%	100%
Eastern Cape	861 306	29 985	2 052	26 340	1 019 683
%	84,5%	12,7%	0,2%	2,6%	100,0%
Mpumalanga	842 084	6 563	552	22 025	871 224
%	96,7%	0,8%	0,1%	2,5%	100,0%
North West	537 768	14 607	482	26 952	579 810
%	92,7%	2,5%	0,1%	4,6%	100,0%
Free State	412 387	14 690	387	20 974	448 438
%	92,0%	3,3%	0,1%	4,7%	100,0%
Western Cape	323 433	593 659	2 327	68 343	987 762
%	32,7%	60,1%	0,2%	6,9%	100,0%
Northern Cape	88 184	97 671	194	9 153	195 203
%	45,2%	50,0%	0,1%	4,7%	100,0%
South Africa	7 043 021	970 585	103 162	366 909	8 483 677
%	83,0%	11,4%	1,2%	4,3%	100,0%

Community Survey, 2016 Statistics South Africa

South Africa's Christian field

South African Pentecostals exist within a cultural landscape and history of a long and diverse history of Christian history, with a complex number of Christian communities and churches (Dickow, 2012). While Christians are by far the largest religious group in the country, South Africa has several religions. Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism are also large religions in the country (Dickow, 2012; Chipkin and Leatt, 2011). Owing to its colonial and settler history (Elphick and Davenport, 1997; Comaroff, 2012). While its Christian communities and churches should not be over-simplified, by the 21st century, its Christian landscape could generally be divided into five different groups (Frahm-Arp, 2010). There were four global groups comprising the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Churches, the Protestant Churches and forms of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity. The fifth group was what Frahm-Arp (2010:47) describes as the “localised, hybrid or syncretic forms of Christianity practiced by the ‘Independent’ churches found predominantly in Africa.”

The numbers: South Africa’s Religious Landscape

While Christians are by far the largest religious group in the country at 80% in 2001 (Rule and Mncwango, 2010; Chipkin and Leatt, 2011), South Africa has several religions. The table on Christian in South Africa, selected years from 1911 indicates, the number of Christians in South Africa has been on the rise since 1911, starting at 45.7% increasing to 73.4% in 1960 and 74.5% in 1991 (Schoeman, 2017).

Table 10: Christians in South Africa from 1911 – selected years

Year	% of Population
1911	45,7
1921	51,3
1936	60,8
1946	63,2
1951	68
1960	73,4
1970	75,4
1980	77
1991	74,5
1996	74,1

Source: Schoeman 2017 citing Hendricks, 2005:77

Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism are another type of religion in the country (Dickow, 2012). The 2001 Census illustrates that 3,77% of South Africans identified with Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism. are also religions in the country (Rule and Mncwango, 2010). The table below illustrates that while South African's identified as Christians, a significant proportion of population, at over 16% refused to say, had or did not know their religious identity, *ibid*. The authors found that “Pentecostal Christians emerge with the highest proportional certainty of God’s existence (85%), marginally ahead of persons of other (non-Christians) religions (83%), but significantly more so than adherents of the mainline Protestant denominations (76%) and members of the ZCCs (73%)” (Rule and Mncwango, 2010:189). Furthermore, “belief in the Bible as the literal word of God is highest among members of the AIC’s (79%), Pentecostal or Charismatic churches (73%) and ‘other’ Christians (70%)” (Rule and Mncwango, 2010:192).

Table 11: Identification with a Religion, Census 2001

Religious affiliation	Number	Percentage
African Independent / Initiated	14 541 696	32.45
Mainline Protestant	11 195 785	24.98
Pentecostal / Charismatic*	6 831 555	15.24
Roman Catholic	3 181 332	7.10
Islam, Hinduism, Judaism	1 690 994	3.77
None/Refused/Don’t Know	7 378 139	16.46
Total	44 819 774	100.0

Source: Rule and Mncwango, 2010

* This includes churches described as Evangelic.

The Community Survey of 2016 represents Statistics South Africa's latest survey that details religious adherence. The analysis performed hereunder relates to Christian denominational affiliation, and denominational affiliation by race, sex, education and province.

Christian denominational affiliation has evolved in South Africa. Of the 55,7 million population in the Community Survey of 2016, 43 193 177 were Christians. Black-Africans dominated at 80,9% or 34 852 884. Figure 1 below shows the Community Survey (2016) results that give credence to Dickow's (2012) previous argument that Pentecostalism is reshaping the South African religious landscape. While African Independent or Initiated Churches dominate South Africa's religious landscape, with over fourteen million adherents: 14 158 454 or 33% (32,8%) of South Africa's Christians, there were over eight million Pentecostal/Evangelicals representing 20% (19,6%) of South Africa's Christians.

The Community Survey of 2016 groups Pentecostalism with Evangelism describing the Assemblies of God; Born Again Church of God in Christ; Rhema Church; Apostolic Faith Mission; Prophetic Ministry as the churches falling thereunder. It defines the Zion Christian Church; Apostolic Church; African Nazareth Baptist Church/Shembe churches as the African Initiated or African Initiated churches. When the Seventh Day Adventist church is added to the Pentecostal/Evangelistic category, which is how the Censuses 1996 and 2001 approaches the grouping, the total goes up to 8 794 946, making Pentecostal/Evangelic represent 20,4% of Christian adherents. There were close to 3 million Catholics – 2 852 341 at 10%, just under that were Methodists at 2 325 047 and representing 7%.

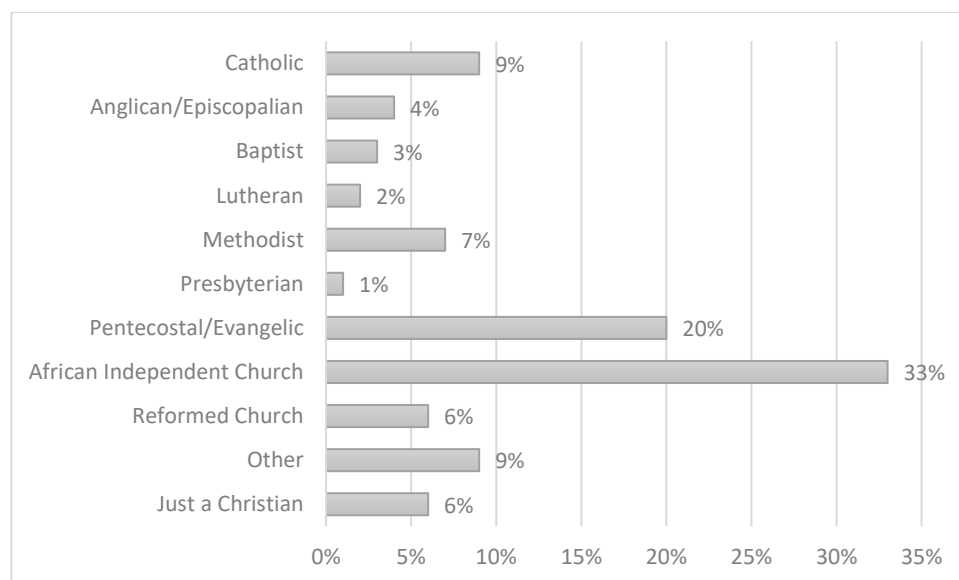


Figure 3: Percentage distribution of Christian denominational affiliation, Source: Community Survey 2016, Stats SA

Christian denominational affiliation by race

The majority of Black-Africans are represented in African Initiated Churches, while the Coloured, white and Indian / Asian populations are dominantly in the Pentecostal/Evangelic Churches.

Table 12 Christian denominational affiliation by Race

Affiliation	Black-African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Total
AIC	13 539 103	524 676	8 065	86 610	14 158 454
%	95,6%	3,7%	0,1%	0,6%	100,0%
Pentecostal/Evangelistic	7 043 021	970 585	103 162	366 909	8 483 677
%	83,0%	11,4%	1,2%	4,3%	100,0%
Other	2 538 279	714 291	45 907	547 161	3 845 638
%	66,0%	18,6%	1,2%	14,2%	100,0%
Catholic	2 852 341	444 599	49 633	431 759	3 778 332
%	75,5%	11,8%	1,3%	11,4%	100,0%
Methodist	2 325 047	153 366	10 998	288 526	2 777 937
%	83,7%	5,5%	0,4%	10,4%	100,0%
Just a Christian/non-denominational	1 670 902	310 502	66 279	453 700	2 501 383
%	66,8%	12,4%	2,6%	18,1%	100,0%
Reformed churches	981 328	494 020	7 019	868 486	2 350 853
%	41,7%	21,0%	0,3%	36,9%	100,0%
Anglican/Episcopalian	1 007 738	382 957	9 832	364 761	1 765 287
%	57,1%	21,7%	0,6%	20,7%	100,0%
Baptist	819 794	86 714	23 135	132 040	1 061 683
%	77,2%	8,2%	2,2%	12,4%	100,0%
Lutheran	813 869	64 386	3 945	63 886	946 086
%	86,0%	6,8%	0,4%	6,8%	100,0%
Presbyterian	505 022	30 986	4 320	80 737	621 065
%	81,3%	5,0%	0,7%	13,0%	100,0%
Jehovah's Witness	408 108	31 263	6 801	30 515	476 687
%	85,6%	6,6%	1,4%	6,4%	100,0%
Seventh Day Adventist	255 829	26 460	3 281	25 699	311 269
%	82,2%	8,5%	1,1%	8,3%	100,0%
Mormon	92 493	8 237	1 582	12 495	114 807
%	80,6%	7,2%	1,4%	10,9%	100,0%
Total	34 852 884	4 243 043	343 959	3 753 286	43 193 171
%	80,7%	9,8%	0,8%	8,7%	100,0%

Source: Community Survey, 2016 Stats SA

Christian denominational affiliation by sex

While there are more women than men in all denominations save for the 'non-denominational' or 'just Christian' category the percentage difference appears low or negligible. However, close examination of the number of women and men across denominations reveals denominations typically have women outnumbering men by half a million to a million! Thus, judging the gender representation

by numeric value shows that women significantly surpass men in the different Christian denominations. The fact men outnumbered women in the ‘non-denominational’ or ‘just Christian’ category suggests that men were more likely not to identify with a specific Christian denomination, but to believe that they were Christian.

Table 13: Christian denominational affiliation by Sex

Denomination	Male	%	Female	Total	%
Catholic	1 792 169,00	47%	1 986 163,00	3 778 332,00	53%
Anglican/Episcopalian	833 453,00	47%	931 833,00	1 765 287,00	53%
Baptist	485 477,00	46%	576 206,00	1 061 683,00	54%
Lutheran	444 200,00	47%	501 886,00	946 086,00	53%
Methodist	1 267 211,00	46%	1 510 726,00	2 777 937,00	54%
Presbyterian	281 607,00	45%	339 458,00	621 065,00	55%
Pentecostal/Evangelistic	3 747 229,00	44%	4 736 448,00	8 483 677,00	56%
AIC	6 325 749,00	45%	7 832 705,00	14 158 454,00	55%
Jehovah’s Witness	211 996,00	44%	264 691,00	476 687,00	56%
Seventh Day Adventist	144 262,00	46%	167 008,00	311 269,00	54%
Mormon	51 462,00	45%	63 345,00	114 807,00	55%
Reformed church	1 109 057,00	47%	1 241 796,00	2 350 853,00	53%
Just a Christian/non-denominational	1 301 884,00	52%	1 199 499,00	2 501 383,00	48%
Other	1 800 447,00	47%	2 045 191,00	3 845 638,00	53%

Source: Community Survey, 2016 Stats SA, 2016

Theological Character of Pentecostal Charismatics

To contextualise the origin of South African Pentecostalism, the section that follows deploys the genealogy approach that ascribes the origins of Pentecostalism to Protestantism and in particular Methodism and the Holiness movement (Maxwell, 2006:40). I briefly outline the Holiness movement, which is strongly associated with the doctrine of baptism in the Holy Spirit. Comprising of the Wesleyan Holiness and Reformed clusters, the Holiness movement emerges in the 19th century (Menzies, 2011).

The Wesleyan Holiness revival was led by John Wesley (1703-1791). Wesley’s teachings are considered profound. For one, the Wesleyan Holiness revival not only produced a cluster of Protestant denominations and associations; but as Menzies (2011:213-4) states, some observers suppose that without Wesley’s Evangelical Awakening (among others), England may have experienced a revolution much like that of France in the decade between 1789 and 1799.

The Wesleyan Holiness tradition is based on Wesley's ideas of a fourfold theology, central to which are justification or Christian perfection and entire sanctification (Maxwell, 2006). In the first element of the fourfold theology, a sinner confesses their sins, repents and is forgiven, and is thus born-again. God's forgiveness forms the first blessing: salvation. However, even after being born-again which is the initial conversion or justification, Wesley believed that the persistence of corrupt desires demanded that Christians undergo a "*lifelong*"²⁴ process of moral cleansing" (Maxwell, 2006:19). This is because Wesley argued that at conversion, the Christian received imperfect regeneration (Menzies, 2011). As such, they needed a second crisis to eradicate inbred sin. Wesley thus asserted that the eradication of sin required entire sanctification (Maxwell, 2006:19) which is "a special work of the Holy Spirit to complete the salvific process" (Menzies, 2011:214). Importantly, the Wesleyan Holiness provides for one of the earliest evangelical assertions on the works of the Holy Spirit (Maxwell, 2006).

Another tributary associated with baptism in the Holy Spirit comes from American Phoebe Palmer's work in the 1830s. Phoebe Palmer held Tuesday meetings in which she promoted holiness through conscious commitment with God, and within this setting, Palmer "began to employ the term 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit'" (Menzies, 2011:216). Second is William Arthur who wrote *the Tongue of Fire* in 1856, which propagated the idea of "'a baptism of fire'" (Menzies, 2011:217). Coming from the Reformed or Calvinism and in the 1870s, broadly, the term Baptism in the Spirit is attributed to Charles G. Finney an American revivalist evangelist (but non-Methodist) to describe sanctification both in America and Britain (Anderson and Pillay, 1997). Finney spawned the notion of a "definable, life-transforming experience after conversion" which brought the believer into lifelong service to Christ (Maxwell, 2006:19).

Another tradition associated with Pentecostalism is the Keswick tradition. Keswick is a resort located in England's northeast Lake District, where a higher life conference was held in 1875. Held every year after that, this became known as the Keswick Convention. The Keswick Convention brought forth the idea of the post-conversion experience where the believer who had accepted and been brought into a lifetime of service of Christ received a second blessing or touch. The second blessing was a baptism in the Holy Ghost, which helped "to deal with sin in one's personal life" (Nel, 2015:150), or to live a more holy life.

Importantly, the American holiness Wesleyans modified the Keswick tradition's take on the second blessing or second work of grace (Frahm-Arp, 2010:60). They emphasised that Baptism of the Holy Spirit empowered the believer to rise above and conquer sin, which was an "endowment of power"

²⁴ Own emphasis.

(Anderson, 1992). They emphasised and propagated the idea of baptism of the Spirit or Ghost. This endowment of power specifically endues Christians “with a power to serve” and to live a life of purity (Maxwell, 2006:19). They also saw sanctification as a definable moment in time rather than a lifelong process in the way that Wesley had asserted (Maxwell, 2006). This allows for a distinction with Wesleyan emphasis on life-long process of moral cleansing where the power to rise above sin was provided by baptism in the Holy Spirit.

Furthermore, this doctrinal belief emphasises that salvation is experienced by being “spiritually born-again” (Frahm-Arp, 2010:60). How did it happen? The “infilling” of the Holy Spirit comprises a series of experiences that equip the believers for extraordinary feats of witness and service (Maxwell, 2006:19). It comes as “a series of spiritual episodes, including trance states and the speaking in tongues unknown to the believer (Schlemmer, 2008:12). This relates directly to the Book of Acts 2:4 where believers “were filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the spirit gave them utterance.”

South African Pentecostalism’s doctrinal influences are ascribed variously to the Protestant Wesleyan Holiness, Keswick and Reformed traditions. For example, Anderson (1987; 1992) a key and long-time scholar of South African Pentecostalism roots its development in the American holiness movement with special ascription to the Keswick tradition. This essentially makes South African Pentecostalism an amalgamation of not only different global and transnational trends, forces and ideas, but changing ones too. Critically, this thesis argues that Pentecostalism and South African Pentecostalism also subjects these trends, forces and ideas to alteration. Notably, the alteration is not always positive, tending in some cases, places and periods towards mutation. This argument is detailed in the chapter on the neo-Pentecostal field’s contestations.

Maxwell (2006:7;8; 19) explains Pentecostalism is “a form of Christianity which fuses four theological antecedents or sets of beliefs.” It is based on the four-square theology or gospel that emerges from the interactions of “a vast institutional network,” *ibid.* Similarly, Kalu (2008), Maxwell (2006:7-8) and Bernstein (2008:12) assert that Pentecostalism’s four-square theology comprises personal salvation, Holy Spirit baptism, divine healing and premillennialism. The four-square theology derives from and is associated with the Wesleyan Holiness tradition, which sees “Jesus as saviour, sanctified, healer and coming king” (Burpeau, 2004:65).

The first doctrinal significance of this was that the infilling of the holy spirit thus empowered believers to beat sin. In a series of spiritual episodes, that are trance-like, baptism in the Holy Spirit/Ghost endows the convert with supernatural gifts (Schlemmer, 2008). These gifts are glossolalia (speech in an unknown language to the speaker), the interpretation of tongues (xenoglossy - speech in a language known to others but not the speaker), the gift of prophecy, the gift of healing, dreams, visions

and discernment of spirits, and signs and wonders take place (Bernstein, 2008:12). They also involve exorcisms, *ibid.* This doctrinal characteristic remains among neo-Pentecostal Charismatics.

Notably in early Pentecostal practice *all* believers were granted the gifts of the holy spirit in the same way as the pastor or preacher. The equality of believers was an important defining feature of early Pentecostalism, but has been altered in neo-Pentecostal Charismatics, where the gifts can be accessed through the pastor or preacher. The second doctrinal importance of this is that early American Pentecostals such as Charles Fox Parham and William J. Seymour, who are associated with the birth of Pentecostalism, believed that tongues was the initial evidence of sanctification (Anderson and Pillay, 1997; Maxwell, 2006; Kalu, 2008).

The third doctrinal importance is highlighted by Hollenweger (2004) who argues that Pentecostal Christians distinguish themselves from other Christian based on spirit baptism, and that glossolalia is most likely the single unifying characteristic of Pentecostalism. Mainline Protestantism emphasises Jesus as the focus of faith (de Sousa, 2012), Pentecostal Charismatics emphasise baptism in the Holy Spirit/Ghost. Thus, being born-again which is personal or individual conversion, baptism and acceptance of the Holy Spirit/Ghost and its gifts is central to neo-Pentecostal Charismatics. This has carried through to contemporary and neo-Pentecostalism, where, taking from Robins (2018:2) contemporary and neo-Pentecostalism is thus taken to encompass “movements that place emphasis on baptism in the holy spirit, profess and practice ‘Spiritual Gifts’ (including divine healing), endorse (and at least occasionally practice) glossolalia, adopt a ‘born-again’ view of salvation, and self-ascribe a Christian.” Importantly, this feature distinguishes neo-Pentecostal Charismatics from the other Christian movements.

The fourth doctrinal importance of Baptism of the holy spirit to the development of South African Pentecostalism is highlighted by Maxwell (2006). It relates to the Baptism in the holy spirit as the second part of the fourfold theology, intertwining with the third element of the fourfold theology which is divine healing. The laying of hands as an act of divine healing makes faith healing, therefore, the *hexis-habitus*. This is because faith healing and the laying of hands is a form of Pentecostal mastery deriving from the body’s positions, capabilities and skills, acquired through education and/or training (Navarro, 2006; Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014). Certainly Maxwell (2006:40) makes this observation: “in South Africa, Pentecostalism was a visual and instrumental religion, a religion of the body.”

The fourth is premillennialism or Adventism. This is the belief in the imminent return of Christ where the church and believers will be separated from the earth and saved. This drives the proselytization character of Pentecostalism which seeks to save souls.

The millennium is understood as the Kingdom of God that will be formed through individual conversions and societal improvement. As such the priority of Christians is to evangelise their neighbours, through activities that save souls and improve societies throughout the world (Mills, 1997:337; Schlemmer, 2008:14; Frahm-Arp, 2010:59-60). It demands that adherents be pietist, live a Christ-like life until the return of Jesus. Thus, a Christ-like life is evangelising and proselytization as the central worldly activities, pursued to change the world, and “bring about the restoration of a Godly world” (Frahm-Arp, 2010:58). It is also about preparing for a future life in heaven. It also involves some degree of political quietism (Mills, 1997:345).

The success of South African Pentecostalism, interestingly, is closely associated with the doctrinal stance and charismatic revivals that took place in the Dutch Reformed Church in the latter half of the 1800s. In 1860, an internal revival took place in the DRC, followed by two local revivals in 1874 and 1884. Maxwell (2006:39) explains that “all three awakenings were characterised by a deep conviction of sin followed by conversion, fervent prayer and ecstatic phenomena.” Andrew Murray, a minister of the DRC (Anderson and Pillay, 1997; Burpeau, 2004) was a central figure in the local and global revivals. He was one of the leaders that had created and hosted the Keswick Conventions (Anderson and Pillay, 1997). He was a “key exponent of holiness teachings and helped create the climate for local and global revivals” (Maxwell, 2006:39 citing Burger, 1995:2-3). Murray travelled through South Africa in the late 1800s healing the sick and performing miracles through the power of the Holy Spirit (Frahm-Arp, 2010:52). He’d also been healed of his ‘preachers’ throat’ in London at a revival. As a proponent or advocate of faith healing, he wrote books on divine healing and spirit baptism: *Jesus the Physician of the Sick* (1884) and *The Full Blessing of Pentecost* (1907). These books spread widely (Maxwell, 2006). However, he suffered opposition from the DRC (Kalu, 2008). The DRC dismissed teachings on divine healing and charismatic theology as “wild-fire” (Burpeau, 2004:63). Murray stopped preaching about divine healing, but his work had already established a charismatic tradition that emphasised a holiness lifestyle, spirit baptism and divine healing which continued to spread even after he had desisted from preaching it. In South Africa these books reached Afrikaner prisoners in British prison camps in the South African War (Burpeau, 2004:63) and they also reached and influenced the British and North American fundamentalists (Mills, 1997:347).

Murray’s work greatly influenced Pieter Le Roux, an *eerwaarde* (preacher to Black people) in the DRC, who would later influence John G. Lake (Maxwell, 2006). Unlike Murray, Le Roux refused to stop preaching charismatic faith healing, and instead resigned from the DRC. He continued preaching among the Zulu in Wakkerstroom, in the south-eastern Transvaal (now Gauteng). Le Roux played a “decisive role in the initial history of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion among Blacks, in particular the Zulus in South Africa” (de Wet, 1989:28). Le Roux along with two other DRC preachers Johannes Buchler and Edgar Mahon had become aware of the John Alexander Dowie’s

Zionist movement through his church magazine or paper called *Leaves of Healing* (Burpeau, 2004; Maxwell, 2006). Dowie was an American preacher and founder of the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion (CCACZ) in Illinois in 1896 (Maxwell, 2006:39). Interestingly, Dowie saw healing as a manifestation of Pentecostal power (Anderson and Pillay, 1997:228). Furthermore, Maxwell (2006:39) states that Dowie's Zionism contributed two key practices in the Pentecostal movement: triune immersion (baptism in the names of the Trinity), and divine healing. Thus, the DRC preachers found an alternative association that approved of divine healing that was renounced by the DRC. According to Anderson and Pillay (1997:229) the three DRC preachers invited Dowie to send a representative to South Africa and he sent Daniel Bryant. Bryant joined Le Roux, and they led a Wakkerstroom revival as the CCAZ. This revival is likened as the African version of the Azusa Street revival. Maxwell (2006) draws the Azusa Street and Wakkerstroom revival similarity on the basis that both were multiracial. Other revivals took place in Krasfontein and the Rand from 1904 to 1908 (Maxwell, 2006:39). Those baptised in the revival went on start Zionist churches, thus the germination of Pentecostalism, as a year later there were 5,000 converts (Anderson and Pillay, 1997). By 1905, the CCAZ had 20,000 members and "emphasised divine healing, triune immersion of adult believers, and the active pursuits of Holiness (Anderson and Pillay, 1997:228; Maxwell, 2006:39).

Importantly too, Maxwell (2006:39) explains that American Zionism contributed "two key practices in the South African Pentecostal movement: triune immersion (baptism in the names of the Trinity), and divine healing." This view is supported by Anderson and Pillay (1997) who associates healing as the manifestation of Pentecostal power with Dowie. These authors further argue that Dowie had greater influence on South African, rather than American Pentecostalism. Anderson and Pillay (1997) further argue that Dowie might have been a proponent of the Keswick Holiness movement as he used their teaching on divine healing.

Classical Pentecostals and African Initiated Churches (AICs) saw themselves as in the world but not of the world and strove to keep themselves uncontaminated from the world. This is the millennium expectation, which also shaped the stance and engagement with politics of classical Pentecostals and AICs. They tend to regard political affairs as ephemeral, trivial, and dangerously distracting from the real duties of the Christian' (Mills, 1997:338). They emphasised the ethics of separation from the world, breaking with social, cultural and political pasts (Kaunda, 2015). Thus, despite their numeric dominance, this explains the lack of political organisation against apartheid by many classical Pentecostal Churches and AICs (Kaunda, 2015). Instead, these churches "promoted a dramatically different ethos of radical spiritual perfection, involving the renunciation of everything cast as worldly and the pursuit of bodily disciplines of abstinence, faith healing and speaking in tongues" (Cabrita, 2015:2).

Institutional Change: development of the field and capital

Theologians and social scientists agree that Pentecostalism defies easy definition (Anderson, 1992; Hollenweger, 2004; Kalu 2008; Bernstein, 2008). Robins (2018:2) asserts that contemporary “Pentecostalism is a complex, rapidly expanding phenomenon marked by hybridity and fracture, glocalisation and paradox.” As such, neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity is fluid and amoeba-like, taking on the features and characteristics of the context and period within which it exists, adapting to specific socio-spatial, economic and political contexts. This heterogeneity, evangelisation drive and success across the globe has caused analysts to describe it as a religious movement rather than simply a religious denomination or organisation (Kalu, 2008). Consequentially, there are multiple subtypes and categories of Pentecostalism that reflect different emphases of belief and forms of organization in South Africa (Schlemmer, 2008).

Periodisation has been used by scholars to define, categorise and understand South African Pentecostalism, and cut through its complex transnational heterogeneity (Frahm-Arp, 2010; Dickow, 2012). South African Pentecostalism is understood in three periods – first, second and third waves of Pentecostal and/or charismatic revival. But, as da Silva Moreira (2018:3) notes for Brazil, neo-Pentecostalism is no longer sufficient to describe the “constellation of Brazilian Pentecostalism” which has become “so complex, diverse and dynamic.” He notes that though it may be too early to speak of periodisation, Brazil may be undergoing a fourth wave referred to as Bronto-Pentecostalism, or post-Pentecostalism (da Silva Moreira, 2018:3). Recognising this, I make a similar argument, based on the classification that Frahm-Arp has done (2018), in which she describes types of the Prosperity Gospel, which may indicate a new wave altogether (see Chapters 6 and 7). Below is the Pentecostal evolution in South Africa in terms of the first, second and third revivals. The periods between the waves overlap. Frahm-Arp (2010) refers to the 1910 to 1940 period, within which the first wave falls as the institutionalisation period.

Classical Pentecostal churches result from the first charismatic wave of the early 1900s. Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches are defined as those that emerge out of the 1960s and 1970s charismatic wave (Dickow, 2012). There are important figures associated with South African Pentecostalism, they include American methodists, South African Dutch Reformist and South Africa Lutherans, Anglicans, etc.

The Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) is the first South African classical Pentecostal church which was founded by John G. Lake (1870-1935) and Thomas Hezmalhalch (1847-1934). Hezmalhalch became its first president in 1910 (Hollenweger, 1972). Lake was a Methodists minister, and a white middle-class American. Hollenweger (1972) lists J. H. Greef and P.L. Le Roux as the other prominent preachers that contributed to the formation of AFM. Lake spent 15-years in South Africa, and he is an

important figure in the African Pentecostal history, as he catalysed the “rapid and far-reaching Pentecostal revival in South Africa and beyond” after taking over the Black Zion Apostolic Church and creating the Apostolic Faith Mission in 1920 (Maxwell, 2006:38). It was followed by Assemblies of God South Africa (AOG or AOGSA) and the Full Gospel Church of God of South Africa (FGC or FGCSA). These are South Africa’s three largest and oldest classical Pentecostal churches (Anderson and Pillay, 1997). These churches key principles at their formation were faith healing, exorcism, personal piety and spiritual revival (Anderson and Pillay, 1997). The doctrinal stance of classical Pentecostal churches is discussed further in subsequent sections.

Three important changes or transitions must be noted regarding the result of the 1960s second charismatic wave. The first is pointed out by Morran and Schlemmer (1984), Kalu (2008) and Anderson (2005).

First, Pentecostalism experienced class and geographic changes. These authors state that the second charismatic wave altered the class character of Pentecostal or charismatic churches (Morran and Schlemmer, 1984). They state that “up to the 1960’s Pentecostalism had been largely associated with the poor and deprived sectors of society. When the charismatic revival took hold in the mainline churches, the Pentecostal or charismatic experience became an increasingly middle class, hence respectable, phenomenon.” Similarly, Anderson (2005) asserts that while at first the 1960s charismatic wave was confined to middle-class white churches (i.e.: the Anglican, Methodist and Baptist churches), it spread throughout Southern Africa through the processes of urbanisation and labour migration. Anderson (2005:70) asserts that the 1960s saw the emergence of South Africa’s first charismatic churches which were first confined to middle-class white churches, specifically. Cities such as Johannesburg and Durban have historically been the hub of Pentecostal ideas. Through the migrant labour system spanning Southern Africa - like Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi – migrant mineworkers and other labourers took the Pentecostal ideas and spread them to the countryside (Anderson, 2005; Kalu, 2008). Importantly, the Bantustans and labour migrancy system fragmented and weakened Black families, and thus churches “became important centres of cohesion, support and continuity, especially as (they) often-had extensive links with rural areas” (Anderson, 2005:70). Anderson explains that converted and migrant Black “missionaries were motivated by the same experience of Spirit Baptism that they saw (as) equipping them for the task of preaching and healing; and it was (this group), rather than European preachers who were responsible for the expansion of Pentecostal, Zionist and Apostolic churches in other parts of the region” (2005:70). The urban and countryside were thus converted.

Citing Harrell (1975:4) Morran and Schlemmer note that “mainline churches were ‘united by the conviction that they had received the outpouring of God’s Holy Spirit’” (1984:3). This revival resulted

in high energy Pentecostal-type worship, speaking in tongues and emphasis of the works of the Holy Spirit being spread in mainline churches, thus adding a new dimension to traditional Protestant and Catholic Churches (Bernstein, 2008:13). Some churches welcomed this while others found it disruptive, resulting in further secession and the emergence of a new layer of Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (Bernstein, 2008). The second factor, therefore, is that the essential consequence of the 1960s wave was that it achieved expansion as well as the reconfiguration of traditional churches.

There are three driving forces that readied the 1960s charismatic revival. At a transnational level, the first is closely related to the breaking with the past theme that manifested through changes in association within the American Pentecostal field. Harrell (1975) asserts that a group of independent revival ministries emerged, directing, though unexpectedly so, the trajectory of Pentecostal growth upwards in America. Out of this came “independent evangelistic associations or ministries” that freed “themselves from the domination of the more established Pentecostal churches” (Morran and Schlemmer, 1984:3). Importantly, the emergence and autonomous association gained impetus from an American economy that was also doing well. Morran and Schlemmer (1984:3) assert that “the affluence of the time ... allowed independent evangelists to build far stronger financial organisations.” This assertion demonstrates that upward movement in a country’s economy affects the emergence of new Pentecostal Charismatic organisations.

The second element of the breaking with the past theme relates to the change in the Pentecostal habitus in terms of what it emphasised theologically during this period. Independent ministries’ and associations’ message emphasised healing and miracles instead of the message of “hell-fire and brimstone” (Morran and Schlemmer, 1984:3). Instead, “theirs was a signs-gifts-healing, a salvation-deliverance, a Holy Ghost-miracle revival” (Harrel, 1975:6 cited by Morran and Schlemmer, 1984:3). Importantly, at a transnational level, this reflects a Pentecostal inheritance, as the 1960s emphasis on faith healing bears similarity with the internal and local DRC revivals of the latter 1800s in which faith healing was a central feature.

And, far more interestingly, the new and independent ministries’ and associations too were changed by the changes that they were bringing forth. The 1960s independent evangelists shifted their emphasis from healing to teaching. They turned from healers to teachers and became teaching organisations. Although healing remained an important facet of these ministries the revival was more charismatic. Again, an interesting similarity bears with the DRC revival which also moved away from emphasis on healing, although this was mostly because of contestation from DRC leaders. The teaching facet thus became an important aspect of the 1970s charismatic wave in South Africa, as the neo-PCCs had an element of teaching that underwent formalisation. An important shift too is that “financial prosperity replaced divine healing as the most advertised miracle” (Harrell, 1975:8 cited by Morran and

Schlemmer, 1984:3). The third feature of the revival relates to “attraction to occult, psychic phenomena which had close parallels with immediate religious experience and divine healing” (Harell, 1975:6 cited by Morran and Schlemmer, 1984:3).

Missions and Land

Mills (1997:338) describes the relationship between “imperialism and Christianity as complex, ambiguous and changing.” This is evident in the 19th and 20th century, where Christianity and colonialism shared a complex relationship. The relationship was at times symbiotic or collusive, while also having the character of contestation and conflict. The complexity and unevenness of the relationship between colonial power and Christianity is evidenced by denominational and mission leader’s political postures. Even though some mission leaders from these periods did facilitate and rely on white-rule, authority and resources, there were others still, who stood in direct antagonism with colonial authorities in the countryside and urbanising centres. Examples include John Phillip of the London Missionary Society (LMS) who petitioned the Dutch Cape government variously against the loss of land by the Khoikhoi and inclusion of Coloureds in parliament, which happened in 1853, two years after his death (Mills, 1997:339; Kumalo, 2020). This is even though Philip ran the LMS in a segregated way, with a separate parish for the converted Africans (Giliomee, 2003:218).

Racial exclusion became institutionalised and a general practice in the Union of South Africa in the 1920s through the colour bar. During this period, the Native Land Act of 1913 (NLA) was expanding the total dispossession of land for Africans and separatist movements gained momentum. Racial exclusion, therefore, certainly heightened and accentuated the need for African independence from white-missions. Simultaneously, the NLA, though preceded by unlegislated land dispossession added impetus for collaborative relationships between African converts and mission societies.

Dinnerstein (1976:237) speaks about how Africans in Natal were able to access land from 1854. She states that

Sir George Grey, Governor and High Commissioner at the Cape from 1854 to 1856. Seeing the Americans and other missionaries as allies in ‘civilising’ the Africans, initiated a system of mission reserves which remained unique to Natal and had extraordinary repercussions for its African population. On such reserves, away from the developing racist policies in greater Natal, African inhabitants could live in a protected area enjoying such benefits as freehold tenure. A unique opportunity for secular and religious influence was afforded the missionaries who in effect were in charge of the services (Dinnerstein, 1976:237).

Missionaries offered work to Africans in order to proselytise them. Dinnerstein (1976:236) states that Newton Adams, a missionary of the American Zulu Board Mission (AZM) set up a mission station

near the Port of Alfred in 1836. He had arrived 8 years after the death of Shaka Zulu, to a broken but rebuilding Zulu polity. As a mechanism of drawing young Zulu men and women into the mission Adams drew up employee contracts which were signed by the parents of the mostly young men and women. These contracts offered clothing and instruction (perhaps in work, reading and writing) to the young employees as well as money for the parents (Dinnerstein, 1976:236). Cobley (1990:89) asserts that the results of Christianisation were, overall, the adoption of a westernised lifestyle seen in dress, family structure and wage employment. The latter included cash-cropping farmers, artisans or wage labourers, *ibid.*

Missionary societies also took land titles on behalf of Black people excluded from owning land (Davenport, 1991:76). Southall (2016:25) reasons that “missionary leaders granted individual parcels of land to their most loyal converts or assisted their adherents to acquire land” to entrench Christian values. James Allison fits this example. Kumalo (2020) describes Allison as a dual collaborator as Allison’s political posture was non-antagonistic towards racial exclusion and authority, but he did facilitate access to land for converted African followers through his numerous movement between different missions and churches in Southern Africa. Allison seceded from the Methodist Church in 1850 and started a new mission in Pietermaritzburg with 450 people. In 1851, Allison secured a loan 1,300 pounds from Sir George Grey to buy a farm owned by Afrikaner trekker Andries Pretorius. The loan was subsequently paid back through the work of converts. Welverdiend which is the name of the farm thus became co-owned and subdivided among the Griqua, Barolong, Basotho and Batlokwa and Hlubi and Swazi. Ten years later Allison left to join the Church of Scotland, leaving the land to these inhabitants (Kumalo, 2020). Thus, even with the ‘civilising’ motivation, it can be said that white mission leaders had a non-linear relationship with colonialism, imperialism, racism and sexism.

On the other hand, Sundkler (1961:33) asserts that the proliferation of African Initiated Churches is attributable to the “tightening squeeze of natives through land legislation.” He argues that the ambition and aspiration to form own “church colonies” by buying land and building a church motivated African Christian leadership, *ibid.*

Racialisation: Schism and Breakaways

Christianity in the Cape which was under the authority of the DRC (NGK) was practiced as an “exclusive and inherited religion” by segments of the Dutch-speaking descendants, Black and Coloured people were excluded (Elphick and Davenport, 1997:2). In 1853 a split occurred within the DRC, resulting in the creation of the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk (NHK) from which another split took place in 1859 forming the Gereformeerde Kerk (Dickow, 2012). The DRC formed a separate church for Coloureds in 1881, and only in 1910 and 1957 were the African and Indian sections of the church

created, respectively (Dickow, 2012). These were called the Verenigde Gereformeerde Kerk for Coloureds and the Reformed Church for Africans.²⁵

Giliomee (2003) explains that the DRC's history of segregation is complex and has presented a major challenge to historians. Therefore a caveat is necessary in explaining the DRC's posture on race and racism. Giliomee (2003:218) informs us that while "the policy of the Reformed Church at the Cape was firm: the church was open to all who had been baptized and Communion had to be served to all those who were confirmed, regardless of whether they were free or slaves" the church "showed no enthusiasm for bringing large numbers of non-European converts into the congregation."

What is of interest is that Giliomee (2003:219) raises an interesting aspect of Murray's participation in the DRC's formulation and stance on racial policy. He explains that a debate on the church's policy of non-discrimination erupted as a result of a small white minority that wished to not congregate with Black people. Calling this discriminatory stance "the weakness of some" (Giliomee's article title), Murray is said to have offered that multiracial congregations continue, but in spaces or places where white people were antagonistic to this, separate facilities be built. This segregation impulse thus laid the foundation for 20th century segregation and the apartheid order (Giliomee, 2003:212). This was the church's posture until 1850 and it illustrates that the DRC's uptake of institutionalised racism and discrimination was not total. Notably, if Giliomee's explication implicates Murray in the fashioning of segregation, so too does Burpeau, (2004) on biography on Lake. Burpeau (2004) avers that Lake helped Jan Smuts to fashion the segregation policy.

In tandem with the above argument, Müller (2021) characterises the DRC's stance of race, racism and exclusion as peculiar. He evidences the activities of 19th century Afrikaner missionaries that were evangelising in southern, west and central regions of Africa. These missionaries were "actively engaging Africans, learning their languages, translating scriptures, teaching, giving medical care and of course preaching ..." (Müller, 2021:4). The secession of the DRC, the Great Trek and formation of Black and white churches suggests that racialisation was not a totalising belief and practice throughout the history of the DRC, and that it was not a completely consolidated stance within the Afrikaner community and the DRC.

In the latter part of the 1800s Africans were not allowed to enter a white church for an ordinary religious service (Sundkler, 1961:37), and the practice of creating separate Black and white

²⁵ In 2008, the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa repealed three Acts passed by the Union of South Africa: the Dutch Reformed Churches Act, No. 23 of 1911 passed by the Union of South Africa in 1911. The Act was repealed by the Dutch Reformed Churches Union Act Repeal Act, No 46 of 2008 (Republic of South Africa, 2008).

congregations in one church began to spread among some Christian churches during this period. The Protestant Mission Policy from the period between 1890 and 1910 sought “a self-supporting, governing and self-propagating church” for Africans, but this was not practiced or implemented well-enough (Sundkler, 1961). By the last decade of the 19th century, Sundkler argues that “it was unclear to the Methodists, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists whether to promote African ministers and African ministries,” and therefore they were undecided about ordaining an increased number of African ministers. Frahm-Arp (2010:47) states that between 1910 and 1940 several classical Pentecostal churches became racially segregated. According to Sundkler (1961:31-2) the Anglican Church and Roman Catholic Church refused to segregate their churches, where the former argued that its church was indivisible.

Nonetheless, the DRC’s belief in the superiority of whites and separate development carried through and affected the character of South African Pentecostalism. Elphick (1997:7) observes that despite the in inter-racial settings of American and South African Pentecostal introduction, the movement “quickly adapted to South African social norms, with the whites retaining firm control of interracial churches.” This is as early South African Pentecostalism had “ignored division of race, class and gender” its denominations shifted to “patriarchal and gerontocratic patterns” (Maxwell, 2006:36). This changed the face-to-face prayer bands of whites and Blacks, manager and worker and male and female, *ibid*. Chetty (2002) and Anderson (2005) say that the white Pentecostal movement in South Africa emphasised “personal piety whilst social sins like racism were totally ignored, and right-wing political attitudes even found shelter behind Pentecostal pulpits.”

It is important to note that although the American Pentecostal drive was seen as multiracial, there were tones and incidents of racial discrimination. For example, William Joseph Seymour (1870-1922), who is recognised for leading the 1906 Azusa Street revival that sparked the international spread and popularity of the Pentecostal message to 50 countries in 2 years (Anderson and Pillay, 1997) was also a victim of racial discrimination. A largely unnoticed revival had taken place in Topeka-Kansas in 1901 lead by Charles Fox Parham (1873-1929). Parham is described as a white supremacist (Burpeau, 2004:4), and a former Methodist Episcopal Church minister (Maxwell, 2006; Frahm-Arp, 2010). Parham disassociated himself with the Methodist Episcopal Church because of his doctrinal decision on Holiness, which refers to a belief in the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with accompanying physical manifestations and leading to a life of Holiness (Nel, 2015:151). Burpeau (2004) attributes Seymour’s Azusa street revival to Seymour’s earlier interaction with Parham. Seymour had attended Parham’s Houston Bible School but was made to sit “outside the door of the classroom” as it was “illegal for Blacks to attend classes along with white students” (Nel 2015:148, 152).

There had been initial attempts in the AFM to keep the church racially integrated through mixed services. Elias Letwaba, for example, received a warm welcome from Lake when the latter invited him on a platform during a meeting. Lake “put his arm around Letwaba’s neck, kissed him and called him ‘my brother.’ This infuriated “many whites in the audience who hissed at and booed Lake” (Nel, 2015:156). Burpeau (2004:12) sees Lake as a “paternalist, unable to completely epitomise Christian fellowship. Rather than being apolitical, he affirmatively worked with Afrikaners in fashioning segregation,” but also says that Lake was not racist. The AFM eventually shifted to a racialised split, prohibiting and excluding Black leaders from holding national office (Burpeau, 2004; Anderson and Pillay, 1997).

Black leadership: Autonomy, dissent & secession

Classical Pentecostal churches created separate churches for whites and Blacks. Black churches were run by Black leadership “but remained under the executive control of white overseers” (Frahm-Arp, 2010:55). For example, the AFM created a white section 1910, with Lake taking over the Black Zion Christian Church (Burpeau, 2004). This separation in name also legitimised a separation in places of worship and baptism. It was decided that at baptism the whites would be baptised first and then the Blacks, so that the whites were not made dirty by their Black brethren when they were immersed in the same water. This was the beginning of the racial segregation that marked the AFM until the late 1990s (Anderson, 2000:58-63 cited by Frahm-Arp, 2010:56). The FGC followed the same pattern (Frahm-Arp, 2010).

Racialised exclusion caused the gradual breakaway of Black leaders from the AFM and FGC. Multiple fissures from the AFM lead to the formation of many African Initiated Churches. Apart from the racialisation of Christianity, Black leaders broke-away from white mission Pentecostal churches for personal reasons. Personal factors such as disputes of over moral issues, discipline, money/finance and career disappointment were also contributory factors to breakaways (Mills, 1997:345; Kruss, 1985:7).

Responses to racial exclusion in Pentecostal churches had important consequences. Facing racial discrimination, some Black leaders went on to form their own Pentecostal and Pentecostal-type churches. Quite a few used Zion and Apostolic nomenclatures (Kalu, 2008). Elias Mahlangu and Elias Letwaba who had been responsible for recruiting many Black leaders and adherents into the AFM also experienced racial exclusion in the AFM (Kalu, 2008). In 1917 Mahlangu broke from the AFM and formed the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa, from which Edward Motaung separated to create the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission in 1925 (ZAFM). In 1925, Engenas Lekganyane seceded from ZAFM to create today’s largest church, the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) (Anderson and Pillay, 1997). Citing Hollenweger (1972:172), Maxwell states that by “1932, 112 out of 400 Zionist groups could be shown

to be offshoots of the AFM” (2006:43). The Assemblies of God split into the Assemblies of God of Southern Africa²⁶ and the International Assemblies of God (Hollenweger, 1972:122).

Nicolas Bhengu; Isaiah Shembe and Mma Nku are other Black leaders that broke-away from classical Pentecostal churches, but they also acquired land (Mayer, 1961; Balcomb, 2004; Maxwell, 2006; Kalu, 2008). They were “remarkably independent-minded, confident in their own abilities, unimpressed by unsecured promises and able to deploy considerable human, legal and financial resources to any cause they supported” (Cobley, 1990:105). Bhengu’s Assemblies of God Southern Africa is in the top-three largest Pentecostal churches.

Thus, while fissures are as old as Christianity, fissures and mergers are characteristic of South African Christianity (Pretorius and Jafta, 1997), it is noteworthy that Pentecostal church fragmentation in the 20th century was driven by racial segregation and exclusion (Anderson, 2005). Importantly, the impetus that Black leaders and adherents of the classical Pentecostal churches took from racial exclusion thus contributed to and spurred the process of Christian indigenisation and independence.

There were other notable breakaways that created new churches earlier. In 1884, the Tembu Church was formed by Nehemiah Tile who sought greater reflection of the Tembu tribe in the Christian message. The paramount chief of the Tembu became the head of the church. The church folded due to difficulties with the government of the Cape Colony. In 1896 a separatist Zulu Congregationalist church was formed as a result of Zulu ministers’ discontent that the American Zulu Board Mission. AZM was accused of “withholding from them the rights of congregational churches” (Sundkler, 1961:30). In 1892, Mangena M. Mokone formed the Ethiopian church. The AME was created by Richard Allen in 1816 due to the colour bar practiced by the Methodist church. James M. Dwane travelled to the US to seek incorporation into the AME. He then approached Cecil J. Rhodes for permission to advance the church into Rhodesia and Zambezi, which caused upheaval among mission societies (Sundkler, 1961).

Importantly, when the AFM was instituted in South Africa it also faced exclusion in the Christian field. As Theron (2011:5) explains “the early history of the Pentecostals in society was in reality a story of mutual rejection. The Pentecostals rejected society because they believed it to be corrupt, wicked, hostile and hopelessly lost, while society rejected the Pentecostals because it believed them to be insanely fanatical, self-righteous, doctrinally mistaken and emotionally unstable.” Maxwell (2006:42) explains that the AFM was incorporated in November 1913 as an unlimited company rather than

²⁶ With Bhengu, the Canadian, South African and other missionaries and the Black evangelists

denomination.²⁷ He says that Lake and Hezmalhalch faced hostility from the mainline clergy who were threatened by the ecstatic phenomena which also prevented the AFM from interdenominational collaboration.

Three results have been offered by analysts about African leader secession from mission Pentecostal churches.

The first is that the feeling of disappointment and deepening pessimism against the world and church may serve as an explanatory factor for the political disengagement by these Black leaders. Importantly, as Mills explains it, while the prevailing injustice of racism and exclusion led Black leaders to start their own churches, it also caused them to withdraw into their church spaces (1997:345). Thus, extending this line of argument, the AICs may have been created as haven-like enclaves shielding the brutality of an increasing racially prejudiced world.

Second, with independence from the classical Pentecostal Churches, AICs were free to thus combine “the Christian message with aspects of indigenous beliefs, culture and expression” (Southall, 2016:29). This illustrates therefore, an independence that was also motivated by the quest for a form of Christianity that reflected African ways of being. Thus, the expansion of Christianity through South Africa resulted in various processes of reconfiguration. Jean Comaroff (2012:7) makes this point when she says “Christianity was Africanized, and Africa Christianized.” Its reconfiguration was partly due African Initiated Churches that not only reconfigured western Christianity, but also hybridised it with their African past (Sundkler, 1968; Cabrita, 2015:4).

Third and related to the second factor of the Africanisation of Christianity, Kuper (1965:192) asserts that for Black Christians, while secession and separatist churches could be read as avenues that provided “for leadership and self-expression ... to some extent religious separatism (was) an alternative for political action.” Kalu also accents this assertion, arguing that African Pentecostal leaders who operated during the racialised first and second charismatic waves sought African nationalism through religious power (2008:58). For Comaroff (1985:166) the African Pentecostal Churches became a radical expression of cultural resistance, it was ‘a dissenting discourse’ that enabled Southern Africans to mitigate the sufferings imposed by capitalism, colonialism, and apartheid and their ecclesiastical forms masked an often-trenchant resistance to the culture of colonial domination. Overall, breakaways were

²⁷ The registration of AFM as a company was annulled by the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (Private) Act No. 24 of 1961. The Act only recognised white people as the official members of AFM. It provided that the AFM leadership would formulate “separate policies and instructions” for “the Indian, Coloured and Bantu adherents.” This Act and its amendment Act (1970) were both repealed through the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (Private) Act Repeal Act (no 47 of 2008) (Republic of South Africa, 2008a).

a quest for independence, a longing for a Bantu church, a reaction to conquest and a political and economic response (Kruss, 1987:7). Thus, Black lead classical Pentecostal, Zionist and Apostolic churches cannot be totally characterised as apolitical.

The drive for African Christian independency that characterised the first and second wave periods is one of the key reasons for the growth and strengthening of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic movement. Pentecostalism in South Africa grows and expands on account of the break-away from the older and classical Pentecostal churches by educated Africans. Mayer (1961) argues that AIC success was dependent on the charisma of the Pentecostal pastor, while Anderson (2005) further argues that Black, rather than white Pentecostal pioneers drove the rapid growth of classical Pentecostalism.

This is why the spread of different forms of Christianity throughout different regions of Southern Africa owes “more to the zeal of African converts than to the direct actions of missionaries, whose importance seems to have been more political and cultural than evangelistic” (Cobley, 1990:105). The processes of migration and migrant labourers, because of their movement throughout Southern Africa also spread different forms of Christianity, including classical Pentecostalism and African Independents (Elphick, 1997; Kalu, 2008). This is as “migrant labourers carried Christian beliefs ... first from missionized rural areas to the mines or city, and later from the mines or city back to the countryside” (Elphick, 1997:7).

Driven by local political and social concerns related to class, race and ethnic tensions, multiple forms of Protestant organisations emerged and were formed by dissenting individuals, that sought and gained independence of centralised authority (Cabrita, 2015). Cabrita (2015:4) nuances the analysis of political and class factors as the driving force for secession. She states that secession was a common part of the Protestantism in different countries. She argues that the search for independence, secession and dissent were not unique to Black South African Christians, but a cultural feature stamped across a transnational Protestantism plain. She states that “dissenting Zionist ministers in Johannesburg were participants in a transnational sphere of evangelical practice that highly prized individual autonomy and self-determination in religious matters” (Cabrita, 2015:4). Dissent, she explains, is a key part of evangelical Christianity; in which fracturing is a feature of Christian theology and practice (Cabrita, 2015:4).

Fragmentation and its implications for Black unity

While Church fissures are as old as Christianity, they were a preventative factor for Black independence and church unification. Church unification was increasingly necessary for the success of African (political action) nationalism (de Gruchy and de Gruchy, 2004:50), but as Kuper (1965) explains 19th and 20th century denominationalism became an acute problem for the achievement of African nationalism and unity, and was as problematic as tribalism. Therefore, attaining some form of

balance in the forces of self-determination through separation was necessary because national liberation required the unification of Africans as a whole, and their leadership, which was largely amongst of the Christian and educated Black elite. Kuper (1965:192) concludes that many denominations led to disruption or disunity of Africans fighting for political emancipation. De Gruchy and de Gruchy (2004:50) argues that unification would be a momentous task for Africans as a whole, and the Black elite in particular.

Fundamentally, secession flourished or increased the number of Christian groups present, creating an added layer of Christian groups on top of the already existing multitude of Christian denominations. Kuper (1965:193) makes an important observation about the consequences of secession or separatism and denominationalism on the political capacity of Black Christians. Christian evangelisation had already divided Black people into two - those that became devout Christians and those that “utterly rejected the white man and his religion” (Kuper, 1965:194). The possibility for political unity and organising among Black Christians further became inhibited by denominationalism. As from the 18th century, South Africa was awash with “an explosive proliferation of protestant movements” and “newly imported churches: Anglican, Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist” from Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland and Scandinavia (Elphick and Davenport, 1997:3). The ideological and doctrinal differentiation had a profound impact on the cultural and political attitudes and behaviours of the educated Black elite (Cobley, 1990:57). For example, protestant missions “laboured hard to instil Protestant ontology, and the mercantile Geist it bore in African consciousness” (Comaroff, 2012:5).

S.N. Mvambo, an African nationalist and member of the Imbumba Yama Afrika which advocated African unity, nationalism and Christianity argued that denominationalism was divisive for the Black population “for the Black man makes the fatal mistake of thinking that if he is an Anglican, he has nothing to do with anything suggested by a Wesleyan, and the Wesleyan also thinks so, and so does the Presbyterian.” This is because, as Kuper (1965:194) reasons European missionary bodies operating in South Africa were given to intense “mutual criticism” and “vilification which uses to take place among these agencies.” These differences and conflicts could produce “confusion” in the African mind. He stated that it prevented unified political organisation, and sought that Imbumba (Yama Africa) needed to ensure that the Wesleyans, Presbyterians and Anglicans were represented “at the conference, for we must be united on political mailers. In fighting for national rights, we must fight together.” Mvambo reasoned that though denominational, whites were “solidly united when it comes to mailers of this nature (national rights). We Blacks think that these churches are hostile to one another, and in that way we lose our political rights” (Kuper, 1965:193). For Mvambo, denominationalism was as divisive as tribalism, as the former “suggested a new form of tribalism” and contributed towards secession that took place as new tribes were formed (Kuper, 1965:194). Similarly, Reverend Zacchaeus Richard Mahabane argued that denominationalism weakened Black political organisation.

Church structure and ministries

An important aspect of organising adherents around church activities relates to the organisation of women's time. Bhengu structured church participation through three services each Sunday, and embedded church activity as a social activity by making prayer a daily evening activity. Besides the service and prayers, he structured the church into several special ministries. One was the manyano group of girls and women that met once a week. These weekly meetings were set for preaching, praying and singing, and exchanged teachings about living a pure life. Other church activities in town included house-to-house visiting, singing in the streets or at revivalist gatherings. Evangelisation of the unconverted was another key task, where manyano groups would in their spare time go around preaching and singing. Mayer (1961:219) states:

... the churches provide a great number of country-born school people with their first and easiest opportunity for active participation in town activities. The women especially, besides finding the familiar patterns of church service and worship, will find the equally familiar half-social half-religious gatherings which are popular in town and country alike, namely the iimanyano. The member pays a subscription and (in the case of women or girls) wears a uniform for the weekly meetings, which provide for singing, tea-drinking, and conversation, as well as prayer. The manyano may also organise special events now and again: a concert to raise funds, a visit to another congregation, an outing on a public holiday.

Relationship with state, politics and leaders

Black majority became apolitical while the white Afrikaner Pentecostals became far more politically active than they had been before. Several dominant Pentecostal churches like some AFM and the FGC became fundamentalist in their doctrine, segregated along hierarchically [sic] gender lines and racially divided – with separate Black and white sections or streams. The Black sections were run by Black leaders but remained under the executive control of white overseers. These churches maintained this structure until the 1990s when they began to racially unify their churches as South Africa moved into a new democratic area [sic] of equality” (Frahm-Arp, 2010:55).

Cabrita (2015) and Kruss (1985) recognise that Zionist, Ethiopian and other AICs were viewed with trepidation by different colonial authorities. According to Kruss (1985:6-7) Ethiopianism, with its slogan of ‘Africa for the Africans’ was feared as quasi-religious and quasi-political anti-white movement. But the Commission of inquiry of 1925 decided not to “condemn the aspiration after religious independence, unassociated with mischievous political propaganda,” *ibid.* Cabrita (2015) states that independent Zionist preachers formed strategic alliances with Zion churchmen and presented themselves as their subordinates in order to fool sceptical white authorities.

Cobley (1990:104) states that Zionist churches lacked an interest “in the constitutional niceties of church organisation” and they “rarely participated in the organised political arena.” The seeds of political involvement lay in their search for a temporal ‘Zion’ – some land of their own (or, more vaguely, simply economic security) – ‘in the land of the whites where they no longer had any right to possess land” (Cobley, 1990:104-105). Cobley also asserts that they were “essentially millenarian in outlook and identifiable by their elaborate use of ritual and symbol, by the central role they reserved for practical demonstrations of faith (prophecy, speaking-in-tongues, spirit possession and faith healing),” *ibid.* Their Zionist congregations tended to rely on their divinely inspired prophets for doctrinal information and for the appointment of other officials; many Zionist churches became family sinecures. The political stance of Zionist churches started to shift by the mid-1980s, as Walshe (1995:110) report that even as Botha and Lekganyane exchanged gifts “a growing number of Zionists were politicised by the turmoil of the townships, the surge of the liberation movement and by their membership in trade unions” (cited by Duncan and Egan, 2019:19).

Ordering Social Lives: development of the habitus

A dominant reason provided for the growth of Pentecostalism is that this form of Christianity offered stability to many Africans who’s social and economic livelihoods had been disrupted by the processes of racialised industrialisation and capitalism. It offered the same to Afrikaners. Indeed, this socio-political and economic context in which Pentecostalism takes root in South Africa is important. The analyses provided by Philip Mayer (1961) in *Townsmen or Tribesmen* and Joel Cabrita (2015) in her draft article *Revisiting ‘Christian independency:’ urban moderns and the pursuit of self-perfection in early twentieth century Johannesburg* gives insight on the growth of Pentecostalism. Although written at different times, I argue that taken together, these articles provide insight into the development, evolution and intersection of classical and African Initiated churches. Reading them together reveals (roughly) a 60-year (1900-1960) period continuum of South African Pentecostal development. While I focus on Mayer and Cabrita I also weave in other scholars and debates pertinent to the evolution of South African Pentecostalism.

Multi-lingual, Bhengu is recognised as a powerful Pentecostal force, who together with Ezekiel Guti are considered as significant Pentecostal influencers from 1950 to the end of millennium. Bhengu spoke English, Zulu, Xhosa, Seswati, Shangaan, Sotho and Afrikaans (Hollenwenger, 1972:127). He is a key figure of South Africa’s Pentecostal revival of the 1950s which coincides with the global revival. He also influenced other leaders such as Mensah Otabil of Ghana. (Kalu, 2008). In 1950 Bhengu founded the internationally recognised ‘*Back to God Crusade*’ or Back to God Campaign in South Africa (Balcomb, 2004; Kalu, 2008). He adopted early African mission evangelists’ style of holding revival campaigns in big tents (Maxwell; 2006; Kalu, 2008). Mayer (1961:194) states that Bhengu followed the revival pattern of a call for the public repudiation of sin, supported by ‘American-style’

loudspeakers, and electric lighting.” The approach of congregating in large crowds and doing public confession approach was also taking place in about 1945 in Brazil (da Silva, 2018), which is the period of the second wave of charismatic revival. Similarly, American Pentecostals in the 1940s and 1950s, such as Oral Roberts and William Branham “were also drawing large crowds to their meetings and operating “on large budgets” (Anderson, 1987:73). Bhengu also became popular with African Americans and garnered support from many western countries. In the mid-1950s, a few evangelical American preachers toured eastern and southern Africa: William Braham (1952), Oral Roberts (1956), Frederick Boswother, Lorne Fox, and Billy Graham.

Bhengu was a former unionist having been active in the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (I.C.U.) and the Communist Party (Hollewenger, 1972). The I.C.U was a “mass-based organisation embracing both urban Black workers and Blacks on white-owned farms. ... The (colonial) state employed both specific repression and more long-term measure to control” the emergence of Black workers striking and joining worker organisations or unions (Legassick, 1974:267). He was also a former member of various denominations: Lutheran, Catholic, Sabbatarian, the Salvation Army and the FGC (Hollewenger, 1972). Kalu (2008:58) states that Bhengu’s sought African nationalism through religious power.

I look at Mayer’s (1961) examination of the reasons for the success of Nicolas Bhengu’s Assemblies of God (AOG) in East London. Mayer argues that the Xhosa people that had migrated to East London in search of work or livelihoods joined Bhengu’s church because it offered relief and assistance with spiritual, mental and physical affliction. He asserts that the urbanising Xhosas were driven to Christian conversion because of the challenges of urbanism that they faced; and that the social ills associated with urbanisation were cured by or addressed through Bhengu’s church.

The first theme related to the evolution of African Pentecostalism is *personal holiness*. The ordering of all aspects of the social lives of the Pentecostal adherents takes place through calling for multiple forms of abstinence from the socio-cultural and political landscape and is encapsulated in Pentecostalism’s emphasis on personal holiness. As explained, personal holiness was the doctrinal centre of Pentecostalism’s foursquare theology, which stressed personal salvation and Christian perfection (Maxwell, 2006). Defining personal holiness as the personal adherence to a life of God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit, Cabrita (2015) argues strongly for personal holiness as an entry point into early 20th century Pentecostalism. She asserts (2015:2):

Urban evangelicalism has been extensively documented in the Anglo-American industrializing cities of the late modern era. A large literature has shown how 19th century industrialization in the metropolises of the United States, Britain and its colonial world occurred concurrently with

the rise of an assertive and optimistic form of Christianity stressing personal Holiness and the transformation of the self.

Thus, if Pentecostalism radically changes the individual, it is personal holiness that begins this process.

Cabrita (2015) argues that among other sites of opportunity such as joining reading, debating, lecture and amateur dramatics clubs, Johannesburg in the early 1900s also had Christianity as an avenue of opportunity. Johannesburg was also a site of attraction for many coming from different parts of the world, and South Africa's countryside. It had high levels of economic migration and mass immigration (Maxwell, 2006; Frahm-Arp, 2010), making it a melting pot of new experiences. These were both cultural, racial and economic. Mass immigration resulted from the mining attraction as people arrived in Johannesburg in search of fortune. In the South Africa's countryside, industrial capitalism, commercial farming, adverse weather and livestock disease, post-war depression had disrupted agrarian communities forcing the relocation of people in industrialising spaces (Maxwell, 2006:24; Burpeau, 2004:75). Respectively, Maxwell (2006:24) and Burpeau (2004:75) assert that these socioeconomic circumstances laid readied people for "a new religion that created new communities patterned on new sets of social relations," where Pentecostal preachers would find audiences that were attracted to "spiritually empowering charismatic ministry."

Within this socioeconomic context, young African men were eager to form new dispositions and partake in new social arenas. Urban evangelicalism thus gave young African men that were arriving from the countryside and facing potential racial exclusion from the city, an opportunity for self-improvement through personal holiness (Cabrita, 2015). This involved the "renunciation of everything cast as worldly and the pursuit of bodily disciplines of abstinence, faith healing and speaking in tongues" (Cabrita, 2015:4). Personal holiness was thus about being a good Pentecostal. Personal holiness was especially important given that urban and city living was "cast as degenerate, unhealthy and unclean."

To distinguish oneself as a good Pentecostal meant being distinct from the degeneracy and uncleanliness of urban and city living. Personal holiness took place through a process of "personal renewal" (Kalu, 2008:57) and "resocialisation" (Maxwell, 1998:354). First, personal holiness is indicated through physical transformation (Cabrita, 2015). Striving for personal holiness, showing that one has changed is indicated by a physical transformation that is distinct from dirt and being unkempt. It was also about transferring allegiance from one place – the countryside – to the other – urban city. She says personal holiness as a person and place making avenue served to dislodge "older markers of ethnicity and rural mores," in which, young African men were rather intent on imagining themselves anew in the inner-yard slums and the mining compounds of Johannesburg, recrafting themselves as members of a 'civilised' community of progressive commons."

Pentecostal personal renewal and resocialisation in Mayer (1961), Kalu's (2008) and Maxwell's (1998) terms meant embodying "smartness and cleanliness." As Maxwell (1998:354) explains, "born-again dress up for church. Men flaunt their new suits and expensive wrist watches. Women show off their jewellery and elaborate hairdos."

Reimagining oneself anew through personal holiness and self-improvement was also intertwined with finding a livelihood in the city. Cobley (1990:104) explains that Zionists and Zionist churches "tended to draw their inspiration and support from those at the margins of mission activity, the semi-educated and illiterate, often squatters and impoverished peasantry in 'white' farming areas, or recently proletarianised people forced into towns to sell their labour." He characterises them as "essentially millenarian in outlook and identifiable by their elaborate use of ritual and symbol, by the central role they reserved for practical demonstrations of faith (prophecy, speaking-in-tongues, spirit possession and faith healing) and by their relative lack of interest in the constitutional niceties of church organisation." Cobley says that "Zionist congregations tended to rely on their divinely inspired prophets for doctrinal information and for the appointment of other officials; many Zionist churches became family sinecures. The seeds of political involvement lay in their search for a temporal 'Zion' – some land of their own (or, more vaguely, simply economic security) – 'in the land of the whites where they no longer had any right to possess land' (1990:104-105). A shift in class location or it meant interaction with Africans from other class locations. Reimagining oneself anew through personal holiness was also intertwined with a shift in class location or it meant interaction with Africans from other class locations.

Reimagining oneself anew through personal holiness and self-improvement was also intertwined with interacting with people from different class locations in the city. Being a Zionist preacher and a convert brought them into common spaces with educated Black others in the city. For the 'Red' Xhosa conversion brought them in line with school people, and made them "more receptive of urban cultural influences" (Mayer, 1961:205). Mayer (1961:205) indeed asserts that the 'Red' Xhosa sought Bhengu's church not only on account of seeking help for an affliction or because they suffered unhappiness, but also because they aspired or were "ambitions to 'get on' in urban terms, and particularly to mix with school people of a decent class." Mayer says that Bhengu's church offered the social space where the 'Red' could have an opportunity to mingle with the educated other. Mayer also asserts that Bhengu's social space offered a flattening of social interaction between the 'Red' and educated Xhosa, where instead of having to feel inferior or humble as would be in other social spaces, the church space offered "a set of school people who welcome him without making him feel inferior."

In Bhengu's church, by contrast, owing to the stress laid on wooing and welcoming 'Red' Xhosa converts, a 'Red' Xhosa man can meet self-respecting School people who receive him courteously and are not out to shame him in any way. The neat appearance which Bhengu demands of his followers,

and now the enormous new church building, set this congregation above the few other churches which also try to cater specially for Reds (Mayer, 1961:198).

Indeed, the “enormous new church building” sets Bhengu’s congregation equalises and/or competes with other churches that may seek to attract and cater for the educated Black. Cabrita argues that young African men interpreted this by being clean and tidy. She asserts a “career as an independent, conscience-driven Zionist minister” offered “an important avenue for spiritual legitimacy and social and material flourishing in the city, phrased in terms of evangelical self-perfection (Cabrita, 2015:1). Similarly, Mayer (1961) also states that conversion called for breaking with what traditional dress imposes on the body. For the Red Xhosa, it meant doing away with the blanket and the red ochre (Mayer, 1961). Both Mayer and Cabrita assert that converts also interpreted personal holiness by breaking with what the physical urban space looked like: dirty and degenerate. Thus, claiming and indicating personal holiness meant being clean unlike the dirty city.

Secondly, the process of place making, paradoxically meant enacting practices of exclusion. This is because another way of displaying personal holiness, personal renewal and resocialisation as a convert and a good Pentecostal was to break with the past. Breaking with the past is a strong Pentecostal impulse, as African Pentecostals from this period formed a world-rejecting enclave of belonging for adherents. The separation of old life worlds, networks and families is common in newly Pentecostalised adherents (Mayer, 1961; Meyer, 1998; Meagher, 2009; Hansen, 2013).

The converted believer had to reject their old life. Mayer (1961) states that adherents of Bhengu’s church typically lived and socialised with each other, finding it difficult to get along with non-religious friends, which the church also disapproved of. He explains that “the price to be paid for this new brotherhood is the renunciation of ties elsewhere” (Mayer 1961:201). His analysis finds that conversion to Christianity placed social distance between Red Xhosa people and other Reds, and that the converted were not encouraged to join other clubs, such as sports and recreation clubs. The Red convert like others may meet the demand for cultural reformation more willingly in that he is offered in exchange a sense of “belonging” and of solidarity within the church itself (Mayer, 1961:201). Resulting from this therefore, many town Christians resigned themselves to becoming pagan for a while when they returned home (Mayer, 1961:203).

In the century earlier, African converts at the American Board Mission in KwaZulu Natal had rejected the AZM’s stance on lobola. “They complained that the AZM was trying to make American Christians out of them instead of Zulu Christians. They distinguished between Christian doctrine and western culture, and defended their ways by arguing that national customs could exist without polluting Christianity” (Dinnerstein, 1976:244).

Breaking with the past did not only mean breaking with kinship networks or traditions. Cabrita (2018) and Kruss (1985) recognise that Zionist, Ethiopian and other AICs were viewed with trepidation by different white government leaders. Kruss (1985:6-7) explains that Ethiopianism, with its slogan of ‘Africa for the Africans’ was feared as quasi-religious and quasi-political anti-white movement. Cabrita (2015) states that independent Zionist preachers formed “strategic alliances with fellow dissenting churchmen in Zion.” This helped Zionist preachers as independent clerics to “advantageously present themselves to sceptical officials as subordinate to white authorities,” *ibid.* According to But the Commission of inquiry of 1925 decided not to “condemn the aspiration after religious independence, unassociated with mischievous political propaganda” (Kruss, 1985:7).

Third, personal holiness was also an important mechanism of place making (Cabrita, 2015; Mayer, 1961) and the assumption of new values and attitudes in industrialising and urbanising cities. It is important to highlight that South African Pentecostalism during this period spread through “Methodism and other types of radical evangelism as it had done in the USA, Europe and other ‘mission fields,’ but also took force along circuits of Ethiopianism, and the most importantly, within the Dutch Reformed Church” (Maxwell, 2006:41). As it moved through other Christian channels and circuits, South African Pentecostalism also expanded through the logics of space, geography and urbanisation. Maxwell (2006:42) asserts that a key Pentecostal “missionary strategy was to target concentrated populations in towns and mining compounds.” Pentecostal personal holiness, renewal and resocialisation meant doing different social activities in the city (Mayer, 1961; Kalu, 2008; Maxwell, 1998). It meant embodying different social practices.

Cabrita (2015:2) offers a comparative analysis of 19th century Johannesburg with the 19th century “industrialising metropolises of the United States, Britain and its colonial world” in which there was a concurrent “rise of an assertive and optimistic form of Christianity stressing personal holiness and the transformation of the self” accompanying the process of industrialisation. For Cabrita (2015:4) this formed a vehicle “for anti-European Africanist politics.” Importantly, young Black men deployed the evangelical holiness lexicon, amidst the presence of other lexicons, such as those emanating from the labour movements, early national organisations, migrant associations and cultural experimentation” (Cabrita, 2015:3). She explains how in New York, the Salvation Army, sold itself to New Yorkers as a reformist movement amidst a culture of expanding consumption and commercialisation, while in Chicago, evangelicals “deployed the trope of the ‘sinful’ city to exhort working-class residents to new heights of self-perfection – and to redeem urban spaces” (2015:3). As such, organisations such as the YMCA, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union and various other “‘City Missions’” were involved in “reshaping the moral landscapes of modern cities through slum clearance, sanitation projects and moral instruction for women” (Cabrita, 2015:3). This shows how holiness Christianity was involved in co-creating an urban space that was undergoing changes in its sociocultural and economic constitution,

and inscribing itself into the newly constructed sociocultural and economic field. This is significant for illustrating the co-constitution of the new urban landscape as also inscribed with and having holiness Christianity written in its formation. Thus, “in the process, cities’ significance was transformed and ‘sacralised’” (Cabrita, 2015:2-3), and co-created.

City dwellers thus took on the opportunity to not only navigate the constrictions of modern cities armed with a new lexicon to describe and conquer it, that is to use “moral vocabulary to comment upon frequently degrading conditions of urban life” (Cabrita, 2015:3), but also to take on this lexicon “imagine themselves” (Cabrita, 2015:2). For example, a burgeoning culture of consumption and commercialism paved the way for the Protestant Salvation Army to position itself as a reformist movement ‘selling’ salvation to 19th century New Yorkers while a recent study of Holiness Christianity in Chicago emphasizes how evangelicals deployed the trope of the ‘sinful’ city to exhort working-class residents to new heights of self-perfection – and to redeem urban spaces (Cabrita, 2015:3). Lake’s CCAZC was an opportune space of association. This is because Lake based ministerial qualification on “a calling rather than academic training” and this “facilitated both Black and white clergy affiliation” (Burpeau, 2004:126). Maxwell (2006:43) broadens this, stating that “the most important qualification for the office of pastor was baptism in the holy spirit – a qualification acquired with extraordinary speed by Black converts.” Le Roux became ordained by the DRC in 1890 after two years of training, but he also had a teaching diploma, and considered far more well trained than other DRC missionaries that were illiterate (de Wet, 1989:29). This suggests that not all religious workers across all the churches at this time was literate or had a post-school qualification.

Bhengu’s Assemblies of God was also able to achieve place making for ‘Red’ Xhosa migrants arriving in East London. So, in combining “personal renewal with “racial and social justice themes” (Kalu, 2008:57), Bhengu’s was able to imbue converts with new values and attitudes. These were the values and attitudes of hard work, hygiene and discipline. Through this, Bhengu resocialised and redirected the consumption practices of converts. His church called for and enforced new abstinence from beer and smoke. This allowed the saving of money. The savings made by the new convert was used for better place making as it was redirected from beer and smoke to other commodities such as clothing and home décor:

“I have given up drinking and smoking, so I do not waste money unnecessarily now. I have learnt how to save it at the post office instead” (Mayer, 1961:200).

“Before I joined Bhengu I spent my money on brandy, kaffir beer, tea parties, and buying presents for my boy friends. I wasted money on diviners and herbalists. Now I spend my money on buying clothes for my family; on good things to decorate my house; on church affairs. I give some money to my husband, who makes a small saving at the post office” (Mayer, 1961:200).

I drank *kaffir* beer and brandy heavily. I became rough and vicious, and when drunk had no respect for anybody.’ Bhengu Church ‘has shown me the way to live in town and not become morally weak. I am now a woman of God. I do not drink and I have conquered lust. I am able to make a living. I polish floors in town and do some ironing; I buy fruit and vegetables and sell them in the location. I have followed the best way of life in his world of worries. I have no more worries of any sort. I dispel them by vigorous prayer (Mayer, 1961:197).

The success of Bhengu’s church derives from him having constructed tight-knit communities in within which members drew moral boundaries against popular culture and activities such as drinking alcohol, gambling, dancing, and the use of traditional medicine. Marshall (1993:216) in the contemporary period calls these “communities of the saved” (cited by Maxwell, 1998:353), while I refer to them as identity driven enclaves of belonging. Thus, within these communities of the saved and enclaves of belonging, Bhengu’s Pentecostal adherents deepen their belonging to the church through discipleship and/or mentorship, and are continually engaged in church activities and energetic evangelism. Adherents of Bhengu’s church have what Mayer calls a “missionary ardour” (1961:205). “Abstinence from what are popularly described as ‘traditional’ rituals and practices and by means of participation in Christian alternatives” is critical for belonging and maintaining spiritual purity (Maxwell 1998:353).

Schlemmer (2008:10) argues that the Pentecostal movement in general sparks some form of ‘this-worldly asceticism’ that promotes adherents’ “personal discipline and honesty ... and teaches ordinary people to create and run their own grassroots institutions.” I call this the Pentecostal entrepreneurial impulse. I argue that the Pentecostal entrepreneurial impulse is one of the central mechanisms of social mobility in post-apartheid South Africa. For some of the BMC neo-Pentecostals, I argue that it is this Pentecostal entrepreneurial impulse that forms a lexicon and practice for not only navigating through the changes of post-apartheid SA, but also for changing and transitioning with them, as well as controlling them.

Importantly, the combination of personal holiness, place making and breaking with the past alongside new social practices results in an enclaved community of belonging. This early African Pentecostalism practice has produced significant effects for neo-Pentecostal Charismatics. For one, Hansen (2013:278) states that “many families have been deeply divided by the conversion of one branch, or some members, to Pentecostal churches. Pastors and church elders encouraged the believers to refrain from any contact... with their Hindu families during the time of Hindu festivals where demons, aka Hindu gods, were seen as being particularly active and strong.” Hansen further observes that the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic congregation is the primary “site of new extensive socialities and forms of social disciplines” including the “surveillance” of adherents (2013:282). Meyer (2004) asserts

that classical Pentecostalism's ideology of 'breaking' has also promoted individualism, as some have preferred to break with extended family and social obligations emanating from social relations.

The doctrinal centrality of faith or divine healing drives the growth of African Pentecostalism (Schlemmer, 2008; Maxwell, 2006). Divine healing addresses the psycho-emotional and spiritual difficulties of adherents. The explanation thus centres on the idea that people are attracted to the Assemblies of God because they need physical healing for themselves or family members. Public confessions are also held as a mechanism of conversion, and it is done to alleviate emotional, spiritual, psychological hardship of believers (Mayer, 1961:196). For the healing prayer of Bhengu to work, the 'Red' Xhosa must not only convert but must believe in the power of the prayer. Bhengu is usually consulted after diviners, herbalists and medical doctors have failed to heal or cure any physical or mental affliction suffered. One testimony goes as such:

The first time I heard him preach, he was saying that God had the power to remove any illness. These words reminded me of the money I had paid out to herbalists, trying to cure my parents, and to the diviner to smell out the witch responsible for my father's mental disorder. From what Bhengu said I became convinced that I had wasted all that money ... next night when he called for people who had heard God's word, I held up my hand. He asked for people who wanted relatives healed. ... He prayed for my mother (who had chronic stomach trouble). She had been sick for twenty-two years. Drs X and Y in Umtata had given her up. I send my mother a letter to tell her what I had done. Soon I got an answer, saying she was actually cured (Mayer, 1961:196).

Features of early South African Pentecostalism

Specific key actors in the Pentecostal field and their belief and orientation reflects the Pentecostal habitus that has been evolving. The Pentecostal evolution involves social, material and cultural investments and changes specific to certain periods.

Up until 1910 South African Pentecostalism was mostly associated with North American Pentecostalism, but after 1910 the latter "had no further direct influence on the progress" of the former (Anderson and Pillay, 1997:229). The early 1900s were a harsh socioeconomic period, with the end of the Second Boer War and high rates of Black and white migration to mining towns. The 1900s revival thus offered Black and white people a new way of being and an avenue for reordering their social lives. Frahm-Arp (2010:53) states that new "believers moved away from their drunken and loose lifestyles to a social life that revolved around church meetings and their nuclear families, sober living and strict sexual morality, disciplined language and a puritan work ethic." The period of 1900s to about 1945 was characterised by millennialism at the beginning, and then sectarianism. Sectarian religious collectives

consider themselves to be uniquely legitimate. Their relationship with society and other religious groups is negative, they are withdrawn from and compete with other religious groups (McGuire, 1997:148-9).

The table below details the significant names, churches, belief and orientation of South African Pentecostalism in the period from the 1900s to about 1945. In the first wave Pentecostalism was associated with missionaries, it was world rejection and separated from politics. It had a rigid sectarian ethos.

Table 14: First Wave Pentecostal Practice: field, habitus and capital

1st Wave Pentecostalism: 1900s to ±1945 Period	
Significant names and Churches	Belief and Orientation
• DRC preachers: Murray, Le Roux, Buchler and Mahon • Apostolic Faith Mission in 1908 by John G. Lake and Thomas Hezmalhalch • Assemblies of God South Africa in 1917 by American Hannah James, Henry and Anna Turney and Canadian Charles Chawner • Full Gospel Church of God in 1910 by American George Bowie	• Believed in the millennium • World rejecting • Maintained rigid sectarian ethos • Hierarchical organisational structure • Did not emphasise formalised clerical training • Reached lower classes, disempowered and dislocated • Preached radical conversion • Practiced glossolalia, infilling of the Holy Spirit and healing • Rejected mundane values and costumes • Separated from politics

Source: author adaption using Frahm-Arp (2010) and Da Silva Moreira (2018)

Conclusion: inherited Pentecostal Practice

Anderson and Pillay (1997:241) note that many early Pentecostal elements borrowed from the African-American Holiness movements that themselves had roots “in traditional African religion: the shout, antiphonal singing, simultaneous and spontaneous prayer, and dance.” Kalu (2008:55) asserts that “improved communication, technology, education, the quest for employment, and the openness of colonial frontiers aided African agency in evangelizing Africa.” The mechanisms of large tents also helped. Opening prayers and altar calls are significant conversion strategies and practice of classical Pentecostal Churches. Mayer (1961) explains that Bhengu’s opening prayer welcomed and mentioned the ‘Red’ people specifically. Cobley (1990:104) explains that Zionist churches in the early 20th century

“tended to draw their inspiration and support from those at the margins of mission activity, the semi-educated and illiterate, often squatters and impoverished peasantry in ‘white’ farming areas, or recently proletarianised people forced into towns to sell their labour.” Faith healings were widespread in the 1900s as various leaders broke away from the AFM. Edward Motaung is said to have healed people of leprosy. Lake also practiced a healing ministry which involved praying for the person until they were healed (Kgatle, 2016:12). The combination of uplifting charismatic preaching with the declaration of healing addressed physical and social anxieties of people suffering from the lack of livelihoods and needing help from industrial related injuries. Uplifting charismatic preaching imbued with positive messaging and miracle acts was powerfully potent. Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches lay emphasis on taking over and ordering all aspects of adherents’ lives (Mayer, 1961; Hansen, 2013; Cabrita, 2017; Chetty, 2002). Importantly, as chapters 6 and 7 show, uplifting charismatic preaching, the promise of miracles, potently powerful and uplifting messaging to overcome personal illness and socioeconomic hardships has also driven the growth of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches in the contemporary period. The mechanisms of altar calls, breaking with the past, personal holiness are also used by neo-PCCs to shape and order neo-Pentecostal adherents’ social lives.

CHAPTER FOUR

Inception story as a Prosperity Artefact and Devise

Introduction

This chapter provides a descriptive and analytical review of the three neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-church cases: Rhema Bible Church (Rhema) North based in Bromhof, Randburg, Grace Bible Church International (Grace) in Pimville, Soweto and Rivers Church (Rivers) in Morningside, Sandton. Combined, these neo-PC mega-churches have an estimated membership of over 200,000 adherents nationally (James, 2019:47). They also have a combined weekly attendance of over 40,000 (see Chapter 1). Like their forerunners of the 1900s: Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (AFM SA), Assemblies of God South Africa (AOG SA) and the Full Gospel Church of Southern Africa (FGC SA), Rhema, Grace and Rivers are among South Africa's prominent neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-churches. They are also a crucial part of socialisation in post-apartheid Johannesburg city life (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005; Chipkin, 2012; Landau, 2014; Bukasa, 2017; Heer, 2015; Frahm-Arp, 2018). In terms of Bourdieu (1984) these neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-churches are cultural producers and their leaders possess cultural capital. Emerging out of the third global charismatic wave of the 1970s,²⁸ all three are urban-based churches, where, with the exception of Grace's Pimville-Soweto church, the first and main church sites are located in previously "white-only" designated suburbs in Johannesburg.

While this chapter is based on and builds upon chapter two's theoretical and conceptual framework by analysing the social composition of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-churches, it also extends Katsaura's recent Bordieuan take on the South African Pentecostal Charismatic field (2022:3). From this, I define the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field as a social arena or space of contestation, struggle and competition among, inter alia, neo-Pentecostal Charismatic churches, preachers, congregations, adherents, buildings, artefacts and things, space and place, the laity, and other actors for the appropriation and accumulation of neo-Pentecostalist Charismatic capital. The South African neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field is a nexus of social struggles for neo-Pentecostal Charismatic capital, the ownership of which bestows symbolic authority within this field (Smith, 2006:99). Neo-Pentecostalist Charismatic capital is defined as accumulated (neo-Pentecostal Charismatic) labour and currency by its officials, its adherents, space, buildings and organisations (Katsaura, 2022:3). Neo-Pentecostalist Charismatic practice is taken as the social action premised on the interaction of the habitus and capital

²⁸ Frahm-Arp (2010:47) argues that the third charismatic wave is also fuelled by "a renewed pneumatic sensitivity that resulted in the formation of various movements, churches and organisations which tried to capture the working of the Holy Spirit ..."

as well as position and positioning within the neo-Pentecostal field. In general terms therefore, I define neo-Pentecostalist Charismatic practice as what its agents in the field do, their work, actions, responses and reactions.

This chapter systematically details the inception stories of Rhema, Grace and Rivers as mega-churches in South Africa's Christian and neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field. By delving into the inception stories of the neo-PC mega-churches I uncover their "vocabulary" and "official discourse and ordinary representations," their "distinctive devices and associations," which is associated with its practice: what they do. Inception stories are what Schlemmer (2008:15) describes as a highly marketable message supported by extremely slick marketing methods. These inception stories are biographical in nature, they detail the history of the church and its leaders, the highlights and/or milestones of the church and its leaders. These function in a similar way that a professional biography does. The analysis highlights Rhema, Grace and Rivers' dispositional tendency of bringing the past into the present by following and publicising a well-crafted inception story and discourse as an edifying device meant to maintain, secure and accumulate symbolic / cultural capital, sustain; as well as competitively contrast and/or heighten their position in the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic and Christian fields. Symbolic / cultural capital is prestige, status and authority, and the possession thereof positions religious leaders highly within the religious field. Therefore, the key argument of the chapter is that inception stories are an edifying and prosperity device that builds, establishes and accumulates symbolic capital for the neo-PCC leader, church, adherents and congregation.

Importantly, these inception stories are what neo-PCC founders and leaders use to neo-Pentecostalise the aspirant, proto and middle classes. This is because they are a story of how success happened and continues to happen to the mega-church founders and leaders and their churches. Inception stories act to attract and maintain neo-Pentecostal adherence.

By telling how things were in the past, what they are in the present, inception stories practically illustrate the "winning ways" of the neo-PCC in Frahm-Arp's (2018:3) terms. Inception stories illustrate this thesis' central argument of neo-Pentecostal Charismatics as a historically produced and contemporary language or lexicon and labour of transition and a practical language aimed at encouraging upward mobility. This allows me to argue that the epicentre of the neo-PCC habitus is one of translating transition into practice (i.e.: labour and investments in ideas, time and money). BMC neo-Pentecostals enter the neo-PCC congregational habitus, which works to translate social transition, and appropriate the artefacts and devices of transition to navigate their social life and economic transitions, and to consolidate and reproduce their class location, while maintaining it, but also adopt appropriate neo-Pentecostalist middleclassness. In being part of the neo-PCC habitus, BMC Pentecostals also accumulate cultural capital (artefacts, devices and invested time). As such in this chapter I tell the story

of how the prosperity story device is crafted, and the following chapter then builds on this by showing the Pentecostal structure that inception stories fit into and fuel. Another critical analytical aspect of the chapter is that I examine Ray McCauley, Mosa Sono and André Olivier's practice by reviewing their socio-political posture.

Inception Stories

About Rhema Bible Church

Generating an income of over R100-million in 2008 (Mellody, 2011:81) and a church campus valued at R75-million in 2001 (Balcomb, 2004:15) which was the period in which the 2008/09 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) began in the United States and proceeded to unravel across the globe, scholars such as Dickow (2012:16) and Frahm-Arp (2015:116) describe Rhema Bible Church as the largest and "best known" church in South Africa. In 2001, the church was housed in a R75 million complex and a full time staff of 700 (Balcomb, 2004). Similarly, the mega-church describes itself as "one of the most influential churches in the world" (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 21 February 2022). Rhema has a church attendance of "over 17,000-people every Sunday" (Sono, 14 September 2022, Word Explosion, Day 1). Because of this high service attendance, Yates (2021) ascribes to Rhema the status of being the single largest church congregation in Southern Africa. Rhema makes just over R100-million in 2009: R68-million comes from tithes and offerings; and the remainder comes from the bookstore, the television service and the bible school. Then Rhema's financial manager and group accountant Alison Whittall explains that despite "a higher interest rate environment and a general economic meltdown" Rhema's balance sheet had grown (Mail & Guardian, 2009). Of the financial performance McCauley was quoted as saying that Rhema had "maintained financial sustainability and shown healthy growth." Rhema has a R52-million salary bill of 167 salaried staff (each earning above R300,000 per annum if equally split), arguably on the basis of income this makes it a low to middle-middle class organisation. Ray McCauley is said to earn the income of a medium-sized company CEO.

Besides annual income, church size and reach, another indicator of Rhema's prestigious status and popularity in South Africa is that the church and its associated group of family churches was measured by Statistics South Africa's Census 1996 and 2001 and the Community Survey of 2016.²⁹ These national surveys measured Rhema's congregational reach in South Africa under the assigned title International Federation of Charismatic Churches (IFCC).

²⁹ The 2010 Census did not carry a question on denominations.

Rhema also has branches which it describes as “extension sites” (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 21 February 2022). Rhema’s 6 extension sites are in Troyeville, Westgate, Rabbie Ridge, Germiston, Cosmo city and Pretoria (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 21 February 2022). In Protea North (Soweto) and Alexandra it holds 2 “extension services” (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 21 February 2022).

Taken together with Rhema Bible Church as the first and main church and its associated Rhema Family Churches (RFC), Rhema has 168 local churches and ministries across South Africa (Matlhare, 2021). This is an increase from 57 local churches and ministries in 2016 (Rhema, 2016). Anderson (1987:72) calls these the “Rhema type churches.”³⁰ Rhema Family Churches are community churches “found in inner cities, local neighbourhoods and townships, largely serving poor communities” that are predominantly Black or coloured but also in poorer white areas (Southall, 2016:192). They are relatively autonomous, but able to use the Rhema name.

Rhema Family Churches are an important strategy of church growth. Local South African churches are invited to join the Rhema Family Church network. RFC offers them training on church growth and management. A Rhema brochure advertising the RFC and calling on local church pastors to join states that by joining the RFC they would gain motivation “in practical church growth resulting in a positive impact on the local churches” (Rhema, 2016). The advert on the RFC was inserted in the brochure that was also advertising the 2016 annual conference. As stated in the brochure, Rhema’s church growth strategy also follows the training of not just pastors, but young pastors. This is important as this allows for the early development of a neo-Pentecostalist secondary habitus. The brochure states that RFC is focused on raising and developing “young leadership in the Rhema Family Churches. The purpose is to establish and mentor our young people to be bold, confident and ready to address relevant issues in our nation and grow healthy churches for the future.” Like Rhema, the four pillars of RFCs are: evangelistically potent; spiritually vibrant; prophetically relevant; and socially significant. As the next section shows, it is clear that Rhema continues to follow the training of pastors as its church growth strategy.

The table below compares the IFCC’s church affiliation by race in 2001 compared to South Africa’s first three and largest classical Pentecostal Churches: Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa, Assemblies of God South Africa and the Full Gospel Church of Southern Africa.

Table 15: Selected Recode of church affiliation by Population group - Person weighted 15-64 years. October 2001 boundaries

³⁰ Lederle (1986:64-65) called the churches neo-Pentecostals (cited by Anderson, 1987:72).

	Black-African	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Total
Apostolic Faith Mission SA	149 039	355 302	5 130	1 175	246 190
Assemblies of God SA	382 825	29 631	1 083	16 662	430 202
Full Gospel Church of Southern African	174 579	41 692	32 242	61 528	310 041
International Fellowship of Christian Churches IFCC	44 569	12 092	2 954	23 329	82 943

Source: Requested calculation from Statistics South Africa, October 2018

Success and success making in the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field, and the South African Christian field is a key feature of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic practice. Quantification matters in the neo-PCC field. Quantification that illustrates amount, proportion and size is a critical aspect of that success and success making. Quantification that illustrates the amount, proportion and size of different aspects of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches, is also an important aspect of generating neo-Pentecostal Charismatic capital, and cultural capital. The size of the congregation and membership, weekly attendance including attendance at special church events such as annual conferences and seminars, the main church campus and the number of churches that have been established nationally are key variables of ascertaining cultural capital and thus position in the neo-PC field. The amount of money a neo-PCC appears to have or does have is another indicator of success. Material capital or the amount of money a neo-PCC has is illustrated by neo-PCCs by proxy, that is their church buildings, technology and how modern they are, the extent of charities that they support, the wealth or richness of their leaders and/or founder-leader pastors. This information is typically well crafted, detailed and published in what I call inception stories. In the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field, inception stories are a critical tool and artefact of creating, transferring and consuming spiritual capital.

African Pentecostals, Charismatics and Evangelicals have an internationalism to their orientation, they “are proud” members of “a global Born-again community” (Anderson, 2005; Maxwell, 2006:9; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). Transnational and transregional links are important to them. Their convention centres are decked out in the flags of other nations and many ministries include the word ‘International’ in their name” (Maxwell, 2009:9). As one of the places where Pentecostalism began, South African and African neo-Pentecostal Charismatics also regard America as a significant player in the Pentecostal, Charismatic and Evangelical global field (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005). Frahm-Arp (2018:256) holds this view, saying that by the late 1970s South Africa’s neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field emerges and is *materially* influenced by the American Evangelical and Charismatic movements. For South African Pentecostals (Morran and Schlemmer, 1984; Lund, 1988; Maxwell, 2006; Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005) America is considered a powerful associate of Pentecostal Charismaticism. This is because it has some of the world’s largest mega-churches whose leaders are multi-millionaires that have attained global influence, reach and success (McGee, 2012). Importantly, links to American, European and Australian

Pentecostals, Charismatics and Evangelicals provides South African and African neo-PCCs with links to material and other resources such as “literature and electronic media” (Maxwell, 2006:9).

Under the “history” section in its website, Rhema highlights when the church was formed, the place where the first service was held, and the number of people that attended that first service. It also states where McCauley received his training. It begins by stating “Rhema Bible Church was founded in 1979 with 13-people in attendance in the home of Pastor Ray’s parents, after he returned from Bible School in the USA” (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 21 February 2022). An important feature of Rhema’s inception story is that its co-founder, Ray McCauley received his foremost training in America, the associated birthplace of the South African Pentecostal, Charismatic and Evangelical movement (Maxwell, 2006:8; see Chapter 3). He received pastoral training at the American-based Rhema Bible Training Centre from 1978 to 1979 (for 9-months) based in Tulsa, Oklahoma (Steele, 1986; Anderson, 1987; McCauley, 02 October 2018, CRC Dreamweek Conference; TBN Africa, 18 September 2019). The Tulsa pastoral training also became an aspiration for some of McCauley’s associates. Speaking to an auditorium packed with thousands of people, where the Christian Revival Church (CRC) was hosting its annual conference, a 69-year-old McCauley describes how one of his associates aspired to attend Bible School in Tulsa but never did. McCauley recalls:

When I came back from Bible School in 1979, he (the unnamed associate) came to me, and he said ‘I should have gone with you to Bible school. I’m going to Bible school in Tulsa.’ I said, ‘great do it.’ He never ever went to Bible school and after about the 6th or 7th year of coming to me- ‘I’m going next year’ I said ... ‘please listen to me, I don’t want to hear any more about that.’ **McCauley, 2 October 2018. CRC Dreamweek Conference.**

Rhema’s association with successful American Pentecostals, such as Kenneth E. Hagin, who is considered the founder of the Prosperity Gospel (Anderson, 1987; Frahm-Arp, 2010) is a critical aspect for accumulating and generating capital within the neo-PC field. An important feature of Rhema is that it “is modelled on Hagin’s Rhema Bible Church in Tulsa” (Anderson, 1987:74). Anderson says that McCauley copied even the Tulsa “lapel badges worn by church ushers” (2005:71). Other scholars also make this observation. Writing two years before 1990, Lund characterises Rhema as “associated with the charismatic renewal restoration movement” (1988:27). Lund describes Rhema simultaneously as an indigenous and as a breakaway church, an imported break away from Rhema Tulsa that is created in South Africa, *ibid.* This is evidenced by its ties to the American Rhema Ministries in Tulsa, and its own creation under the ‘Rhema Ministries South Africa’ banner.

The inception story of Rhema characterises the overlapping Christian and neo-Pentecostal Charismatic fields of the 1970s and 1980s. The similarity with the 1970s and 1980s Christian and neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field is that Rhema emerges out of the third charismatic wave that germinated

many neo-Pentecostal churches around the world and in Africa (Lund, 1988; Dickow, 2012). The aspiration to attend Bible School in Tulsa by one of McCauley's associates suggests that the third wave of Pentecostal revival offered an opportunity for some white middle-class South Africans to enter the Pentecostal Charismatic religious field. This is illustrated by the fact that 28 other people were converted alongside McCauley. The spiritual capital that the person that converted McCauley is also important, as the person that converted him was not overly religious and overbearing in his approach (McCauley, 08 May 2020, 702 interview).

Another characteristic present in Rhema's inception story that reflects the Christian and neo-PCC field of the late 1970s and 1980s is that it is created by a married and heterosexual couple, in a middle-class neighbourhood and city. The McCauley's as a young and white middle class couple are thus supported through the present physical (house) and economic capital of McCauley's parents to start a church, a church that is also supported by a group of people who become its first congregants.

Although Ray McCauley's biography *Destined to Win: a biography* written by Ron Steele (he was also a Rhema pastor) in 1986 recognises the role and participation of Lyndie McCauley and her parents, it is important to note from the above-cited quotation who is credited for the formation of Rhema. The Rhema Bible Church website's inception story notably silences Lyndie McCauley's involvement; and by extension, the couple's divorce. Before proceeding with the Ray McCauley aspect of Rhema's inception story, I turn to his first wife's involvement, of which little is written about.

The website for charities to raise funds 'Givengain' features a post by Lyndie McCauley that details her involvement in starting Rhema and her journey after leaving Rhema. Of Rhema's inception, Lyndie McCauley (2013) writes:

After graduating in 1979 from Rhema Bible Training Centre in Tulsa, Oklahoma, Lyndie McCauley was consumed with a burning desire to bring a message of faith, hope and love to the people of South Africa. This vision helped birth Rhema Ministries South Africa in 1979 where she was co-founder and vice president of Rhema Bible Training Centre.

She writes that she moved to the US after "a great challenge in her personal life in 2000" where she established Lyndie McCauley Ministries, taught at the River Bible Institute, and travelled the US on speaking engagements at conferences (McCauley, 2013). She earned a Master of Theology, and an honorary doctorate in Divinity from the Christian Life University in the US. She returned to South Africa in 2009. In South Africa she continued with Lyndie McCauley Ministries, preaching at different events such as women's conferences, seminars and Bible schools. She states that she is "constantly introduced as 'mother of the nation'" at the events she speaks. Importantly, while Lyndie McCauley writes about her role in the creation of Rhema, she has kept the use of her marital surname and also

silences her divorce from Ray McCauley. None of the links provided on the post to her ministry were working. She attended a concert held at Rhema and posted on *Facebook* that she was happy to be back at Rhema, a church she had “helped (to) build” (Lyndie McCauley, 07 June 2019, *Facebook* post). She continues to participate in the neo-PCC field through Redemption, a neo-PCC that her son with Ray McCauley: Joshua McCauley started at a popular Johannesburg suburban shopping mall.

Besides stating when the church was formed, the place and number of people that attended the first service and McCauley’s American training; Rhema’s inception story centres the mega-church’s treatment of race. The non-racialism of Rhema is a critical feat that is made prominent in the inception story. It credits McCauley for being among the first multiracial churches in apartheid South Africa. It crafts McCauley and Rhema as forerunners in non-racialism. Indeed, Chipkin and Leatt (2011:45) assert that “even before the Anglican and Catholic churches, “Rhema was convening racially mixed services.” It states:

Under the leadership of Senior Pastor Ray McCauley, Rhema was one of the first churches in South Africa to defy apartheid laws and have non-racial church services an example of what was to come in the new South Africa.

In 2019, at the celebration of Rhema’s 40th anniversary President Ramaphosa (2019) used his political capital at Rhema and reiterated this narrative, saying:

Rhema ministries and Pastor Ray are venerable South African institutions, deeply rooted in our national life and enriching the body politic. Since January 1979 you have been a constant reassuring presence: taking a strong stand against apartheid and all forms of social injustice. ... We remember that Pastor Ray- together with Rev Chikane, Archbishop Tutu and Bishop Mokgoba and other faith leaders – was involved in the signing of the National Peace Accord in 1991 that was so pivotal to the achievement of our peaceful transition to democracy.

The above quotation illustrates that the neo-PCC pulpit at times becomes the site of intersection between the religious field and the bureaucratic state.

As a multiracial and multicultural church, Rhema continues to see itself as “one of the most influential churches in the world” that boasts a congregation of “tens of thousands in attendance every weekend (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 21 February 2022). Importantly, Rhema’s multiracial character at its early stages and in the 1980s should not be overstated as Lund (1988:27) and Dickow (2012:31) describe it as a “predominantly white” church. The personal experience of Sono detailed later shows the felt experience of this multiracialism. Nonetheless, McCauley is casual about how the church was multiracial at a time when it was prohibited. McCauley (08 May 2020, 702 interview) says:

When we started the church, first of all we never looked at the Black and white issue. At all. And coloured issue at all. And as we came together to church we just started to grow with the different groups inside the church. And then we started to reach and touch and change people's lives on that basis. ... I think we grew about 1,400-people in the first year that we started the church. **McCauley, 8 May 2020. 702 Interview.**

From this statement, the founding team of Rhema deviated from making their congregation strictly white.

Although he dropped out of school after Grade 10 (Standard 8), McCauley comes from a South African middle-class family (Beresford, 2000; Steele, 1986). McCauley's middle-class position was significant in driving his success of founding Rhema and growing it to the status of a mega-church. The point that McCauley is a high school drop-out is an issue that Ray McCauley uses to also explain his stance on neo-Pentecostalism, and how his stance evolved. In the mid-1980s, the fact that McCauley had not completed school was used as a success point that was juxtaposed with his success of founding the "fastest growing church in South Africa" (Steele, 1986). In the contemporary era McCauley (8 May 2020, 702 interview) explains that with his level of education, he has been able to adapt and be open to new situations and approaches to Christianity, thus suggesting a non-dogmatic doctrinal stance (see Chapter 6).

Importantly, this non-dogmatic stance is also another critical feature of Rhema's inception story, which is indicated by McCauley's theological and socio-political posture of multiracialism. McCauley's explanation is that he has been able to "change" and that this adaptability, in choosing to be multiracial during apartheid being among the first South African churches to embrace different forms of structuring the congregational habitus through embracing of technology and auditorium style architecture led him to be a forerunner in the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-church field. Indeed, it is this adaptability that enabled McCauley to accumulate spiritual capital throughout the 1980s, moving into the 1990s, where the volume of his accumulated spiritual capital converts to cultural capital that would enable him to be catapulted into the national space to interact with apartheid and political and Christian leaders of the struggle for liberation as reflected in Ramaphosa's statement above.

Before he co-founded Rhema, McCauley was a night club bouncer in Hillbrow clubs between 1970 and 1973 (Schimdt, 2004; Yates, 2021) and a champion body builder competing in and winning international titles, including the junior Mr South Africa title in 1964 (Beresford, 2000). In 1974 he came third place in a bodybuilding championship in London which was won by the world-famous actor

and former US governor Arnold Schwarzenegger (Beresford, 2000; Noah, 2019).³¹ In a newspaper article profiling his journey of faith, McCauley (8 May 2020, 702 interview) explains that he was in the “gym business” as he owned “a group of gymnasiums” (Msimango, 2011). His role as a champion body builder and small business owner of suburban gymnasiums sparked his journey of faith when a customer, who was also a pastor, that befriended him and invited him to donate equipment to a drug rehabilitation centre (McCauley, 08 May 2020, 702 interview). McCauley says his journey of faith was sparked after he became involved in a charity related event at a drug rehabilitation centre where he gave a body building demonstration and donated weights.

I had a group of gymnasiums and at that time I was also a junior Mr South Africa and bodybuilder. A guy asked me if I would come to a drug rehabilitation centre to give a demonstration and donate some weights, which I did. So, I went and was very impressed by what I saw. It started me on my journey of faith (Msimango, 2011).

The above-cited quotation is also important in demonstrating how McCauley (like Schwarzenegger) transitioned from one field to another and how this would influence the generation of a new habitus. Citing McCauley’s biographer Steele, Beresford (2000) writes “God took an ex-bodybuilder, slapped him around and said go and be a preacher.” McCauley explains that the charity event experience generated his interest in helping people (Msimango, 2011). Though little is said about this, McCauley’s implantation of Rhema draws from the cultural capital he had gained from opening up a number of gymnasiums in the white-only suburbs of Johannesburg. The evidence of this is that McCauley tells of a story where he and a friend were evangelising at a mining compound. McCauley says that they were invited by a minister from a “historical church” that had tried and failed for 14-months to convert the miners.

McCauley relates that they went to the compound one evening, and started praying but “not one (miner) is taking any notice.” McCauley says that they then decided to bring in their van and switch on its headlights, thus illuminating the spot where they were. He says “so they put the headlights on, I take my shirt off. And I said ‘everybody here, I want you to come and see a Mr South Africa guy here.’ And you know, we’ve got a megaphone ... and we start. Well! Got their attention. So, 1,500 of these guys come down” (TBN Africa, 18 September 2019). McCauley says one “guy” there was responsible for “stamping” the miners in and out of the compound, and that this man was disabled. McCauley says they

³¹ Noah says of his ‘mixed church’ Rhema Bible Church experience “mixed church was Rhema Bible Church. Rhema was one of those huge, super modern, suburban megachurches. The pastor, Ray McCauley, was an ex-bodybuilder with a big smile and the personality of a cheerleader. Pastor Ray had competed in the 1974 Mr Universe competition, he placed third. The winner that year was Arnold Schwarzenegger. Every week, Ray would be up onstage working really hard to make Jesus cool.”

prayed for him and “God healed him.” McCauley does explain too that the decision to do a healing prayer made by him and friend was incidental, but highly effective, as all “those 1,500 people prayed the (conversion prayer where a new believer declares Jesus as their Lord and Saviour) prayer with us” (TBN Africa, 18 September 2019).

Thus, the creation of Rhema also benefited from the dispositions, skills and economic capital that he had amassed and generated from opening up a group of gymnasiums and being in good physical shape. And as McCauley’s story illustrates, successful Pentecostal conversion is supported by putting the body to work, and through the performance of the body, requiring a kind of performance. In this story it was the uncommon sight of a car with headlights on in the middle of the compound, his well-toned muscular body and the act of healing. This bears great similarity with Lake’s mining mission in the early 1900s in the Witwatersrand. Burpeau (2004:83) states that when proselytising gold miners, “Lake often merely conducted healings rather than sermonise, maintaining ‘there is no education in faith like seeing God do the thing.’”

Steroid use during his body-building days meant the couple had problems conceiving their first child, a boy. They later adopted a daughter. McCauley is a supporter of Gun Free SA (Beresford, 2000). This is an important point that illustrates the notions of a personal crisis and breaking with the past.

For McCauley, there are multiple elements in his life story that indicate personal crisis and breaking with the past. First, McCauley is said to have dropped out of school to become a hairdresser, and took up bodybuilding due to his propensity to over-eat. His propensity to overeat derived from the hardships of his childhood, where his father struggled with gambling and his mother with alcohol (Howden, 2010). Similarly, Kabelo Mabalane writes about his former life of heavy partying and drug use (Mabalane and Brodie, 2015). Mabalane started as a volunteer usher at Rhema in 2005, and is now the head of Pastoral Care. He is formerly a successful kwaito music star.

Rhema: Growing towards mega-church status

As stated, Rhema was created during the third global charismatic wave of the 1970s. It’s phenomenal growth in South Africa, first amongst the middle-class white South Africans in white suburbia was encouraged by and benefitted from this wave (Dickow, 2012). In the 1990 period, Rhema’s prominence on the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field is bolstered by the growing post-apartheid Black middle class.

Rhema experienced exponential growth in the first year of its operation. McCauley says that of the 13-people that started the church after his return from Bible School, Rhema “just exploded. In the first year we had about 1,800 people” (Msimango, 2011). It is apparent from his citation of 1,400 as cited

earlier in this chapter, and 1,800 that McCauley tends to forget how many people the church had at the end of its first year. McCauley (2020) reasons that the church grew quickly because “it was just the right time. And I think people could relate to and apply what I was teaching. And God blessed me in spite of me, is all I can say [laughs].”

As the church grew, Rhema moved around Johannesburg north’s middle-class suburbs. It moved from the McCauley’s parents’ living room to Constantia Cinema in Rosebank, Johannesburg. It grew again and moved to a warehouse it had bought in Jan Smuts Avenue in Randburg. The warehouse had 2,000 seating capacity (Rhema, 2014). It then moved to a “complex” worth R8,5-million in 1985, which initially had an auditorium with a seating capacity of 5,000 (Mail & Guardian, 1985). The complex also had “a 350-seater chapel” for “intimate ceremonies such as weddings, funerals and baptisms,” *ibid.* It also has banquet hall with seating capacity of 800, an administration centre that had a television production studio, a bookshop, a wholesale division and a 1,700 car parking lot (Mail & Guardian, 1985).

While this was a great feat for the church and “thousands of us” as McCauley put it, its location attracted “controversy with vehement objections from local residents” (Mail & Guardian, 1985; Rhema, 2014). McCauley reasoned that the opposition was due to the largeness of the proposed church – a common refrain for meg-churches (James, 2007:191), and that hitherto “no one had seen a church this size,” as such it was opposed. He defended the church saying that it was “not a monstrosity. It blends in well with the environment.” McCauley described the application for the rezoning of the area where the megachurch was to be built as a “tremendous battle” that had begun in 1982, and ultimately granted by the Provincial Administration Township Board in 1983 (Mail & Guardian, 1985). Of the growth, Rhema (2014:3) states

The crowds kept coming. In late 1982 the church acquired a huge piece of land in Randpark Ridge upon which the current church campus stands. After a long, drawn-out struggle with local authorities and the local Residents’ Association who doubted the wisdom of placing a large church in a residential area, the land was finally dedicated on January 15, 1984. In June 1985, the church was officially dedicated by the now late Pastor Kenneth Hagin from Tulsa (USA).

The search for a suitable venue is critical, and churches, especially new churches, move from one venue to the other. Importantly, Rhema, like Grace Bible Church, share this characteristic as the search for a permanent venue became a critical aspect of their church organisation. Reading a biographical statement to introduce McCauley as the keynote speaker at Grace Bible Church’s annual conference called ‘Word Explosion,’ Sono (14 September 2022) reads: “in the mid-80s he (McCauley) was led by the Lord in acquiring a large portion of land in Randpark Ridge upon which the current building stands.”

Three germane aspects to this thesis' central argument are apparent from the statement above. They relate to the generation of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic capital, the accumulation of spiritual capital, how it is spent (embodied) and consumed (objectified) and the nature of sub-fields within the neo-PCC field. The first is about what neo-Pentecostal Charismatic spiritual capital can be conceptualised as. Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic capital is the spiritual capital a leader has, which is concentrated within the congregational habitus and the confines of the congregation. It is also produced within the congregational space. To extend on Bourdieu's conception of religious capital, it is thus neo-Pentecostal Charismatic spiritual capital that circulates, is produced, accumulated, traded, consumed within the closed congregational space, as a closed religious system. However, when spiritual capital leaves the congregational space, it moves from congregational specific capital to become cultural capital that can be accumulated, and produced and earned within the broader neo-PCC networks and alliances. So that, the embodied and institutional spiritual and religious capital of Rhema and its leader becomes cultural capital in the *field*, and amongst networks and alliances in the Christian and/or neo-PCC field.

Second, the statement that Sono reads about McCauley above, demonstrates a neo-PCC practice where a network and alliance of neo-PCC founders and leaders deploy inception stories and the success to edify each other. The edification of each other is a crucial element for neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field. It relates to the capacity to *trans-substantiate* capital, which is the exchange and transfer cultural capital within the Christian and/or neo-PCC fields, and across the religious field. In this setting, edification achieves the exchange and transfer spiritual capital within the neo-PCC field in events such as annual conferences and through the telling of elements of the inception story to different congregations in the neo-PCC field. It demonstrates Bourdieu's view that religious capital circulates, is produced, accumulated, traded, consumed within networks of sub-fields in the religious system. Third, serving as a keynoter speaker at Grace's annual conferences is how McCauley imbues the Grace congregational habitus with his cultural capital.

Third is the character of neo-PCC conferences. Attended by interdenominational audiences and adherents, and presented by alliance / networked leaders in the neo-PCC field, Grace's annual conferences, as with Rhema and Rivers, are a sub-field within the Christian and neo-PCC fields. Similarly, Sono also imbues other start-up churches with his amassed cultural capital by honouring their invitations and speaking to their congregations. In essence, this is how neo-PCC create themselves as elite organisations in South Africa's post-apartheid society.

As stated, Rhema's new church building was dedicated on 16 June 1985 by Kenneth E. Hagin, the late founder of Rhema Ministries in Tulsa. This was 9-years after the 16 June 1976 student riots against

apartheid.³² Earlier that year on April 7, apartheid president P.W. Botha was invited to address 2-million adherents of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), at the invitation of Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane. This was in celebration of 75-years of the ZCC (Moripe, 1996:29).³³ The year 1985 was also when the *Kairos Document* was formulated. The *Kairos Document* represented the (some) churches' struggle against apartheid. An informal instrument that did not emerge officially among the South African denominations, the *Kairos Document* also reflects the divisions in South Africa's churches (Duncan and Egan, 2019:15). This is illustrated by the ZCC's interaction with Botha and Rhema's celebratory launch of its new building on June 16, showing that churches were affected by, facing and responding to different concerns arising from a racialised apartheid political economy. It emerged "in the midst of mounting civil disobedience and political protest that had already led to a partial state of emergency in 1985, and would lead to a national state of emergency from 1986 to 1990, but would end with the unbanning of liberation movements and the process leading to democracy in 1994" (Duncan and Egan, 2019:15).

The auditorium was upgraded to more than 7,500 seats to accommodate the growth of the church (Yates, 2021). Rhema financed its new complex "through donations from the 1,500 families of all races in the church" (Mail & Guardian, 1985). Rhema at the time had 1,500 active workers and 90 full-time workers and counsellors, including 10 pastors. Unlike Grace and Rivers, I have not been able to find out how Rhema financed its church complex, as this is not told in sermons or other online material.

McCauley: charisma and church growth

Charisma and personal wealth are also important aspects of the inception story. But this is carefully crafted because neo-PC leaders typically attract negative attention and are vilified for their personal wealth (see chapter 7). Thus, in general the neo-PCC leaders – McCauley, Sono and Olivier do not brandish their wealth by stating how much they earn, what car they drive or the extent of their personal or family expenditure. They do weave markers of their wealth by talking about the kind of responsible consumption that they do (see Chapter 7). As a result, there is great speculation about the personal wealth that mega-church leaders have amassed. The material that is published is largely by online newspaper articles that speak about the richest pastors in Africa or South Africa. The validity of their

³² A month after Rhema's new church building was unveiled – 20 July 1985, a state of emergency was declared by apartheid President PW Botha. This was followed by hundreds of people being killed by the apartheid police. South African History Online. 'States of Emergency in South Africa: the 1960s and 1980s.' <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/states-emergency-south-africa-1960s-and-1980s>, accessed 12 November 2022.

³³ Lekganyane and Botha exchanged gifts, with the former giving Botha Moria citizenship, for his role in spreading peace and love, while Botha presented him with a leather bound Afrikaans Bible.

claims is untested. It is impossible to know for sure how much mega-church leaders are worth, the only way to understand this is by proxy, taking from what they say.

Bearing in mind the above caveats, Yates (2021) writes that McCauley is guesstimated to be worth \$28-million, “making it to the list of the wealthier pastors in South Africa.” Yates (2021) states that much of this wealth is derived from the church. McCauley has drawn negative attention and constructed as living a lavish lifestyle, or lifestyle of a millionaire – but McCauley compares his salary to that of a “medium-sized company executive” estimated at about R100,000 a month (van Rooyen, 2009).

Claims of McCauley’s wealth may be exaggerated but he is not moderate in economic stature. This is because McCauley once owned a 5-bedroomed house in Sandton, which he placed under the hammer (Eliseev, 2006). Described as “800m² of luxury,” the house was expected to fetch up to R10-million, *ibid.* McCauley placed the house under auction since he had decided to commute between Durban and Johannesburg, placing the church under “the pastoral and administrative team (which) is quite capable of running the day-to-day affairs of the church” (Eliseev, 2006). The McCauley couple spent several years flying between Durban and Johannesburg to lead services. They had bought a R6,5-million beachfront house in Durban (van Rooyen, 2009). Reportedly, the invitation sent to 100 of McCauley’s friends for his 60th birthday, including a plea to settle Ray McCauley’s debt so that he could enter his 60s debt free (van Rooyen, 2009). McCauley dismissed this, saying that his son had misused “the word that he misused as a young guy, I don’t think he ever will again: was the word ‘debt’” and exaggerated the extent of his debt (Tolsi, 2009).

The stability and growth of churches also comes from the management approaches undertaken. While neo-PCC have attracted positive attention for their phenomenal growth and wealth, the churches have also attracted criticism for their adoption of capitalistic management approaches of the church. In a 702 radio interview, McCauley defended why the church managed its finances akin to the principles of a profit-making or commercial business:

You run the church, financially, as a business. Because you’ve got a lot of finances to deal with. You have to have the right people in the right places to deal with it, to do the job that needs to be done. But the important fact is that first of all nobody owns anything of a non-profit organisation. ... And so, we run it very wisely for the sake of the people. **McCauley, 8 May 2020. 702 interview.**

While asserting that he would gain nothing from Rhema on his retirement and that the church has maintained financial health that has also benefitted people, McCauley (8 May 2020, 702 interview) acknowledges that there are people that take advantage of churchgoers for their financial benefit:

So, the day I leave Rhema, I walk out with whatever clothes I got on and that's it. I believe that there's been a lot of people that have been charlatans, that manipulate things and they try and con people and that. But I'd like to think that in 40-years we have done our best to stay stable, to deal with compassion and to extend our love for people. **McCauley, 8 May 2020. 702 interview.**

McCauley's international travels too, networks and competing on the global stage also produced his symbolic capital, that was critical in initiating Rhema, as evidenced by his travel to the US with his first wife to receive pastoral training there. McCauley was therefore able to successfully translate his secondary habitus, that is the skills and competencies derived from establishing and running a string of gymnasiums to the start-up and building up of Rhema. The secondary habitus is produced through education, professional and/or occupational fields, and is transplanted onto the primary habitus that is generated by the family, also a social structure or field (Asimaki and Koustourakis, 2014:126). This means that McCauley changed and moved from one social structure or field, gyms and body building, to the religious field which is church and preaching. He thus translated and transferred his secondary habitus of being a body builder and gym business owner to a new field³⁴ of Rhema, which is a church. his embodied internal compass of being a body builder and business owner, which guided the way he acts, felt, talked and thought was transferred to the neo-PCC religious field. Even though body building and gyms are different to a church, they both demand the discipline of the body and principles of running or governing an entity or organisation. Although therefore gyms and churches are different, they have the same habitus of embodied and organisational discipline. McCauley was able to generate a different set of dispositions by going to Bible college and enter the religious field, with, I argue, a refined set of dispositions into his religious habitus. As explained earlier, this is also illustrated by the previously cited quotation about his friend failing to attend Bible school.

Pastor McCauley's statement in one of his sermons in 2017:

We are never too old to dream. I have dreams still. [Amen]. I have dreams still. [Amen]. We have dreams still for this church. For this ministry. For this television ministry. For the extension services. We are starting new ones and we are going to continue to open new ones. [Amen]. Until we have people everywhere that come together as one to serve God.

³⁴ In relation to the habitus which is a system of dispositions (though governed by duration) which is an embodied internal compass that guides the way in which we act, feel, think and talk. Bourdieu argued that the primary habitus acquired from the field of the family was longer lasting, although different social environments in which different practices predominate can generate different systems of dispositions, and thus different habitus (Asimaki and Koustourakis, 2014:126-127).

What is important is that Rhema has reached a new cycle in its development, that the other two – Grace and Rivers are yet to reach. This is evidenced by two factors that are currently undergoing alteration and addition. The first relates to who the current head pastor of Rhema is. In 2022, Ray and Lyndie McCauley's son - Joshua McCauley was named as his successor as the head pastor of Rhema. This means that after 42-years, Ray McCauley transferred the leadership of Rhema through family ties. This shows that Rhema is mixing two forms of Weberian authority: traditional and rational legal authority. The Pastoral leadership is transferred to the son, akin to traditional authority, but the executive management of the church remains under the CEO as per rational legal authority model of modern society (Weber, 1946). Rhema's routinisation of its organisational structure according to both the traditional and rational legal authority, in which charisma of the original founder is being transferred to the next generation, as opposed to dying with the first charismatic leader challenges the expected linear transition from charismatic, traditional to rational legal authority.

Far more importantly is the circuit through which Rhema can maintain three forms of authority. This is taking place through inception story circuit, again. Joshua has inherited his father's church. To date, Grace and Rivers have been undertaking ongoing renovations or additions to their church infrastructure. Rhema has been doing the same thing, renovating a fallen roof, the aircon and so on (Mafunya, 2023). However, the McCauley second generation couple is undertaking major renovation of Rhema's physical and technological infrastructure. The second generation McCauley couple has thus undertaken to modernise the church, and build new sections on the large church site.

A short-video insert, by the second generation McCauley couple does three things. The first is that it informs and calls Rhema congregants to action in the major revamping of the church. It states the kinds of changes, water-feature by the chapel for weddings, a heated baptism pool over the lake, new décor for the church, etc. The couple calls upon the Rhema congregation to give to the legacy fund and modernise the church. A special page has been uploaded on Rhema's website called the 'Legacy Fund: Build again.' It states the intention to "upgrade the auditorium to the latest technology and standards (new aircon, staging, lighting, and upgraded seating and infrastructure)" (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 1 May 2023). The rebuilding of Rhema seeks to "create modern foyers that foster a culture of community and family (new coffee shops, bookstores, and merch areas, as well as welcome lounges and meeting spaces)." The upgrade is also intended for all kinds of church facilities, with new technology in all class and bigger outdoor play areas (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 1 May 2023).

To bring legitimacy to the couple calling for financial support, the video, as a second element, edifies the couple. It cites their experience in building and establishing a transnational church, thus illuminating the spiritual capital possessed by the couple. McCauley Snr. did not create a transnational

church (meaning a church with sites in multiple countries). It states their success with Redemption Church, Joshua established in 2013. This is Redemption Church which is located at Greenstone Mall. McCauley Jnr's Redemption has international ministries in the US, Europe, Africa and South East Asia. Third, this shows that in the post-apartheid era, South African neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega churches are branching into Asian countries, which pre-1994 mega-churches had previously not done.

McCauley's association in the neo-PCC field

McCauley says he is inspired by "a man called Reinhard Bonnke was a great inspiration. Billy Graham has been a great inspiration as a Christian statesman. And then my involvement with President Mandela was an inspiration. My dad also had a lot of influence" (Msimango, 2011).

While generating and accumulating neo-PC capital is important for leaders and mega churches, maintaining that accumulated capital is equally vital. This is because churches are always under threat of folding. As such the transference of accumulated capital within the neo-PCC field is a key practice. McCauley throughout his time and history as a prominent neo-PCC leader has been acutely aware of this. He created a voluntary domestic network of churches and membership-based organisations that he could lead and continues to lead. He is also the founder and former president of the IFCC, which he founded with Fred Robert and Nickie van der Westhuizen (Anderson, 1987:74). David Thebehali and Tim Salmon are also additional IFCC founders (Mathole, 2005:190). Thebehali was an Urban Bantu Council (UBC) chief and former mayor of Soweto during the 1980s, he also started Faithways Community Church that had 2,500 church members (Mathiane, 2005). The IFCC "is the largest association of Charismatic and new Pentecostal churches in the country" (Anderson, 2005:72).

The IFCC evolved out of Believers Ministers International (BMI), founded by Robert, van der Westhuizen, and Reinhardt Bonnke (Mathole, 2005:190). In 1986 the IFCC comprised 216 churches and 110,000 adherents, *ibid.* Lund (1988:33) asserts that the IFCC was formed "to campaign against economic sanctions against South Africa." Its organisational structure has a President, Deputy President, National and International Overseer, 11 regional coordinators nationwide, and four additional members" (Oosthuizen, 2013:89). It assists churches with "legal compliance and other forms of contextual support, including the provision of covering," *ibid.*

The IFCC continued to grow in the post-apartheid era, wherein by 1999 it had almost doubled to more than 400 churches (IFCC, 1999). Another important aspect of the IFCC was that it was deracialising its leadership and membership, thus deracialising the Pentecostal Charismatic field (McCauley, 1999). The Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) and the Full Gospel Church is a part of it today.

By 2022, McCauley was the senior pastor of Rhema Bible Church and Rhema Family Churches until he resigned and handed his church to his son: Joshua McCauley in the same year. In 2022, McCauley placed the executive leadership of the IFCC under At Boshoff, Don Phillips, Giet Khosa and Sono (Sono, 14 September 2022, Word Explosion, Day 1; Mudzuli, 2022). Furthermore, in 2009, McCauley had founded the National Interfaith Leadership Council (NILC), which, in 2011 merged with the state-initiated National Religious Leaders Forum (NRLF) to form National Interfaith Council of South Africa (NICSA) (Kgatlé, 2018). He is also the co-chair of the National Religious Council of South Africa (Sono, 14 September 2022, World Explosion, Day 1). He still co-chairs NICSA. Internationally, he has presented at “sold out evangelical shows at the Sydney Opera House and the Royal Albert Hall in London” (Tolsi, 2009). He has also written and published books such as: *Holy Spirit* (1999); *Our God is an Awesome God* (1994), *Choose This Day: 366 Devotions* (2013) *For Times Like These* (2001), *Bottle Line, the* (2005), *Expect More Living Your Vision, Holy Spirit* (1998), *Power and passion: fulfilling God’s destiny for the Nation* (1997), *Our God Reigns* (1991) (Thrift books website, accessed 21 March 2023).

McCauley has been active in the socio-political life of South Africa. For example, he was also the chaplain of the South African cricket team (Beresford, 2000). When the late Hansie Cronje, the former captain of the South African cricket team was found out to have been involved in match-fixing, McCauley, who was his spiritual adviser convinced him not to write a book about the story, even though Cronje was facing financial difficulties (IOL, 2000). His social activity in South Africa’s social sphere is wide. For example, in 2004, when nightclub killings took place where a bouncer was killed, McCauley stepped in, volunteering to mediate between the fighting bouncers, bosses and nightclub owners through a meeting with them and the South African Police Service (Schmidt, 2004).

McCauley’s social role is important as it lends credence to Verter’s (2003:157) argument about the limitation of Bourdieu’s view that religious capital. Bourdieu holds that religious capital circulates, is produced, accumulated, traded and consumed only within the closed religious system. Instead, McCauley uses his accumulated religious capital combined with his experience as a bouncer in Hillbrow to enter and mediate a field of conflicting agents: nightclub business owners and bouncers that are competing for money to mediate the conflict.

Furthermore, McCauley has been invited to many different social events. For example, he attended the 2012 annual general conference by the African Farmers’ Association of South Africa which was also attended the former President Jacob Zuma, Gauteng premier Nomvula Mokonyane, and minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries Tina Joemat-Pettersson. At the conference Zuma proposed five-plans to transform commercial agriculture and to support Black commercial farmers. At the event McCauley remarked that Eve (from the Bible) was the first farmer, attending to the apples and that

“God loves the farmer.” His charisma showed through because this remark was well-appreciated by the attendees (Vermaak, 2012). Joemat-Pettersson also praised Zuma, calling him a man of depth and the father of the nation.

Ultimately, McCauley holds significant religious authority. Much of the changes that have taken place in South Africa’s neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field owe themselves to his work and Rhema Bible Church. One young person at Grace Bible Church affectionately referred to him as “our spiritual granddaddy ... Pastor Ray McCauley!” (Grace Bible Church, 17 March 2019, Guidance through the inward witness: Part 2).

I greet you with Jesus’ joy ... and we have a great admiration and respect for your pastor, can we thank God for the lion of the house Ray McCauley, Amen? [Congregants clap] Oh you can do better than that! That’s a lion on the front row. [Hill gets louder] Hey! Glory to God! God bless the man of God. God bless you sir, we celebrate you [Congregants still clapping and making noise]. We salute you. [Congregants: Oooh] ... A legend in our time! We thank God for him. **Chris Hill, Crouching Tiger-Hidden Dragon CD-ROM.**

McCauley is a benefactor of the growth of global Pentecostalism through the third wave, the AICs and general importance of a field where mainline Protestant Churches and the Roman Catholic Church was socio-culturally important. While this is so, there are post-1994 neo-PCCs that were formed that credit their success to the work of McCauley and Rhema Bible Church. One of these is the mega-church called the Christian Revival Church (CRC). It was created by At Boshoff in 1994. The CRC website (accessed 02 January 2023) states, “with two morning services and one evening service, we have over 20,000 people in attendance per Sunday Celebration service at our three key CRC locations in Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Johannesburg, reaching more than 400,000 people locally and more than 7-million internationally through our TV broadcasts every week.”

In an act of trans-substantiating spiritual and religious capital, Boshoff credits McCauley with bringing churches to the forefront of rebuilding South Africa (Boshoff, 2 October 2018, Opening of CRC Dreamweek conference). To a screaming audience in response, including Mmusi Maimane and his wife,³⁵ Boshoff says:

My pastor ... who changed my life. Everybody knows I love him! One of the greatest men that this country has ever produced. And pre-94, when everyone thought it was normal to have

³⁵ During his sermon, McCauley said to Mmusi “Mmusi stay strong. You got a great wife. I tell you what, you got a great road ahead, you just stay strong in God” There were audible ‘Amen’s’ and applause from the audience to this statement.

segregation, whites over there and bBlack people over there, there was one person that began a message, a man that was courageous, the man that paid a price for every church in South Africa. That's why, while I'm alive and while I have breath I will honour and thank Pastor Ray McCauley for showing us the way! I wanna tell you it's much easier for us because of the path that he sets. So, I want us to give Pastor Ray the biggest love ... in Jesus' name! **At Boshoff 2 October 2018, CRC Dreamweek conference.**

Frahm-Arp (2010) also holds this view, as does McCauley himself. This is reflected in what McCauley tells a CRC physical audience in Pretoria of over 20,000 and *Daystar* Television audience³⁶ in America:

This looked impossible years ago (the thousands in the large auditorium). Church building this size was only in the imagination. We were one of the first to start. But I'll tell you what God said to me, don't get jealous when your influence on them, and your sons pass you. ... Now tonight I can get as mad as anything because you passed us (that CRC is able to draw the thousands of adherents to their annual conference). But I'll tell you, every person, every song, every single situation tonight, I've got a part in, Amen! And I rejoice in God, what he is doing. **McCauley 2 October 2018, CRC Dreamweek conference.**

Thus, while Rhema had little impact on the Black community in the 1980s, this has significantly changed in the post-1994 era as "the majority of the thousands of congregants are Black and the same change is evident in the staff contingent of the Rhema Bible Church in Randburg," (Balcomb, 2004:15-19).

About Grace Bible Church

Grace Bible Church International, headquartered in Pimville-Soweto, a middle-class township created under apartheid is another phenomenal story of success. Grace is "the largest single Christian congregation in Soweto" (Anderson, 2005:78). In 2005, Mathole placed the mega-church's adult membership at 11,000 and children at 1,500 (2005:282). It is also one of South Africa's most popular mega-churches (Motseke and Mazibuko, 2013; Frahm-Arp, 2015) in the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic and Christian field. It was started by Mosa Sono, who, like McCauley is among South Africa's most recognisable leaders of the Pentecostal Charismatics. Another indicator of Grace's success is that over

³⁶ CRC had partnered with Daystar Television to broadcast the conference to audiences across the world. Boshoff stated that Daystar was the biggest Christian television network in the world represented in over 200 countries worldwide. The network owners Marcus and Joni Lamb were physically present in the conference.

Easter weekends, it hosts its services at Orlando Stadium in Soweto and attracts over 54,000 people over the 3-day Easter weekend.

Sono originally wanted to become a teacher, but had a “supernatural call from God” (Sono, 2022). Sono says “I can truly say I received a supernatural call from God and responded to it” (Milazi, 2015). He describes this calling as “winning people to Christ, bringing believers to full maturity in their walk with God, training, raising and mentoring leaders in the church, corporate sector and community” (Milazi, 2015). He approximates his calling to ministry as a way of still fulfilling his teaching dream, saying “if you look up the biblical meaning of a preacher, it is a teacher.”

Growing up, Sono attended the Dutch Reformed Church where he was a Sunday school teacher and “was evangelically oriented by the Youth Alive” ministry founded by Caesar Molebatsi in Soweto (Anderson, 2005; Resane, 2021:66). He was introduced to the Youth Alive Ministry by his sister (Anderson, 2005). Sono is unique from McCauley and Olivier as he became born-again at an early age as he was 17 years-old and in his final year of High School and because he comes from a classical Pentecostal church environment (Milazi, 2015; Sono, 2022b). A tweet from Sono’s *Twitter* page states that when he was 18-years old he “got filled with the Holy Spirit with the evidence of speaking in tongues” and that he “received this spiritual gift on 4 July 1979.” This happened at the Apostolic Faith Mission, which he had joined after the Dutch Reformed Church (Anderson, 2005). Commonly, neo-PCCs are started by married and heterosexual couples, as is the case with McCauley and Olivier. But Sono is distinguished from this characteristic, as he became a pastor at the young age of 22 and that he was single at the time, only marrying at the age of 29 (Sono, 12 May 2016, *SABC2* interview).

By 2023, Sono had been leading Grace for 40 years. The age at which Sono started Grace Bible Church is important. This is because when Sono indicates the year at which he was baptised and became a Pastor, he is explaining a Bordieuan concept of the accumulation of cultural capital. Bourdieu specifies that the accumulation of capital requires an investment of time. Thus, being led into ministry and gaining baptism in the Holy Spirit at a young age is used as a mark of distinction among neo-PCC leaders, which neo-PCC founder-leaders highlight in their inception stories. It helps to anchor the leader and makes them more legitimate on account of having taken up the life of ministry at an early age and on account of having been involved in the field for many decades, as well as having left the ‘worldly’ aspects sooner than others.

Many Pentecostal Charismatics tell of a story of personal crisis that sparks their journey of faith as part of their inception story. Like McCauley and Olivier who felt unfulfilled in their lives and/or experienced personal crisis, Sono says that he “was suicidal as a teenager and felt that life was empty and had no meaning. I had an inward dissatisfaction that could not be fulfilled” (Milazi, 2015). But Sono comes from a stable and loving home and his sense of teenage discontentment emanates from the

socio-political context (Sono, 28 June 2022, the integrity of God’s word). He is born to a mom who was a “house executive” and a father that was a teacher and has 5 siblings (Sono, 28 June 2022, the integrity of God’s word). He comes from a Black middle-class home. Sono describes his parents as strict, saying that his mom ran a tidy and organised home; and his father was a disciplinarian that did not tolerate bad behaviour (e.g., smoking).³⁷ He says “I don’t remember one day going hungry or not having money, allowance for food at school, even though my parent’s household ran on a single income from a teacher” (Sono, 28 June 2022, the integrity of God’s Word).

Grace: growing towards mega-church status

By 2018 Grace had created 23 family churches (Frahm-Arp, 2018:259). By 2022, Sono declared that the church had reached the 60 family churches of the 1,000-churches goal that Grace is currently pursuing (Sono, 39 years of Grace 2022). With 21-church buildings (Grace *Facebook* page, Hendricks, 12 October 2019), Grace has a membership of 30,000 in Gauteng, Limpopo, Eastern Cape and Free State provinces (Mokete, 2020). Sono’s *Twitter* page which is managed by Grace’s marketing team reports that it has “71 branches.”³⁸ The goal of 1,000-churches is anchored by Sono’s charismatic leadership, in the Weberian sense. Indeed, Anderson (2005:78) states that Sono is a charismatic leader that is “making a particular impact in the large urban Black townships of SA.”

Grace Bible Church’s annual report (2016:46) states “despite the depressed global economic climate the Church income increased by 11% relative to the previous comparative period. PRAISE GOD FOR THE PROVISION!” Grace (2016:45) stated that for the 2016 financial year it had no leverage and no borrowings. It reported its financial performance as:

Table 16: Grace Bible Church Financial Performance, 2016.

Income streams	2015	2016
Bookshop	827 445	1 581 898
Bible and computer school	188 595	147 930
Building fund	2 128 209	2 752 979
Tithes and offerings	54 333 317	60 373 911
Donations	300 000	252 748

³⁷ Sono relates that when he was about 14 or 15 years old, he took up smoking with a friend, hunting unfinished cigarettes, taking the remaining tobacco and making a cigarette for themselves. One Thursday, laundry day at his home, his mother found one rolled up cigarette he’d forgotten in his school pants and confronted him on his return from school. She told him not to do it again and he begged her not to tell his father, who might have physically punished him (28 June 2022, the integrity of God’s word).

³⁸ It is important to note that Frahm-Arp (2018:122) has previously reported that Sono’s *Twitter* account was “personally” run by him.

Table 17: Grace: Number of branches & buildings

City /Town	Branches	Buildings
Pimville	8	2
Midrand	8	2
Carltonville	6	2
Vereeniging	8	1
Protea Glen	10	1
Vanderbijlpark	6	3
Brakpan	7	5
Cape Town	4	2
Polokwane	2	2
Centurion	1	1
Ruimsig	1	1
Port Elizabeth	1	1

Source: Compiled from Grace Bible Church *Facebook* and *Instagram* page

Common to the Christian field across the world, and owing to the segregationist colonial and apartheid practice and laws, and among all Pentecostal Charismatic movements in South Africa, is the practice of planting an “outreach” church, or a township-based church that serves Black adherents. In line with this, about three years after establishing Rhema, McCauley formed Rhema in Soweto as an outreach church in 1982, and because of apartheid laws this made it a Black and township church. McCauley appointed Andra’e and Edana Knoetsee as the leaders of Rhema Soweto. Of this history, Sono says:

It was planted way back in the early 80s by pastor Ray McCauley who had sent a young pastor into the township- 1978, 1980, by the name of Andra’e Knoetsee. It was called Rhema church.
Sono, 31 March 2022, *PowerFM* interview.

The McCauley’s attempt at running a church and establishing branches of Rhema were thwarted by the political resistance to apartheid that created political instability in South Africa. The political instability was characterised by periods of protest and unrest, so that by 1985 apartheid president P.W. Botha instituted a nationwide state of emergency. Thus, although Sono describes the early years of Grace under apartheid as the “rough period” of the church, the struggle against apartheid taking place in South African society, catapults Sono into establishing Grace as a new church that he becomes independently in charge of and builds to mega-church status.

From the foregoing history therefore, Grace shares the duality in its formation that Lund (1988) ascribes to Rhema. This is because it is simultaneously a break-away and indigenous church, as in it is a South African created church (Lund, 1988). Because Grace subsequently developed its unique

organisational structure, statement of faith and is financially independent, I also see it as an autonomous neo-PCC too. Anderson (1992) agrees. He defines Grace as an Independent African Pentecostal church, based on his triad-typology of South African Pentecostal Charismatic Churches. The other two are the Pentecostal mission churches/ classical Pentecostal churches and indigenous Pentecostal-type churches (see Chapter 1 and 3). Thus, taking from Lund's (1988) and Anderson's (1992) characterisation, and notwithstanding its germination from Rhema, the McCauley's and the Knoetzee's, I treat Grace as an autonomous neo-PCC started by Pastor, now Bishop Mosa Sono.

According to Frahm-Arp (2010:94-95) "the church met on Sunday in the Jabavu Community Hall in White City, Soweto. In 1983, with the heightened political unrest, Rhema pulled out of Soweto. Sono says they were "instructed not to use the (Rhema) name any longer" and that Rhema also withdrew "financial support" to them (Sono, 31 March 2022, *PowerFM* interview; Resane, 2021). This is detailed on the Grace Bible Church webpage under the title "handing over and rough periods" (Grace webpage, accessed 21 March 2023). As a result of the political instability, the fledgling church of just over a hundred members was handed to Moso [sic] Sono" (Frahm-Arp, 2010:95). Mavis Hall was the first place where Sunday services were held, and David Thebehali, helped to secure the venue for Rhema and the Knoetzees (Frahm-Arp, 2010). This illustrates that Rhema was better able to negotiate church premises under apartheid South Africa, than Black preachers were.

The difficulties of building a church for Black people, that are brought on by the multiple socio-political difficulties of apartheid is described by Mathole, a Bishop at Grace, in his Doctoral thesis. One of these is that when Grace lost Mavis Hall, it lost its stability and "just became a pilgrim church moving from one bad situation to an even worse one" (Mathole, 2005:2). He says "conducting ministry at the height of apartheid was hard in Soweto, since we were not only confronted with the issues of poverty, but also of injustice, police brutality, educational disruptions, and a long list of other societal problems," *ibid.*

Sono is pragmatically cautious about how he crafts the exit of Rhema, and political and racial issues causing this exit. He carefully crafts his experiences of race and racism. I say that he is pragmatically cautious about how he explains his experiences of racism because when he speaks about why the Knoetzees left Soweto in the *PowerFM* interview, he does not ascribe this to the political conflict arising out of the challenge of apartheid in the country. This may very well be a tactical approach where Sono, as a neo-PC mega-church founder-leader is selective about what he says to which audience. This is because in a sermon that he gave to a church where he was invited to preach in 2022, Sono was candid about the racism he experienced working at Rhema in the early 1980s.

Sono relates that when he was working at Rhema he experienced racism. He says "back then it was very racist. Whites- makgoa then didn't know my name, they'd call me out, I was the lowest of the

lowest, scum of the earth. Ke mo mosebetsing (while I was at work) they'd call me names, they'd say all kinds of things." Enduring through and overcoming racism as a young Black pastor later becomes a compelling force in his inception story.

And then in 1982, I was assigned to come and assist as an associate pastor. At the time, I was working at Rhema in the bookshop and I was also in (Rhema) Bible school, and they asked me to come and assist pastor Andre, together with my friend, who's since passed. And then Andra'e Knoetzee in 1983 ... felt he wanted to explore different types of ministry, and so I was appointed to then become the pastor, with the acknowledgement and blessing of Pastor Ray McCauley. I was 22 years at the time. And when I took over the church, because of my age, we lost lots of people. [Chuckles]. **Sono, 31 March 2022. *PowerFM*.**

Sono explains that when he took over, the church was no longer able to use Mavis Hall, and so it moved to Isaacson Higher Primary School on 18 September 1983. In 1984, the church moved again to a church called Church of the Holy Ghost which met on Saturdays, thus enabling Grace to use the venue on Sundays (Mathole, 2005:2; Sono, 31 March 2022, *PowerFM* interview). Critically, this illustrates the intersecting alliances sometimes formed between Pentecostal and Zionist churches in the townships during apartheid. By the end of 1985, two-years after re-establishing, the church grew from 35 to 300 members (Sono, 31 March 2022, *PowerFM* interview).

As Frahm-Arp (2010:95) puts it Sono took over a "fledgling church." Sono says that the first offering came to "R120 ... (I was) counting the cents and ... whatever, everything (every type of coin was put in) there." Sono says that he was not paid a salary for three years, and that as his payment, his congregants used to say "God bless you." By about 1986, he started earning R300 per month (Sono, 2022b). This is because after Rhema North exited, the church membership declined from over 100 to 35 (Sono, 4 September 2022, 39-years of Grace). Sono provides two reasons for this decline: his youthful age and the venue-changes resulting from the loss of the use of Mavis Hall for Sunday services:

Well, I was young, and I think there were other people who were at Bible school who were in training who felt that they should be the ones to lead the church. It's always a problem. Well, there were those who did leave (older members of the congregation). We had like 15 students from Bible school, I remember, and 14 of them resigned with immediate effect [Laughs]. **Sono, 31 March 2022. *PowerFM*.**

... A week or so thereafter (after Sono took leadership of the church), we were told that we can't continue fellowshiping in the venue (Mavis Hall) we were using. So, you know when you move, any change you make, you lose on the way. So, we moved to a school hall and then we were left with 35 people, and that's where I started. **Sono, 31 March 2022. *PowerFM*.**

Two germane points arise from Sono's statement above. The first relates to the Rhema's Bible College. The first McCauley couple, in founding Rhema Church, were conscious of founding an associated Bible training college alongside it. As such Rhema Bible College was founded at the same time as the church, with Lyndie McCauley as its vice president. This indicates, at least, that Rhema as a white-led church of the 1980s, followed a triple-pronged strategy of church growth. One was establishing Rhema offshoots in Black communities, training black pastors and evangelising in communities. This strategy was also followed by mission churches seeking to grow, who trained Black teachers, evangelists and even clergy "to augment the small band of white missionaries" (Cobley, 1987:147). For example, unlike Lake during his tenure at AFM in the early 1900s, "Congregationalists had a three-year course at Lovedale ... and Methodists required one year study" for African preachers (Burpeau, 2004:126). This is apparent in the deployment of the Knoetzees to Soweto, and the attendance by 15 Bible school trainees from this newly established church of Rhema Bible College.

A second important point is also that the AFM had started offering training through Bible school, which Sono attended in Soshanguve in 1980, Pretoria for about a year, but did not find it to his liking as it he found it centralised structure and the "apartheid practiced there" (Anderson, 2005:78). This is why Sono tells in his inception stories, that he attended two Bible schools, the first being AFM, which his father paid the fees for, and the second being Rhema Bible college, for which he paid the fees himself, using his salary from working in the Rhema bookshop and wholesale department (Sono, 28 June 2022, the integrity of God's Word; Anderson, 2005). Sono completed a 2 year diploma from Rhema Bible College. A third point that is apparent from Sono's statement that Rhema's Bible College was an open avenue for social mobility for Blacks during the apartheid period in the way that some of the post-school education institutions in Johannesburg were not adequately accessible. The Rhema strategy of church growth was to train Black pastors in the townships and to set up Rhema outreach churches in the township (Morran and Schlemmer, 1984). It also indicates that charismatic churches thus became attractive to Black men seeking to go into ministry, thus competing with MPCs and also providing an alternative from AICs and MPCs.

Another move was to Hlengiwe Secondary School that had been burnt down "during the student upheavals in White City Jabavu" in 1983, and the classrooms "had roofs without walls, since the sides were destroyed" (Mathole, 2005:2). In 1986, the church made it fourth move to Homemakers Festival Grounds where it stayed from June 1986 to 2001. This was it rented venue and by then Grace had reached a congregation of 300 (Sono, 4 September 2022, 39-years of Grace; Dickow, 2012). According to Sono, was the Homemakers Festival Grounds the longest stay before the church purchased and built its church, and so the pilgrimage abated for a while. Between 1985 and 2001, the church grew from 300 members to 2,500 members (Sono, 4 September 2022, 39-years of Grace).

For administrative management, Grace was run from the Sono home's car garage. Mathole (2005:2) says that it was "shared by four staff members" and "also served as a storeroom for household goods that could not be accommodated in the house." "This was my small beginning in the ministry in an ill-equipped 'garage office' in the township of Soweto" (Mathole, 2005:2). The church moved from the garage office to the Dube shopping centre (Grace Bible Church website, accessed 27 April 2023).

Sono recognises that building a church required cultural competence: the skills and information received from formal training. Having lost 14 of the 15 people at Bible school, Sono is frank that he was young and the only person in the church that had received any type of training for building and running a church. He says he was "the only person from Bible school" and that "had a semblance of what is [was] to run a church" (Sono, 31 March 2022, *PowerFM*). An additional compelling of Sono's early experiences in ministry relates to the fact that he says he grew up in a street smart Soweto township, where community and family members found his aspiration for ministry unappealing and would disparage him. He says that extended community and family members sought to discourage him saying that his journey of faith and ministry would not last, and that he should do something else (Sono, 28 June 2022, the integrity of God's word). While his primary habitus was unsupportive of his new church, those in Pentecostal field supported him, including Ray McCauley, Dr Elijah Maswanganyi and Hurisani Mthembi from the Apostolic Faith Mission.

At the Homemakers grounds, one of the most phenomenal aspects of Grace's growth was the number of children attending the church service each Sunday. Sono (31 March 2022, *PowerFM*) says that the church used an adjacent school to run the children's services that used to have about 1,000 children. He asserts that Grace had more children on Sunday than the school next to it had during the week. Sono asserts that adding new ministries, supported by training "leaders" was a key strategy for the growth of Grace. He says that he was aware that as the church grew, it would "need more leaders" as the ministry could not solely revolve around him. In a sermon titled 'Our God, a builder (Part 1)' Sono crafts the training of leaders as a strategy that not only enhanced church growth, but one that also made Grace reach another phase in which the church began to train pastors. He says that the demand for the training grew as "bazalwane (ne) setse ba batla ntho tse," meaning that born-again members started wanting the training. He stated that the church thus needed to draw in and "have other people just as capable (as him), if not more capable." Thus, he undertook "to train more leaders" while also getting his hands "dirty" as a leader. He recalls that when the church

started... we had to set up the chairs, bring in the sound system and that's where I learned that you know ministry involves work, you have to roll up your sleeves, you cannot be this all-important person that cannot kneel down and clean. Most of all, as a pastor, you have to model

all this. I was there with the people, cleaning, working with my wife side by side. **Sono, 31 March 2022, *PowerFM*.**

Sono believes that the period at Homemakers represents one where if I was talking about brands then “that’s where I think we became a brand. ... that’s where we became established as a church.” Establishment as a church followed the strategy of developing the administrative aspect of the church, through the creation of different departments such as the community outreach and mission departments. Changes to Grace’s organisational structure have continued. Resane (2021:72) says that over time, the ecclesiastical structure of Grace has shifted from “a typical synodical or congregational polity to Episcopalian polity titles such as pastor or evangelist.” In 2019, the church adopted an episcopal ecclesiastical structure, forming a Bishops’ Council comprising Bishops, overseers and ministers. In this change, Sono became ‘Bishop’ and Gege, his wife became ‘Overseer,’ the latter is, however, affectionately referred to as ‘Ma-Bishop’ by the entire church (Grace Bible Church, accessed 21 March 2023).

Sono always emphasises that Grace’s church growth was spurred by the church’s focus on young people and the high rates of youth membership. Perhaps this is also because he was a young pastor himself when he led Grace at inception. He states that the church introduced “youth meetings, camps and banquets” and that this enabled the emergence of leaders among the youth members of his church. He also states that the church increased its “focus on family teachings and activities,” and it is these changes that gave him confidence that the church was becoming well established.

Visiting Believers Bible Church in Randburg, in a sermon titled ‘the integrity of God’s Word’ Sono stated that it took Grace 19-years to get their own church building, while congratulating Believers Bible Church, as a young church for getting its own church far quicker than Grace (Sono 28 June 2022, the integrity of God’s Word). He shared that the success of Grace in building its church campus had been a long and arduous journey, which he says was a “very difficult circumstance.” Sono related that it had been “hard” particularly in winter, when it “would be so cold people would come literally in their pyjamas underneath their suits and dresses. Yeah. ... Wearing blankets.” He says that “when it rained ... we would open umbrellas in (inside the) church. Yes, yes, it was very hard, very hard. Very. We did stay the course through it all” (Sono, 28 June 2022, the integrity of God’s Word).

Grateful if there’s one word I can use, grateful very, very grateful. Grateful that God is true to His word. Whatever vision God gives anybody, it will be fulfilled, it may just be a matter of time. It makes feel that teamwork is the greatest thing you can ever have, because that was a product of teamwork. But it also makes me feel that it doesn’t matter what background you are born in, doesn’t matter if you didn’t have certain privileges, if you’re willing to stick it out, your vision will be realised. **Sono, 4 September 2022, 39-years of Grace.**

This is important as it illustrates the fortitude and overcoming of difficult circumstances that Sono as the leader of the church, and his congregation went through. So that, when he speaks about the ability to get through difficult circumstances, the possibility for social mobility, it is evidenced by this experience. This inception story matches the socioeconomic background within which Grace resides, and it also indicates why Sono does not preach the Prosperity Gospel (Anderson, 2005). He prefers to build the behaviours that lead to upward social mobility. Thus Sono explains that he “preached so hard” during the difficult times as if “nothing (was) bothering” him (Sono, 12 May 2016, *SABC2* interview). He says he was inspired by the gradual growth the church was making and that as “the church was becoming strong, I became more determined,” *ibid*.

Sono expresses that he is glad that he was unmarried during the early and difficult period of building Grace Bible Church. He relates that he lived at his parents’ home and as such did not have any expenses such having to buy food, and other household costs. He says that his father taught him the value of saving, and that he used to make himself a peanut butter sandwich for lunch at work every day as he was saving to pay for lobola. Sono also related a story in which he had obtained a 100% woollen jacket from the clothes that Rhema church was giving to charity while he was attending Bible School and working in Rhema’s wholesale / filing department (Sono, 28 June 2022, the integrity of God’s Word). Thus, like McCauley and the Oliviers, Sono was enabled by his middle-class habitus and capital to build the church.

Sono explains that when he decided to get married, his congregation “didn’t know the person I was getting married to.” He relates that “when they were introduced to Mma Gege some were okay” (Sono, 12 May 2016, *SABC2* interview). However, there were members of the congregation that did not treat his wife well. He says that “I don’t think anyone gets prepared for that kind of treatment. And certainly, for me, inexperienced husband, I’ve never been married before, and I didn’t know, I thought Christian people would be fairly nice from day one. In the beginning it was very difficult for my wife. And of course, it created some challenges between me and her, and you know and so on, but we worked it out” (Sono, 12 May 2016, *SABC2* interview).

In 2023, the Grace Bible Church website placed the biography of Gege Sono alongside Mosa Sono’s on its website. The biography follows the same pattern of highlighting the spiritual capital of Gege Sono. It states that she too “accepted Christ” at an early age of 17 years and “has been following Him since.” Like Mosa, Gege is from Rockville a middle-class township in Soweto. She has a degree in Public Administration from the University of Bophuthatswana (now University of the North West). She worked for the former Bophuthatswana government as an internal auditor. The biography states that she “spearheaded” a soup kitchen that provides meals to “community members who did not have the means to provide meals for themselves.” It describes her as a stern leader with a mission to “stand

in the gap for those that she loves ... for the children of God's Kingdom." She is also described as a fun-loving person with a value for family (Grace Bible Church website, accessed 21 March 2023).

In the objectified state, spiritual capital "takes the form of material and symbolic commodities – votive objects, exegetical texts, and ritual vestments, as well as theologies, ideologies, and theodicies." Embodied and objective capital are distinguished by the form of consumption that takes place, where embodied cultural capital is "measured by acts of consumption" and "objective capital is measured by the goods consumed" (Verter, 2003:159). Verter also emphasises that Bourdieu notes that capital in the objective state is largely dependent upon embodied capital, and that one must possess the technical expertise to properly consume or appropriate these objects, texts, and vestments.

Proper consumption in the religious field implies knowing the operations through which sacred objects release their power. But religious commodities may have a fetish value even for consumers who lack the technical abilities required to implement these objects toward the purpose for which they were manufactured (Verter, 2003:159).

Sono and Mathole have used the Grace inception story to produce the congregational habitus. Mathole, speaking at a Grace business seminar demonstrates the technical expertise needed in consuming or appropriating the inception story as an object. In so doing, he simultaneously crafts a position of what "proper consumption" of spiritual capital in the neo-PCC field should look like, in fact ending up speaking against or contradicting the tendency to fetishise the neo-PCC disposition of knowing the Bible well and citing popular Pentecostalist Bible verses. Furthermore, this illustrates one way in which the inception story becomes part of the habitus. Importantly, while it structures the congregational habitus, it can also be used as a disciplining tool of the congregation. This was apparent in Mathole's business seminar at the 2018 Grace Bible Church annual conference called Word Explosion. He exclaimed: "Bishop (Sono) had to go from a church of 35-people ... He didn't start with a thousand members!" He describes the disposition among Grace adherents to *khafula* (spit out) Bible verses out of context. He says that congregants quote Psalm 23 and pray in tongues when they are confronted with little or insignificant challenges. In his reprimand, Mathole described how congregants cite Psalm 23 for fear of getting a fine for an expired car disc or because other congregants are gossiping about them. He declared that when David wrote Psalm 23 he was facing life threatening danger, having to fight off a lion, a bear and Goliath.

Thina sikhafula ama-scripture (We spit out scriptures/verses) out of context! [Laughter]. When David was reading Psalm 23 he was fighting Goliath ... [a] bear, he was fighting the lion! Wena nje! (You, on the other hand!) Otennwe ke mزالwane wako Grace (A fellow Grace congregant has irritated you). [Laughter] Bahleba ngawe [laughter] (They're gossiping about you). Oso quota Psalm 23 (You then start quoting Psalm 23) 'the shadow of death.' There's no valley! Or

shadow of death! [Laughter]. **Mathole, 8 October 2018. Business Seminar: Word Explosion (personal notes).**

Sono states that Grace is going to “build more churches.”

I am trying to say this, to say this to you, that as a member of this church you, our story is your story! By God’s grace we could start where we started, where we are and where we continue to go by the grace of God, means no matter where you are, no matter what your level is, wisdom will take you to higher heights! Some of you missed a good place to shout Amen there! I said I am speaking a word of prophecy to some of you. **Sono, 5 May 2019. The seven pillars of Wisdom-Prudence sermon.**

Get organised spiritually. Do a simple thing: pray every day. ... Attend regularly. Don’t be a weather Christian. [Laughter]. Some of you, your Christianity only survives when the weather is good. Once the weather can change, it just takes rain for you to say ‘haai angiyi esontweni namhlanje.’ (No, I am not going to church today) [Laughter]. **Sono, 23 January 2017. Making your vision come true: Part 3.**

Sono’s association in the neo-PCC field

Involvement and leadership within the neo-PCC field is an indicator of success. Arguably, the ability to transition or hold leadership positions within South Africa’s broader Christian field – outside of the neo-PCC field – indicates greater success. Sono has been able to achieve both, as he holds several leadership positions within the neo-PCC and broader Christian field. Sono has ministered on international stages and audiences of up to 80,000. He is a national executive committee (NEC) member (elected member) of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), with Anglican Church of Southern Africa’s archbishop Thabo Mokgoba is the president and Ethiopian Episcopal Church’s Bishop Malusi Mpumlwana is the general secretary. The other two members of the NEC are Advocate Palesa Ncholo and Mahadi Buthelezi from the Anglican and Catholic churches, respectively (SACC website, accessed 19 November 2022). The SACC NEC meets four times a year and manages the council’s finances, appoints the general secretary, sub-committees and determines their delegation powers and duties. It also oversees the development and implementation of programmes and assists in fundraising. It aims to foster good relationships within the Christian community (SACC website, accessed 19 November 2022).

Sono was also the vice president of the IFCC which he joined in 1996 when the federation was deracialising. After joining, Grace Bible Church became the “largest Black church in the IFCC” (Anderson and Pillay, 1997:237). Sono had been invited to join the IFCC in 1989, but declined, and

only joined after the departure of what Anderson (2005:80) calls white “conservative” evangelicals associated with the Hatfield charismatic network. When declining the invitation, Sono stated that he wanted to prioritise the saving of Sowetan souls and the building up of pastorship in Soweto. This reflects a distancing posture of aspects within the neo-PCC field by Sono. His distancing posture was apparent at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings held at Rhema Bible Church in 1999. McCauley gave a speech, apologising for the apathetic view taken by the South African Pentecostal and evangelical community, which he confessed had hidden behind “so-called spirituality and ignored the stark reality of the dark events of the apartheid age” (IFCC, 1999:1).

Following McCauley’s statement, Dr Johannes Mjogo Ngema, a member of the TRC panel asked how Rhema Bible Church would, as a restitutive act, support churches in Black communities that had experienced difficulty in obtaining worship sites in the township during apartheid. McCauley deferred the response to Sono, asking him to answer by describing the changes and future support plans that the IFCC had made. Sono was frank in his response. He explained that aspirant church leaders in Black communities continued struggle to obtain “land” for the building of churches. Sono added that while Grace Bible Church continued to confront financial challenges, the IFCC had assisted by connecting the church with “the right people” (IFCC, 1999:8). Sono explained that before participating in the IFCC network, his church “didn’t have connections with the right people ... and (the) IFCC has come in to put us in contact with the right people,” *ibid.* He also explained that when “necessary” the IFCC would “stand in as (financial) guarantors” and attest to the capability of Black run churches in the township to repay loans awarded to them (IFCC, 1999:8). In the Bordieuan sense, this suggests that the IFCC opened itself up to Black churches by offering social capital that should have enabled Black township-based churches to obtain credit from South Africa’s big banks. But, as Sono has stated, his church could not secure a loan from the big banks, and instead was able to gain the finance to build the church through the internal social capital of the Grace congregation. The build-up of Grace’s congregational social capital emerged out of the growth and emergence of the Black middle class in post-apartheid South Africa. This is evident in that a Grace congregant referred the church to a private financier.

Furthermore, Sono was recently tasked with leading the task team to develop a code of conduct for religious organisations, under the directive of the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL), a Constitutional body (see Chapter 6). Sono was also a member of the “multi-Sectoral Advisory Committee on social behaviour regarding COVID-19 that gives advice to the South African government” (Grace Bible Church webpage, accessed 21 March 2023).

Sono's profile on the continent is growing. This is indicated by Grace’s interaction with some African mega-church leaders that were invited to Grace Bible Church. This illustrates the growing

success of the church as it is increasingly gaining recognition from the broader African neo-PCC field. This is evidenced by a video uploaded on 6 December 2019 by Zimbabwean digital content creator for a variety of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches, Oudney Patsika, shows just over 7 minutes where Ezekiel Guti is on a visit to Grace Bible Church where he is “honoured” (Patsika, 2019). The special event was titled ‘honouring gospel veterans.’ The service also honoured Stanley Ndovie of Malawi who reportedly created 1,000 churches all over the world.

In the honouring of gospel veterans, Grace sought to recognise and honour Ezekiel Guti “for his dedicated service to the work of the Kingdom of God” (Patsika, 2019). Archbishop Ezekiel Guti started the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA) in 1959. Guti was originally part of South Africa’s Apostolic Faith Mission until 1959 when he was “expelled together with a small band of followers after disagreements with white missionaries” (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2005:393). ZAOGA is a formidable transnational business enterprise (Maxwell, 2006). It is one of the largest Southern African churches with an estimated membership of over 600,000.

A voice over insert was prepared at the service and it gave an edifying biographical statement about Guti. At the service, Guti’s biographical statement acts more as a success devise than an inception devise. It describes Guti as an accomplished, award winning erudite that is also a “humble servant of God” that also holds a “Doctor of Ministry and a PhD in religion” (Grace Bible Church, 6 December 2019, Apostle Ezekiel Guti honoured at Grace Bible Church led by Bishop Mosa Sono in Soweto). It cites the awards he has received for his work. It centres him as the founder of “the largest and fastest growing Pentecostal church in the southern and central region of southern Africa called Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa forward in faith ministries international,” *ibid*. It establishes him as the guru on the neo-PCC field in Southern Africa, stating that his “seven decades” of ministry has seen “him raise thousands of churches around the globe” and that he “oversees thousands of pastors and evangelists.” It credits him for establishing “several multinational Bible Schools in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia, Ghana” (Grace Bible Church, 6 December 2019, Apostle Ezekiel Guti honoured at Grace Bible Church led by Bishop Mosa Sono in Soweto). The Bible Schools offer in-person and online classes “where lay leaders are equipped to do the work of the ministry” around the globe.

An elderly and frail Guti sat and listened to the statement being read out while seeming a bit restless. He was flanked by numerous Black elderly men in Christian garb, who seemed equally restless. Present among them was Frank Chikane, and Giet Khosa, former CEO of Rhema Bible Church and

founding pastor of Khosa Ministries.³⁹ Guti, the “humble servant of God with unmistakable marks of apostleship on him” rose from his seat to walk onto the podium and receive his award. Sono took Guti’s hand and lead him to the podium where he briefly presented him with the award. On this award Guti said:

Thank you. Thank you. I don’t have much to say. Just to— My prayer (is) that all the young leaders [turns to Sono, who is still on the stage and intently listening] to have a spirit in you— humility [Sono nods]. And my prayer is this Bible church here will support you! The vision! I see it! There is a vision in you! [Yes!] [Sono lifts up his hands]. I see it! But the church have to support you, to stand with you. It is just my ask, if the church continues to pray for Bishop Mosa Sono. I am so happy. **(Grace Bible Church, 6 December 2019, Apostle Ezekiel Guti honoured at Grace Bible Church led by Bishop Mosa Sono in Soweto).**

Guti also gave a prayer of blessing that invoked the unity for Grace Bible church, and he called on the Grace congregation to stand behind Sono. Marriage is valued within the neo-PCC habitus. This was also apparent in the manner in which Guti interacted with the leadership of Grace. Affirming Gege, Guti called for Gege Sono to join them on the stage so that he could pray for them together. Accompanied by light background singing and instrument, Guti addressed Sono, declaring that Sono needed Gege in order to keep the church together: “you need her to stand together.” He then addressed Gege instructing and imploring her “You have to stand with him. Support him. All the vision in him so that many, many people in the world can be blessed.” The Sono’s knelt and Guti stood over them, placed a hand on each of their heads and prayed in tongues and in English (Grace Bible Church, 6 December 2019, Apostle Ezekiel Guti honoured at Grace Bible Church led by Bishop Mosa Sono in Soweto).

Besides the importance of supportive married couples for the effective functioning of mega-churches as is apparent above, Guti plainly asserts that Sono had gained sufficient spiritual capital to earn a visit from him. Guti stated that

I don’t know how much you have prayed. Because I have been invited to so many places like this, I never go, I send somebody. But you! [Sono is visibly thrilled]. [applause]. You are the only one. I don’t know how you have prayed for me to be able to be here [Yes]. **Grace Bible Church, 6 December 2019, Apostle Ezekiel Guti honoured at Grace Bible Church led by**

³⁹ Khosa had resigned from Rhema to form a new Rhema Families neo-PCC in 2020 just before the outbreak of COVID-19. The new neo-PCC goes by the name World Changers Church.

Bishop Mosa Sono in Soweto.

Guti also called on Sono to “remain that humble spirit, humility.” Keeping with the common practice of the Pentecostal habitus where increased blessings are promised and declared, Guti proclaimed that “God will continue to bless you. And God is gonna do more through you” to which Sono responded by raising his hands and embracing Guti, while the congregation applauded (Grace Bible Church, 6 December 2019, Apostle Ezekiel Guti honoured at Grace Bible Church led by Bishop Mosa Sono in Soweto).

Guti explained that “I know this young man, with—many, many years ago, with my friend Ray McCauley.” This statement shows the social capital that McCauley has transferred to Sono. Despite the racism that Sono experienced while working at Rhema Bible Church, the material and social capital gained through working at Rhema and McCauley has been a great part of his rise in the neo-PCC field. Sono extends great respect to McCauley and has repeatedly ascribed his success to McCauley as well.

About Rivers Church

Based in Sandton, one of South Africa’s wealthy suburbs, Rivers church is another successful neo-PC mega-church. Mbele (2014) characterises Rivers as one of South Africa’s wealthiest charismatic churches. While the church attracts adherents across the class line, Rivers is an upper-middle class mega-church. Up until 2016, Rivers had grown phenomenally, but unlike Rhema and Grace it had done so away from media attention and popularity. On 8 November 2022, international speaker Dr Samuel R. Chand visited Rivers and delivered a sermon titled ‘So what does a Pastor do?’ In this sermon Chand began by edifying the Oliviers, stating the financial worth of their church and how they had transitioned it from a loss-making entity and built it into a ‘profitable’ church:

So, 30-years, started with 70-people, thousands now. Had an income at that time (1992) of R18,000 a month with bills of R22,000. How many of you know when your outgo exceeds income (then) your upkeep becomes your downfall? But that didn’t happen here. Now this great church runs R380-million of property. I want you to understand what R380 is. Three – eight – zero and six zeros after that! How many of you know one decimal before the zero can change your life? And here we are, miracle after miracle. **Sam Chand, 8 November 2022. So what does a pastor do?**

At the beginning of the church, Rivers was more established than Rhema and Grace, evidenced by a large and existing congregation, and by its monthly income and expenditure, as reflected by Chand above. The church’s affluence is evidenced by that by 2022, Rivers held a church property portfolio

valued of R380-million (Chand, 8 November 2022. So what does a pastor do?). More amazing is that in 2016, Rivers received a “miracle offering” of R18-million (Whittles, 2017).

In a 30-year celebration message posted on *YouTube* on 6 November 2022, Tumisho Masha, a South African actor that is best known for his role on *Generations* narrates Rivers’ inception story. In the 30-year message, a long-standing Rivers adherent says “we got the news that a couple from Cape Town were coming in to become our new pastors” (Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30-Year Celebration Video). The couple was Wilma and André Olivier who were sent to Sandton to take over an existing and “mostly white” congregation of 70 people, an initiation church size that is higher than Rhema’s 13 people and Grace’s 35 people. The church was “mostly white” because “it was a different time” (Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30-Year Celebration Video).

The couple being sent from Cape Town illustrates that Rivers, as a Sandton-based local church called Sandton Assemblies of God was part of a national network of other neo-PCCs and thus embedded within the national neo-PCC field. This means that it is a breakaway neo-PCC, but also indigenous.

In the post-COVID-19 period, Rivers Church website (accessed 21 March 2023) states that the church has over 15,000 members in Sandton, Kyalami, Centurion, Durban North and Ballito. These are middle to high-income suburbs in the KwaZulu Natal and Gauteng provinces. In contrast to Rhema and Grace, Rivers does not have any congregations or outreach sites in any South African township. However, on the *Amazon* website (accessed 21 March 2023) where a biography of André Olivier is posted along his books states that Rivers has “an outreach campus in Basel, Switzerland.” This shows that like Rhema under the leadership of Joshua McCauley, Rivers is also branching into the Nordic area that South African mega-churches had previously not done during apartheid.

In edifying the Olivier couple, the inception story in the about section on the Rivers Church website (accessed 28 May 2021) credits the Olivier couple with “growing the church from just 70-people into a church of thousands.” It states that the Oliviers “are responsible for the vision, values and culture of the multi-campus church.” Rivers further describes itself as “a dynamic church that offers inspirational, practical and motivational Bible teaching for people of all ages, races and socio-economic backgrounds.” It also describes itself as a “Christ-centred church that preaches the truth about Jesus in a fresh, illustrative and creative way.” WhittleS (2017) characterises Rivers as a mega-church that is focused on the abilities and progress Prosperity Gospel, while Frahm-Arp (2018:8) validly describes it as a church where its “pastor talks about ‘creative wisdom for wealth creation,’” given the findings herein.

Olivier’s *Amazon* biography where he sells his books also edifies him, profiling him as a successful businessman. It declares that before Olivier “entered into ministry in 1983, (he) had been working

successfully at rapidly growing a business” (*Amazon* website, accessed 21 March 2023). The Oliviers had a leather goods factory that also made shoes, which they left to lead Rivers (Olivier, 2008; Mulugeta, 2010; Mbele, 2014). Two similarities to Rhema and Grace are apparent. First, McCauley, Sono and Olivier share the characteristic of entering into ministry in the 1980s period of charismatic revival in South Africa. Second, the Olivier couple is comparable to the Rhema’s first McCauley couple, as the men had built economic capital from running businesses. This helped them to launch and build their mega-churches. Besides being a former business owner, André is a certified life coach (Rivers Church website, accessed 21 March 2023).

The *Amazon* biography also describes André Olivier as a successful senior pastor of “a large, fast-growing and contemporary church,” and an international speaker and author of “several inspiring books, covering topics such as breakthrough, excellence and money.” It states that “his ministry is based on the practical and biblical application of truth in family, church and business environments and his strengths include helping people to step out and succeed.” It ends by saying that he is “married to Wilma; they have three children and four grandchildren.” Lasting marriages are part of the spiritual capital in the neo-PCC field and can affect the neo-PCC congregational habitus (see Chapter 7). So, like the Sono couple, the Oliviers have been married for decades. They celebrated 50-years of marriage in 2023. Kritzinger (2017) and Hendricks (2019:155) say that André Olivier was a military conscript in the South African Defence Force (SADF), which is the apartheid military. Importantly, André Oliviers’ *Amazon* biography and the posting of Grace’s inception story on a tourist website evidence that the founder-leaders of mega-churches use multiple platforms to tell their winning stories and market themselves.

Mbele (2014) refers to the Olivier couple as “self-proclaimed former hippies.” In her book *Small beginnings* (2008), Wilma Olivier writes that the couple “tested various forms of faith and drugs such as LSD until they turned their lives around” (Mbele, 2014). Wilma Olivier (2008) writes “we used to take drugs and were part of this whole hippie generation.” Like Ray McCauley, the Olivier couple broke with a past of drug use. These are aspects that make them relatable to their congregants, which they deploy to encourage their congregants and to neo-Pentecostalise them (see Chapter 7).

An important point of silence is present in the Rivers inception story. The inception story, as per the 30-years of Rivers message and the *Amazon* biography state when André Olivier “entered ministry” but does not say where he was trained or who ordained him, thus omitting the credential aspect of spiritual capital (Verter, 2003). Despite a projection of credentialization that would project an image of embodied religious knowledge and competence, the Rivers message frames André as a visionary leader. Its efficacy takes place through the use of the voice of Rivers’ congregants. It details the success of Rivers as a result of André’s masterful and visionary leadership. It outlines the multiple changes that

he introduced in the church while inspiring trust in the new congregation on his vision. Thus, despite the congregation having “no idea what was coming. From day one, it was clear that Pastor André had a clear vision for where we were headed. And that we were going to make a difference” (Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30-Year Celebration Video).

The church has an advisory board chaired by André Olivier, comprising staff and some business leaders, which is appointed annually, it also determines the salary of the Oliviers. The senior pastors do not have signatory power for purchases (Rivers Church website, accessed 21 March 2023). Rivers does not state the exact number of part and full time staff that it has. There is a business manager and executive pastor at Rivers. The business manager is Shaun Lewarne, and he describes his job as non-Pastoral and administration focused. He deals with HR, finances, the opening of new campuses, hiring of new team members, IT and he leads the audiovisual team. Lewarne states that his work entails rolling “out the vision of the lead pastors. ... They have a vision and my primary goal is to make sure that that happens” (Leading Second Podcast, 9 August 2022). The executive Pastor is Kogi Nareen and she supports the lead pastors (i.e.: the Oliviers). Nareen’s executive pastor job entails taking care of all ministry issues and oversight over the 5 Rivers campuses and training “our people for the platform” (Leading Second Podcast, 9 August 2022). She also runs events, marketing, media, and the TV ministry. She says “I think on staff it is difficult to put a description to your role. ... because when you are on (the) staff team it literally is ‘whenever, whatever’ and we (are) here to serve. As much as there are titles and roles, I’m like ‘whatever you need.’ We get to serve them (the senior pastors)” (Leading Second Podcast, 9 August 2022).

Becoming a mega-church

André introduced several changes: he changed the name from Sandton Assemblies of God to Rivers of Joy, cut down trees around the church property, increased the number of seats and painted the church building bright orange, which one adherent says made them “affectionately” refer to the church as Nandos because “it was just so bright out there!” (Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30 Year Celebration Video). Infrastructurally, Sandton Assemblies of God resembled a traditional church, as it had bench-like pews and the pulpit was traditional too. This and the billboard the church put up to indicate its presence in Sandton and the bright colour of the church “got people to know that we were there and more people (started) coming” (Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30 Year Celebration Video). Adding more seats was both an important indicator of growth and an accommodation for growth.

The inception story adds authenticity by stating two challenges. It says that while the church gained new members on account of these changes, still “not everyone was happy with the changes and many left” and that “there were delays along the way and we all had to make sacrifices, with offsite parking,

long queues and lots of traffic. But finally we made the move into our new auditorium at the end of 2004” (Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30 Year Celebration Video). But this addition allows for an unconscious element of a feat, where, even with those that left, that did not hamper the growth the church, as it was “amazing” with “people ... giving their lives to Jesus.” New adherents were “partnering (and) being baptised.” Like Grace, Rivers’ church growth strategy also involved the creation and launching of new ministries, including the men’s and women’s ministries. The church was a “bit rowdy” with the moving of chairs around to allow for energetic worship in which congregants “did a lot of dancing ...” and turning around, *ibid*.

I remember we did a lot of dancing. Our songs had a lot of moves. So, we turned around and marched in that direction and back again. But our worship was fantastic and after every service we used take time to reset chairs. **Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30 Year Celebration Video.**

Ten-years later in 2002, the church space felt “crammed” and the church “auditorium was bursting at the seams.” The first approach to accommodate the growing church numbers was to have overflow areas (like Grace). Similar to mission Pentecostal churches, and the 1980s revival moment in which Bonnke had large tents, a “white tent was erected,” but that too became too small. Guti’s Assemblies of God in Zimbabwe also erected tents in Zimbabwean towns, cities and rural areas as a mechanism of Pentecostal evangelisation (Maxwell, 2006:77). Like Grace, Rivers’ growth phase is characterised by a need to set up the physical space as some of it did not have permanent fixtures yet, like benches and seats. As a result, Rivers congregants had to “squeeze (in) as many plastic white chairs into the little white tent as possible” (Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30 Year Celebration Video). As a harbinger of the digitisation that the mega-church would undergo, the tent had a “boxed TV inside” for adherents to watch the service from, *ibid*.

Rhema, Grace and Rivers share the experience of growing church membership. But for Rivers, the church is unique as it was not nomadic, having to move from its original premise, but did a great deal of building on the land. Like Rhema and Grace, Rivers bought and built the church over time, as bits of land around the church were bought over time (Mbele, 2014). Olivier drove the vision of building an auditorium with 1,000 seating capacity. The church “purchased the piece of land next” to it and began building the auditorium. Olivier uses the growth aspect of Rivers’ inception story to edify himself and Wilma’s spiritual capital. In a sermon titled Praying for special favours, which is the same title of a book he has written (see below), Olivier says as the church grew, he and Wilma should have been satisfied with the 1,000 auditorium and with the five to six services that they were running on Sundays. Instead: “we went to God and asked for a special favour of more land and a bigger building and through that God opened up for us the 3,000 seat auditorium that we now have in our Sandton campus. We’ve

learnt how to pray for special favours.” Saying “we’ve learnt how to pray for special favours” indicates the accumulation of embodied spiritual capital by the Oliviers.

Another unique feature of Rivers is being able to affect change in the physical environment surrounding it. The church successfully applied to the City of Johannesburg to have Middle Road widened because of the traffic caused during church time.

André always has more vision than we can understand. And you know one day he just told us: ‘if we wanna have a small transition with the multiple services and the people coming in and out, we are gonna have to do something to help ourselves.’ So that’s when he actually decided that we are going to widen Middle Road. Not only did help the church but it helped the community at large. **Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30 Year Celebration Video.**

Like DCLM in Lagos (Katsaura, 2022), these developments illustrate that Rhema, Grace and Rivers have established a strong socio-spatial presence in their localities. Ukah (2016:525) sees the entrepreneurial religion of neo-PCCs as the “capacity to trigger development by directing the flow of finance capital through large-scale estate investment.” It is “the creative deployment of neoliberal practices such as the privileging of profit, the integration of business and market logic with evangelism and doing God’s work” (Ukah, 2016:525). “Millennial capitalism” is the capacity to generate (economic) value “through less tangible means” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2012:66-77), while in Bourdieu’s terms it is the conversion of a spiritual capital into material capital such as church property, technology and investments.

The affluence of Rivers church is also indicated by its elite consumption. The 30 year message says that Rivers launched its second campus and “we chartered a plane and we all descended on Durban to play a part in the Rivers services at Durban North” (Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30 Year Celebration Video). As the church was being built, there was a service outside at a time when the foundation and some walls had been erected, and the church served adherents Magnum Ice Cream. Other forms of elite consumption include manicures at the *Sisters* conference, *PlayStation* at the Kid’s church and the billboard. Chapter 6 details Rivers’ production system. The Kids church offers age-appropriate activities and toys. Mbele (2014) states that the Kids’ Church costed R30 million and has an “electronic tagging system for parents and their children.” It also has plain clothed guards on the premises. Besides the Playstation, there are arts and crafts, and crayons,” *ibid*.

Importantly, the expansion of Rivers to KZN has given the Oliviers an opportunity to appoint their son as the lead pastor of the Ballito campus. While Adrian Olivier is leading Ballito church, he is not the successor of André, in the sense that Joshua is to Ray McCauley. However, this does indicate a mixing of the Weberian traditional and rational legal authorities, as argued above.

Rivers: overcoming racism

An important feature of Rivers' inception story is that it sprouts from the split of the original church fractured by racial tension. At its inception in 1992 and as a start-up neo-PCC, Rivers Church entered the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field when multiracialism had accelerated as a social and political force and norm.

In a sermon titled 'Seizing our God-given opportunities' Olivier says that "God ... sent us to Sandton" as a Godly intervention. He frames their arrival in Sandton as a counterattack strategy within a conflict situation arising from racial tension (Olivier, 20 September 2022). He says that their arrival in Sandton resulted from the racial fallout within the original church and that God used them as a "counterattack strategy" to address racial conflict, *ibid.*

Rivers emerges at a time when South Africa was in the process of political change. The habitus is "an embodied internal compass, as a system of dispositions" that "guides the way in which we act, feel, think and talk" (Asimaki and Koustourakis, 2014:125). As the 1990s began signalling the demise of apartheid and a racialised polity, this meant that the segregated racial organisation of churches, the '*net vir blankes*: for Europeans only' (Sundkler, 1948; Kruss, 1985:9) that was part of the white congregational habitus was being confronted with change. As apartheid was being challenged and collapsing, white-only congregations had to contend with worshipping with South Africans of all races. The Oliviers are thus catapulted into establishing Rivers because of the deracialisation impetus that was taking place in the 1990s Christian field. Other churches like Rhema had already begun to accept all South African races in their churches, as the racially exclusive *habiti* were being challenged throughout South Africa.

Bourdieu explains that positions and tendencies, i.e., dispositions can alter through time. He explains that as social subjects obtain new experiences, however, dispositions also remain durable. This means that dispositions that are internalised, embodied and deeply impacted can resist change. Thus, "if the objective conditions in the social field, change, and the habitus of the individual cannot adopt, it may present 'hysteresis,' where categories of thought, perception and evaluation and assessment correspond to a past situation or time." The habitus can produce contradiction. This means that people may behave inappropriately, that their responses may be unsuitable and that they may keep practices that are outdated and do not correspond to present situations or contexts in the social field (Asimaki and Koustourakis, 2014:126).

Thus, in the Sandton Assemblies of God the internalised disposition of a whites-only congregation became the source of tension and conflict resulting in the church splitting into two. Some of the white people were not ready for that shift of racial inclusion, meaning that they were still attached to a waning

habitus. Bourdieu also describes this the misrecognition of a habitus (Asimaki and Koustourakis, 2014:126). This is illustrated by a racialised Pentecostal Charismatic habitus that was becoming incongruent with the new period wherein a new habitus of racial inclusion was emerging. The congregants that were resistant to change, whom Olivier (20 September 2022, seizing our God-given opportunities) calls “racist” split the church and “moved down the road” to build another church. These findings also align with Hyslop’s (2003:290) analysis, where he states that white identity at the end of apartheid was characterised by fragmentation, rather than unity. Hyslop explains that while racist thinking remained widespread in the 1990s, “race was an issue that divided whites, not one that united them” (2003:231). Class-wise, a multi-racial attitude among white upper and middle classes was driven by a desire to identify as globalised consumers, *ibid*, thus indicating how South Africa’s ascension into the global community affected racial attitudes at a local level.

Because religious fields are a product of their history, struggle in the field emerges. Thus, the Pentecostal Charismatic network in which the original church was a part responded by sending a couple that would deracialise the congregational habitus. A racialised Christian field was accepted but change was slow to take effect. Olivier Olivier (20 September 2022, seizing our God-given opportunities) explains that the remaining congregants “were unhappy.” This shows the central argument of the thesis that the neo-PCC habitus is one that also assisted in transitioning South Africans on the emerging deracialising political, cultural and economic fields. Rivers states that “a whole new generation started filling our seats. And we began to reflect the rainbow nation as people of all colours and background were finding hope and purpose under pastor André’s ministry” (Rivers, 6 November 2022. Rivers Church 30 Year Celebration Video). By establishing a multiracial habitus, Rivers offered congregants a way of understanding and being part of the new South Africa. One long-standing adherent says she “comes from apartheid” but “never lived in hate.” She found the multiracial nature of Rivers a place like home: “this is exactly where I grew up!” and that as a result she was “still here (at Rivers) today,” *ibid*.

Still in the sermon titled ‘seizing our God-given opportunities’ and to resounding applause Olivier (20 September 2022) says that “they wondered why I was sent, was I the last resort? But it was a God-given opportunity and I saw it.” Olivier thus combines the success of the inception story with the rebuilding of the church-attendance in the post-COVID-19 period (this is when South Africans didn’t have to wear masks anymore) to demonstrate his success:

Let me encourage you with this: we worked and we’ve laboured and from 70 people–, from 70 people in 1992, we then had one campus, now we’ve got 5 campuses. [Wow] And my encouraging word to you today is that before lockdown, we had 14–, 15,000 in church on our five campuses. Last

weekend we had eleven and half thousand. So, we are rebuilding. **Olivier, 20 September 2022.**
Sermon: Seizing our God-given opportunities.

Besides selling his books through the Rivers website, Olivier sells his books on *Amazon*. There are nine titles listed: *Don't turn, Let God turn it* (2020), *12 things that undermine our success* (2015); *Embracing a volunteer spirit* (2011); *Becoming a person of excellence* (2016); *The power of intentional living: living intentionally or living accidentally. You decide!* (2020) *Principles of business success* (2012), *Keeping hope alive* (2021), *Finding a way to win* (2014) and *Building strong families: biblical principles for successful families* (2014). In an act of heightening his spiritual capital, during a sermon titled 'Managing disasters on the road to destiny' Olivier said he "believed" that *Becoming a person of excellence* was "holy ghost authored" (20 August 2017).

Olivier's association in the neo-PCC field

In 2016, mega-church founder André Olivier would be catapulted into national controversy, so that it would be impossible to conduct a *Google* search of the church and its leaders without coming across numerous articles about the controversy. This has had an important bearing on how Rivers' leaders and in particular André participate in the South African neo-PCC field. Rivers and the Oliviers' had already undergone a shift in their relationship with the Pentecostal network from which they sprung. They had already changed the name of Rivers and dissociated it the church from the Assemblies of God network which the original church was a part of (Mulugeta, 2010). Similarly, the Durban Christian Centre (DCC) is a mega-church founded by Fred Roberts in Durban has roots in the Full Gospel Church but it evolved to adopt independent charismatic views (James, 2007:15).

Olivier developed a specific posture of interaction within the domestic and international neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field. Rivers chose to nurture a transnational relationship with another international mega-church. In 2014 during a Sunday service backed by the light sound of a strumming guitar, with Wilma beaming beside him, Olivier announced that Rivers had been invited to and accepted to be part of Hillsong Churches. Hillsong is an Australian based mega-church (French and Adler, 2021). The Hillsong Church website's 'About' section states that the mega-church was founded in 1983 by Brian and Bobbie Houston in "the western suburbs of Sydney-Australia" (Hillsong Church website, accessed 1 May 2021). As network of non-denominational churches (Whites, 2017), Hillsong has "churches in city centres in 30 countries around the world. The church has an average global attendance of 150,000 weekly," *ibid*. This makes Hillsong a transnational neo-PCC network.

Olivier started by saying he and Wilma have had a "close association" and "friendship" with the senior Pastors of Hillsong: Bobbie and Brian for over 20 years (Olivier 11 April 2014, Rivers Church Hillsong Announcement). Through their association, Brian celebrated the 20th anniversary of Rivers

with the church. Olivier explained that Hillsong had a hierarchised two-tier based network. One was the Hillsong network, to which Rivers “had belonged.” He described the Hillsong network as a subscription fee paying network which gave the church subscribers “CDs, we get information, we get materials, we meet at a lunch when we go to a conference. Brian speaks to us. We get input. We have access to some of their staff. We can ask questions, some have travelled here and given us input. And any church in the world with any ties to Hillsong can pay subscription and belong to the Hillsong network. They are like friends of Hillsong” (Olivier 11 April 2014, Rivers Church Hillsong Announcement).

Olivier then described another tier relationship where “only by invitation, you can’t apply to it” a church can be part of the “Hillsong family.” He said “where once we were just friends with many other thousands of churches, they’ve called us up to another level of churches” because Hillsong “recognise(d) ... that their DNA and our DNA is very similar. And they want people like us to be close (to) them.” The family network he explained would only start with “30 churches” from around the world that had been “invited ... to belong to this tier.” He explained that Rivers would remain autonomous, but belong to the Hillsong family, allowing Rivers church leaders “access to all the insight, wisdom, resources.” He stated that Rivers would “be included (in) the advertising that they do across the world, and it will give us great benefit.” He saw the Hillsong association as “a tremendous opportunity of influence and of input! And it can only help us” where Rivers and Hillsong would “collaborate on various projects around the world” (Olivier 11 April 2014, Rivers Church Hillsong Announcement).

In a one and half minute promotional production video, the Rivers Church Durban North *Facebook* page has the senior pastors of Hillsong Church, Brian and Bobbie Houston giving an “encouraging message” to Rivers Church (Rivers Church Durban North. 8 December 2015). Brian Houston says:

I love South Africa. And I love South Africans. And I think there is a softness towards the things of God. And it’s a right brand. It’s a harvest brand. And of course, like most of the world there is a lot of unknowns ... in Africa, ... South Africa ... (and) globally. And so, in the middle of all of that you know I think the people are hungry. And if we as a church just keep reaching, keep scratching where people are reaching, then I say there is no telling what God can do. **Rivers Church Durban North. 8 December 2015.**

The promotional production video ends with ‘a Rivers Church production.’ The video is titled ‘hey church – check out this encouraging message from Ps Brian and Bobbie Houston (of Hillsong Church) for all of us at Rivers Church! Great reminder as the year comes to an end to keep our focus and leaning in, keep stretching and Growing with a conviction for God. #LifeByDesign #FinishWell #FullSteamAhead’ (Rivers Church Durban North. 8 December 2015).

Rivers had to dissociate itself from the transnational Hillsong neo-PCC field. Like McCauley's IFCC and the Hillsong Houston networks, Olivier has established an independent network of Pentecostal Charismatic Churches. The Oliviers have created what they call 'Rivers Network' which they describe as "an avenue" to share with others "what they have learnt and thereby encourage others to grow to their full potential" (Rivers church website, accessed 27 April 2023). It is a mechanism of social capital. The Rivers website states that the Rivers Network which is neither denominational nor a movement is created as a response to the demand for information and teaching from Rivers. The mega-church describes its network as a response to the "increasing number of requests from pastors and leaders" that wanted to "promote the local church and help leaders to become as effective and relevant as they can be in reaching the lost and seeing the community impacted" (Rivers church website, accessed 27 April 2023). It is thus a non-exclusive association that, like the Hillsong network, offers church leaders "helpful advice on church management, ministry effectiveness and leadership," based largely on André and Wilma's knowledge of effectively growing churches (Rivers church website, accessed 27 April 2023). Another similarity with the Hillsong network is that the Rivers network's other benefits include discounts to Rivers Church events, books, special events with André as the lead speaker. These include what is called "Network lunches" which aim to give members a chance "to enjoy fellowship while connecting you to like-minded leaders." Additional Rivers network benefits, hierarchised to create exclusivity like Hillsong, include reserved seats and "access to a special guest lounge where (members) can connect with other senior Rivers Network members." Access to "any other staff members of the Rivers Network churches wishing to attend are eligible for a 10% discount." André is positioned as a key resource offering one-on-one teaching to other church leaders (Rivers Church website, accessed 27 April 2023).

Political Postures of megachurch leaders

The manner in which neo-PCC leaders use their spiritual and religious capital in the Christian and neo-PCC fields and society broadly, is not mechanical, accidental or disinterested. The use and definition of their spiritual and religious capital is apparent in terms of the broader societal associations that they forge and labour to maintain. Economic, social, cultural or symbolic capital is valued and comparatively scarce, as such the leaders of the mega-churches compete for all types of capital, including neo-Pentecostal Charismatic capital as a quest for "power and legitimation within the social fields in which they find themselves" (Guest, 2007:6). On the other hand, Rivers was part of the international Hillsong Family network, until 2020. It was notable however, that in the early years of these white churches until the 1990s, little effort was made to develop links with Black churches, and South African Black leaders were seldom, if ever, invited to speak at inter-church conferences. Later, churches began to invite black speakers from outside the country, but in the case of Hatfield this was for 'mission conferences' only, and (Anderson, 2005:76).

All three churches espouse a multi-racial identity. However, they frame their political involvement and commentary differently. The nature of the multi-cultural and racial identity of the neo-PCC is apparent in the statements made on apartheid by the church leaders; these also point to the socio-political identity of the church. Importantly, the socio-political identity, commentary, activities and involvement of the neo-PCCs is not static and has changed over time, in terms of either content or emphasis. That is, whereas Rhema plays a part in spaces where there are political party agents, government ministers and the president as well as other church leaders, the lead pastors of Rivers Church do not participate. This can be seen through the National Day of Prayer in 2019 – organised through the Motsepe Foundation.

Sometimes people wanna give up on you, don't let them create your world. Don't let them dictate what your world. Stand strong. Mmusi you stand strong! Amen! You got a great wife, I'll tell you what, you got a great road ahead of you. Just stay strong. God Bless you. You see we want the security of know what the future will bring rather than risk trusting God as the unknown future gradually unfolds before us. **McCauley 2 October 2018, CRC Dreamweek conference.**

Rossouw (2009) claims that the NILC was closely associated with former President Zuma. McCauley disputed that the NILC was an ANC and Zuma aligned interfaith group of religions leaders (Rossouw, 2009). Rossouw (i.e: 2009) describes Zuma's visit to Rhema as controversial: "McCauley controversially gave Zuma an exclusive platform to speak in his Johannesburg church during the ANC's election campaign this year (2009)." Duncan and Egan (2019:20) report that when the NILC was formed in 2009, the SACC was not involved. The formation of the NILC, an interfaith body intended to advise and aid government in the delivery of social services was seen as more pliant than SACC, which took a "critical engagement" posture to the ANC and government, *ibid*. In August 2009, the NILC had met with Zuma and "pledged its support in helping the government to deal with service delivery protests" (Rossouw, 2009). In the year of its formation, then general secretary of the SACC Eddie Makue had opined that "the purpose of the NILC was unclear to the religious fraternity." The SACC had not joined as it had issues with the founding document of the NILC (Duncan and Egan, 2019).

The NILC overshadowed the IFCC for some time, however, the IFCC's website states that its leadership is now focused on rebuilding the association.

I adapt Balcomb's (2004) criteria of reviewing the political posture of evangelicals – formulating these as engaged, alternatively engaged or disengaged, critical or supportive of government and democracy. Engaged and disengaged refers to the lack of a public voice on government and its policy. For example, taking of interviews to comment to a policy or writing up and submitting a position of the church on a policy or public issue. Alternatively disengaged refers to the use of other mechanisms of public voice- like starting a platform or paper to engage the public through. Critical means constructive

disagreement, while supportive is agreement. The table below summarises the political postures of the mega-church founder-leaders in this study.

Table 18: McCauley, Sono and Olivier political posture

Political posture	McCauley & Rhema	Sono & Grace	Olivier & Rivers
Pre-1994 relationship with apartheid	Disengaged, then engaged and critical of apartheid (Part of the Rustenburg declaration)	Critical of apartheid and engaged through socio-religious youth formation.	Engaged as a former military conscript (SADF) then disengaged while focusing on business building, then church building and critical of racism.
Post-1994	Engaged and supportive of government and democracy from 1994 (e.g.: leader of Government created association of inter-faith leaders (NILC). Appears on the public sphere alongside many government leaders. Has acted as a mediator between conflicting political party leaders. Allowed Presidents Mandela, Zuma and Ramaphosa to visit and engage the Rhema congregation, allowed Rhema campus to be a	Engaged and supportive of government and democracy from 1994. Pragmatically supportive and constructively critical of government and political leaders (e.g.: member of Government created association of inter-faith leaders (NILC). Appears on the public sphere alongside many government leaders. Has allowed President Ramaphosa, deputy President Mashatile and Gauteng Premier Lesufi to visit and engage the Rhema	Supportive of democracy, alternatively engaged. Critically disengaged. Does to participate in public discourse. Launched new network through to form alliances.

	COVID-19 vaccination site). Then critical of government and some leaders in terms of corruption and state capture (e.g.: participated in the authoring of discussion and position by Civic society leaders on state capture lead by 'Save South Africa.' Hosted the event / seminar at Rhema). Then critical of some government policy (e.g.: same sex marriage, CRL recommendations). Critical public voice: Speaks and writes about ethical leadership, criticizes corruption, lawlessness (e.g.: state capture and the against the burning of infrastructure by students during the fees must fall protests in opinion pieces in a national newspaper).	congregation. Allowed Grace campus to be a COVID-19 vaccination site). Has acted as an advisor to Presidency on COVID-19, participated in national prayer day in 2019. Has mediated service delivery protests between government and community members in Soweto). Then critical of government and some leaders in terms of corruption and state capture (e.g.: participated in the 'Save South Africa' march against state capture. Participated in the authoring of discussion and position by Civic society leaders on state capture lead by Save South Africa). Critical public voice: appears on interviews critical of some of government's decisions (e.g. church raids and closures,	
--	--	---	--

		state capture). Spoken against COVID-19 regulations in 2022.	
		Involved in rebuilding the IFCC which was overtaken by the NILC.	

Source: Own formulation

Conclusion: self-stylised symbolic capital

In conclusion, taken together, these inception stories show that neo-PCCs were an avenue of upward social mobility for both Black and white people in apartheid South Africa. Mega-churches and their founder-leaders post their inception stories on multiple platforms to tell their winning stories and market themselves. It is apparent in the type of participation that mega-church founders participate what their socio-political posture is. Their associations and participation reflect how they use all forms of the capital that they possess, and how they use such capitals as a form of struggle against others in the neo-Pentecostal field, social sphere or networks broadly. Furthermore because “local and national religious fields are embedded in transnational religious fields, and actors’ experiences in local and national fields can be considered in conjunction with transnational religious fields” (McKinnon et al., 2013:357) this points to, though tentatively to their existing and emerging continental and global status.

The inception stories of the neo-PC mega-churches are an important devise for the production of institutional and embodied religious and spiritual capital. Stark and Finke (2000:120) define religious capital as “the degree of mastery of and attachment to a particular religious culture.” On the other hand, Verter’s (2003) Bordieuan approach defines spiritual capital as the “religious knowledge, competencies and preferences” that one gains and accumulates. The inception stories reflect that a crucial element for neo-Pentecostal Charismatic movement, is the capacity to *trans-substantiate*, which is the exchange and transfer of spiritual capital within religious fields and across differentiated fields. I argue that, without the trans-substantiation capability, neo-Pentecostal Charismatics ‘glocal’ success would be significantly limited.

Inception stories are all well-told stories, that feature very standardised elements in the story-line. This means that there is rarely deviation from what is said about how each neo-PCC started. It is largely the same text. As such, the same story line, and the way in which the facts of the inception story are crafted get generally repeated in scholarly work, in various interviews, articles in the media, and when the mega-church leaders give appearances at other events.

As founder pastors of mega-churches, McCauley, Sono and Olivier are edified by other pastors that they associate with. Similarly, these founder pastors also edify pastors that they look up to. For example, in 2022 Sono stated that the annual conference titled ‘Word Explosion’ held by Grace must always be opened by McCauley. McCauley, Sono and Olivier draw and highlight their personal success in building the mega-church. They heighten their religious and spiritual capital by referring to the social and economic capital that they have been able to, “led by the Lord” accumulate.

It is important for the success of any neo-PCC that the religious leader and leaders be seen as legitimate Godly authorities, or ‘man of God’ that are “called,” “anointed” and ‘gifted.’ More than that, it is important that their actual and potential adherents, their competitors in the religious and neo-PCC fields and the state or government sees them as successfully Pentecostalist – they should have stable personal and family lives, healthy bodies and minds, and be financially well-off or stable; as well as overflowing with King Solomon’s wisdom. Many of the neo-PCC lead pastors of mega-churches use different strategies to legitimise and give to themselves religious and spiritual authority and legitimacy.

This chapter focused on the composition of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field (neo-PC field) and the broader South African Christian field. It detailed each neo-PCCs’ church inception story and capital as part of this sub-field and field; showing how each neo-PCC played a dual role within the neo-PCC field as a sub-field of the South Africa’s Christian field. Rhema and McCauley have transnational links, which boost and build its symbolic capital that McCauley as its leader translates into political capital. The same is done by Sono, however, Olivier transubstantiates the symbolic capital held by himself as a mega-church leader and the success of his church to build, boost and strengthen his international links, with America and Australia being his current focus. This indicates a different location of Olivier and Rivers within the domestic neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field, which is affected by the history and socio-political character of South Africa, similarly with Sono and McCauley. Capital is an important feature of this chapter. The ways in which the historical character, formation and emergence of the Christian field affects, influences and shapes the contemporary neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field were detailed in this chapter, with a directed focus of identifying and highlighting the important ways in which the Christian field and neo-PC field affect each other and the South African social formation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Generating a digitised prosperity habitus

Introduction

First, this chapter identifies the key driving forces for the development or creation of the neo-PCC habitus. Second, the chapter reviews how each neo-PCC creates and structures its habitus, which is the structuring structure or socialising agent within the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field, that ultimately produces the content and character of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field. Similarly, Katsaura (2022:3) defines “the Pentecostal habitus as Pentecostalist subjectivity – acquired through sustained exposure to Pentecostalism.” In reviewing the differences or unique features of each neo-PCCs habitus, the chapter finds little differentiation in the strategies or mechanisms used, and their directed purposes. The three mega-churches thus broadly share similar structuring mechanisms or strategies for the creation of their church habitus. The conclusion, in tandem with the preceding chapter, is that it is the detail therein that differentiates each neo-PCCs but all have adopted and deployed the same strategies; and the neo-PCCs are differentiated largely by the socio-political posture of the founders and leaders, foregrounded in the preceding chapter, and extended and nuanced in the chapters that follow.

The creation of a specific neo-Pentecostal habitus by each mega-church also serves to affect, alter, act upon and change other fields. The neo-PCC as a system of dispositions, i.e.: habitus, engenders and structures specific forms of values among urban middle class neo-Pentecostals which seeks to formulate neo-Pentecostalist action, values and attitudes that affect the social, cultural, political and economic fields. So, how neo-PCCs structure their habitus also then produces socio-cultural-political-and-economic values, practices, behaviours and attitudes, with important consequence for political action.

This chapter details the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus, analysing how each neo-PCC case creates a unique, but broadly similar, neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus. Drawing from Bourdieu ([1977] 2010:214), I define the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus as a system of shared neo-Pentecostalist dispositions, habits and skills. The shared neo-Pentecostalist dispositions, habits and skills are socially ingrained, and are an outcome of a socialisation process. But how is this achieved? Bourdieu ([1977] 2010:214) not only defined the habitus as a system of dispositions, but he also said that the habitus also expresses the “result of an organising action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure.” The habitus is thus a structuring structure that “designates a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body – which is referred to as the *hexis*) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination” (Bourdieu, [1977] 2010:214). The habitus is predisposed to act as a structuring structure and structured structures (Walther, 2014:14). Thus, this chapter examines how

the neo-Pentecostal “structuring structure” is created. It looks at the strategies, mechanisms and ways that each neo-PCC deploys to create its neo-Pentecostalist Charismatic structuring structure, that ultimately then socialises and neo-Pentecostalist its adherents. It contributes to the knowledge area by conceptualising and defining a Bordieuan framework on the contemporary neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus.

A key aspect of this chapter is that it shows how, importantly, different and intersecting occupational and sectoral fields in which middle class professionals operate have affected, expanded, modernised and kept the neo-PCC field relevant in the contemporary modern era. At a macro and micro level, middle class occupations, professions and enterprises are involved in servicing the neo-PCC field and helping it to produce the neo-Pentecostalist habitus. Thus, through the process of differentiation that Bourdieu states also led to the emergence of the religious field (Ladwig, 2011), the continued differentiation of different fields also feeds into the continued differentiation of the religious field, and nowhere is this more apparent than the neo-PCC field, and especially among mega-churches. Similar to Bourdieu’s macro-analysis of the development of world religions in *Genesis and Structure of the Religious Field* (1991) the neo-Pentecostal field is increasingly specialising, seen through the complex organisational structures they form for their churches and the modern goods and services that they consume as churches. I outline the most salient aspects of the mega-churches process of differentiation by analysing their construction of their church habitus and the complex organisation structures that they deploy.

How do neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches produce, create and (re)imagine and maintain their unique neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus, which also functions to socially reproduce them? This chapter addresses, and is led by the question how do neo-PCCs produce and maintain a habitus unique to their mega-church and part of the distinct neo-PCC religious habitus? I look at the properties that create this.

Fields as the driving forces of the neo-PCC habitus and capital

First, neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches are beneficiaries of sectoral innovations as they have increasingly become significant users of said innovations. Second, they then usurp the innovations as a key feature of their habitus. Third, even their consumption may drive the demand for a specific sector, thus altering its behaviour. From the 20th century, South Africa’s processes of urbanisation, industrialisation and economic growth, though racialised, benefited Pentecostal churches. In the 21st century, neo-PCCs have also benefited from globalisation and the emergence of digital technologies. Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and the Internet are at the centre of the digital economy, and are driving and supporting transnational and cross border transactions and new business models. They have opened up new time and space connections and unprecedented access to

information, ideas, images, art, products and cultures (Khanyile, 2016:46 citing Mitchell, 2005:5). Online platforms have been fortuitous products for neo-PCCs. Importantly, neo-PCCs had ventured into the use of early 20th century digital technologies, TV, radio, the use of musical instruments: drums, guitars, vocalists, loudspeakers, more than the MPCs and RCC, and in relative competition with AICs (Asamoah-Gyadu, 2007). MPCs and the RCC continued the traditional use of newsletters and pamphlets. Pentecostals, though, did not abandon the use of traditional mediums such as the newsletters and pamphlets, but have in the contemporary period combined them with the use of digital technologies. The use or deployment of 20th century technologies, which Asamoah-Gyadu (2007) describes as “clicking their way to God” gave Pentecostals their distinctiveness in the Christian field.

Second, ICT and the Internet were central technologies during COVID-19 for South African neo-PCCs, as they used these mediums to maintain the church community and to worship and congregate. These churches continue to use digital platforms to rebuild and/or re-establish their church attendance which was thwarted by ongoing lockdown regulations that prevented in-person church attendance. Specifically, COVID-19 regulations prevented the congregation of large groups in one place, allowing only as much as 50 at one time. This meant that the quintessential feature of neo-PCC church services was prevented by COVID-19 and government response through regulations. The quintessential feature of South African mega-churches is their ability to draw thousands of people into one place at one time to do the same thing. Online platforms, especially during COVID-19 thus became the key church approach of congregating.

Third, changes in the world of work such as the growth of diverse forms of employment and the introduction of new technologies, have led to the development of new business models and new work-related hazards, which have outpaced the evolution of the legal authority and enforcement tools available to the labour inspectorate (Raja et al., 2013). This includes the digital revolution of the 21st century, which has also coalesced with rapid urbanisation, and specialisation in the occupational structure. These processes, combined, have delivered a Black middle class ready to experiment with new forms of sociocultural movements and products.

Digitisation and professionalisation as a driving force

The technological revolution and advancement, through the advancement of digital technologies that has occurred in 21st century has had a profound effect on various social structures and fields, as well as the South African economy. This has effected change in the occupational structure, which affects economic development and urbanisation.

Kalu (2010:378) explains that the use of electronic communication of the gospel creates “a new culture, values and meaning systems. It had an enormous impact on doctrine, polity, liturgy, and ethics

in the Pentecostal movement” (cited by Benyah, 2018:233). Electronic communication is used to reshape religious consciousness and attract more people into the church (Benyah, 2018). The development and emergence of new communication technologies has also created new occupations, or resulted in additions to the occupational structure that did not exist before. Network call centre operators are an example. The advancement of cellular phones and the consumption of ‘airtime’ which is pre-paid calling units also created a space for workers, where telecommunication companies and networks created call centres where cell phone users could get assistance with cell phone user problems. For example, a common glitch was that cell phone users would load airtime, but it wouldn’t reflect on their phone. As such, they were able to call into the network’s call centre and get help with tracing the airtime (Raja et al., 2013). At the dawn of South Africa’s democracy in 1994, these occupations did not exist. Furthermore, the advancement of social media – seen through *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *Instagram* – also created new jobs. Companies before did not hire social media managers, and at present these are seen as strategic positions that are imperative for the growth of their organisations and brand. Goldman (2015) asserts this, stating that social media managers are a new line of work. On 14 March 2019, an advert by Rhema Bible Church was posted on *Facebook*. It read “we are looking for a talented social media manager to join our team.” The job advert stated that Rhema sought an experienced person in content management, copywriting, graphic design/automation skills. The person was expected to be an enthusiastic team player, a creative and strategic thinker and able to take initiative. The person was also expected to pay attention to detail and have excellent communication skills. The application called for the submission of a portfolio and Curriculum Vitae (CV).

Since 2009 and 2011 Grace and Rivers respectively, have both used Stage Audio Works to design their systems (Stage Audio Works website, accessed 17 December 2022; Church Production, 2022). Stage Audio Works (SAW) is a South African company that describes itself as

a leading international supplier, manufacturer and distributor of complete technology solutions to live events, houses of worship, commercial education and industrial sectors within the philosophy of providing only the highest quality, most technologically advanced solution in order to ensure customer satisfaction and growth in Africa and the United Arab Emirates (SAW website, accessed 17 December 2022).

SAW offers audio, video, lighting, rigging, communications and networking, cases and bags and consumables to the worship, hospitality, corporate, sporting venues, performing arts and cultural sector. These include hotels, conference centres, boardrooms, performing art theatres, stadiums, parliament, museums, and so on. The services have been rendered across the globe, from Namibia to Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Dubai and Singapore. I perused the SAW website, it appears that a German engineered d&b system which SAW distributes has different types of series and it also appears to be a popular choice

for ‘worship houses’ (i.e.: churches) as they are referred to on the website. SAW is the official distributor of d&b systems in South Africa.

d&b Audiotechnik is a multi-billion Rand German audio-visual technology company founded in 1981 and has over 500 employees (PitchBook website, accessed 27 April 2023). It specialises in the manufacturing and distribution of sound systems for stadiums, concert halls, conference rooms and worship houses. d&b Audiotechnik manufactures “high-quality loudspeaker systems, amplifiers, audio networking and integration systems for speech and music reproduction and sound reinforcement in public space, enabling it to serve the field of electroacoustics internationally” (PitchBook website, accessed 27 April 2023; Bloomberg website, accessed 27 April 2023). Importantly besides the manufacture and distribution of audio-visual technology, d&b also provides “global finance” for the purchase of its systems (d&b brochure, accessed 27 April 2023) called the ‘Finance-series.’ d&b offers competitively priced interest rates to finance system purchases. A “20% prepayment or more of the total purchase price is required,” and provided that they make an early repayment fee, buyers can settle the loan earlier than the stated finance period (d&b brochure, accessed 27 April 2023).

The d&b website describes and markets its systems as offering “clear communication, builds trust and connects with the heart. A quality sound system that conveys passion and emotion, drawing an audience in. Nowhere is that more important than for houses of worship” (d&b website, accessed 17 December 2022). The d&b website further states “don’t just hear it, feel it. Great sound connects worshippers to something greater than themselves. Engage with more than words.” The ethos of the system is that “everyone should experience the same impeccable quality of sound, regardless of their position in the audience” (SAW website, accessed 17 December 2022). d&b further declares:

For decades, d&b systems, in all their various configurations, have helped houses of worship achieve a closer, more engaging experience for their congregation. Working in collaboration, to harness the strength in expertise, enthusiasm and good stewardship. d&b, together with its partners, has homes in more than 80 countries, dedicated teams on hand to help with technical materials, design support, and training, or to list (and learn from) any opinions or concern. To be there as and when required, or as part of the project team – from the first conversation to commissioning. **d&b audio website, accessed 17 December 2022.**

SAW (website, accessed 17 December 2022) states that it has provided Grace’s Pimville campus with “a d&b Q-series line array system, high end systems, lighting fixtures and control and Christie projectors.” It has also installed different systems at 10 of Grace’s other campuses.

Rivers has worked with SAW which has designed multiple systems for the church over the years (Church Production, 2022). Rivers Church’s Ed Helliwell (technical manager) and Andrew Illgner

(head of audio) have been managing the implementation of the audio-visual technology at Rivers, *ibid.* In an earlier audio-visual technology design and installation project at Rivers, SAW had designed a sound solution using the d&b *V-Series* loudspeakers driven by *D80 amps*, but the Rivers team became attracted to *ArrayProcessing (AP)* system. The *AP* system was a more expensive system offered by d&b audiotechnik, a company in Germany. *AP* is said to deliver a “near field” experience throughout the auditorium, so that “within the church, front to back” whatever sound is being mixed “everyone throughout the auditorium can hear what the (sound engineer is) hearing,” and thus providing an opportunity to “have (the) same experience.” It is described as a “means to ensure all seats throughout the church had the same experience as those in the front rows, no matter what the configuration.” Illustrating the symbiotic intersection of three organisations in different fields, Stage Audio Works flew the Rivers Church audio-visual technology team to Mannheim in Germany “to experience *AP* first hand at the special launch event presented by d&b” (SAW, 2017).

After installation, in a typical ‘give testimony’ disposition of neo-Pentecostals, Illigner stated that a few Rivers congregants had “come to me after the service and commented on the difference of experience. They use words like ‘connected’ to describe what they hear: ‘it’s as if the Pastor stood right in front of us,’ they say. So, in that sense *AP* has delivered exactly what we were all looking for” (SAW, 2017). In an act of competitively distinguishing Rivers from other mega-churches, Illigner claimed that “what we do is quite different from many other churches” and that Rivers cut above the rest was due to “the flexible and continuing support from Stage Audio Works.” Illigner also stated that “our pastors André and Wilma Olivier, never wanted (Rivers) to be two churches, those at the front feeling fully engaged, and those at the back, a little removed.” He proclaimed that the *ArrayProcessing* system thus addressed the need for an integrated mega-audience (SAW, 2017).

In comparison to Rhema and Grace, Rivers has invested heavily in its church design. This is also reflected by the mega-church being featured in the above-cited articles written and published by SAW and Church Production. Rivers also features in a list of serviced mega-churches the world over that d&b has published on its website. Thus, debt finance, the manufacturing of top-end technology and brands, magazines, newsletters and attendance of the launch of new systems indicate the modern capitalistic management styles of mega-churches and their intersection with highly positioned global corporations in other fields. The field of technology has blended with finance to provide blended products and service offerings. These are now being extended to mega-churches. This implies that this type of Christian organisation has been able to transcend the religious field, blending other modern and differentiated fields, products service offerings, expertise and professionals into itself. It also indicates the financialisation of the neo-PCC sector.

This reveals several theoretically important elements. The first is that neo-PC mega-churches have been able to undergo a process of differentiation and modernisation. This is indicated by mega-churches now having sub-sectors, occupations and professional associated with the middle classes too, that are serving their specific needs. Sector specific enterprises in the middle classes, such as communications banner makers, event management companies, large and small scale printing shops and publishers have crafted specialised services and products to suit the neo-PCCs and the mega-churches studied herein. Production houses in television also design special stages and décor for Rivers, Rhema and Grace during important religious times, like Easter and Christmas. Thus, like concerts and movie houses are financed and attract large paying crowds and investments, so too has the mega-church neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field been recognised as capable of drawing paying crowds, as such differentiated services, products and investments have emerged to service the field. Thus, instead of religion being left behind because society modernises and differentiates, sub-types of religious practice are contemporaneously differentiating and modernising with society. Under neo-liberal capitalism operating globally and highly financialised in the nature, a co-dependency of mega-churches to financialisation thus becomes produced. This means that mega-churches are also major consumers of capitalistic products – principal among which being technology, infrastructure and debt finance to fund them, making them legitimisers (and potential protectors) of the production system.

Digitisation: electronic and social media

Besides being sites of globalisation, neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches as societal institutions are also sites of consumption. Institutions across different sectors of society and globally have been affected by, and have interacted with technology and technological development; albeit to varying degrees. Today, technology is a critical feature of faith communities. Maxwell (2006:9) recognises this stating that new religious movements “are often mass-based and embrace many more aspects of the contemporary world. As we have already seen, contemporary Pentecostalism is characterised by an association with media technologies. Although other churches, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, have made good use of print media and religious broadcasting, Pentecostals have come to appropriate the electronic media with such a zeal that it is almost a defining characteristic. Audio-and video-tapes produced locally and internationally now augment gospel tracts, Bible study guides and Christian monthlies as tools of teaching and proselytism.” Similarly, Schirmacher and Johnson (2010:32) recognise that “a 100-years ago the vast majority of the world’s population had little contact with the message of another religion”, whereas global communications (radio, TV, internet, and newspapers) now confronts every adherent of each religion alongside all other religions of the world (cited by Resane, 2017).

Commercialisation has also affected faith communities to varying degrees and in different ways. Hjarvard (2016) defines the interaction of media and religion into three categories: religious media,

journalism on religion and banal religion, arguing that the mediatisation of religion is changing the authority of religion. In his terminology, religious media refers to religious content that is produced and flighted by religious organisations, while journalism on religion refers how religion is brought to the public sphere, and the framing thereof. Banal religion relates to entertainment, film and television drama.

The mediatisation of religion has opened a social space, existing virtually and in the physical spaces of transmission, where religious authorities and adherents can redefine the practice of their rites and rituals, opening them up to change and diffused, multiple interpretations. A good example of the convergence of the digital media and church rituals is communion or the sacrament, and how some churches responded to taking it during the COVID-19 related hard-lockdowns, some continued with the practice while others suspended it. Specifically, Rivers continued to administer communion, inviting congregants to grab juice and a biscuit and cracker, which Olivier prayed for, while McCauley sat on his desk with his communion, but did not invite the online congregation to do so. I did not come across an online service in which Grace provided communion, although this may have taken place.

Frahm-Arp (2018:256) differentiates African Initiated Churches from neo-PCCs on account of the latter's "use of cutting-edge media technologies. With huge TV screens inside their churches and a vast array of recorded sermons, books, videos, and music for sale in their book stores, these churches have opened up new ways of presenting and performing Christianity." What Frahm-Arp is describing *was* the cutting-edge, but neo-PCCs are evolving and moving along with the different and new technologies as they emerge. There are several new technologies that neo-PCCs are deploying in their field, in a bid to structure their unique neo-PCC habitus.

Digital Applications (Apps)

The digitisation of neo-PCCs has taken place through the use of Apps, and telecommunication services that have been coming online, activated or implemented by the South African telecommunications industry and companies. For Rhema, 2015 represented the year in which its digital platforms underwent significant change and improvement. The neo-PCC launched a new website and an App, called Rhema App. According to Rhema News, which is the "official publication of Rhema Ministries South Africa" the Rhema App could be downloaded from the new Rhema website, *Google Play*, *Apple App store* or *Blackberry World* (Rhema News, 2015). Rhema adherents can "watch services live, watch Pastor Ray's archived sermons, get daily inspirational messages, catch up on information for events and happenings at Rhema" (Rhema News, 2015:13). The App also allows for adherents to make their tithes or donations, connect with a church official, link to the other social apps, such as *Facebook* and *Twitter*. Instagram was not yet in wide use in 2015. The *Rhema App* also enables "businesses to advertise on the app" and advertisements can be made through Rhema's media team

(Rhema News, 2015:13). Rhema also has an SMS-line, where adherents can SMS the word hope, and receive a “daily inspirational message” for R10 per week, with proceeds going towards children’s homes (Rhema News, 2015:13). Importantly, in 2018, Rhema launched its online bookshop (Rhema News, 2018).⁴⁰

There are important changes that have taken place in the field and also within Grace’s habitus. Frahm-Arp (2010:113) states ‘the highly efficient Media and Information Department managed all the notices, communication in the church, the bookstore and sale of sermons on tapes for people to buy after the service.’ This is corroborated by Grace’s 2016 annual report which states that the mega-church has a division that is “responsible for selling books, CDs, DVDs to the members of the church and the public at large.” Most of the material is generated internally from services recorded in the church’s own media centre managed by members. Other materials are sold on a consignment basis” (Grace Bible Church, 2016:43). In about 2004 during her fieldwork, Frahm-Arp (2010:113) notes that Grace did not have a website, and did “not produce any magazine or leaflets, all announcements were made through the home cells and during the services.” But, by 2007, she reports that Grace had set up a website which it proudly regarded as a symbol of modernity, globalism and advancement. She describes the congregation at Grace as an interesting “hybrid of wealthy, technologically advanced people and members who had no electricity in their homes,” *ibid*. Interestingly, this remains true in the latter half of 2022, at least – albeit for different reasons. July and September months of 2022 have been a record period of loadshedding in South Africa, coupled with lockdowns of 2020 and 2021 that necessitated the use of what Frahm-Arp states as “technologically advanced” methods and platforms for fellowship, congregation for services, or any other church activity for that matter, particularly during the “hard-lockdowns.” Grace was thus “fully equipped for the services with a state of the art multimedia system operated by a team of professional technicians” (Hendricks, 2019:136).

Grace uses the *Podcast App* to load and ensure the digital accessibility of its sermons. Before the beginning of any service that is streamed online through its website, its *Facebook* page and Mosa Sono’s Twitter page and *YouTube* channel, an advert is flighted that shows a step-by-step process of downloading the *Podcast App* from *Apple*, *Google Play* and Bishop Mosa Sono’s sermons.

Rivers’ online bookshop, unlike Rhema’s, works. The neo-PCC’s landing page advertises about four of the “latest books from our senior pastors” accompanied by a “buy now” button just below the book cover thumbnail.

⁴⁰ The link to the online shop was not working on 9 November 2022.

The Rivers journey of becoming an adherent is also highly organised. On the service times webpage the church details how to become a member. It has two buttons “today I decided to follow Jesus” with a click button that says “view here.” The second says “first time here – view our visitors brochure online?” with another click button that says “view here.” Below these two, the webpage follows this with a practical “what’s next: new to church? Or ready to take the next steps on your journey with God?” section. This ‘what’s next’ section provides information on eight areas of involvement: (1) salvation, (2) baptism, (3) partnership, (4) getting started, (5) premarital, (6) connect groups, (7) volunteering, and (8) discipleship college. It is a directed, structured and highly informative website.

Social Media and the online presence of mega-churches

Like many neo-PCCs, the three neo-PCCs deploy heterogenous telecommunication technologies to construct their church identity, expand influence and evangelise. Rhema, Grace and Rivers have a *Facebook* and *Instagram* page, a *Twitter* handle, and a *YouTube* channel. Two important aspects of social media for neo-PCCs are that they are everyday objects for many digitally connected urbanites, but also their utilisation is a relatively low-cost communication tool for the neo-PCC and adherents. The three neo-PCCs are slightly differentiated in their approaches but are involved in different platforms.

Between 2017 to about 2020, Rhema’s social media accounts were not as updated as Grace or Rivers, for example. One could access after the sermon or at a later date, a sermon by Bishop Sono on the *Podcast App*, which the church advertised and notified congregants of every Sunday. But the service would also have been streamed live on the church’s *YouTube* channel. On the other, for Rhema, one needed to watch or access the service as it was being live streamed through what it called *Rhema Live*, but not afterwards, as it was not immediately accessible through either its main website, or *YouTube* page, even though the sermons were available on the *Rhema App*. This changed drastically in the COVID-19 period, where the sermons were uploaded and updated immediately on the church’s *YouTube* channel. This is similar too for Rivers, where some sermons are available on their *YouTube* page, but the church website was more of a reliable access point of historical sermons. This is also changing, as many more Rivers sermons are uploaded on their *YouTube* channel.

The work that the neo-PCCs did pre-COVID-19 in building their multi-media departments, technologies, developing and updating their websites, hiring the social media staff, and creating and maintaining/updating the content of their social media pages/accounts, alongside the more traditional means of communicating with the public, such as opinion pieces in the newspapers, TV or radio interviews, and other types of media and communication such as podcasts was put to great use in their navigation of the COVID-19 period. This was the only way to keep in-touch with their adherents.

Giet Khosa said of Rhema “when the pandemic hit, we were already online. We literally moved to the platforms that were already there” (Sonjica, 2020). On the Leading Second Podcast interview (2022) Rivers’ Shaun Lewarne states:

we weren’t online prior to Covid. So, we were not online.⁴¹ So, from one week to the next, we went from live church to streaming church. And our main campus wasn’t open for a year. We didn’t host any congregants for a year. So culturally, that brought a whole new cultural experience for us to be able to speak into while people were sitting at home and we didn’t have that opportunity to have them in the church and shape people the way that we usually do.
Lewarne, 8 August 2022, Leading Second Podcast, 2022.

Even though mega-churches use livestreams, connectivity is a concern, and this was so even before COVID-19. This is illustrated by what Mabalane (29 January 2017) said at one *SNL* service “no data and buffering formed against me shall prosper.” According to Nareen, the executive pastor at Rivers, the church had to find ways to send data to congregants that could not afford it. This was also a way of cultivating unity in the different Rivers campuses where different Rivers church teams were operating (Leading Second Podcast, 9 August 2022). Sono states that post-COVID-19, the mega-church intended to maintain its virtual presence. This is because, as Sono explains, the mega-church recognises that its continued online presence “affords a lot of people an opportunity to join in and be a part of what” the mega-church is “doing” (Sonjica, 2020). Importantly though, Sono does recognise, as Olivier also does, that online worship has some drawbacks. This is as Sono explains that Grace adherents “said the experience of worship in a virtual sense is not the same.” He says “the (in-person) interaction with a human, in the sense that you can see their facial expressions during a service and when they are being challenged, is a totally different experience.” Thus, a key drawback according to Sono, is that the effect of the service is not immediately apparent and available for interpretation from the somatic responses of the adherents.

Another drawback of the online presence by mega-churches is that they are primary targets of online mis- and dis-information. Thus, while the use of social media platforms benefits mega-churches as many more people are able to experience their events, especially since these mediums became the key mechanism of interaction between neo-PCCs and adherents, there has been a rise in fake accounts, which is the rise in mis- and dis-information of content online. The Oliviers have been victims of this:

⁴¹ This means that sermons were accessible online, on the church’s website, but that services were not live-streamed.

... There've been a number of fake accounts on Instagram. Pastor Wilma, myself- people imitating us. It is a common thing across the world, I just want you to know we will never ask for money on *Twitter*, or *Instagram* or *Facebook*. Only during the services in an offering, we make special appeals now and again. But we never ever ask for money, so ignore those things and report them ... Because it's an area that affects everyone of us, and we need wisdom in that area. Come let's pray: 'Father we thank you for this opportunity, thank you for every viewer watching online. We pray today that your wisdom would come to us through your word...' **Olivier, 6 September 2020. Sermon: Wisdom with Money.**

Social media is also important for showing some of the abuses that happen to congregants in certain spaces and churches. As discussed in more detail in the chapter that follows a video posted on the *Facebook* page of the Rabboni Center Ministries revealed to the world that congregants were eating grass in the church (Scharnick-Udemans, 2017). This took place on the basis that the pastor claimed that eating grass would bring congregants closer to God (Kgatlle, 2017). Thus, one can conclude that social media and the online presence of mega-churches is an arena that the churches seek to manage closely. Mega-churches suffer the same fate as other users where they can be highly praised or derided through various online and social media platforms (see chapter 7).

Generating a socialised prosperity habitus: a schematic approach

Each neo-PCC may be taken to produce and maintain a unique brand and signature Pentecostal habitus based on its carefully selected and curated religious style. Religious style refers herein to the characteristics that define and distinguish one congregation from another. Meyer (2006:24) defines religious style as an expression of a shared mood, seen through collective prayer, a shared corpus of songs, images, symbols and rituals that takes place within a congregation. It is also expressed in shared clothing styles and material culture, that ultimately makes people feel at home. Chaves (2004:10) states that another way of approaching religious style is through its congregational culture. This relates to the worship, education and art approaches taken by congregations.

Ganiel (2006:559) adopted the congregational approach to study how racial reconciliation and the de-segregation of formerly white Pentecostal/Charismatic churches was happening. She defined congregations as "religious institutions where processes of socialisation" were likely to "...take place," *ibid.* She argues that congregational practices facilitate socialisation (Ganiel, 2006:559). Using a Durkheimian approach, she states that socialisation takes place "through the enactment of rituals and the proclamation of religious narratives," *ibid.* She says that "people create strong bonds with each other through the intimate, face-to-face interactions that take place within them, on Sunday mornings and in activities throughout the week," *ibid.* She states that methodologically, a Pentecostal Charismatic

congregation provides a “propitious environment for the study of how micro-level processes of change” are taking place in South Africa (Ganiel, 2006:559).

Religious style and congregational practices are components of the neo-PCC habitus, its creation and maintenance. These form a crucial part of creating the structuring structure of the neo-PCC, that is the neo-PCC’s habitus (Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014). The neo-PCC’s habitus, works to ingrain and develop the mastery of the unique brand and signature of the neo-PCC’s dispositional content and structure, habits and feelings/attitudes, skills, outlook on its adherents. It *results from the organising action* that takes place within the church, and mostly during the core Sunday service, from which everything then germinates, flows and follows.

The objectified history, that is the neo-PCC’s early history or inception story which includes and is intricately linked to, if not inseparable and dependent upon the founder’s biography and history, charismatic leadership and the symbolic and material forms of capital they had access to constitutes the dialectical relationship between the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field and the specific neo-PCC habitus (Bourdieu, 2006:88). By this I mean that the habitus of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Church is a structure and is simultaneously a charismatic and rational personality in the Weberian sense. Understanding, as Kessler (2011) explained, ideal types are abstractions that do not always emerge in the exact characteristics that Weber imbued upon them in any social situation or historical moment. Critical to the effective genesis and production of a neo-PCCs habitus is the combination and interaction of its early history or inception story, its founder, his charismatic leadership, liturgical stance, preaching style, as well as the religious and congregational style. The biography of the founder and lead pastors is critical for the sustained success of any mega-church in the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field.

The genesis and production of the neo-PCC habitus and its personality combine to shape forms of attitude, thought and action of neo-Pentecostals. This produces the neo-PCC’s system of permanent dispositions, i.e.: the habitus which “forms, and places in the bodies of the individuals, forms of perception, representation and thought, as well as forms of assessment and evaluation of the social world, which function as ‘generative and organizing principles’ which tend to define the agents’ practices.” Thus, neo-Pentecostals’ “action is located in the dialectical relationship of ‘the social’, in other words ‘objectified’ history, and the incorporated history of ‘habitus’” (Asimaki and Koustorakis, 2014:123).

Drawing from Bourdieu (1977:78-79) a neo-Pentecostal middle-class identity can be understood as consisting of “not only cognitive aspects, but of enduring ‘clusters of habits’” as well – which is its habitus. The habitus is a “socially constituted system of dispositions, tastes, ‘distastes’, and specific understandings of the world and our place within it.” Individuals, social groups and classes share the same habitus into which they are socialised. Therefore, social collectivities are identified and

identifiable through various social practices “situated in the domains of consumption” (Weininger, 2002:122). Bourdieu further asserts that these practices serve to constitute social collectivities that are ‘status groups’ by establishing symbolic boundaries between individuals occupying different locations in the class structure. The process through which this occurs is a contentious one, taking the form of what Bourdieu calls a ‘classificatory struggle’ (Weininger, 2002:122). This concept becomes important in the chapter that follows as I show the different classificatory struggles that have taken place in the neo-PCC field.

The ministries: music, children, young adults, etc.; as stated in the previous chapter, are part of the creation of the *cognitive* habitus (but also the *social* habitus, as I shall outline further below). The service structure, sermon and preaching style and structure form the cognitive / dispositional habitus, and are made up of the mega-church’s statement of faith, service practices, ritualised performances, ceremonies and events. The neo-PCCs’ unique habitus is evident in the tendency of preachers and adherents to hold and use their bodies in a certain way that reacts *and* communicates specifically in each moment, the accents, pitch and lexicon, etc. This is the Pentecostalist somatic response, a special type of somatic language. The worship style is also part of the dispositional habitus, and it forms part of the observables that communicate the symbolic recognition in the mega-church.

Thus, the charismatic leadership combined with the neo-PCCs’ liturgical styles specifically illustrate the nature or type of the Prosperity Gospel that is preached, propagated, and practiced by each neo-PCC – which combines to build the spiritual capital of the neo-PCC. In addition, the capital base of the neo-PCC is also generated through its unique brand (habitus) of a socialised Prosperity Gospel, rather than a Prosperity Gospel for itself. The diagram below illustrates the centre of neo-PCC habitus production, or the centre from which socialisation or more specifically, neo-Pentecostalisation is produced through “webs of material and symbolic ties” (Wacquant, 2013:2). I detail and describe the “the neo-PCC habitus making, the making of the neo-Pentecostals in terms of a “panoply of techniques of symbolic aggregation and instruments of claims-making whereby boundaries are drawn and enforced, such that a population is forged into a collective...” (Wacquant, 2013:3). Ultimately, these also reflect the neo-PCCs religious power, which Bourdieu defined as the authority⁴² (and in fact ability, capacity / capability) “to modify, in a deep and lasting fashion, the practice and world view of lay people” through the “absolutisation of the relative and legitimation of the arbitrary” (Verter, 2003:153).

⁴² Weber defines religious authority as a product of a practitioner’s ability to meet the religious needs of his or her particular lay audience, - a theodicy of suffering for the dominated, and a theodicy of good fortune for the dominant (Weber, 1946:270-271).

The figure below illustrates my conceptualisation of the organising actions and structures that create and structure the neo-PCC habitus.

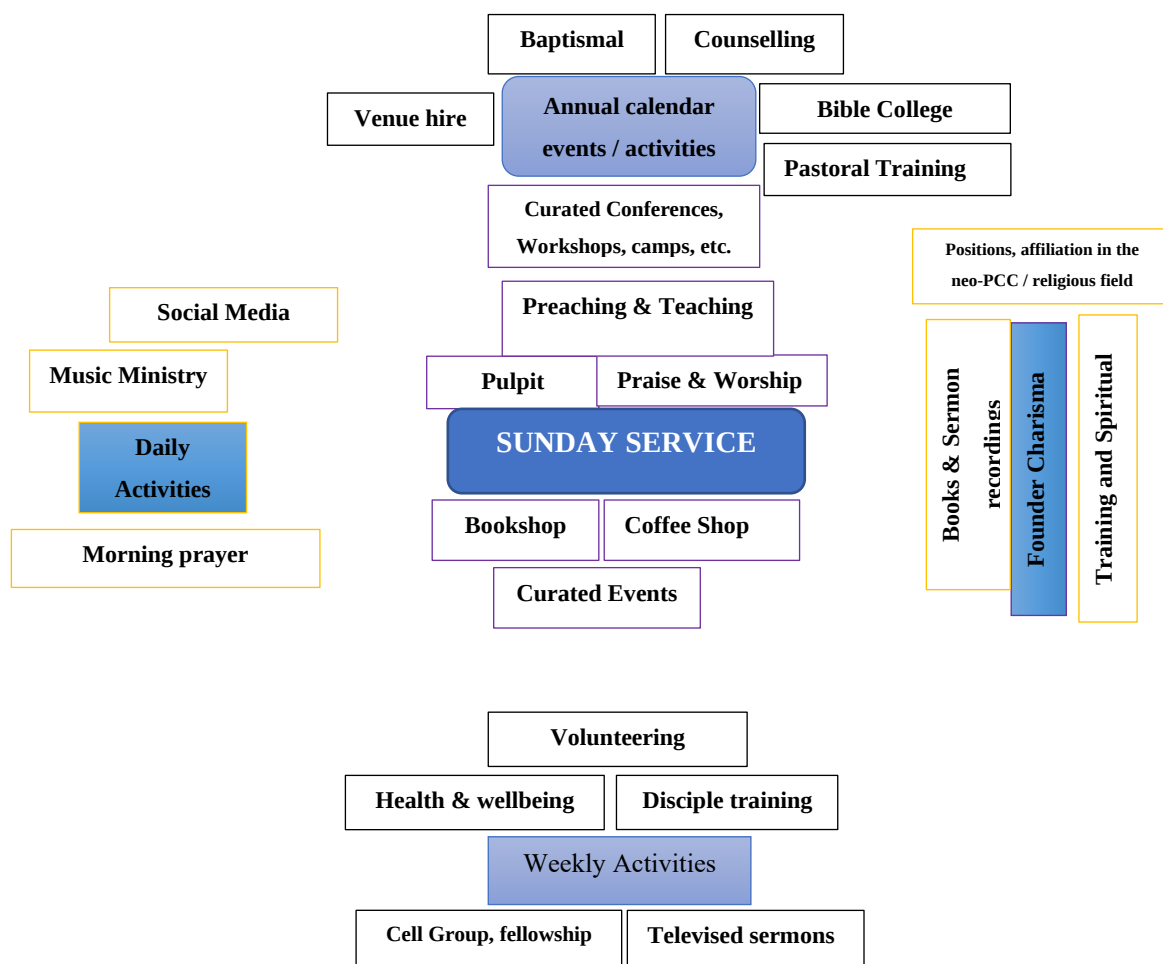


Figure 4: Structuring structure - neo-PCC habitus, Source: author formulation

Structuring the Habitus – Generating the organising principles

Charisma of the leader

The charisma of the neo-PCC is critical for its status and importance to the congregation and society in general. Leaders of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches are typically strong and gifted people. Pelkmans (2017:125) defines charisma as “a quality of the present, revealed in the here and now, which cannot easily be durably transposed across time or space. Charisma as a divine gift is what makes Pentecostalism both effervescent and transient. But understood in a secular Weberian sense, charisma is also the key source of authority ‘at times of distress,’ when legal structures have collapsed and tradition has been uprooted.” In the neo-PCCs nomenclature they are apostles, prophets, bishops, archbishops, overseers, leaders of streams, leaders of ministries (Theron, 2011:4).

World renowned comedian and South African born Trevor Noah described the founder pastor of Rhema, McCauley as a squat-bodied person, with a big smile and the personality of a cheerleader, capable of making Jesus look cool (Noah, 2019:6). Ayanda Allie-Paine a radio and TV personality, who also used to be the spokesperson for Fikile Mbalula when he was still the Minister of Transport, while interviewing Sono tells him that the staff on her show describe him “as a combination of Trevor Noah as well as Dr Martin Luther King” because of his presence on stage and his masterful delivery. Sono is considered passionate and charismatic. To this Sono responds:

There’s a lot of humour in what God does, and there’s a lot of laughter and joy that you find in the Bible, and I think people learn better in that kind of atmosphere and its good for people to know that you don’t have to be this serious person for God to use purpose. **Sono, 12 May 2016, SABC2 interview.**

Vision, mission and statements of faith

In South Africa, as early as the 1920s, South African churches, including some AICs were encoding their statement of faith. Grundmann (2006:258) gives the example of the Christian Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa founded by Paulo Mabilitsa in Alexandra, Johannesburg as a breakaway from the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion. On the ordination certificate of its Deaconess Jenette Nkosi is the statement of faith reading:

Zion is the Kingdom of God; Zion’s Gospel is the full gospel of Salvation from sin, healing from disease and Holy living through the power of the indwelling Holy Ghost by whom the sons and the daughters of Zion are being prepared for the coming of Zion’s king (Grundmann, 2006:258).

Rhema, Grace and Rivers are no different, as they too have defined, encoded and publicised their vision, mission and statements of faith. These are aimed at anchoring the church, and act as governance rules that direct the church and adherents.

Rhema, Grace and Rivers’ vision, mission and values

Rhema’s vision is crafted into four pillars: evangelistically potent,⁴³ spiritually vibrant, socially significant, and prophetically relevant. Overall, these four pillars stress a personal relationship with God, evangelising, social participation and that men of God are moved by the Holy Spirit to give prophecies. In sharp contrast to Rhema, Grace and Rivers’ mission and vision, and values are shorter.

⁴³ Going into the world and preaching the Gospel to every creature.

Grace expresses its church vision as one of turning “irreligious people into fully devoted followers of Christ.” The church explains that this vision is also expressed through its mission statement, crafted as “the church that D.R.E.A.M.S.” This stands for discipleship, restoration, evangelism, articulation, missions and social relevance (Grace Bible Church website, accessed 16 December 2022). Depicting the visual effect and importance, Frahm-Arp (2018:260) asserts this word is “written in large bold letters over the main church entrance. This word sums up one of the key mission statements of the church, which is to encourage people to realize their dreams through the power of the Holy Spirit.”

Pithy is the best way to describe Rivers’ depiction of its values and belief system. Its values are constructed as one-word or as short sentence descriptors, that appear in a bulleted format on their website. They state:

The Word of God, the Holy Spirit, the presence and touch of God on everything we do, dynamic praise and worship, relationships, character and integrity, a prayer lifestyle, excellence, financial partnership, the family, non-racial, non-sexist community, church growth and church health, generational ministry, the poor, being a resource church, healing, outward focus, discipleship and ministry involvement, celebration and patriotism.

As reflected in Chapter 7, the Ballito campus of Rivers espouses its mission as healing, family and purpose oriented. It is run by a relatively young couple, where the male and senior pastor is the son of Wilma and André Olivier. This means that the neo-PCC mega-churches do alter or refine their church mission according to the local contexts within which they operate.

Rhema, Grace and Rivers’ statements of faith

Different from the Christian Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa statement of faith cited above, is that Rhema’s statement of faith is the longest, Grace’s moderate in length made up of a set off eight thematic paragraphs, and Rivers’ statement of faith is by far the shortest. Unlike Grace and Rivers’, the Rhema statement of faith is the most elaborate, and is the only one of the three that cites biblical verses to support its statements.

Rivers’ does not have a traditional statement faith published on its website. Instead, first it states that it reaches out through “weekly services, television programme, foundation to the poor and community relationships,” and this has made it a “fast growing church,” listing its church campuses and number of adherents. It also declares a “passionate” love for God, an unconditional love for people, and the desire to live purposefully. The statement concludes in this way:

We believe in our nation and are totally committed to serving the purposes of God and making a significant difference to the lives of people in their spiritual, social, emotional and physical

worlds. Rivers aims for excellence in every area of ministry, because we place high value on the church and its people. We believe that God is good and that He wants to help, bless, grow, enlarge, change and release people's potential (Rivers Church website, accessed 20 April 2019).

On the Bible / Scriptures

Rhema Bible Church believes that the scriptures are "God-breathed," are an "infallible truth, containing no contradiction or error." They are the "final authority for faith, doctrine of life. The canon of the Bible is closed." A "true Rhema" according (Yates, 2021) "carries with it a deep inner assurance and witness of the spirit." Similarly, Grace Bible Church's statement of faith reflects the same belief in the Bible and scriptures: "we believe in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, in their original writing, as fully inspired of God and accept them as the supreme and final authority for faith and life." As stated, Rivers Church does not cite any biblical statements or statement of faith in any detail on its website.

On race, class, gender and sexual orientation

The second characteristic is the treatment of race by the neo-PCCs. Rivers states that its church values are non-racialism, non-sexism and patriotism. Rivers was created when multiracialism in churches had accelerated, and it welcomed people from all races. Rhema's dominant white demography changed significantly towards the end of apartheid, as while it was multiracial there were very few Blacks, coloured and Indian/Asian adherents before then (Frahm-Arp, 2010; Dickow, 2012). This is reflected by a conversation with Ron Steele of Rhema who says that by 2004, Rhema's congregation was 60% Black (Froise, 2005:146). On the basis of communication with marketing staff at Rivers, Frahm-Arp (2018:263) gives the same 60% estimation of Black adherents for Rivers.

Rhema's statement of faith illustrates its multiracial nature: "the creation and fall of humankind: all people have been created equally and in the image of God, irrespective of race, ethnicity, colour, gender, age, language, culture or class." Rhema bases its statement on verses from Genesis, Acts, James, Colossians, and Galatians. Conversely, with an all-Black congregation (Frahm-Arp, 2018:260), Grace's statement of faith is silent on its stance on race and non-racialism.

Frahm-Arp (2010:47) argues that one of the most powerful voices that has emerged is "more gender conscious Christianity" which strives "to give women the space to express their concerns within the mainstream organisations of their faith." In this context, Rhema's statement of faith is gender inclusive, and promotes equality. Rhema's statement of faith states "the Bible teaches us that both man and woman were created equal by God, and in His image, that they both had a relationship with God.

Shared equally with God, spoke to God and fellowshiped with Him, and were both given authority to rule over the earth.”

Importantly, unlike the South African Constitution – Bill of Rights, where a person may not be directly or indirectly discriminated against on the basis of their sexual orientation, Rhema’s statement of faith is silent on sexual orientation. On the other hand, Grace states explicitly that the neo-PCC believes in heterosexual relationships. It states “with regards to sexual behaviour, we believe in heterosexual relationships between a natural man and a natural woman within the confines of lawful matrimony. Adherence to this stated principle of sexual behaviour is an inherent requirement of membership of Grace Bible Church.” Grace states that it upholds the principle of submission to authority, and expects that its “membership subject to submission to authority in matters pertaining to church governance, doctrine and personal behaviour.”

Church Ministries

Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches, especially the mega-churches’ ministries are typified by classification according to age, gender and function. The founder pastors see the departments or ministries as the defining features of church growth and success (see Chapter 4).

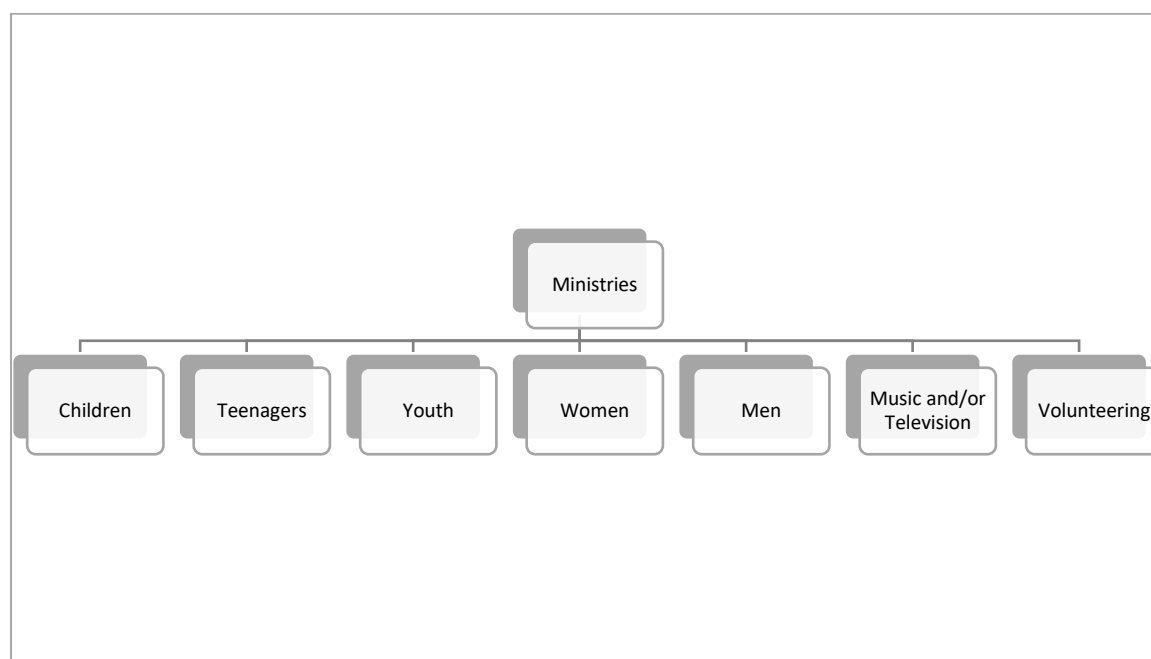


Figure 5: Typical church ministries of Rhema, Grace and Rivers, authors formulation

Rhema has the kids ministry (1-12-years old for morning service, and 2-9 years old for evening service), Gracious daughters is the women’s ministry that aims to build relationships, promote spiritual growth and inspire women to realise and attain their “divine purpose in life.” There is also Rhema Youth which is for teenagers, teaching them that God loves them “unconditionally and eternally.” *Sunday*

Night Live (SNL) is for Young Adults, which are typically university students. There is the Rhema Music Ministry which is the worship department made of musicians, singers and sound crew, it also makes new music and songs and has released worship albums. Rhema's Men's ministry is called 'Band of Brothers' which focuses on building strong, authentic relationships. There is also Gender Equality Matters (GEMA) that states that gender equality is taught by the Bible. Hands of Compassion, which is the church's social outreach programme, Rhema counselling which serves to support pastoral care and members of the church (Rhema website, 2022). Grace's youth ministry is self-titled, the women's ministry is called Women of Destiny and there is a Youth Adults ministry catering for those 20 years and above. There is also the Line crossers which is the men's ministry covering men of all ages and Project exodus fellowships (Grace Bible Church, webpage, 2023). Rivers has six ministries: kids (age 1-year – grade 6), Women's ministry called Sisters, Men's ministry called Men's meeting, junior youth (grade 7-8), youth (grade 8-12) and young adults (19-25-years).

New believers, baptising and volunteering

Like mainline church practice, the vision, mission and statement of faith are taught at the different kinds of orientation or training that churches conduct for new members. Rhema's training of new members is called "new believers" while Grace calls it 'discipleship,' Rivers calls it 'disciple college.'

Under the discipleship programme, new members undergo training and orientation for a period of 6-months to get baptised. Grace's discipleship is supported by the 'new believers programme.' New believers are encouraged on how to "stay at the feet of Jesus," because "the journey of a new believer is a fragile one that requires to be monitored and nurtured."

Rhema, Grace and Rivers have small pools where they baptise new believers. At Rivers the people being baptised all wear a branded Rivers T-shirt that are black in colour. Grace reminds believers to "wear non-revealing clothing and to bring additional clothing for changing." Rhema provides believers with "baptismal gowns" and reminds them to bring a laundry towel, swimwear and a T-shirt. Rhema and Grace baptise believers after Sunday morning services. Grace holds a "water baptismal class" for people that have been saved but have not been baptised. A fee of R20 is charged for the baptismal certificate received afterwards.

Below me you can see the baptismal (pool). We designed it in a way where people could walk in and form a line, be baptised and immediately walk out and the next person could be baptised, so we could double the number of people being baptised during the worship segment of our services. We baptise people and we broadcast it inside into the main screens during worship, with the person's name on screen. Now we can do double of what we did before. **Olivier, 2 December 2015. Church Building Design, Rivers Church Sandton Building Tour.**

A graphically designed poster advertising the date of the meeting for the programme declares “making disciples until Christ is formed in them.” This programme thus trains Grace adherents “who are passionate about soul-winning,” interested cell group leaders and volunteers are given the “the tools which will be useful when conducting follow-ups with new believers.” Cell groups “are designed to keep you refreshed in God’s Word with a small group of people during the week.” A *Facebook* post on Grace’s page with the hashtag #cellgroups reopened calls upon adherents to find a cell group in their neighbourhood and join others to “fuel your spirit, and fellowship with believers in your area” (Grace Bible Church, 5 February 2020). This post was part of the rejuvenation of group church activities which had been stopped due to COVID-19.

Volunteers within the church play a significant role in structuring the habitus. It is also a significant way in which the middle classes and other groups in the mega-churches shape the mega-church.

The volunteering programme at Grace is called Ministry of Helps (MOH). People are invited to volunteer ushering, counselling, health and safety, Emergency Management Services (EMS), access control. Rhema invites adherents to sign up to volunteer on a range of church activities: (1) small groups, (2) hosts / hostesses, (3) new believers, (4) musicians / choir, (5) TV department (Sunday Services), (6) design / photography, media / public relations, (7) information desk, (8) greeters, (9) telephone (10) counselling, (11) urban oak youth, (12) men’s ministry, (13) women’s ministry, (14) deaf ministry, (15) kids at the cross, and (16) sound department. Rivers calls it a “partnership.” Rivers (2020:12) states “believe(s) that every partner at Rivers should play their part by using their gifts and abilities to serve others. Rivers has several ministry departments which provide great avenues for serving, such as: Car Park, Information Counter, Hospitality, Welcome Team, Resource Centre and Production, and many more.” The mega-churches are heavily involved in ensuring that their adherents volunteer in several church activities, which helps to build and sustain the church (Mellody, 2011).

Services

Rhema runs three services on Sundays at 8h00, 11h00 and 18h00. The two morning services are the main services, and the 18h00 is called the “Sunday Night Live,” (SNL) which caters to youth. The *SNL* is attended by university students and transport is provided to the students to travel to Rhema from Johannesburg university campuses – with the central meeting point being at Wits University, factors that make it easier for students to attend (Mellody, 2011). These are streamed live on Rhema’s website, *YouTube* channel and *Facebook* page, as well as on *TBN* and *IAMSA* channels on *DSTV*. During an online Sunday service on 19 April 2020, Rhema also advertised its *Instagram Live* prayer sessions to be held at 9am and 9pm every day. The ‘churchvertorial’ as I call it, described the sessions as offering “prayer, worship, teachings, gym and lots more.” Both Rhema and Grace have telephone service offering prayer and counselling. Grace also runs 3 services on a Sunday at 07h00 and 09h00, with one

of the 09h00 services being the youth service. They too are live streamed on the church's website, *YouTube* channel, *Facebook* and *Twitter* page. The main service at 09h00 is also flighted on *Xihlobo* channel on *DSTV*. Grace's website uniquely has a count-down clock to the next sermon. Rivers has two main services on each Sunday at 08h15 and 11h15 that take place at the Sandton main church campus. Olivier also has a TV show called *Life by Design* which is flighted on *eTV*, *TBN* and *e-extra* on *DSTV* and *OpenView*. Rivers Church website (accessed 21 March 2023) states that *Life by Design* was started in 2010 by André because he "felt called to reach a greater audience through television." The programme is broadcast in 54 countries in Africa "and has seen phenomenal success and growth" (Rivers Church website, accessed 21 March 2023). *DSTV* is a paid-for satellite television service.

Sermon structure, style and practices

Within the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field, the neo-PCCs work on the production of first differentiated, and second elite and middle-class values, behaviours and cognitive structures by neo-PCCs. The centrality of being born-again, baptism and acceptance of the Holy Spirit or Ghost are central to the three neo-PCC cases herein. The three leaders of Rhema, Grace and Rivers do not follow rigid sectarian ethos and millennium expectation. They have abandoned the millennium expectation and shifted towards emphasising the Kingdom of God in the present (Schlemmer, 2008:14; Southall, 2016).

The neo-PCCs have what they call a 'series.' A series is a pre-determined and prepared cluster of sermons, in which a particular theme is followed by each neo-PCC. The series may be a month-long string of sermons building on the series theme, topics and actions. Sometimes series are structured into quarters, so that the period allocation of series varies.

Each sermon at each neo-PCC is structured in a particular way. Typically, the first item of the service is praise and worship. If the sermon is televised, it may be preceded by recorded voice-over message welcoming the congregants "as you watch this sermon, we trust that you find this teaching to be practical and life changing. Do enjoy the sermon" (Grace Bible Church website, accessed 22 December 2019). Generally, all three churches keep to the length of the sermon, which is 45 minute, and there is a timer that begins the count-down that the preacher watches closely too.

At each megachurch, as congregants arrive and stream in a praise or worship team or choir is on stage, singing and engendering an energy of praise. So typically, church service begins with energetic singing, praise and worship which may take 15 to 45 minutes. This is an important segment as it allows time for the thousands of people making their way into the church campus and auditorium. At Rhema, the main two main roads leading to the church are typically clogged with traffic. Each Sunday the traffic lights that usually govern traffic are switched off and traffic officers are assigned to direct the traffic faster than the traffic lights would. Parking guard attendants double up as traffic controllers at Grace:

As I was carried along in the stream of cars, I arrived at Grace Bible Church and realised that all these people were converging on this one church. I was amazed at how quickly friendly parking assistants and security guards guided all the cars to parking spaces in the huge car park in the church grounds (Frahm-Arp, 2010:94).

Rhema and Grace allow congregants to carry-on arriving throughout the service, even though Rhema notifies its congregants that it opens its doors 30-minutes before each service to allow them to arrive early and to ease the flow of traffic (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 21 February 2022).

The distinct element at Rivers, is that no lateness is tolerated. The doors are shut at a particular cut-off time because Olivier holds the view that “people’s time is valuable and we have to respect that. That is why we are strict about time” (Mbele, 2014). Nareen explains that

time keeping is a culture of the house. ...When it comes to church, time keeping is Heaven’s culture. It’s a value at Rivers church, you’ve gotta come to church on time. ...if you value God ... you’ve gotta be at church on time. If you are coming in late you are disrupting worship, you are disrupting people that actually made the effort to come on time to be in the presence of God
Leading Second Podcast, 9 August 2022.

It is apparent that Rivers structures punctuality “to keep undesirable persons and things at a distance and to draw desirable ones closer” (Bourdieu, 2018:106). The closure of doors was “scandalous” and “criticised” when it was first introduced in the church. Nonetheless, even the people that “weren’t happy” with this practice did come back to church. When Olivier says that lateness not is not an “African” thing and that “don’t insult Africa” by associating lateness with Africa he is structuring the Rivers social space in a particular way that opposes lateness as a habit associated with Africaness. He produces, and aspires to produce Africa in a different way, by not allowing lateness within the religio-spatial structure of Rivers. One is disallowed entry into the Rivers social space as a latecomer. Disallowing lateness thus becomes a metaphor for social order. The ability to not only disallow lateness but continue and create a habitus structured around that is facilitated by the institutional capital possessed by Rivers, which is its iconism, a thing that is desirable, not easily accessible because of its own rules, as a physical thing taking up physical space. And, despite the criticism closing doors and keeping the late out attracted, the people that were unhappy and that were turned back for their lateness did return to the church on time (Leading Second Podcast, 9 August 2022). Thus, disallowing late comers entry to the church is simultaneously an act that iconises the Rivers church building, creating it as a rarity or distinct – it is not spatially homogenous like its surrounds, but one that also illustrates the Pentecostal power held by Olivier to allow or disallow entry. It is an important act of boundary making of the mega-church space, as those that reject or fail to adopt this habit cannot be part of the habitus, unlike the surrounding petrol garage that is open 24 hours, the malls and restaurants that one can access

freely during the time that Rivers services are taking place. Punctuality is the habitus that makes the Rivers habitat (Bourdieu, 2018:106), or its religio-spatial structure.

Tithes and Offering

After praise and worship, a pastor or lay leader may come on stage, welcome the congregants and facilitate the giving. Rhema's website provides information about "tithes and offering." how to give. It states that "tithes for the month" can be made through direct deposit using the Rhema's and Rhema television department's bank account details, or through Electronic Funds Transfer (EFT). It also gives the option of using the *Snapscan App*, with the code loaded on the website. A swift code is provided for those giving from outside of South Africa. A telephone number is provided for any account queries.

For Grace, deposits or EFTs can be made for "tithes and offerings" into the church's bank account. Similarly, a deposit or EFT can be made for social assistance which goes to the Itireleng bank account, and the funds also go towards COVID -19 relief (Grace Bible Church website, accessed 12 November 2022).

At Rivers, a message on the screen appears, stating that no one is allowed to enter or leave the premises during the period of giving, and according to Mbele (2014) 'tithes' are collected in four-minutes. Importantly, there is also security present during the offering (Mbele, 2014). Rivers church property is gated "because we have security issues. ... That's a different challenge we are faced with as a nation. So, we started to lock the gate for a couple of reasons. Security being one of it." The screens of Rhema, Grace and Rivers all flight the banking details of the church during the offering time. The banking details are also streamed in a text box that appears during televised sermons. At Rivers, there are multiple other ways to make an offering. An offering can be made at the "banking *Speedpoint* in the bookshop" (Mbele, 2014). *Snapscan* is also used, where adherents or people seeking to give can scan the *Snapscan* app code and give, while watching the service online from whichever platform, the *Snapscan* is also available on their website (Rivers Church website, accessed 12 November 2022). Rivers uses the *Payfast* application for those paying with the credits on their website, the generic EFT mechanism is also available. Rivers has three types of offerings that can be made 'God's tithe,' 'my offering,' and 'miracle offering' (Rivers Church website, accessed 12 November 2022). For Rivers, the Kyalami and Sandton *Snapscan* codes were flighted side-by-side, so that congregants can select the code of the campus they belong to. This is important because each campus is registered individually and liable for tax as a specific campus (SARS, 2018). The *Snapscan* feature appears on the screen as the message or mini-sermon on the importance of giving is proceeding.

As the offering is taking place, a mini-sermon is given by a pastor on the theme linked to giving. Typically, the pastor will cite a verse in the Bible and follow that with a message encouraging giving. The giving may be structured into different giving or offering. Through my observations in 2017 of

some of Rhema's services, the church may ask for normal giving or offering, followed by an offering of fixing the aircon called 'aircon fund' or contributions to the conference so that there is no conference fee charged. The latter took place at a Sunday service on 29 January 2017. Importantly, the giving or offering is not flighted in the live streaming, the camera focuses on the praise and worship team who will be singing during this period.

After the giving, the notices may be flighted on screen, this may be a voice-over, a visual clip, a physically presented style clip. Thereafter, a short praise ushers the main sermon.

You know I was trying to look for a very fancy title for this morning. You know we preachers, you know sometimes you wanna have a very fancy title for your message. You know. And I tried for many weeks! I couldn't come up with anything fancy. I want something that rhymes, [laughter] or something that rolls off (the tongue) something that is flowery or whatever. And I couldn't come up with anything. And I came up with something very interesting, ordinary really. [Applause] However, I don't think the contents thereof will be ordinary. **Sono, 22 June 2016 Our God, a builder – Part 1.**

Liturgical styles and practices

Even in the context where Bordieuan misrecognition by congregants is required for the construction of the neo-Pentecostal habitus, neo-Pentecostalisation requires believability. The charisma of the church leader is important for neo-Pentecostalisation. To reshape and neo-Pentecostalise the urban identities, and, in particular, the middleclassness of BMC, neo-PCC leaders are engaging in their teaching and preaching. They actively construct an interactive sermon between themselves on the pulpit and their congregants. The pastors do this by requesting congregant affirmation and/or completion of what they are saying or singing on the pulpit.

Verbal and physical affirmation and praise, singing along to a hymn produces a highly interactive triangular relationship between themselves and the Bible as one, and the pulpit and the congregation. Neo-PCC leaders have their various styles of greeting their congregations. McCauley for example says:

Halleluiah! [Applause]. Well let's give the Lord a shout and a praise off! [Congregation heightens applause]. **McCauley, 11 April 2017. Vision Sunday: Xtreme Dreams.**

An interactive sermon that maintains a highly interactive triangular relationship between the pastor, the pulpit and the congregation is also achieved through the structure of the service, where praise and worship follows the offering and then the sermon. This allows the high energy and upbeat mood of the congregation to be transferred to the moment of giving and the sermon's message. Interestingly and

importantly, Rivers church allows the baptising of new believers to be televised during the worship session.

Pastors typically walk onto the stage to great applause from the congregants as singing from the worship team is taking place. As the sermon is delivered, BMC neo-Pentecostals verbally affirm different aspects of the prosperity and other messages being preached, uttering distinctly audible and enthusiastic ‘Amen,’ ‘Yes,’ ‘Yeah,’ ‘Hmm’ and ‘Right.’ Well-known phrases connect the pastor, pulpit and congregants:

God is good! [All the time]. All the time [God is good]. Amen? [Amen!]. **McCauley, Vision Sunday - Xtreme Dreams, 11 April 2017.**

Can I hear an Amen in the house? [Amen!]. ... Can I get a good Amen? [Amen!] **Sono, 17 June 2018. Grit: The power of passion and perseverance.**

Tell the person next to you: ‘we will never give up!’” [Congregants repeat]. **McCauley, 11 April 2017. Vision Sunday: Xtreme Dreams.**

You want politicians who are skilled! [Right!] **Olivier, 17 February 2019, Playing our part in reshaping our nation, Part 2.**

The interactive and affirmative stance of congregants is also sometimes reflected by people jumping up and clapping. There are other enthusiastic, affirmative and symbolic actions that adherents and pastors engage in. For example, at the 2017 annual Rhema conference, Chris Hill heightened his message saying “... lift up your hands, ... I feel His anointing” when he was about eight minutes from concluding his sermon, congregants walked through the auditorium towards the stage and placed fifty, one- hundred and two-hundred Rand notes on the steps of the stage, on which the pulpit was. By placing money at the pulpit in response to what is being preached, neo-Pentecostal adherents align themselves with and ‘buy’ into the message, and, metaphorically, at the feet of the preacher, because he was moving up and down the stage.

When Congregants are invited by preachers to complete their sentences or to simultaneously utter or Bible verses what they are doing is building up Pentecostalist religious capital. This engages congregants in the uptake and active learning of the Pentecostal lexicon which in turn builds and deepens the Pentecostal religious capital of congregants. Indeed, neo-PCC leaders do jokingly lament moments where the affirmations seem lacklustre or when they want to encourage deeper interaction.

The neo-PCC field and habitus is complex. It comprises teachings, activities, leadership, business and management training, training and events, networks, groups, associations and enterprises. These

are assets and products, which also include seminars, actual assets (cameras, sound systems, etc.), and merchandise that generate large revenues. The upward social mobility discourse that comes with practical bite-size rules, strategies and lessons is packaged into weekly sermons, annual conferences and specialised training activities and podcasts. The annual conferences are usually paid-for attendance, such as at Rivers Church's Heroes. This is a men's conference where attendance is charged upward of R1,000 (Whittles, 2017). In the seizing our God-given opportunities sermon on 20 September 2022, Olivier observed that pre-COVID-19, the Sisters conference, an annual event, used to be "packed," necessitating two events. This has changed. The Rhema annual conference is also a paid for conference, although in some 2017, McCauley undertook to raise funds and made the conference free. However, a conference video of all the main speaking events is recorded, produced and sold on a USB (R299,95) or CD-ROM (R399,95) and DVD (R499,95) as was the case with the 2016 conference titled "Breakthrough" (Rhema, 2016). The Word Explosion conference at Grace is also free of charge. The economic performance of the country directly affects the success of neo-PCC events. Heelas (1996) argues that new age movements are part of the neo-PCC field in "ways in which spiritual teachings and practices might contribute the efficacy of mainstream business concerns."

The church campuses and buildings

Part of the fascination of neo-PC mega-churches is their effect on the city as a social space. Religious buildings have two specific roles "in relation to their religious purpose. They can serve, either symbolically or concretely, as the home of the deity, the *House of God*. They can also serve as a place of worship, an assembly place for the *People of God* when they gather for worship and visibly become of a religious community. And, of course, religious buildings can be both simultaneously" (Ellwood, 1993:102).

All three neo-PCCs have large buildings as their headquarters. Their church campuses are prominent edifices in the edge cities of Sandton and Randburg and township suburb of Pimville. The grounds and buildings on the campuses of mega-churches are the large and domineering religious commodities. Sunday mornings around each mega-church are defined by high traffic volume, with tens of cars driving towards each mega-church.

The size, design and prominence of these mega-church campuses are determinants of success in the neo-PCC field, driving "the winning of external or specific profits" (Bourdieu, 1993:30), such as larger number of adherents. These buildings on the neo-PC campuses include auditoriums that seat thousands of people at a time, small chapels that resemble what the mainline churches have, halls, pools for baptism, man-made streams, lakes or water features, etc. Like shopping malls, the neo-PCC grounds also make large spatial provision for the parking for vehicles. At Rhema and Grace the allotted parking space is akin to a vast open field surrounding the church buildings. At Rivers here is underground

parking, and wide-open parking lot. There is also an open parking lot adjacent and across the street for overflow parking. In all three megachurches, even with the parking space provided, one spends lots of time looking for parking. My experience at these churches is that one has to be on time to find a parking spot and a seat.

Frahm-Arp (2010:97) asserts that parking lots reflect post-apartheid socioeconomic change for Black people, indicated by Grace's parking lot that is "full of 4X4s, luxury sedans and trendy small cars." This is similarly the case at Rhema and Rivers, where Porsche Cayennes, Hummers and BMW X5s fill the parking lot (Mulugeta, 2010). Rhema, Grace and Rivers adherents are smartly, but casually dressed. They dock colourful blouses, fashionable hairstyles.

The three neo-PCCs share the trait of building in suburbia and needing to make provision for parking. Noack and Gamio (2015) state that in the US "community members usually access the churches by car. To provide the necessary parking lots, US. megachurches are often in suburban areas." Noack and Gamio (2015) contrast this with global megachurches, where they assert that "megachurches are often constructed in the centres of cities, where they are accessed by foot, subway, bus or cab." For South Africa, both ways take place, as adherents travel to megachurches by taxi, use their cars and also have the church bus fetch them. The latter refers to Rhema, specifically. This largely relates to how cities are structured in the post-apartheid era, where the apartheid spatial logic has not been dismantled.

The grandiosity of the campus and main auditorium, the story of building it, is thus appropriated by the neo-PCC founder, and consumed by the adherent as a success story. Critically, as Bourdieu says, capital in the objective state is largely dependent upon embodied capital, one must possess the technical expertise to properly consume or appropriate these objects, texts, and vestments. Thus, the neo-PCC habitus actively transfers the technical expertise required to properly consume the objectified capital – building, it teaches adherents how to regard, with appreciation, the building. This is done throughout the habitus whether, through main church services, training sessions, etc, where neo-PCC leaders edify the building.

Not only do neo-PCC middle class their adherents, but firstly their legitimacy in the Prosperity Gospel habitus and field. This is largely tied to their real or apparent material success as a church, as an organisation, and secondly also related to the first, they too construct a middle-class identity for themselves. Middle classing themselves, both at the objective material level, as well as symbolic, behavioural and status level.

As stated in chapter 5, Rhema's church campus is valued at R75-million in 2001 (Balcomb, 2004:15), has a bookshop, a music recording studio and broadcast television place, staff offices, a health mobile clinic and Bible school. Oosthuizen (2013:89) states "an annual commitment of more R100-

million is made by the members of Rhema Bible Church alone.” This suggests that Rhema’s pastorate has a high ability to draw revenue from congregants, as one factor. Other factors that affect the ability to draw a particular revenue level, also defined by Mellody (2011:44) include the “financial demographics of the area(s) from which the church draws its congregation, the state of the macro-economy and the local micro-economy, diversity in the congregation ...”

A News24 (2009) reports that Rhema’s revenue was R100-million, comprising R68-million from tithes and offerings, R32-million from the bookstore, television and Bible school. Rhema has a R52-million salary bill of 167 salaried staff. This translates to R311,000 per annum for each staff member (News24, 2009), making this income level low-to-middle class. This is different to Balcomb’s (2004) count for 2001 which placed the staff number at 700, and membership at 23,000. Ray McCauley is said to earn an income of a medium-sized company as Chief Executive Officer (CEO), estimated at R100,000 per month (van Rooyen, 2009; Mwaura, 2008).

Grace is located on a 13,000 square meter site (Dlamini, 2008). The land was bought in 1996 and building began in 2000 (Sono, 23 January 2017, making your vision come true, Part 3). In April 2008, the church unveiled its youth sports centre and children’s centre. Costing R30-million, and financed by its congregants, the building of these centres had begun in 2006. The youth sport centre has a gym, and indoor sport-arena with 2,500 seating capacity. There is an amphitheatre and a canteen (Dlamini, 2008). The children’s centre has internet café or computer lab, creche, hall and 14 classrooms (Dlamini, 2008). In addition, the campus has community and counselling rooms, a bookstore, church offices, a chapel, and a kitchen” (Frahm-Arp, 2018:260). She characterises Grace’s church complex as “a large office-park style complex,” *ibid*. While Frahm-Arp (2018) states Grace’s church seating-capacity at 4,000, Dlamini (2008) cites it as 5,000.

The Rivers Church campus was designed by dbm architects, and the project is advertised as a completed project on their website (dbm architects Website). Rivers Church has a R50-million church complex in Sandton, an extension of R19-million, and similar to Rhema and unlike Grace, the source of the funds for the building are not typically mentioned by the senior pastor during services or sermons. These large amounts suggest successful religious entrepreneurship. Rivers church, like a few other mega-churches has a twelve-minute *YouTube* video offering a tour of the church building and describing the design. It is posted by ThiNK International and was published on 2 December 2015. As of 9 April 2023 it had 79,512 views. At first referring to the building as “our sanctuary” Pastor Olivier guides the virtual tour alongside Lewarne.

We designed the building with these spirals in mind, so that easy access was possible, instead of stairs you can just walk-up-walk-down. You can take a trolley up here; you can take a wheel chair up. It’s actually a quarter kilometre from- if you go up to the top and

come down to the bottom, it equals a quarter kilometre. But it makes easy access, and you get thousands of people out of the building very quickly. We've got one on the north side and on the south side. **Olivier, 2 December 2015. Church Building Design – Rivers Church Sandton Building Tour.**

Grider (2017) and Frahm-Arp (2018:263) describe the inside of Rivers Church as a shopping mall. Grider (2017) says the inside has an “indoor shopping mall, with multiple restaurants, shopping and hot rod cars.” Frahm-Arp (2018:263) describes the church as a “complex” with “coffee shops and lounge areas where people can chat. There is also a food court, and according to Olivier, the church aims to help people become healthier by selling only fresh, organic, or otherwise healthy foods (arguably, cultivating fit physiques is part of the church's overall ethos of fostering successful, polished lives)” On the tour of the church building, Olivier says:

So here we are in the food court, we offer coffee, sandwiches pies, all sorts of great take away food that you can eat at the tables. We also sell groceries, organic food, organic coffee. **Olivier, 2 December 2015. Church Building Design – Rivers Church Sandton Building Tour.**

Frahm-Arp (2018:263) continues saying that the Rivers church décor “invokes the current fashion for ‘industrial’ interiors, featuring old copper pipes and factory appliances shipped to South Africa from the United States.” Frahm-Arp reasons that “given the high import duties charged by South Africa, this must all have been done at great cost. The décor makes a powerful and deliberate statement about the church's financial success as well as its connection to the United States,” *ibid.* Frahm-Arp's (2018) statement likens to Katsaura (2022) who argues that Pentecostal buildings function as “spatialisations, symbolisations and concentrations of spiritual profits and power” (2022:1). Katsaura thus similarly argues that “iconic Pentecostal buildings are architecturations of Pentecostal churches' economic power. Pentecostal churches' economic capital of finance is stocked in the size, quality, aesthetics, and primness of their buildings – in their capacity to invest in “costume” and appropriate ‘physical space’” (2022:2).

In South African town planning there has always been a street called Church or Kerk street in the centre of a city or town. This is a common characteristic of South Africa's cities and towns. Neo-PCC have somewhat followed the trajectory of building their churches in town, next to places where business is conducted. But they have gone a step further as they have now brought business activities that used to happen outside their church buildings into their church buildings.

This is the downstairs area; this is our food court. And we love people to hang out here. There are all different kinds of coffee, organic food, we sell nuts and oils and all sorts of

healthy things. And a couple hundred people can eat down here and just hang out and connect, make friends. **Olivier, 2 December 2015. Church Building Design – Rivers Church Sandton Building Tour.**

So now let's take a walk to the windows, I wanna show you the parking garage that we constructed, where formerly there were two residences. We demolished them, we built something interesting. ... the parking garage, 640 cars can park here. Formerly there were two homes, acres, now there are 5 acres of parking, some of it undercover. And our people are able to walk through directly across from the parking into the building. **Olivier, 2 December 2015. Church Building Design – Rivers Church Sandton Building Tour.**

Grider (2017) claims that "Hillsong funnels money to other 'pastors' to start new mega-church campuses or complexes, the money starts flowing in, and then the money starts flowing back to Hillsong via non-taxable and under ... non-reported 'love offerings to the Houston compound.'" The Daily Sun (2021) says "international megachurch Hillsong, estimated to be worth more than R1-trillion, for example, offers a leadership network to support new churches in their network. The support includes access to a network portal with church building resources, invitations to events, access to lounge and priority seating at conferences, and 'network master classes' to help grow various aspects of the church. They do not disclose the fee required to join this network." This is also explained in chapter 4 as Rivers was part of this network.

The public comments on the *YouTube* post (i.e.: Church Building Design: Rivers Church Sandton Building Tour) show disagreement, one commenter says "this Church does not have to be ashamed of anything. King Solomon built a sanctuary greater than this so the House of God should be done with excellence. Well done Rivers Church!" while another says "this is the ugliest most non-Christian church, it's more of a temple of greed, if you are going to build a church build it atleast (sic) looking like a church."

Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Pulpit

Two elements are present in the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic pulpit, the first is the physical structure and the second relates to its content, that is what is produced, the messaging or what comes from the pulpit. The neo-PCC pulpit produces, promotes and delivers a socialised Prosperity Gospel habitus. This section thus examines the physical attributes of each neo-PCCs pulpit, which are distinguishable from the mainline Protestant and Roman Catholic Church pulpits. The neo-PCC pulpit constitutes the stage, the pulpit, the choir and music team, the cross and other Christian symbols, architecture, paraphernalia (intermittently present). There are large screens, lights, sound system and cameras.

The physical attributes of the neo-PCC pulpit are distinguishable from Mainline Protestant Churches and the Roman Catholic Church. Chaves (2004:155) argues that “religious movements and religious entrepreneurs partly innovate, but they also partly seek continuity with major existing traditions in their cultural field.” This is because they want to be “simultaneously” recognisable and “recognisably different from existing religions” *ibid.* They do this because they seek to be seen as “real” religions but differentiated, *ibid.* Perhaps they want to appear more authentic or more powerful so that they can attract and maintain large numbers of adherents and sustain themselves and their existence. Technological use, and commercialisation has affected all facets of faith, but these are used very much by neo-PCCs, especially neo-PC mega-churches.

Rhema has small steps that lead onto a blue-carpeted stage, where there is a glasslike pulpit or lectern positioned in the middle of the stage. The acrylic, glass or glasslike pulpits are modern and popularly used by neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches, while the mainline and Catholic churches typically remain using the wooden lectern (Gold, 2006). Typically, McCauley or any other preaching pastor places their Bible, *iPad* or – “Biblical device” as Dr Chris Hill, a former favourite international speaker at Rhema’s annual conferences calls it - on the glass or glasslike pulpit (Chris Hill, Rhema Church Awakening Conference, 12 March 2017). McCauley, though, tends to read from printed notes, while Sono uses an *iPad*, and Olivier carries no device, reading directly from the screen or teleprompter. The preacher typically begins their sermon positioned and/or reading from the pulpit. However, as their sermon progresses, they tend to move away from the pulpit – closer to the edge of the stage or pace, the breadth of the stage according to their preaching style.

Typically, the preaching pastor will place their printed or physical Bible, but some do use an *iPad* or smart phone on the pulpit and begin their sermon positioned and/or reading from the pulpit. The pastors also have a view of the clock and a screen that leads them through their sermon, and this is the case at Grace. There are also words at the bottom of the stage on a teleprompter, particularly at Rhema.

As their sermons progress, pastors tend to move away from the pulpit, either towards the edge of the steps or they pace the breadth of the stage according to their preaching style. As the years progressed, Ray McCauley tends to stay positioned at the pulpit, moving very little or not too far from the pulpit, and lately he may even be seated as he preaches. He spends his sermon resting his hands and preaching from it. This may be due to his recovery to surgery he had, his recovery and age. Both McCauley and Olivier have thinly designed, almost invisible microphones attached to their earlobes, while Sono prefers the hand-held, visible microphone.

Rivers Church is hyper-modern in its take of the pulpit, more so than the Rhema or Grace churches. James (2007:200) states that Rivers Church espouses the idea that “excellence is crucial in Christian ministry and hence that no money should be spared for ‘the house of God.’” This is reflected in the

expensive looking design of the church campus and buildings. Unlike at Rhema and Grace, where the pulpit is a permanent fixture in the middle of the stage, an opening in the mid-area of the stage, opens and the Rivers' Church pulpit emerges and ascends from inside the floor when needed. This is a unique feature of the Rivers' pulpit, where a button is pressed opening the stage floor and a pulpit rises onto the stage, and the floor closes again. It is, frankly, a sight to behold! Unlike the glass pulpits, this is a steel pulpit, with a curve design. The top of the stage has three large circle lights that change colour, making the pulpit distinctive and recognisable. The stage also has smoke machines (Grider, 2017).

Gold (2006:75) who reviewed the architectural and artefact changes of the Assemblies of God Church in the 20-year period from 1980 to 2000 in England reflects on the changes from the wooden pulpit to the see-through pulpit as part of an analysis of sacred space, religious symbols and artefacts that "facilitate a distinctive brand of neo-Pentecostal worship and theological outlook." Referring to this as the Perspex lectern "a contemporary innovation" by neo-Pentecostal Charismatic congregations, Gold (2006) which is perspex or lucite and replaces the wooden lectern. Gold (2006:84) asserts that the use of modern objects by neo-PCCs is for them "to be up to date and appear relevant." He says that neo-PCCs use the perspex lectern to link the

"Pentecostal ministry to notions of power and success. Individually these attributes are embodied in the persona of the pastor or preacher (now much more visible than before). Corporately, transparent lecterns are now often used at political events and business seminars. The associated appeal to the business world may be particularly strong among those neo-Pentecostal and Charismatics who advocate 'prosperity teaching'" (Gold, 2006:84).

What is important are the "billboard-sized" screens on the stage (Grider, 2017). At Rhema and Rivers there is a large screen on the main stage, which is flanked on the right and left by two more screens, which are slightly smaller in size relative to the main screen but remain large screens. Rivers and Grace both have one large screen centred on the stage. At Rivers "the church has placed TV screens throughout the auditorium, the bathrooms, lobbies, and shops. The pastor's sermons and all the musical, dramatic, or comic performances that precede or follow his sermons are filmed" (Frahm-Arp, 2018:263).

These screens flight different material related to the sermon or event. Typically, they flight a cross or some other related Christian image, like a person with their hands raised upward and glistening with golden light. The screens carry colourful information, with pre-recorded and prepared content relating to the church events and so on. They also flight the Bible verses being read during the sermon.

At Rivers “watching the TV screens during a service imparts the feeling of participating in a live TV show that combines the talk show and talent performance genres” (Frahm-Arp, 2018:264). Mulugeta (2010) supports this view, stating that the production quality of videos is “worthy of MTV.”

Rhema and Grace share this, with their audio-visual content also well organised, of high quality and well-presented. The sermon content is supported by visuals, pictures behind him. When he quotes a person, a picture with the cited quote is flighted on the screen, making the sermon a choreographed presentation.

The stage is also supported by well-designed lighting, which Grider (2017) describes as laser lights, stage décor (or props depending on the sermon). Rhema, Grace and Rivers have designed the best possible sound and lighting that enhances the filming of church activities (M&G, 1985; Grider, 2017; Olivier, 2015 on THiNK). Thus, a combination of technological advancement in the audio-visual sector collides with the growth of the neo-PCCs, becoming a specialized product offering from audio-visual companies and professionals to neo-PCCs. This is called “atmospheric lighting” which is called turnkey lighting solutions that “provide a spectrum of colours and effects combined with the control you need to set the mood and create the ambience that you’re looking for” (Stage Audio Works website, accessed 17 December 2022). The audio-visual companies and professionals offer “vast experience and expertise” to enhance the mega-churches’ “message and enrich end-user experience” (Stage Audio Works website, accessed 17 December 2022). Resane (2017:2) states that neo-PCCs allot “more funds” on the “architectural design and reception parlour ... to attract and make congregants happy and comfortable.” Resane (2017) makes the important observation that neo-PCCs aspire towards luxuries for top end looking architecture, buildings and décor, and that this aspiration has tended towards a “coercive trend” among the churches.

The camera captures much of the space. The camera functions as a script as well. Using a variety of shots, camera angles and movements, it closes in on the preacher’s face, his movements up and down the stage, and then pans to the congregation, their faces and their responses, their raised hands and positive gesturing, the tears on their faces, their faces with closed eyes as their lips move rapidly in prayer. The camera too, also omits some of the stories. It does not show for example the moment of giving, offering or tithing.

The auditoria are large as is characteristic of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-churches. Rhema and Rivers both have large auditoriums with “arena-style seating” (Noah, 2019:7) or cinema or auditorium like style seating. The seats at Rhema are numbered, like the ones at cinemas. Cinemas number their seats for the sale of tickets, the seats are a product, and commercial asset. As such, one can take the numbered seats at Rhema as saleable asset, especially for paid-for events, or renting of the venue. Rhema’s website has an automated form for enquiry on booking its venues. Amongst other

smaller venues, Rhema offers its main auditorium that has a seating capacity of 7,250-seats, the Rhema action centre with seating capacity of 1,500 available for hire. It also has the Rhema chapel, which it states is “generally used for weddings and funerals” (Rhema Bible Church website, 5 November 2022). The national Department of Basic Education (DBE) used the auditorium for its South African Schools Choral Eisteddfod competition in 2015 for 4 days. In addition, finding the auditorium appropriate for its event, the provincial Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) held its School Governing Body (SGB) summit at Rhema Church in 2018 (Corruption Watch, 2018; Hlongoane, 2019). It was attended by about “7,000 newly elected SGBs” that “were addressed by the MEC for education” (Corruption Watch, 2018:35). Struggle activist Alfred Nzo’s funeral was also held at Rhema (South African History Online, SAHO website, 9 April 2023). The internationally acclaimed African-American Chandler Moore of Maverick City and Elevation Worship was set to perform at Rhema on 26 November 2022, ticket prices were advertised at R550 to R2,250 (Zwane, 2022). Moore was to be accompanied by South African gospel singers Kaya Mthethwa and Brenden Praise. However, the event was cancelled, and through its *Facebook* page Rhema informed people to seek out the organisers of the event for their refunds (Rhema Bible Church, 16 November 2022). It posted a notice with the contact details of how to gain refunds.

Grace’s set-up involves seats that can be moved in and out of the main auditorium, allowing for an amenable setting to whatever might be required. Public events, including those that are government related have also been held there. For example, the Gauteng Youth Expo for the celebration of 16 June 1976 took place at Grace on 16 June 2020. The GDE also used Grace for the rollout of its technology programme launch in 2015.

In certain instances, a supportive state environment is also key to growth. The state and neo-PCC fields have positively intersected (see Chapter 7 for contestations). A highly priced “leadership summit” was held at the Durban International Convention Centre (ICC). It was a one-day event where a leadership masterclass with Bishop TD Jakes as the keynote speaker would be held (Durban ICC, 2019). The cost for attending the masterclass was R6,900 per person. For the overall summit, and depending on which sessions an attendee selected, the price ranged from R500 to R5,900 per person, and tickets could be bought via South Africa’s ticket sales online giant *Computicket*, *ibid*. The leadership summit was envisioned as “a platform where thought leaders (would) engage in a strategic dialogue about pressing leadership issues in South Africa” (Durban ICC, 2019). The event received government endorsement through Nomusa Dube-Ncube, who is the former leader of Government Business and MEC for Economic Development, Tourism and Environmental Affairs in KwaZulu Natal. According to the Durban ICC (2019), the former mayor of eThekweni, a South African metropolitan city, also endorsed the event saying:

This summit could not have come at a better time when the country is repositioning itself to grow our economy. I have no doubt that the knowledge that will be imparted in this Summit by internationally acclaimed speaker and businessman Bishop TD Jakes will assist in addressing some of the challenges facing our country such as unemployment, poverty and inequality.

Jakes would be “be imparting his business knowledge during a Masterclass session themed: ‘principles to succeed in business,’ in which he will discuss “developing business leaders, entrepreneurship, developing successful businesses and building sustainable enterprises” (Durban ICC, 2019). Sono was among the speakers, which also included Bishop Vusi Dube, Apostle Collins Dhlomo, Vivian Reddy, Pastor Phil Dooley, Dr Basil Tryon, Ms Zanele Mbokazi, Ms Nomusa Dhlomo and Dr Allen Joseph, *ibid.* TD Jakes is a globally renowned mega-church pastor. He leads several mega-church campuses in the United States. He largely preaches the progress and abilities Prosperity Gospel, having written many books about being a successful business person, professional and so on. He runs a highly commercialised brand of Christianity and has been credited with building and nurturing ‘winning ways’ through his books, films and mega-conferences (McGee, 2012).

Noah (2019) describes Rhema church as having an “a rock band jamming with the latest Christian contemporary pop. Everyone sang along, and if you didn’t know the words that was okay because they were all right up there on the Jumbotron for you. It was Christian karaoke, basically. I always had a blast at mixed church.” Finding the “stained glass windows, towering crosses or a pulpit for the pastor,” absent, Mulugeta (2010) says entering Rivers “feels more like entering a concert hall than a house of worship.”

Chaves (2004:160) explains that “an ecological interpretation of innovation in worship practices does not require intentionally strategic action on the part of religious entrepreneurs.” Instead, “religious entrepreneurs” locate their movements “either near an established, and therefore familiar, tradition or in an entirely unoccupied cultural niche.” Importantly, Chaves (2004:160) argues that “but these patterns also could be produced by an entirely blind evolutionary process in which religious entrepreneurs, reformers, and charismatic leaders innovated for theological or normative or aesthetic reasons, with no regard whatsoever for strategic concerns. Over time, much as the natural environment favours certain randomly occurring genetic mutations, the religious traditions that survive and thrive will be those that happened to locate in cultural niches that are both relatively unoccupied and also rich with resources in the form of individuals who want to participate in the worship practices offered by the tradition.”

Conclusion: synthesis of the chapter’s key points

New digital and electronic media is globally prevalent. Scholarly research into the intersection of globalisation, neo-PCCs and sociocultural lives is a new area. In the global neo-PCC arena, the Internet

and Pentecostal Charismatic television networks are making unprecedented access to vast transregional or transnational public communities (Cabrita and Maxwell, 2017).

The theoretical importance of this chapter derives from the critique by McKinnon et al. (2011) and Verter (2003) that Bourdieu was inattentive to the interconnection between various fields. This chapter joins this debate by illustrating the interconnections between the ICT industry and the South African neo-PCC field and how these intersections act in some instances to alter religious practices, and, though temporal, dilute the Bordieuan notion of a monopoly held by religious specialists in dispensing sacraments.

This chapter has shown that the three South African mega-churches are evolving from print media and deploying electronic and digital media to interface with the public. The internet and social media platforms such as *YouTube*, *Facebook*, *Instagram* and *WhatsApp* were especially critical for maintaining neo-PCC collectives during the lockdown periods of COVID-19. Thus, the internet and social media platforms became crucial for maintaining the neo-PCC habitus, while at the same time doing church through these platforms became a legitimate channel, that is viewing a livestream of church *was* going to church, and no longer a replacement of the real thing which would make in an inauthentic ‘catch-up’ experience.

This chapter further shows how mega-churches usurp internet and social media platforms as items from the secular world to construct their habitus. Neo-PCCs are continuously in a process therefore of neo-Pentecostalising not only adherents but the internet and social media platforms. This attempt is an ongoing and conflict-ridden process, as these media sites contain a transregional public that has its own logic. As such, neo-PCC leaders get dragged into the logic of these platforms, where in some instances their accounts get copied and used for other purposes. As the chapter that follows demonstrates, there is no controlling of a trending issue on *Facebook* or *Twitter*. This means that a carefully constructed media presence and personality of the neo-PCC and leadership is open to destructive deconstruction of their symbolic capital.

Importantly and in concluding, the media, technology, professional, occupational, service and product outlined in this chapter illustrate that the mega-churches studied herein are formidable organisations. Evidenced by their creation of commercial online and physical profit-oriented operations (e.g.: online book store, digital apps and coffee shops) these three mega-churches are comparable to commercial, capitalistic and profit-oriented small, medium and large sized multinationals that run complex and multi-layered organisational forms. The caveat is that each mega-church studied herein was at a different life-cycle in the development of their Pentecostal habitus, as detailed in this and the preceding chapter. At a macro-level, these indicate how middle class occupations, professions, services and products contribute the creation of the mega-church neo-Pentecostal habitus.

CHAPTER SIX

Classificatory Struggles in the neo-PCC field

Introduction

Bourdieu's relational sociology proposes fields as hierarchized social networks that constitute society and are continuously locked in a struggle against each other for resources and power (Verter, 2003). Power is differentially dispersed within a field, that is: political, economic, social, religious and cultural institutions in their respective fields across societies and through history tussle for favour, prestige and seniority in the field. Within a hierarchical religious field, churches, institutions and actors struggle against each other to accumulate symbolic capital; to accrue power, to surpass their competitor's position and capital and to gain seniority or leading positions within the religious field. Importantly, struggle, contestation and competition take place between hierarchically and unequally placed social actors and institutions in the field over different forms of capital, prestige, authority and power.

In the post-1994 era the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field's prominence heightens, evidenced by its quantitative rise. This growth is encouraged by a political economy that supports the free association of culture, language, gender, sexuality and religion. The neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field's prominence is also reflected by the socio-cultural and political significance and influence possessed by the churches, pastors, bishops and adherents (Ngoma, 2021). The greater levels of social participation by key mega-church leaders such as Ray McCauley and Mosa Sono are significant examples (see chapter 4). In the post-apartheid era, neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches have "more than any other religious group or social institution" maintained a "strong public presence in the media" (Kaunda, 2015:125). Through maintaining a strong public presence, neo-PCCs extend their reach, appealing to wider audiences beyond their local churches, and consequently "shape new forms of public religiosity that spill over into various forms of popular culture and resonate with broad audiences" (De Witte 2012:144 cited by Kaunda, 2015:125).

However, the public attention that neo-PCCs attract is not always positive. With greater regularity from about the year 2010 "the religious sector – particularly the Christian faith – has been making headlines for all the wrong reasons" (McCauley, 2018). The heightened prominence of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field has also been met with a counterforce of negative perceptions and stigmatised views that tarnish the Christian and neo-PCC fields. In the same way that the new Black middle class has been the subject of controversy, so too have neo-PCCs attracted tabloid like media attention. These have taken place through hysterical and derisive newspaper headlines; inquisitorial television shows and interviews and as well as trending reactionary and scornful social media posts

across social media platforms such as *Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and WhatsApp*. Neo-PCCs and their church leaders have been publicly derided for excess, pomp, flamboyance and crass consumption. They have been accused of duping their adherents for money and worse still, for sexual abuse. Thus, neo-PCCs and neo-PC mega-churches, while having millions of adherents and followers nationally, also paradoxically contend against threats to their legitimacy, authority, status and prestige in society.

Neo-PCC Field Contestation Framework

The South African Christian field has at different times in history, been characterised by internal and external contestation and conflict. Internal contestation and conflict relates to clashes erupting among Christian actors within the Christian field, while external conflict refers to clashes between the Christian field and other social, political and state fields. Within the Christian field therefore, neo-PCCs are also drawn into internal and external contestation and conflict. This means that neo-PCC actors have contested each other and the broader religious field.

Constitutional Right to Freedom of Association and Religion

Importantly, in the post-1994 landscape the Christian field remains characterised by low-barriers to entry facilitated by the state (Frahm-Arp, 2018; McCauley, 2018; Thompson, 2019). Thompson (2019) reports that starting “a church is easy” as the South African Constitution provides for the right to freedom of religion, with the Bill of Rights being the cornerstone of South Africa’s democracy. McCauley (2018) makes the same observation, asserting that

Anyone can start a church or religious organisation in South Africa and argue freedom of religion. Over the past few years South Africa has seen the mushrooming of a particular (type) of Pentecostal and charismatic churches with very little, if any, oversight. Some receive money from the public without any form of registration with the authorities. This is a recipe for chaos.

Under chapter 2, Section 7:1, the Constitution enshrines the rights of all people in the country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom. The Constitutional right for everyone to “freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion” is contained in Section 15(1) of the Bill of Rights. To protect and promote cultural, religious and linguistic community rights, there is the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (CRL), which is a Chapter 9 Constitutional body. In 2015 the CRL launched an investigation into the commercialisation of religion and abuse of religious and cultural beliefs.

The South African finance system has also affected and helped to reproduce the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field and to expand it. The non-taxability of churches as a special category of civil society organisations also means that neo-PCCs can ramp up high levels of tax-exempt income. Thompson (2019) and Scharnick-Udemans (2017) have also highlighted the “downside” of an open religious field

encouraged and protected by the Constitution. Thompson (2019) points out that the Constitutional right to religious freedom lowers the barriers to entry into the religious field. The lack of enforced spatial regulation for faith-related activities allows anyone to start a church “in a backyard, living room, or much larger space with little to no paperwork and administrative requirements.” Arguably, it is more difficult to obtain a business zoning permit in a residential area, including an informal trading permit to hawk in the Central Business District (CBD).⁴⁴ As such the South African neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field has attracted many new entrants, particularly from the rest of Africa. This has and continues to make it a fluid and dynamic field that suffers negative public scrutiny.

Furthermore, as Scharnick-Udemans (2017) observes, for more than a decade, the respect or upholding of the Constitutional freedom of association and religion slowed effective and punitive responses from some Constitutional Bodies to complaints of abuse of congregants that were brought against certain religious bodies and their leaders. Indeed, this chapter concludes that the CRL’s attempt to heighten the regulation of faith-based organisations has been curtailed on the same Constitutional premise of the freedom of association and religion.

Fracturing legitimacy: occurrences of neo-PCC fallouts

As stated, since about 2010, the neo-PCC field has come under greater negative public scrutiny. The public scrutiny has taken place because of increased reports of negative acts practiced by so-called Pentecostal Charismatic leaders. The section that follows summarises the most public transgressions, conflicts and contestations that have taken place.

Lesego Daniel (South African), displaying religious entrepreneurialism started ‘Rabboni Centre Ministries’ in Garankua, a township north of Tshwane, Gauteng when he was 30-years old (Kgatlé, 2017). Described as a “suave and wealthy-looking young man,” Daniel infamously urged his Black congregants to eat grass (Scharnick-Udemans, 2017). This happened in 2014, when he claimed eating grass would bring them closer to God. Kgatlé (2017:3) describes this as the use of symbolism to access God. Daniels later made congregants drink petrol. Scharnick-Udemans (2017:154) states that Daniel was “unapologetic about his unorthodox healing practices and members of his congregation attest to the efficacy of his method.” This is because, while other congregants vomited the grass, one Black woman reported that her stroke damaged legs had been healed, while another stated that her sore throat disappeared after eating the grass. In line with Bourdieu’s conception of how spiritual capital functions within a habitus (Verter, 2003), Daniel’s spiritual capital relied not on his knowledge and skills, but the efficacy of misrecognition by his congregants. It his congregants that made “healed” a naturalised social

⁴⁴ Notwithstanding, unauthorized hawking is widespread in many of South Africa’s CBDs, and the metropolitan police typically raids this informal economic activity and confiscates the wares on sale.

occurrence in his congregational habitus. Akin to Bordieuan sociology, Kgatle (2017) uses the term “cultural violence” to characterise Daniel’s healing tactics (or acts), stating that such acts cast a negative light on the neo-PCC field’s entrepreneurial impulse and capacity to act as a positive binding force between different social groups.

Unlike Daniel’s congregants’ reactions, i.e.: misrecognition, five congregants laid assault charges against Lethebo Rabalago, known as the ‘prophet of doom’ (South African) of ‘Mount Zion General Assembly.’ Rabalago is another pastor accused of abusing congregants because he sprayed them with an insecticide spray (a brand known as Doom) to heal them (i.e.: HIV, cancer and other ailments) and to drive away demons (BBC, 2018). He was found guilty of assault by the High Court of South Africa in Limpopo on 20 March 2017 (The High Court of South Africa, 2017). He was sentenced on 27 February 2018 (NPA, 2018).

In his Answering Affidavit, Rabalago put forth that spraying his congregants with doom had been “a divine instruction from God by the Spirit” (The High Court of South Africa, 2017). He informed the court that he had only done the Doom spraying for a week. He explained that this had taken place during the healing ministration crusades he held in tents. He stated that none of his congregants had complained of adverse side effects. Rabalago further asserted that South Africa lacked an existing “regulatory legal framework” prohibiting such religious practices (The High Court of South Africa, 2017). Indeed, the state did not charge Rabalago for the religious belief that Doom could heal diseases. Instead, it charged him for the misuse of a controlled chemical (i.e.: the pesticide) regulated under the Agricultural Remedies and Stock Remedies Act 36 of 1947, which regulates pest control operators (National Prosecuting Authority, 2018). The MEC for the Department of Health in the Limpopo Provincial Government brought the charge. Thus, magistrate Frans Mahodi found Rabalago guilty of four counts of assault with intention to do grievous bodily harm through the “wrongful use of an agricultural remedy that contravenes the Agricultural Remedies and Stock Remedies Act 30 of 1947” (The High Court of South Africa, 2017).

In applying the prescripts of the Agricultural Remedies and Stock Remedies Act 36 of 1947, the state successfully isolated and separated religious belief for healing from the prosecution. The state prosecution was successful in that Rabalago used Doom which it had regulatory power over.

In the case against Rabalago, the state prosecutor Chris Mathuna argued that it was important to inform the public and to educate them against being gullible and being duped by the acts of some religious leaders. According to the NPA (2018) Mathuna “stressed that the community must be protected from (the) quirky methods of the modern clergy who prescribed dangerous and harmful items to the vulnerable, sick and needy.” Importantly, as a legal specialist representing the state, this shows a clash of the legal field with the religious field that takes place through the coercive and dominant power

of the state. In this case, the state held regulatory power over the religious field and successfully exercised its punitive power.

The public has been accused of being “gullible” by Mathuna, Ramaphosa and McCauley (see below). Physical healing is a distinctive feature of South African Pentecostalism (Frahm-Arp, 2010:52). Frahm-Arp further states that during the period of the AFM’s growth in the 1900s when it was multiracial: “broken bones were healed, limbs made useless through injuries were restored, the blind could see again.” Like Bonnke who is McCauley’s self-confessed inspiration did in the 1980s, Rabalago held a healing crusade in a tent in a Black township. Bonnke himself was continuing the practice of tent healing crusade missions of classic Pentecostals, such as Bhengu. This means that the crusades from the likes of Bhengu and Bonnke left a dispositional tendency in the townships to seek healing in tents or to see such tents as potential spaces for miraculous healing. Thus, it became not a foreign occurrence for a sick person to seek healing in a Pentecostal tent, nor an indication of “gullibility.” Instead, it is an inherited remnant from early forms of Pentecostalism.

Rey (2014:5) explains that by symbolic violence, Bourdieu means the imposition by the dominant of arbitrary forms and systems of meanings of the social order that are ‘misrecognised’ by the dominated as somehow un-arbitrary and natural.” Mathuna said Rabalago was “no fallen angel of God” (NPA, 2018). This statement reflects the state’s attempt to bust or dismantle an act of symbolic violence that was imposed by Rabalago’s claim that he was a fallen angel in his congregational habitus, and to simultaneously challenge the attendant misrecognition by his (dominated) congregants. Mathuna’s prosecutor statements seek to dispel Rabalago’s naturalised order as a fallen angel with healing powers. However, Mathuna as a prosecutor and representative of the state himself commits the same sin, so to speak. Mathuna can be taken to accuse Rabalago of “adhesion to the ‘charismatic ideology’ of autonomous ‘creation’” (Bourdieu, 1996 [1992]:167) forgetting that his authority and power too derives from the state and a legal field, which is itself created, which itself demands adhesion to legal ideology (misrecognised) as a naturalised order, but itself created and with a creator. Mathuna too, in fact demands that Rabalago adheres to his naturalised order of the law.

Another controversial person in the religious field is Penuel Mnguni of ‘The End of Times Ministries’ who fed congregants snakes and rats. Mnguni claimed that these turned into bread or chocolate (BBC, 2018). Khanyile (2016:11) describes ‘The End of Times Ministries’ *Facebook* page as a site of church performance, and a platform through which extreme and exceptional practices, imbued with violence, power, patriarchy, exploitation, cultural violence found expression.

Another highly controversial individual is Paseka ‘Mboro’ Motsoeneng (South African) of ‘Incredible Happenings Ministries.’ His church is based in a township called Katlehong, Gauteng. It is registered as a closed corporation and not a church. This has a historical precedent as John G Lake first registered AFM as an unlimited company in November 1913 (Maxwell, 2006). Motsoeneng reportedly

helped a young Black woman, who had reportedly been told by doctors that she had an ovarian cyst, to give birth to a fish (BBC, 2016). Motsoeneng has previously “helped” other women. In 2011 he made headlines for “inserting his fingers into women’s private parts during his sermons” to cast out demons.

Complaints against Motsoeneng were lodged in June 2011 by Sonke Gender Justice and People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) for sexual abuse of women (Scharnick-Udemans, 2017). In 2011 the CGE rejected a complaint lodged against Paseka Motsoeneng “for allegations of sexual violence against women and girls under the guise of his apparent spiritual healing abilities.” The complaint was made by Sonke Gender Justice and POWA. “The CGE rejected the complaint on the basis that “the CGE respects people’s religious beliefs as they are protected by the Constitution, with the understanding that those people exercised their choice to go to ... Motsoeneng’s church voluntarily,” while the SAHRC had only acknowledged receipt of the Sonke complaint (Sonke, 2013). Sonke (2013) criticised the CGE stating that the Chapter 9 body had an “ill-informed interpretation of the right to religious freedom in our Constitution and (its) failure to act (had) left women and young girls exposed to potential abuse.” Two years later in 2013, the SAHRC informed Sonke that it was investigating Motsoeneng as it had received new complaints against him. Motsoeneng was arrested and the South African Police Service (SAPS) was investigating sexual assault cases against him (Sonke, 2013). In March 2016, Motsoeneng also claimed to have been taken to heaven where he was able to take pictures, which he made available to anyone via *WhatsApp* at the cost of R5,000 (BBC, 2016).

Motsoeneng has also sought to interact with prominent leaders of government. In November 2016, he advertised what he called a “national rain prayer session” at his church, where he was to pray for rain. The prayer session was to be attended by then Minister of Water and Sanitation Nomvula Mokonyane, Gauteng MEC Nandi Mayathula-Khoza and Ekurhuleni mayor, Mzwandile Masina, who Motsoeneng had invited (TMG Digital, 2016).

Timothy Omotoso (Nigerian) of the ‘Jesus Dominion International Church’ was arrested in 2017 for charges relating to the contravention of the Sexual Offences Act 32 of 2007. He is undergoing a criminal case where several women from his church have accused him of sexual assault. Kgatle and Frahm-Arp (2022) reviewed the trial. Their article sought to develop a body of work that analyses gender-based violence (GBV) that takes place within Prophetic Pentecostal Churches.

The first witness in the trial was 22-year old Cheryl Zondi who testified that “when she was 14 years old she had been sexually abused by Omotoso” (Kgatle and Frahm-Arp, 2022:2). First, the article is important for its analytical review of the conflict, contestation and clash between the religious and legal fields. Second, this article is important as it constructs and identifies and deconstructs the Prophetic Prosperity Gospel habitus by extracting three dispositional discourses that structure it. Third,

the illumination of these dispositional discourses or ideas operating as the Prophetic Pentecostal Church habitus show the symbolic violence at work.

Drawing from Bourdieu's concept of habitus (1977 [2010]: 78-83), a neo-Pentecostalist middle class identity is identified and identifiable, first through various social practices situated in the domains of consumption. Second, it is identified and identifiable through Pentecostalist (socially) constituted bodily dispositions that orient thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions.

The first structuring idea is that men who abuse women do so because they are filled with evil spirits or the devil. The idea transfers the power to removing the abusive disposition of the men to the abused women, requiring them to conduct restitutive or healing prayer to cast "the evil out of these men so that they will stop abusing them" (Kgatle and Frahm-Arp, 2022:7). It also takes the responsibility away from the abuser, transferring and weighing it upon the abused. According to the authors "this is sometimes framed as the victim being responsible for their abuse because they did not pray hard enough for their abusers" (Kgatle and Frahm-Arp, 2022:7).

The second structuring idea requires that "the young women who have experienced GBV see themselves as the cause for the abuse or assault." This structuring idea extracts from the Pentecostal habitus of breaking with the past and achieving holiness. The young women are required to "reframe their abuse as being orchestrated by them while they were witches who made men abuse seemingly helpless girls and young women" (Kgatle and Frahm-Arp, 2022:3).

The final structuring idea "is that of the anointed 'Man of God' who cannot do any wrong. In this discourse, sexual abuse is understood as the pastors using sexual intercourse to open women up to receive miracles, healing and blessings from God. The men are not abusing the women at all but rather blessing and helping them spiritually. By not engaging with any of these tropes, but rather dealing with her abuser in a secular court of law, Zondi strips Omotoso of power because the trial takes place in a secular setting, in which the above rhetorical tropes are not acceptable" (Kgatle and Frahm-Arp, 2022:7).

The authors recognise that Omotoso's trial demonstrates the difficulty of proving sexual and spiritual abuse in a secular court of law, but they also assert that congregants such as Zondi challenge the attendant misrecognition required to uphold the habitus by using the power of the state and legal fields to dismantle it (i.e.: the misrecognition giving rise to symbolic violence).

Shepherd Bushiri (Malawian) of 'Enlightened Christian Gathering Church' was reported by his staff members for demanding payment for performed "miracles" (Miya, 2018). Three congregants lost their lives after a stampede broke out in the church. Bushiri or 'major one' as he is typically referred to by his followers once sold tickets to a gala-dinner in his honour for R1,000 to R15,000. Bushiri was

accused of sending R15-million a month to Malawi through his private jet and numerous cars. Bushiri and his wife Mary were arrested in early 2019 on fraud and money laundering charges to the value of R15,3-million (Nqola, 2019).

Another controversial and theatrical miracle performance involved Alph Lukau (Congolese) of 'Alleluia Ministries' who supposedly brought a dead man back to life. Lukau suffered severe backlash from different church leaders, including McCauley and Sono and the President of South Africa Cyril Ramaphosa. Lukau who had enjoyed the favour of former President Zuma as he had officiated his daughter's wedding in 2011 (Bukasa, 2017). Speaking on behalf of the IFCC, McCauley said "we call on our people to stop being gullible and just believe anything that looks like a miracle – and exposing themselves to these charlatans (Jordaan, 2019). McCauley also said "where criminality has been committed, the police must take charge and the law must follow its course" (Jordaan, 2019).

Speaking out against the resurrection at the launch of the ANC election campaign in Cape Town on 28 February 2019, Ramaphosa said "bogus religious leaders" tried "to hoodwink the whole nation" by "saying that someone has been raised from the dead!?"

Second, Ramaphosa's statement re-established or repeated the accusation that there were some "contemptuous" and "bogus religious leaders" (Ramaphosa, 28 February 2019. ANC launch of election drive). By describing them as bogus religious leaders that were "taking advantage of the gullibility of their congregants" Ramaphosa unmasked the symbolic violence at play, *ibid*. In further stating that these said actors were using "Christianity to amass wealth" he called into question or delegitimised the transubstantiation of spiritual and religious capital into material capital. By saying the said actors were breaking "the law in the name of religion" as the president, he began the work of constructing a criminal and legal boundary within the Christian field. Meaning, that there could be acts that operate according to an existing Christian habitus that transubstantiate spiritual and religious capital into material capital, or others, that could thus be determined as criminal. He encouraged religious leaders "to stand up and defend Christianity against people who use deception to amass wealth" thus calling on the field itself to police itself (Ramaphosa, 28 February 2019. ANC launch of election drive).

Third, Ramaphosa's statement authorised the use of the state's coercive police and legal power to prosecute offences:

We call upon our law enforcement agencies to get to the bottom of these insensitive acts and bring to book people who break the law in the name of religion. **Ramaphosa, 28 February 2019. ANC launch of election drive.**

His statement also combined the power of the religious and state fields by asserting that government would "work together" with Christian leaders "to ensure that we rid our country of bogus

religious leaders who are taking our people for a ride. Who are doing things that are just completely shocking” (Ramaphosa, 28 February 2019. ANC launch of election drive).

Fourth, like all presidents in South Africa’s modern history, Ramaphosa upholds Christian ideology. This is evident in the statement:

People need to check the Word of God – which is the truth – and not believe in individuals who mislead them. We are sick and tired of being tarred with the same brush as these contemptuous people. **Ramaphosa, 28 February 2019. ANC launch of election drive.**

As the foremost leader in the state field, Ramaphosa’s statement legitimised the Christian doctrine of the Bible as the “Word of God – which is the truth.” This is symbolic violence at play as Ramaphosa and the South African state are calling upon South African society to collectively participate in misrecognition: a created text and created deity (the Bible as a Holy Book containing the infallible Word of God). Thus, when he asserted “it is an indictment on the church of Jesus Christ and an abuse that the Word of God warns against” Ramaphosa was not only expecting collective misrecognition as a nation, but also demanding it on the basis of his political and leadership power (Ramaphosa, 28 February 2019. ANC launch of election drive). Ramaphosa’s statement also sought to restore the legitimacy of Christianity in South African society: “we are currently a laughingstock of the nation and the whole act has turned into a sick joke. This has gone far and we need to act now against these false prophets and re-establish the credibility of the church,” *ibid.* In Marxist terms Ramaphosa was re-establishing the ideological power of the Christian church within South African society by seeking to rescue it from not users, but misusers that were sick jokesters. Importantly, Ramaphosa’s statement also pathologized acts that bring “the name of the Lord, of God and of churches into disrepute” by describing such acts as “actually quite terrible to do something like that.” He also established this as pathological by saying “that government” was “appalled by the acts that have been described as miracles by so-called men of God to confuse and to take advantage of the gullibility of their congregants” (Ramaphosa, 28 February 2019. ANC launch of election drive).

Many of the people who are falling into the practices that these religious leaders are perpetrating are ordinary people who may not be fully aware of the, you know- bad intentions of some of these people. **Ramaphosa, 28 February 2019. ANC launch of election drive.**

Ultimately, Ramaphosa’s statements reflect the intersection of the political field, the state, and religious field, where the combined capitals of the political and state fields give him the ultimate symbolic power to adjudicate disputes and certify identities (Wacquant, 2013).

The CRL demanded the death certificate of the man that was resurrected. It was set to summon Lukau and the funeral parlour Kings and Queens to appear before it (Jordaan, 2019a). But Kings and

Queens claimed that it had not seen the dead body and had only been asked for transport services. As the act attracted greater negative attention, several days later the funeral parlour stated its intention to sue Lukau for bringing it into disrepute, *ibid.* Johan Rosseau of the ‘Funeral Industry Reformed Association’ spoke against Kings and Queens Funeral services for renting out its hearse without seeing the deceased body. Rosseau opined that this act had been possible because the funeral industry was unregulated, and prone to bogus and illegal operators (Bhengu, 2019; Levitt, 2019).

However, this was not the first time a “dead” person had been raised from the dead in the South African Pentecostal field. In Doornfontein’s Zion chapel where the AFM revivals (1906 or so) were taking place where “ecstatic phenomena such as glossolalia, ‘holy laughter,’ shaking and prostration under the power of the Spirit,” a young girl called Maggie Truter was raised from the dead (Maxwell, 2006:40).

Lukau had previously held a conference for single women costing R450 to R5,000 a ticket since he claimed “the Lord has spoken to me about hosting an event for women this year. I received a message from God to anoint women who want to get married” (Ndabeni, 2016). Lukau said that he would also pray for “those ... struggling to conceive and having problems in their relationships. Within 90-days their lives will change. It is the prophetic Word from God.” Lukau had previously taken journalist Solomon Izang to court for “publishing defamatory comments about Lukau, his wife (and) his church” (TimesLive, 2019). This had taken place on account of the articles Izang wrote about the above stated single women conference.

The South African state also did this through its CRL investigation and the utterances made by the president. The religious and political field therefore clash as the state seeks to extract what it sees as false prophets. Also segments of the neo-PCC religious field separate and class with others, and as they are clashing the one side moves closer to and is aligned with the political field.

State legitimacy: CRL Investigation

South Africa’s religious field has been characterised by a mixed bag of relations with the state over time. In 19th century Johannesburg there was a tepid desire by white municipal authorities to place independent and dissenting Zionist ministers under the supervision of white ministers because they feared that these Black ministers posed a political threat (Cabrita, 2015). But the colonial and apartheid governments did not regulate the affairs of the church resulting in “religion becoming the most differentiated sector in South African society. Religion has consequently presented Africans with the best available opportunity for upward occupational mobility in the modern sector” (Dreyer, 1989:11).

Malusi Mpumlwana, Bishop of the Ethiopian Episcopal Church (a small denomination in South Africa) and former acting general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) (now appointed), allegedly laid a formal complaint against Bishop Mosa Sono of Grace Bible Church to the

CRL.⁴⁵ Mpumlwana's alleged complaint resulted in the CRL summoning Sono to its offices in 2015 (Somniso-Abraham, 2015). Sono was asked to appear and supply the CRL with his ordination certificate and the details of the pastor that had ordained him and Grace Bible Church's bank statements, *ibid*.

The CRL then instituted an investigation into the commercialisation of religious and cultural beliefs, led by its then chairperson Thoko Mkhwanazi-Xaluva. Neo-PCCs (and other religious and traditional formations) were accused of commercialising religion by selling highly priced prayers, charging exorbitant amounts for petty commodities and products said to have miracle-creating powers (hand bands, water, oils, candles, tea, coffee, mealie meal, T-shirts, etc.). Some of the neo-PCC pastors, bishops and priests were accused of being fake or fraudulent and for mismanaging church finances and abusing congregants' trust.

Prior to the CRL investigation into the commercialisation of religious and cultural beliefs that began in 2015, numerous reports and complaints had been levelled against several neo-PCC religious leaders; as for more than a decade before the CRL investigation, many neo-PCC leaders had variedly come into disrepute. They were accused of either emotionally, sexually and/or financially abusing their congregants, especially female congregants. Other accusations were that they had coerced congregants to eat grass and drink petrol. Many of the offending religious leaders were Black men. As stated, they had previously been reported to the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) and the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

Thus, a two-year investigation into the "Commercialisation of Religion and Abuse of People's Belief Systems" was conducted by the CRL in 2015.⁴⁶ The CRL (2017:8) states that it used "a random sampling method" to nationally "select random religious institutions/Organisations and then summon them, as per the provision of the CRL Rights Act 19 of 2002, to appear before the CRL Rights Commission."

To this end, it (CRL) issued subpoenas to leaders of different faiths, religious organisations and churches (including the major denominations), calling them to appear before the Commission and produce a host of documents, including certificates of accreditation / ordination, annual financial statements as well as bank statements of all bank accounts of the church, governance documents and statements of faith. According to the subpoena, the Commission would require

⁴⁵ Mpumlwana and Sono work together at the SACC now. They were also vaccinated for COVID-19 at the same time when SACC was on a drive to support vaccination as a legitimate medical response to the pandemic.

⁴⁶ Such accusations once prompted Pastor Mboro to call a female congregant to the front as evidence that his church had educated and middle class congregants that weren't being exploited.

evidence about the income of the church (how it is generated, and how it is utilized), and particularly also whether the church is involved in the selling of goods in the church and on what basis (holy water, candles, T-shirts, mealie meal, tea, coffee, prayers, etc.).

Speaking against the commercialisation of religion, the CRL chairperson rhetorically asked “what are you buying for R5,000?” Mkhwanazi-Xaluva felt that religious leaders took advantage of people because South Africa had “no legislation that stops religious leaders from asking for money from people” (Ndabeni, 2016). She drew a distinction for paying for a music concert and attending a religious event, saying in the latter “pastors are not performers, they need to account for every cent they ask from the public” (Ndabeni, 2016).

Two of the neo-PCCs in this study thus appeared before the CRL: Ray McCauley and Mosa Sono, with the exclusion of André Olivier of Rivers.

Table 19: Churches and church leaders appearing before CRL

CHURCH	CHURCH LEADER
Zion Christian Church	Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane
Nederduiste Gereformeerde Kerk	Dr. Gustav Klaassen
Judaism	Chief Rabbi Dr. Warren Goldstein
Lutheran Church of South Africa	Bishop Horst Muller
Universal Church	Bishop Marcelo Pires
Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa	Dr. J la Poor
Methodist Church of South Africa	Rev. Ziphozihle Siwa,
Anglican Church of Southern Africa	Bishop Peter Lee
Muslim Judicial Council	Maulana Abdul-Khaliq Ebrahim Allie
Rabboni Centre Ministry	Pastor Lesego Daniels
Incredible Happenings Ministries	Prophet Paseka Motsoeneng
Jesus Dominion International Church	Pastor Tim Omotoso
Enlightened Christian Gathering	Prophet Shepherd Bushiri
End of Time Ministries	Pastor Panuelli Mnguni

Source: CRL, 2017:42-44

Motsoeneng and Chris Oyakhilome (Nigerian) of Christ Embassy Church had failed to appear before the commission when summoned (Jordaan, 2017). The latter sought an urgent interdict from the High Court of South Africa (Gauteng local division, Johannesburg). The findings of the High Court had a significant bearing on the proceedings and outcomes of the investigation, as they illustrated the legal and Constitutional limits of the powers of the CRL, which the CRL sought to correct through a

recommendation for an amendment of its Act (Henrico, 2019). The South African Parliament has not to date taken this up.

On 4 December 2015 Oyakhilome and Christ Embassy church requested the High Court to “interdict the respondent (the CRL) from laying a criminal charge” in terms of Section 41 of the CRL Act and to suspend the CRL notices that required Oyakhilome and Christ Embassy church to appear before the commission, give evidence and produce documents (The High Court of South Africa, 2015:2). Giving evidence and producing documents is provided under Section 7(2) of the CRL Act. Oyakhilome further sought the High Court to interdict the Commission from issuing new notices in terms of Section 7(2) of its Act.⁴⁷ The CRL had requested Oyakhilome to appear before it, and among other documents, it asked that he produce proof of his ordinance and the financial statements of Christ Embassy church. Oyakhilome objected to all these requests. The High Court granted suspension of the notice but declined to interdict any further CRL notice and it found that Oyakhilome had no alternative but to approach the court.

In the case, Oyakhilome and Christ Embassy church argued that “the Constitution and statutory provisions do not empower the Commission to investigate, intervene in or regulate the operations and affairs of any particular church or religious institution. It is not afforded the enforcement and subpoena powers that it purports to exercise in the notice issued. Its mandate is only a general investigative one, that is to investigate community rights issues” (The High Court, 2015:9).

The CRL’s chosen method of “randomly” selecting religious organisations to appear before it and produce documents was deemed irrational by the High Court (2015:

“It is not rational to choose churches at random to appear before the Commission when the stated purpose of its (CRL) investigation is to look into ‘the perceived commercialisation of religious and alleged abuses of religious belief systems.’”

This case revealed that the powers of the CRL were “constrained” (The High Court, 2015:9-10). While empowered to investigate, the CRL Act allows such investigation to be of religious communities, and not “any particular religious leader or religious institution *per se* or in relation to a religious community” (The High Court, 2015:10). Thus, community in this regard is taken to mean a macro-level community like a field or sub-field in Bordieuan terms, and not, for example, a religious community as a congregation. The High Court (2015:10) also found that the Commission failed to “demonstrate how

⁴⁷ Section 41 creates an offence for failing to comply with a summons issued under section 7(2) (The High Court, 2015:6).

the investigation of the applicants or their evidence, or the production of the documents listed in the notice is related to the right of any particular religious community.” Indeed, the High Court also stated that an arrest warrant could not just be granted, and that the CRL Act’s powers were limited by the process of law. Warrants of arrest were subject to the decision to prosecute that can only be taken by a prosecuting authority (i.e.: not the CRL) and that even then an arrest may or may not come into play (The High Court, 2015).

The High Court found that the Commission could not explain how appearance and documents from churches for whom no complaints had been made would assist them in their investigation (The High Court, 2015).

The CRL recommended greater regulation of religious organisations (CRL, 2017; Henrico, 2019). In addition, the CRL recommended establishment of a Peer-Review Committee (PRC). The PRC would be an autonomous interfaith body, comprising of different denominations and faiths in South Africa. Like professional bodies, it would be a self-regulating body. It would ensure accountability within the religious community and “mediate disputes arising from religious associations or organisations” (Henrico, 2019:8). It would have the authority to register religious organisations, it would also report to the CRL. The Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA) instead supports “the initiative by religious bodies to engage in further dialogue with a view to adopting a ‘Code of Ethics’ based on the Charter” (Henrico, 2019:17).

CRL Aftermath and its former chairperson

Mkhwanazi-Xaluva states that previously Chapter 9 institutions had not “had the audacity to summon church leaders” and that such leaders had snubbed nice requests to appear before the CRL. Mkhwanazi-Xaluva told this to Tandwa (2022) in an interview for the Mail & Guardian. Mkhwanazi-Xaluva stated that the CRL thus took the route of demanding financial statements and the qualifications of the church leaders. She asserted that the CRL required the qualifications of church leaders in order to determine the professional sphere within which church leaders acted, when for examples they were “feeding people grass and snakes and whatever else you want to feed them, what are your actual qualifications for you to be able to do all of these things?” (Tandwa, 2022). She stated that requiring the professional qualifications offered “a clear framework as a nation” to determine said acts, *ibid*. This is aligned to how Bourdieu conceives of academic qualifications. He states that “academic qualifications, like money, have a conventional, fixed value which, being guaranteed by law, is freed from local limitations (in contrast to scholastically uncertified cultural capital) and temporal fluctuations: the cultural capital which they in a sense guarantee once and for all does not constantly need to be proved” (Bourdieu (1977 [2010]:187).

Tandwa (2022) reports that Mkhwanazi-Xaluva attracted negative attention to herself when she investigated a “male-dominated” religious environment. During the CRL investigation, Mkhwanazi-Xaluva laid a case of *crimen injuria*, intimidation incitement against Motsoeneng (Jordaan, 2017). Mkhwanazi-Xaluva feared that Motsoeneng would “physically harm” her or “incite his congregants to a stage where they” could harm her. This compelled her application for a protection order against Motsoeneng (Jordaan, 2017). Motsoeneng had demanded that Mkhwanazi-Xaluva resign as the chairperson of the CRL and had reportedly also said that she was lustful towards him, and threatened to spray her with holy water to remove her lustful spirit. He is also reported to have said that she must kneel and kiss his shoes (Jordaan, 2017).

Mkhwanazi-Xaluva had to obtain bodyguards provided through the CRL as she received death threats during the CRL investigation process. However, she complains that she made personal sacrifices to undertake the investigation and that she “persevered even when there were threats” (Tandwa, 2022). According to Tandwa (2022) Mkhwanazi-Xaluva thought that she had been “bit naive (about) the level of the pushback” from “religious people.” She explained that she had underestimated the power of the religious field, naively thinking that religious people “can only fight back through prayer, through whatever other means [in] that religious space.” Instead, Mkhwanazi-Xaluva discovered that religious people could exercise violence as “for the first time in my life, I felt that my life was at risk. I needed to have bodyguards, which is something I never thought I would have. I needed to decide where I [could] go and where I couldn’t go. My family had to take precautionary measures because we were told by the police that this is a high-risk situation (that) I put myself in” (Tandwa, 2022).

In retrospect, Mkhwanazi-Xaluva says that she had also underestimated the extent to which the CRL was a politicised space, saying “maybe I underestimated the politics behind the work” (Tandwa, 2022). She interpreted the lack of her reinstatement for a further term as the CRL the chairperson as a political decision, *ibid*.

The recommendations of the CRL were not “taken seriously.” This is because the recommendation that religious leaders should belong to an association that regulates and monitors them was not implemented. She said

I’m more than disappointed that nothing has happened in terms of taking the proposed legislation forward that every religious leader must belong to an umbrella organisation that is going to monitor them.

CRL Aftermath and SARS

South African tax law exempts religious organisations from paying particular types of tax. The Income Tax Act (1962) allows for application by religious organisations for tax exemption. Exemption

requires compliance that churches conduct activities “in a non-profit manner with an altruistic or philanthropic intent,” that none of their activities are “intended to directly or indirectly promote economic self-interest of any person other than by way of reasonable remuneration paid for services rendered.” Faith based organisations exempted from tax “are prohibited from directly or indirectly distributing funds to any person other than in performing their religious activity” (SARS, 2018).

The CRL investigation also prompted the South African Revenue Service (SARS) to “investigate possible tax non-compliance” by religious organisations and leaders. This decision was the outcome of SARS a “preliminary investigation,” meetings with the CRL Rights Commission and a review of documentary evidence that suggested “that certain religious organisations and leaders” were “not in compliance with tax laws, and may be enriching themselves at the expense of tax compliance and their altruistic and philanthropic purpose” (SARS, 2018). Other tax breaches related to tax on trading activities unrelated to religious activities were not properly conducted, and that the PAYE on remuneration of staff was also not compliant. “Over and above, SARS has further found a number of religious institutions issuing tax deductible receipts in terms of section 18A of the Income Tax Act, 1962, for donations towards religious activities. This is not permitted in terms of the Income Tax Act, 1962” (SARS, 2018).

The tax windfall from SARS in 2022 also comes from proper assessment of high-net individuals and churches. There were 35 churches which netted R742-million in tax revenue that were assessed, with the result being a “wide range of misrepresentations of the true nature of income and expenses of the entities and individuals involved” (Ndenze, 2022).

CRL Aftermath and Metropolitan Police

In the aftermath of the CRL investigation, sections of the state acted against churches. For example, in October 2019, the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD) raided 20 churches in Hillbrow and Yeoville, Johannesburg. Ten churches were shut down for “peddling drugs and human trafficking” and violating the City’s by-laws (Magubane, 2019). In a television interview on *Newzroom Afrika*⁴⁸ Sono supported the police for the shutting down “churches that do human trafficking, ... peddle drugs” and endanger people’s lives (Sono, 10 October 2019, *Twitter*). Like Ramaphosa and McCauley, Sono endorsed the prosecution by the courts of such perpetrators. He noted, however, that historically, South Africa had churches that operated from “under a tree” while some rented schools and hotel rooms. He said churches were able to rent classrooms from schools as they had a relationship with the SGBs. He opined that a national discussion of City by-laws with a view to afford greater accommodation for

⁴⁸ The interview is posted and only available through Sono’s *Twitter* page. It is thus reference through Sono.

fledgling churches was necessary. He cautioned that “social media” peddled falsehoods about churches, and that an investigation was required before churches were shut down (Sono, 10 October 2019). Sono acknowledged that relative to other provinces, Gauteng had more churches that were up to criminal activity, but he also cautioned that there was a need for a national awareness campaign to educate communities. This is because he feared that communities might be incited to drive out churches that they (erroneously) suspected as illegal operations in their localities.

COVID-19 Regulation and Neo-PCCs

COVID-19 disrupted the religious sector and the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field and its socialised prosperity habitus. In the post-COVID-19 era, neo-Pentecostal Charismatic churches, their leaders and congregants are at work to regenerate their congregational habiti, and to reconstruct and reassemble the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field. Thus, neo-PCCs are rebuilding without the benefit of a charismatic revival and under difficult socioeconomic circumstances of higher unemployment and poverty, widened levels of inequality and middle classes that are contenting with rising interest rates.

South Africa followed a risk-adjusted approach or strategy comprising differentiated alert levels. According to the South African Government website (accessed 16 April 2023), the alert levels (low) 1 to 5 (high) were based on the following criteria:

- The level of infection and transmission,
- The capacity of the health facilities and the extent of the implementation of public health interventions, and
- The economic and social impact of continued restrictions.

The table below is a summary of each alert level, the criteria associated with it and the date of institution.

Table 20: Alert level summary, objectives & criteria for determination and lockdown dates

Summary of the alert levels & criteria for determination	Objective	Period
National State of Disaster lifted		As of 5 April 2022
Level 1: low COVID-19 spread with a high health system readiness	Most normal activity can resume, with precautions and health guidelines followed at all times. Population prepared for an increase in alert levels if necessary	1 October 2021 - 4 April 2022 30 March - May 2021

		21 September-28 December 2020
Level 2: moderate COVID-19 spread with a high health system readiness	Physical distancing and restrictions on leisure and social activities to prevent a resurgence of the virus	13 September 2021 31 May-15 June 2021 18 August 2020
Level 3: moderate COVID-19 spread with moderate health system readiness	Restrictions on many activities, including at workplaces and socially, to address a high risk of transmission	26 July-12 September 2021 29 December 2020-28 February 2021 1 June-17 August 2020 16 June-27 June 2021
Level 4: moderate to high COVID-19 spread with low to moderate health system readiness	Extreme precautions to limit community transmission and outbreaks, while allowing some activity to resume	28 June-25 July 2021 16 June 2021 1-31 May 2020
Level 5: high COVID-19 spread with low health system readiness	Drastic measures to contain the spread of the virus and save lives	26 March-30 April 2020

Source: South African Government website, accessed 16 April 2023

Owing to the need to control the rate of transmission and infection, South Africa was placed under “complete lockdown for five weeks” between March and April 2020 (MISTRA, 2021:23). This was the country’s hardest lockdown. The institution of the various alert levels and COVID-19 infections among South Africans disrupted many aspects of social life. For example, the ritual of washing the body of a deceased relative by one or more family members was prohibited in terms of the restrictions imposed by the National State of Disaster declared on 15 March 2020 (MISTRA, 2021).

South Africa reached COVID-19 alert level 1 from September 2020 to 28 December 2020 (see table above). The regulations for this level also increased the number of people allowed to attend religious gatherings from 50 people to 50% of the normal capacity of a venue, capped at 250 people for indoor and 500 for outdoor gatherings. Rhema and Rivers continued with online services. Wayne Chafunya, a Rhema pastor explained that Rhema congregants were “eager” to return to in-person services at the church. However, McCauley had undertaken to maintain online services until it was deemed “much safer to congregate in big numbers” (Wagner and Patrick, 2020). On the other hand, Grace reopened its churches for in-person services and instituted several requirements for attendance.

Sono indicated that to attend Grace congregants would be required to pre-book and complete an online form indicating the status of their health. Once on-site, the church instituted temperature checks, sanitisation and social distancing protocols (Wagner and Patrick, 2020).

Clashes between neo-PCCs and the state took place during the COVID-19 period. During the COVID-19 lockdown period, there were incidents of churches that violated alert level or lockdown restrictions that limited the number of congregants that allowed to attend in-person services. The number of people permitted was 50. Like the Black Zionist ministers who came in conflict with Johannesburg's 20th century municipal authorities, some neo-PCCs also clashed with metropolitan police who enforced the 50 people in church restriction, and broke-up church services exceeding that. However, Rhema, Grace and Rivers had all followed and complied with the alert level restriction. For example, when churches could congregate for the first time in June 2020, Grace appeared in a newspaper article that communicated how worship had changed as there was no singing, and the caution they were exercising (Dlamini, 2020). This means that a quintessential feature of Pentecostal Charismatic habitus (see Chapter 5) was truncated. The South African faith community reported that they would not hold the April 2020 related gatherings and celebrations (Dlamini, 2020).

Over several sermons, all three neo-PCC leaders encouraged their adherents to comply with the regulations, even as many of them were growing weary of the pandemic. For example, in a sermon titled 'fighting the good fight of faith' on the 17 January 2021, Sono said "like soldiers, we need to continue the fight by observing all COVID-19 protocols. As in any war, there will unfortunately be casualties, and this continues to break our hearts. However, let us not grow weary. As Paul (the Apostle) says, let us fight the good fight of faith." Olivier's book *Keeping Hope Alive* (2021) sought to uplift spirits and keep hope alive during the pandemic despite the COVID-19 pandemic raging on (*Amazon* website, accessed 21 March 2023).

The three mega-churches were also supportive of the state's risk-adjusted strategy, and supported the vaccination drive. The church headquarters of Rhema and Grace (and in Carletonville) became COVID-19 vaccination sites, which therefore indirectly promoted the vaccination as a medical solution to COVID-19 (Louw, 2021). This therefore reflected these mega-churches stance on vaccination.

However, like other industries (i.e.: tobacco and alcohol) that increasingly complained and challenged the state's COVID-19 regulations (BusinessTech, 2020), at the pandemic period progressed, neo-PCCs began to become disgruntled with the COVID-19 restrictions. The first disagreement came in September 2020. Sono, who is a member of a multi-sectoral advisory committee on COVID-19 for government expressed disappointment when the alert level 1 restrictions from September 2020 which capped attendance to 250-people, despite a "presentation to the Presidency" (Wagner and Patrick,

2020). Sono explained that it was unclear to the IFCC what had informed the Presidency's 250-people threshold, *ibid.*

By 2022, the COVID-19 related restrictions were reduced. However, the restrictions stated that attendance at places of worship could have 50% of capacity of the venue provided that the congregants attending were fully vaccinated or had a negative COVID-19 result in the last 72-hours. The IFCC and other inter-faith leaders had initially rejected the proposal in 2021 when it was first proposed and when the IFCC was consulted on it. In March 2022, the IFCC rejected the vaccination requirement, arguing that the restriction violated "the rights of religious freedom guaranteed in the country's Constitution" (Mudzuli, 2022). Its secretary general, Khosa saw it as "an unwarranted provocation of the faith community," *ibid.* Thus, the dialogue and consultation approach with faith leaders was breaking down, with the IFCC taking an increasingly adversarial stance against the COVID-19 restrictions, reflected by Khosa's statement:

This again proves that our government has no respect for the religious leaders of South Africa or any input they receive from them. ... We strongly oppose this 'backdoor' vaccine mandate, we will not support it in any way, shape or form ... Some churches and other places of worship had created demarcated areas to support the vaccination drive of the government. We understand the cause, but the response of our government is as a slap in our faces, and we will not take this lying down. ... We have now been put in a difficult position to oppose this and we have been left with no choice but to refuse to accept this condition.

This changed nature of the COVID-19 related relationship between government and the IFCC reflects a pragmatically cooperative stance, that also shifts when it is not deemed pragmatic by the neo-PCCs. The caveat here is that Rivers is not a part of the IFCC, but the rejection of the restrictions stands to benefit his megachurch too.

Social legitimacy: miracles and healing

As discussed in Chapter 3, Pentecostalism has undergone changes in its emphasis on healing, performing miracles and charismatic teachings. The emphasis on healing, miracles and charismatic teaching comes from the gifts of the Holy Spirit and their availability to all. This belief is what distinguishes neo-Pentecostal Charismatics from other Christians. It also makes the denomination elite like in the Christian field as the belief in the gifts of the Holy Spirit is a belief that God has chosen the best for them in this world. Through the socialised Prosperity Gospel, the gifts of the Holy Spirit are available to all. This empowers believers and attracts new ones. But it also attracts suppliers or mediators who claim the gifts and the ability to impart them. The struggle in the neo-PCC field thus becomes balancing the openness of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, while blocking entry to intermediaries

deemed unwanted. A classificatory struggle ensues in the neo-PCC field that seeks to oust intermediaries that claim to have capabilities for healing and performing miracles, because neo-PCCs and their leaders have attracted criticism that has labelled them as sorcerers that exploit congregants for money, especially congregants that are poor and illiterate (Anderson, 2005; Ramaphosa, 2019; TimesLive, 2019).

At different revival periods, Pentecostalism emphasised healing and miracles. This has helped its churches to gain momentum, status and growth, as well as accumulate symbolic and material capital. This has been the case for South Africa too. For example, Bonnke's "mass tent evangelism with an emphasis on 'signs and wonders,'" similar to "the tradition of the earlier Pentecostal healing evangelists was one of the major factors in the rapid spread of Pentecostal ideas in the 1980s, especially in SA's Black townships" (Anderson, 2005:74). Bonnke's healing evangelism had spillover effects for Pentecostal churches in the townships which "gained the most converts" (Anderson, 2005:74). It can be understood that neo-Pentecostalism does claim to have healing and miracle powers, thus giving it a magico-religious aspect. The penetration by unwanted users of this has created theoretically important outcomes.

Bourdieu (1991:12) said "magicians represent challenges to the church by manipulating the sacred in an unauthorised (and thus profane) manner." The distinction between magic and religion was a central theme in 19th century theories of religion (Turner, 1999). The notion of a social dimension of religion in opposition to magic was important to the development of a sociological view of religious belief and practice (Turner, 1999). Magico-religious acts were separated from religious orthodoxy and orthopraxy and given negative valence. For example, Durkheim (1961:60) declared that "there is no church of magic" and that "magicians" had "clientele and not a church" and Weber defined his ideal types of religious leaders, drawing distinctions between, inter alia, magic and rational authority.

Based on Weber's ideal-types of religious leaders, priests are differentiated from magicians by charisma. Magicians are in Weber's words "permanently endowed with charisma" which is the power some people possess to influence others. Priests' charisma derives from their office, and their power to influence others is derived from professional status. Unlike magic, which tends to be an occasional activity performed when needed, priests perform their functions on a regular basis at fixed or routinised times and places and usually according to ritual or routine. Their concern is with stability and structure. Prophets, like the magician but in contrast to priests are individual bearers of charisma, but unlike magicians, prophets have a mission to proclaim an important message. Prophetic activity is centred on spreading a life-changing message or practice and not on securing everyday benefits for clients. Unlike priests, the prophet's charisma is not derived from office, but from the power of the message to effect change, often revolutionary change, such as the founding of a new religion (Kessler, 2011:72-3).

Thus, the South African Christian field, on account of “miracles” from neo-Pentecostals struggles with the distinction between religious belief and practices from the secular magical acts performed by magicians and its own agents. Reacting to Lukau’s Lazarus performance, McCauley said that it “was a con job” that needed to be exposed as such (McCauley, 2 March 2019. *ENCA* interview). For McCauley, the Lazarus performance by Lukau amounted to a con magical act that did not belong to the religious sphere. Furthermore, McCauley’s reaction redraws the boundary between the sacred and the profane. McCauley does this by classifying a miracle as a rare act of God, and healing as an occurrence that can happen many times. A miracle is an awe-inspiring act deserving of reverence, and it is not an everyday part of life (Jones, 1986).

Over the 40-years that I have been in the ministry, I have seen maybe two or three miracles. Now we’ve had many, many, hundreds of healings. But a miracle is a divine intervention of God in the ordinary course of nature, its creation. You cannot- Jesus never advertised miracles. McCauley, 2 March 2019. *ENCA* interview.

As rare as a miracle is, McCauley also manages to increase his spiritual capital by sharing that in his lifetime he has only ever witnessed a handful of miracles. In exalting miracles as the sacred, and healing as the profane, McCauley explains that socioeconomic inequality made those in need vulnerable to exploitation.

But there is a desperation in our country, the gap between the have and the have nots has left people desperate, particularly if they have a serious disease ... or they’re looking for a miracle in their life. So obviously this desperation has drawn them to these people that have manipulated them and taken their money, and made up these so-called miracle things. McCauley, 2 March 2019. *ENCA* interview.

In the interview, McCauley was astounded at the extent of how bizarre some of the acts of miracles were, saying “one guy was talking to a cat, I mean (the) things going on, and it’s just gotten worse and worse” (McCauley, 2 March 2019. *ENCA* interview). In the broad South African neo-PCC habitus, snakes, frogs, cats, pesticides, raising the dead are magical acts performed, and objects have power, and there are also spirits and other supernatural forces at play within the neo-PCC field.

McCauley had previously associated the fake churches and pastors with migrant initiated neo-PCCs. He stated that “faith leaders should not take advantage of the freedoms of South Africa’s democratic dispensation to manipulate, misuse or prey on innocent and unsuspecting followers – as has too often been the case in recent years in our country.” He explained that the problem was associated with over 140,000 non-registered organisations that “come from across the border” that “siphon money from congregants and dodge paying tax” (Jordaan, 2018). He said that “they come in and, in a day, or two, they start a group of people coming together. They take the money and put it in sacks and take it out of the country” (Jordaan, 2018).

Turner (1999) states that magic was often seen to be an early or primitive version of religious belief or practice, and it was seen as primarily an individualistic response to the dilemmas and dangers of social arrangements and natural catastrophes. McCauley's statement above reinforces the idea that magic is often seen as an early or primitive version of religious belief or practice, and is seen as an individualistic response to the dilemmas and dangers of social arrangements and natural catastrophes (including disease and illness) that they face.

As stated above, Turner asserts that the notion of a social dimension of religion as distinct and in opposition to magic was important to the development of a sociological view of religious belief and practice (1999). I argue instead, that in South Africa's social formation, undergirded by an economy structured according to neoliberal capitalist orthodoxy that has produced extreme inequality, poor social outcomes in health, welfare and education, the notion of magic is a *necessary* aspect of religious belief. I argue that it has been through South Africa's neo-Pentecostal Charismatic movements' ability to change that the notion of magic has become a necessary aspect of religious belief.

I argue that South Africa's neo-Pentecostal Charismatic pastors and bishops are unable to maintain a strong differentiation between magic and miracles, and that they struggle to maintain a strong differentiation between the sacred and the profane. Ultimately, this inability to maintain this differentiation means that neo-Pentecostal Charismatic specialists do not possess the total power in Verter's words of the administration and management of religious goods, services, salvation and the sacraments (2003:157). South Africa's neo-Pentecostal Charismatic specialists do not hold a "monopoly" on religious goods, services, salvation and the sacraments. In its evolutionary, expansionary and contextual fluidity, neo-Pentecostal Charismaticism has lost its power to maintain a "monopoly" over religious goods, services, salvation and the sacraments. Its power to create boundaries between legitimate insiders and outsiders has been diluted by its fluidity and ability to change and take up contextual specifics. This may mean that neo-PCC fluidity may be its external habitus that endures through historical periods, but that its internal habitus is what is allowed to change, and changes.

Classificatory struggles: Ordained Credentials and State regulation?

In their research, Morran and Schlemmer (1984:59) found that comparatively, the ordination of neo-PCC pastors was "not as formal as in established churches." These authors state that some of the pastors in their research were ordained ministers in established churches before breaking off to start new churches. Hollenweger (2007:32) asserts that there are "few Pentecostal pastors that have formal theological training at university level." Pastors do not see the need for training as they have "the call and gift from God" (Hollenweger, 2007:33), and they consider formalised pastoral training "of secondary importance to the 'calling'" (Morran and Schlemmer, 1984:59). Pastors did not see the need for formal education as Morran and Schlemmer (1984) and Hollenweger (2007) found that several pastors in their research indicated that they had received training from Rhema Bible College in

Johannesburg and Durban. The Durban Christian Centre was another site of pastoral training (Morran and Schlemmer, 1984). According to Morran and Schlemmer pastoral “the students pay for their own tuition and study full time for 2 years if they want to be pastors. If they have been ‘called to the ministry’ they become probationary pastors for another 2 years after which their ministry is assessed by experienced ‘men of God.’ Part time courses are also offered to interested lay persons” (1984:59).

Formalised pastoral training aligns with the neo-Marxist power perspective of how professions gain autonomy (from the state and are free to operate with authority on society) and a privileged position in society. Professions gain status through organisation into professional bodies or associations that then strive to maintain close relationships with the state or government. The relationship with the state or government is important for enacting laws that support professional autonomy and privilege. It also aligns with the Weberian idea of professional closure as conceptualised in the action approach. From the Weberian perspective, professional closure is achieved through legitimisation by law. There is a requirement for extensive and specialised training and qualification to gain entry, which acts a closure mechanism that controls the supply (MacDonald, 1995). This view is also asserted by Bourdieu (Verter, 2003). Bourdieu (1991b:107-16) asserts

The church manages its fund of religious capital by maintaining a steady demand for the goods of salvation among the laity, and by ensuring a steady and monopolistic supply of these goods through its reproduction of a pool of authorized producers and distributors of the sacred. (cited by Verter 2003:157).

The churches also manages the “exclusion of rivals” whom it “identifies as blasphemers, heretics, and magicians – that is, as illegitimate.” For Bourdieu (1991b:107-16) the weight of the church’s “accumulated capital supports the structure of authority that grants its rituals and utterances their efficacy” (cited by Verter 2003:157). The CRL’s recommendation for greater regulation of the faith-based organisations thrust dilemma for neo-PCC leaders and the faith-based community. The dilemma related to the religious sector’s struggle to balance the need for the state’s coercive power and their autonomy and differentiation as a field governed by God’s calling.

Faith based organisations rejected a body to regulate them and sought to develop their own code of conduct for religious leaders. By declining regulation from the state the religious field abdicated the opportunity to free its authority from local limitations, to free its cultural capital from the need to be constantly proved (Bourdieu (1977 [2010]:187).

The religious field thus struggles for reclaiming its “monopoly” to legitimise what a religious code of conduct could say, as well as who (or what in this case) could regulate them, even though it struggles to self-regulate, police and have authority over religious goods, services, salvation and the sacraments (Verter, 2003:157). Thus, in Bordieuan terms the South African religious field seeks to reaccumulate

the weight of capital that enables it to structure its authority on the religious habitus. This is notwithstanding that the religious field remains dependent on the state's coercive power of the courts and the police to enforce what they consider as insider and outsider boundaries of legitimate religious specialists.

Mega-Church leader legitimacy

The three neo-PCC leaders have at different times been embroiled in controversy. The leaders suffered and contended with public derision and fallouts on account of personal, sociocultural, financial and their mega-church congregational practices.

Gifford (1994:520) asserts that “churches have been greatly influenced by the ‘Big Man’ model of leadership.” He says that the Big Man model has characterised the post-colonial African political economy. Founder pastors hold a unique position in the neo-PCC field. They are well regarded and taken as successful (Resane, 2017). They often present an immaculate image, well-dressed and spoken, full of wisdom, running a good home, marriage with great children and being rich or wealthy – definitely not poor (Resane, 2017:204). They have a “winner syndrome” (Resane, 2017:204) or are imbued with winning ways. But neo-PCC founder-leaders do run the risk of diluting or losing their religious and spiritual capital.

Chris Hill was a keynote favourite for Rhema Bible Church's annual conferences. He was the keynote speaker at Rhema's 2017 annual conference titled “Awakening.” He was in charge of the Porters House in Denver, which was associated with African-American mega-church leader and founder TD Jakes. However, he was brought into disrepute when his wife accused him of infidelity. While he did visit South Africa after this controversy, he no longer headlined Rhema's annual conferences.

The charismatic and popular nature of neo-PCC leaders attracts praise and derision. For example, they have been derided for being as popular and wealthy as celebrities. Theron (2011:8) reflects on this saying that some journalists do deride mega-church leader and founders for living and behaving “like the rich and famous and how they are gaining fame and fortune that comes with being the fêted leader of a large church.”

McCauley, for example, has repeatedly had to counter the notion that he is a celebrity. This was apparent in his interview with Msimango (2011), and more recently in a 2020 radio interview with Aubrey Masango on 702. Masango opened the interview by praising McCauley saying “I have found him to be a very fascinating South African, a very courageous South African” that had “cross-over appeal.” Masango continued, quipping: “I don't know how you are going to take this ... you are one of the pastors in South Africa who achieved and reached celebrity status – would you agree?” McCauley responded “yes and no” saying he thinks “some people might regard it (his well-known pastorship) as

a celebrity, I don't. I regard it as someone who is just well known as a minister." Both McCauley and Sono have denied that their churches have celebrities that are given special treatment. McCauley says that Rhema does not have a "celebrity wing," and instead, that celebrities "come to Rhema because they can come to church and have no one take notice of them" (Msimango, 2011).

Another controversy related to money. In 2017, Grace attracted negative social commentary criticism for seeking to charge R89,000 for the use of its auditorium to host the memorial service of a late South African TV icon. The mega-church had been approached for the use of auditorium to host a memorial service. Reportedly Sono "discounted" the fee to R79,000. He addressed his congregation saying that "everybody was on the radio, on *Twitter* and on newspapers" criticising the church for the fee. Sono said "there's a guy who really took us to pieces! (He) even phoned in on the radio." Sono defended Grace's charge saying that the public did not "know" Grace. He said "opinions (like) 'these churches, they are just there to take people's money. They are just there for their own thing. If they really cared-'" were ignorant of the "systems" that Grace uses like taking care of the community. He said that he instructed his congregation "You know what *bazalwana*, then don't talk." McCauley was accused of living a lavish or expensive lifestyle (Pillay and Meintjies, 2001) indicated by a "food bill of R25,000 a month" (Meintjies, 2001).

Sono's response to the criticism demonstrates what Bourdieu (1990:66) ascribes to how fields function. Within the hierarchically structured neo-PCC field, religious leaders must have a feel for the game, a sense of what is at stake and must have an investment in the outcome. When confronted with a threat to the legitimacy of their symbolic capital, they must possess the mastery of strategies required for adopting to such changing circumstances. They must have a talent for innovation. In his response from the pulpit, Sono deployed a boundary making response. He told the congregation that Grace's adherents had financially contributed to the building of the neo-PCC and its venues, and as such held greater legitimacy and claim in determining the use and cost charged for venues more than non-congregants did. Essentially, he erected a boundary of insiders and outsider.

In early 27 June 2016 Olivier came under heavy national criticism for comments he made during a sermon. Today, a *Google* search of Olivier comes up with pages of numerous articles on this incident, in which is he unanimously characterised as "racist." Olivier had said that he'd become "annoyed" by what he saw as a "ridiculous" comment he'd heard on TV that said "the big problem with South Africa is white people." He contended that South Africa's problem was not white people. Instead, he argued that white people "took nothing from no one," and that perhaps the Lord had "favoured" them. He said white people had "worked" and that he was "still working. ... Can I just say God will send you white people if you're Black. [Congregants laugh]. Don't say the problem with South Africa is the white people." The next day Olivier spoke on the Xolwani Gwala show on 702 explaining and defending the

meaning and intention of his sermon. This is one of the few radio interviews that he has given. He said he'd "preached on the topic of abandonment."

In his sermon, Olivier says he had used King David as an example, saying that God sends people into "your life. He did that with King David. He sent a whole band of people that were distressed, in debt, discontented (to King David). And the Bible says they made David commander and later on in scripture he made them his army. And so, God will use people to build into our life, the most unlikely people" (Olivier, 28 June 2016, 702 interview).

Olivier added that he had made a statement towards Black people: "then I said 'Black people, God will send white people to you and you might not be open to them. But he will use white people to build into your life.'" He explained that he was contending the idea expressed by "someone on the TV (that) had said (that) 'the whites are the problem in the country.' No, we're not the problem! The whites are not the problem, we work for what we got, we contribute to- we're making a contribution" (Olivier, 28 June 2016, 702 interview). Olivier further explained that his sermon had also addressed white people in which he said to "white people be open if God uses Black people in your life, because God will use people to speak into you that you are not open to." He thought that his message was misunderstood as "sensitive hearts have taken this thing completely out of context, people are saying I'm a privileged white, I said that people are lazy, never said that at all. And I'm here to build into South Africa. That's what I've constantly done," *ibid.* He outlined that Rivers Foundation fed "36,000 Black children every single week. We got 10 orphanages." He also said that he and Wilma "personally have 2 Black children that we support in Africa. We have the Rivers Foundation where we have employed I think its 8 staff that we have, to look after and to build into the nation" (Olivier, 28 June 2016, 702 interview).

In the interview Olivier further stated that white people in contemporary South Africa were working for their assets, and that historically apartheid was a problem acknowledged by "all." He emphasised that to build racial solidarity it was important to acknowledge that in the contemporary period white people who had "not emigrated" were working for what they had and building the nation (Olivier, 28 June 2016, 702 interview). He quipped that people that wanted white people like him to share what they had should "tell us how" to do so. Olivier audibly sounded saddened by the notion that "a lot" of his congregants were unhappy with his statement and saw it as the use of a "sacred platform to sow hatred and a biased view" as stated by the late Gwala. He contended that out of 10,000 congregants, about 60 were probably unhappy, but that the others were a "silent majority." He said that the church had never had an allegation of racism, and that instead his congregation came to church every week and supported the church.

Tumisho Masha defended Olivier saying that on that Sunday he "could tell there were some things that he said that were controversial" but that Olivier typically said controversial statements (TMG Entertainment, 2016). Masha stated "Pastor André says things sometimes that are controversial for both

Black and white people. There have been many instances where he has actually asked a lot of the congregants to leave the church in terms of white people who didn't believe that Black people should join the church" (TMG Entertainment, 2016). He explained that the Rivers' congregation was Black in its majority, and that the Black majority in Rivers Church was not an accidental circumstance. As a mega-church leader of a Black majority church, Masha asserted that he did not "understand how one Sunday morning (Olivier could) wake up and just be totally racist" (TMG Entertainment, 2016). Masha attracted "hundreds" of negative tweets for his defence of Olivier. He felt that many that had angrily tweeted him had done so without listening to the sermon (Primedia, 2016). One Rivers adherent interviewed herein said that while she had not been at the service, other congregants had told her "the comments were taken out of context" (Manager: ICT, Rivers adherent).

Two of the BMC Rivers adherents that I interviewed, both male, stated that they had left the church because of Olivier's comments: "I stopped going there because of racist things. I couldn't sit there and listen to a white person telling me things- similar statements that Helen (Zille) made (Lawyer, former Rivers adherent). Another described Olivier in the following terms: "He is not overtly racist. You have to have read to know. That's how white racism- liberals operate. They also hide it with charity work" (Lecturer, former Rivers adherent). The private banker and Rivers adherent that I interviewed interpreted the controversy as stemming from Olivier's "unwavering" stance that his congregants should not be dependent on the state or government (as discussed further in the next chapter), to the extent that he ended up being "insensitive" to the "realities of Black people."

The CRL did not subpoena Olivier, although the Commission's spokesperson said it had considered doing so. Similarly, the national spokesperson of the Economic Freedom Fighters' (EFF) Mbuyiseni Ndlozi stated that the party was "planning to go and deal with the pastor physically to uproot racism. We were mobilising our members to march onto church on Sunday but we have since been in the process of demobilising because he has since apologised." Ndlozi tweeted that it "was a matter of the pulpit, surely (Olivier) will be repenting and they must then pray for him on Sunday." This was in response to Olivier's tweeted apology:

Reflecting on my sermon last weekend, I believe that it is right for me to express my regret for the hurt and offense that was caused by my statements made during my message. For that I unreservedly apologise. I recognise that my words were poorly chose, particularly in context of where this country comes from. My comments did not reflect my intention, and I acknowledge the harm that has come as a result. I love all south Africans and am committed to build the country to overcome the wrongs of the past. Words cannot express my full remorse. I trust that my future actions will support the sincerity of my apology.

Subsequently, Rivers invited Chris Mathebula the founder and senior pastor of ‘Founder of Hope Restoration Ministries’ a mega-church in Kempton Park. Mathebula preached on forgiveness and encouraged the congregants to contribute towards nation-building. The church continued to attract negative attention, with media outlets inquiring about the number of Black pastors it had in its leadership (IOL, 2016). The article reports that Rivers responded by stating “Rivers Church finds the tone of the questions offensive and misleading and rejects outright any suggestion of further racism.” We urge all media outlets to focus - as we are doing - on issues that unite us rather than divide us” (IOL, 2016).

Others have also written against this incident. Mamphele Rampele, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cape Town and World Bank director also commented on Olivier’s sermon. She linked Olivier’s statements with other people that had publicly said what was considered racist statements. One was Tim Hart, an economist at Standard Bank who she states had tweeted in 2016 that decades after apartheid, its victims were multiplying while a sense of entitlement and hatred towards minorities was becoming pervasive, while Penny Sparrow, referring to large number of Black people, had said Durban beaches were full of monkeys (Rampele, 2017). Rampele described the Olivier, Hart and Sparrow comments as racist. She characterised them as a convenient tool aimed at justifying colonial conquest and plunder by a powerful minority. She said that in the post-apartheid era, this colonial conquest and plunder was often forgotten, and that instead some white people tended to proclaim that their status and wealth in South African society derived solely from their superior intellect and disciplined hard work (Rampele, 2017).

The Ahmed Kathrada Foundation invited Prof JNJ ‘Klippiess’ Kritzing to write an opinion piece on the incident. Kritzing (2017) argued that Olivier’s apology should not simply get forgiveness because Olivier’s statement reflected the “thinking patterns” that create racial tension in South Africa. Kritzing asserted the following as the thinking patterns underlying Olivier’s sermon (2017):

- “White people took nothing from Black people; whoever says that is lying;
- White people have the right to get annoyed when such lies are repeated in public;
- White people have money because they work; Black people are poor because they are lazy;
- Because white people worked (and are still working) for their wealth, thereby earning it rightfully, there is no need for them to share it with anyone or to ‘give away some of it;’ and
- White people are not ‘the problem’ in South Africa; perhaps the law favoured them, but they worked hard to ‘build this nation.’”

Kritzing (2017) noted that “while everyone appreciates his public apology, he can only be forgiven if he admits that he was wrong in his fundamental assumptions, not only in his choice of words.” He called upon Olivier and other white Christians who benefitted from 360 years of colonial

rule and 46 years of apartheid to follow the example of the early church in the Book of Acts by sharing their possessions with the poor (Kritzinger, 2017).

Olivier attracted further conflict and contestation in 2017. He came under investigation in August 2017 by *eTV* (on which his life by design is flighted on Saturday mornings, see Chapter 6), the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa (BCCSA), the CRL and the South African Hindu Dharma Sabha. Olivier was accused of insulting Hindu religious practices during a sermon flighted on *eTV* (Somduth, 2017). Olivier had projected an image of a long-bearded Hindu Guru wearing a dhoti with ash on his forehead and arms on the screen. Olivier is said to have stated that “you don’t have to apply ash on your body to reach God. Come to Jesus directly and see God.”

The complaint, conflict and contestation took place across two fields, the private telecommunications field – in terms of *eTV* as businessman Pravesh Naipal complained against *eTV*, a privately owned channel for “perpetuating unwarranted and disingenuous Hindu bashing” (Somduth, 2017), the BCCSA, a state entity, responsible for the regulation of the television and radio sector. Citizens can complain to the BCCSA on account of a broadcast that they perceive as hate speech, inciting violence, etc (BCCSA website, accessed 2 January 2023). In this way the state became implicated in the regulation of the Constitutionally autonomous faith based field or self-regulating field (subject to the laws of the country). Of interest, is the intersection of the Constitutional rights to faith and the right to free speech.

In South Africa, this is not the first time that the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic agents have come into conflict with Hindu religious agents. For example, Hansen (2013) states that neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches in Chartsworth, Durban have been evangelising within the poorer sections of the Indian community. Hansen (2013:262) says that J.F. Rowlands started the Full Gospel Church in Durban in 1930s. Hansen (2013) states that Rowlands was racist and against interracial mixing and marriages. He viewed Hindu cultural practices as inferior to Christian practices, allowing divorces arising out of Hindu marital tradition but not Christian unions, opposing Hindu weddings celebrations involving saffron-coloured and Sanskrit symbols and popular Indian music, *ibid*.

Contesting the money aspect of prosperity

The effectiveness of the Prosperity Gospel has also been brought into question. One of the biggest criticisms of neo-PCCs is that it uses the Prosperity Gospel to exploit the poor and desperately ill people (Anderson, 2005; Theron, 2011:9).

Material and financial gain are seen as motivators of the breakaway of neo-PCCs (Masenya, 2018). Hansen (2013:276) states that smaller splinter churches in Chatsworth have been “started by men who

used to be close to a big church and a well-known pastor.” Hansen describes this in the following extended quote:

Many of the smaller splinter churches were started by men who used to be close to a big church and a well-known pastor but fell out with him because they realised that ‘something was not right’ – there was embezzlement and financial problems. Selfishness, vanity, and greed, had entered the pastor and made him vulnerable to the omnipresent forces of evil, which in turn was corrupting the church (2013:276).

From the above quote it is apparent that these new church starters fell out with the mega-church pastor on account of embezzlement and financial problems, which had been driven by the mega-church pastor’s “selfishness, vanity, and greed.” Importantly, break-away aspiring church leaders paint the mega-church pastors as vulnerable to and corrupted by “omnipresent forces of evil.” They also paint the congregation or church as corrupted by this too, *ibid.* This forms an important aspect of neo-PCC contestation in breakaways and new church formation. Where aspirant breakaway leaders use financial misconduct to dilute the cultural legitimacy of the neo-PCC congregation and its leader, in turn reducing its cultural capital volume, and location in the neo-PCC field hierarchy, while seeking to usurp that which has been reduced and diluted for their new church.

Limits to the Prosperity Gospel habitus

Mulugeta (2010) cites Germond who provides a neat analysis of the relationship of mega-churches, the Prosperity Gospel, conspicuous consumption and consumer capitalism. Germond is cited as saying “all these churches – Rhema Church, Grace Church, His People, and Rivers — are mega-churches that preach a gospel of prosperity in which theology says that God rewards the faithful in material ways.” Germond also says that it is a theology that “fits in neatly with consumer capitalism.” Germond provided “car, homes, dress” as signifiers of “conspicuous consumption” and evidence of alignment with the Prosperity Gospel (Mulugeta, 2010).

Some of the BMC neo-Pentecostals interviewed in this study remarked about the class, consumption and taste making aspect of the three mega-churches studied herein. A member of Grace church who was attending Rivers, described Grace’s congregational “mannerism” as snobbish. This is reminiscent of Hyslop (2003:233), where a white and Afrikaans speaking former DRC adherent found the DRC as snobbish: “when you walk in there, everyone sees who can dress the best, who can give the most money.” Similarly, a current Rivers and former Grace adherent found the latter snobbish and the former accepting. In her own words she explains:

And the thing is gape (again), the difference ko Rivers le ko Grace is the mannerism. I feel like *ko Grace ba a bit stuck up. Ba a bit false, kinda vibe, the congregation. Kore tlamele o be a certain way to be part of Grace (you have to be a certain way to be part of Grace). Tlamehe*

ohlape, o be montle go ba part of Grace, you know (you must wash and be beautiful to be part of Grace)⁴⁹. There's this perception *gore ha oya Grace tlamehe o matche, o be* to do from head to toe, then you are taken as "Yes!" *Nna ke kena ko Grace!*" (There is a perception that when you are a Grace congregant, you have to wear matching clothes and be well put together from head to toe). *And nna* I found some people pretentious. What I like about Rivers is you come as you, if you've got tattoos ... **Manager: ICT, Rivers adherent.**

As explained in section 'Pentecostal rootedness & habitus (symbiosis v. contestation)', although she did complain of the snobbery of the Pimville Grace Bible church congregation, this adherent did not leave Grace because of this. Instead, she had changed to Rivers on account of distance and convenience.

The sentiment of the opulence of Rivers church campus and its amenities was expressed by a former Rivers adherent. They perceived Rivers church as a wealthy, opulent and luxurious church where the wealthy attended. Expressing this the former Rivers adherent said:

The feel of the church, the decoration inside is of luxury, of comfort. It is opulent. You get a feeling of opulence, abundance. You see that these are 'the haves,' they are not 'the haves not.' They are coming together in one place. **Lecturer, former Rivers adherent.**

The executive in PR that I interviewed had been to Christ Embassy and to Rhema. She stated that she had "even completed forms" at Christ Embassy. However, she failed to become a neo-Pentecostalisised congregant of Christ Embassy. She explained that although she had completed the membership forms, the mega-church "wasn't for me. It was loud. ... (the preacher) said 'now let me teach you how to pray in tongues.' ... You can't teach me how to pray in tongues."

For Rhema, she said she went because "it was fashionable in the 90s, early 2000s. It was the church to go to. I had a car, an UNO. My friends and I would go to Rhema in those days." She said that she started having questions about Rhema, "why *abo Basetsana ba lapha phambili* (why is Basetsana sitting there in the front), and that famous dermatologist. ... This didn't make me comfortable." She was asking why the rich and famous of South Africa were perched in the front. This apparent hierarchy in class and status practiced by Rhema put her off. "I like how they preach, it makes sense. ... I don't like Amuzweni screaming next to me." Ultimately she preferred the "routine" of Catholics and said that she accessed *YouTube* sermons (like those by Sarah Jakes Roberts, TD Jakes' daughter) which she enjoys while she is working.

⁴⁹ This is a direct translation. The meaning of this statement is more that a person must be meticulous or impeccable in appearance.

These experiences and perceptions illustrate a clash of a middle class and elite habitus. they show the uneasy existence of the social mobility habitus – that endorses progress, which is manifested and expressed through elite and luxury consumption by both the church and congregants. The flattening of class within the congregational habitus is not completely achieved as there remain markers of differentiation. Mathole (2005:285-6) asserted that Grace Bible Church leadership and Sono were conscious of how class plays out at their church. He stated that the church had decided “never exclude the poor from any aspect of their Christian life and ministry. Otherwise, the church would be dominated by the life orientation and values of the middle class and celebrities” and that Grace did not want to promote this. This is evidenced by a different business habitus – there are informal businesses operating outside the gates of Grace Bible Church, where different types of food is sold to congregants. Rivers and Rhema do not have informal businesses operating outside their premises.

Another aspect of difference in the congregational habitus relates to Rivers. While Rivers is dominated by middle class Black and Indians South Africans, the third largest groups is wealthy French-speaking Africans. This caused it to consider pairing Olivier with a translator during the services, which the church ultimately did not go with (Marketer: beverages and ICT managers, Rivers adherents).

Another point of contention is the notion that McCauley has changed and watered down his doctrinal stance. Masango said that McCauley has been criticised for changing from “a very fundamental, full gospel kinda guy, who was very deeply grounded in doctrine” to a preacher that had “sold out to a certain extent” on account of preaching practical or applicable Christian principles. McCauley responded saying this view was “propaganda” that had been spread the media: “we had a lot of that –type of propaganda and information and media coverage on the basis that I have changed what I believe and are now teaching differently in the years gone by.” McCauley related that he was “glad” to have changed, as it had enabled him to add truth to changing circumstances. He emphasised that he had “not compromised” the Christian teaching by preaching that “Jesus was a hippie in India.” Anderson (2005:71-2) states that McCauley “has toned down his earlier emphasis on the ‘Prosperity Gospel’” while Bernstein (2008:17) says that McCauley qualifies his Prosperity Gospel teaching by stressing that “prosperity is granted to Christians so that they can help others.”

A Rhema adherent also holds a negative view of the Prosperity Gospel. She says that “the Prosperity Gospel is all they (neo-PCCs) talk about now. It is the same damn message now.” She says that “I do have reservations” about Pentecostal Charismatic Churches and the Prosperity Gospel that they preach (Business owner: construction, Rhema adherent). She explained that one of her “reservations” was that “you can never know what spirit they are using to create that miracle,” *ibid*. Similarly, Hansen (2013:279) notes this refrain saying that older churches in Chartsworth such as the Full Gospel Church regard ostentatious displays of wealth by pastors with newly started neo-PCCs “as a sign of lacking sincerity, as a gospel of wealth that betrayed the work of the devil rather than the blessing of the spirit.”

A former Rivers adherent also associated the Prosperity Gospel as a form of preaching about obtaining success miraculously instead of hard work. He acknowledges that the prosperity message “gives you hope.” However, he argued that “I believe there is nothing that comes without hard work” and contended “that (success comes hard work) is not preached in church that I have experienced.” He stated that instead

what is preached is some kind of-... genie in the lamp ... you rub it, then you wish, like: ‘oh Ja, if you just ... pay your tithe. And (if) you are faithful, and you wait on the Lord.’” He said that this form of preaching lacked “much emphasis on ‘you are going to have to grind.’ Because also even the kind of testimonies that get encouraged, the hard work piece is missing. It’s kind of like ‘oh *Bazalwane* I was led by God to offer X percentage to the church and after I received God and I was faithful, God opened up doors and my business flourished!’ So, it’s kind of like it just happened. **Lawyer, former Rivers adherent.**

He further explained his contention by reference to the Bible, wherein there was a communal setting in which some “Christian brothers and sisters” complained that there were people amongst the group that were not working, “whereas some of us are slaving and working hard. But when we eat, we all eat together.” He said Peter introduced the principle of had to “you eat what you kill” and that he also had

to admonish those who were not putting in the work to say ‘those that do not work must not eat.’ So now when you take that principle and you juxtapose it to the message preached from the pulpit, there is no one who is talking about ‘I tithed, I was faithful, and then I worked from 7 p.m. until 2 a.m. or 3 a.m. or I didn’t sleep the whole night until 5 a.m. on this particular day.’ No one says that in church. **Lawyer, former Rivers adherent.**

Rhema adherent also felt that she did “not need” neo-PCC leaders to tell her that she would be prosperous “because I know that I will be.” She said “don’t tell me about ‘hold on, breakthrough is coming’” (Business owner: construction, Rhema adherent). Rather, she preferred that Rhema focuses on teaching “the Word” and the “Scripture” and “how to pray,” *ibid*. She said that as a result, when she wanted to hear and experience good sermons on the scripture she attended her Anglican church where she was baptised and forms her Christian foundation. She also said that she “chops and changes” between Rhema and the Anglican church, and that she exposed her children to both churches. Another former Rivers adherent had the same contestation, which led him to leave:

At Rivers, they start off with some biblical reference. (They) start off by quoting non-secular people, some could be anti-Christ – and (these) are used to emphasise the Word. It is more motivational talk, jut includes the Word of God, rather than understanding something about God in you. It seemed to be contradicting the Word of God. It was more motivation, I walked out of the church feeling motivated. **Lecturer, former Rivers adherent.**

Thus, the association of neo-PCCs with motivational more than religious sermons (Landau and Freemantle, 2010) limits Pentecostal rootedness. This suggests denominational pluralism where neo-PCC converts move between different and/or original churches and neo-PCCs.

The former Rivers adherent thought that the movie 'Machine gun preacher' depicted "what Christianity should be, even though that was a bit extreme." He said the

movie is about a guy who became a missionary. (An) American guy became a missionary in Africa in a village where the people in that village were praying, were victims to these warlords, these war-torn areas. And ... because ... he was a marine soldier, the solution to this problem was to equip these people in this village and training them on how to use firearms and to fight back, hence the name of the movie is machine gun preacher. ... what I got from this movie, was here's someone that came with a practical solution. I know in a church I used to go to, people who were struggling – struggling to the point of they don't know what they are going to eat after church. And I would hear people saying 'Aaah brother, I will keep you in my prayers.' You understand what I am saying? I am not saying give that person money every Sunday because that's unreasonable. But if you are in a position where you can change someone's life, and all you can say in that situation is 'God bless you,' there's a problem. And when I say you can do something, that something might also be saying 'you know where I work, there's an opening for a clerk, ... give me your CV. **Lawyer, former Rivers adherent.**

Balancing the Prosperity Gospel habitus

The preceding section is critical for showing that the neo-Pentecostal Prosperity Gospel is contested. In response, the neo-PCC habitus does also seek to correct what would be abused Pentecostal practices associated with the neo-Pentecostalist habitus anchored on the Prosperity Gospel.

The neo-PCC habitus is characterised by rituals and behaviours. Two of these are knowing the Bible and praying in tongues. The third point that is also important is using Biblical instruction to inform social and personal choices. However, this has resulted in what are abused neo-Pentecostal charismatic beliefs, practices and behaviours. Thus, while the neo-PCC habitus structures, neo-PCC leaders are also at pains to correct shifts and changes in the neo-PCC structure that they deem unhelpful. McCauley has lamented that neo-PCC adherents "have a horoscope mentality. We are looking for charismatic fortune tellers." They constantly ask their leaders "have you got a word? Have you got a word? Have you got a word?" McCauley recalled that someone had once called "Kenneth Hagin one night: 'Have you got a word?!' He said 'Yes. Go to sleep!'" [Congregants laugh]. McCauley admonished the constant need of "always looking for someone to predict our future" and advised adherents to "just keep your eyes on Jesus" (McCauley, 2 October 2018. CRC Dreamweek conference). Sono also said that adherents should not be "so radical that in the morning when you wake up, you want to pray about the colour of suit to

wear, and the colour shirt to wear. And then you come here with a red suit, and a purple tie and a yellow shirt and you say ‘the Lord led me to wear this way!’ [Congregants laugh]. Oh please! That’s not what I’m talking about! God doesn’t get- he’s given you this thing called a brain to use for those kinds of things! If you want to do colour blocking, it comes from here [taps head] not from heaven, it comes from in the head here! [Congregants laugh]. Are you understanding what I am saying?!” (Sono, Living the Dream: 5 January 2014). McCauley also stated that there was “just weird spiritual stuff” where adherents kept speaking in tongues in normal situations. He said “have you ever been in a place where you’re just sharing and having a bit of fun, and you’re just laughing and, here in walks someone: ‘*yewu yas heh-he-ha*’ (praying in tongues) [Congregation laughs]. [McCauley opens his eyes wide in amazement] ‘the Lord told me not to shave! The Lord told me I must put on this pink tie! [Congregation laughs]. Or he showed me how to-. He gave you a brain, [that tells you] how to dress! [Congregants laugh] That’s all I’m trying to tell you, you understand? (Ray McCauley, The two sisters DVD). Come on now, how many of you know that sometimes you get around some people and you think ‘I don’t think I’m saved here?’ [Laughs]. *People who say and act like* ‘Oh halleluiaah, *ak bl lb brb r br*’ I’ll never forget when I was in Bible school, there was a guy that would speak in tongues all day: ‘*aru bl, bl, br.*’ I’d come and say ‘how you doing?’ *he’d respond* ‘*aur bl bl blb bll.* [Congregation laughs]. I thought ‘boy I wish I could be as spiritual as that’ meantime, the guy- no one said to him ‘that’s not biblical!’ (Ray McCauley, The two sisters DVD).

Similarly, in a sermon in 2017 Sono admonished congregants for the dispositional tendency towards seeking immediate success. Using Jesus to explain, Sono told Grace congregants that they should not think that God would make them a “finished product (immediately). Jesus only fulfilled the ultimate of his ministry (on his) last days on earth” (Sono, 23 January 2017. Making your vision come true: Part 3).

Negativity around tithing and giving

Weber (1930:17) recognises that across time and place “waiters, physicians, coachmen, artists, prostitutes, dishonest officials, soldiers, nobles, crusaders, gamblers and beggars” have shared the common impulse to gain money. He asserts however, that the aspiration, pursuit and acquisition for great sums of money “has in itself nothing to do with capitalism,” *ibid.* Instead, he postulated that the “unlimited greed for gain (of money) is not least identical with capitalism, as still less its spirit.” Rather, “capitalism may even be identical with the restraint, or at least a rational tempering of this irrational impulse.”

Neo-PCC leaders constantly struggle, that is labour to separate their stance and preaching of the Prosperity Gospel as a greedy and irrational pursuit of money. This struggle thus characterises the neo-PCC habitus. The struggle to legitimise the accumulation of money and financial wealth is structured into the neo-PCC habitus, and fundamentally forms a part of the neo-PCC habitus. Thus, in the same

way that Weber sought to differentiate the spirit of capitalism from the impulse to accumulate the greatest among of money, McCauley, Sono and Olivier also labour to distinguish their mega-churches from being framed as exploitative money-seekers. Attuned to the widespread negative valence of mega-churches' relationship with money, tithing and sowing and their congregants, these mega-church founders constantly struggle or labour to separate their stance and preaching of the Prosperity Gospel as the irrational and greedy pursuit of money. This struggle thus characterises the neo-PCC habitus. The struggle to legitimise the accumulation of money and financial wealth is structured into the neo-PCC habitus, and fundamentally forms a part of the neo-PCC habitus.

They tell their congregants what they think about church giving. McCauley says that his church will not “beg” and congregants will give freely, Sono says his church will not “manipulate” congregant to give. On the other hand, Olivier points to the Biblical injunction that for the “work” that is done by church leaders, is double provision.

You can look respectable, even be religious and have a love of money. This thing is not just in politics, this thing occurs everywhere. It occurs in churches, often there are pastors who are greedy. Who have a love of money and it manifest in that they want to sell their books not because they want to help people, they want speaking engagements not because they want to travel around, spread the gospel but they want opportunities to increase their personal wealth. And it shows in their attitude. ... A leader cannot be bound by money. In fact, it's a quality for Christian leadership. And he (Paul) says a leader must be gentle, not quarrelsome and not love money. Now it doesn't say a leader shouldn't have money, he shouldn't love money because then it will lead to all sorts of wrong motives. And he will use the church instead of helping the church and building into the church. This occurs in business, it occurs in the church, and it occurs in politics. **Olivier, 6 September 2020. Sermon: Wisdom with Money.**

On tithing, McCauley says that “Biblically we are taught to give 10%, but I never look at who gives what” (Msimango, 2011), while Vusi Mona, former spokesperson of Rhema asserts that “it is encouraged” (News24, 2009). Sono (2015; 2022b), like Weber (1930:17) comments that in his church, he seeks to build the discipline of giving, versus being caught up in the trend of needing and creating endless “gimmicks” to “manipulate” his congregation into giving. Using the University of Witwatersrand building as an example, Sono argues that it is “concrete” and durable. Sono argues that building the “long and the hard way is the sure and the permanent way. It may take you a long time, but once its built, it will stand forever! [and with] the short cut, you'll have to build every year.”

By God's grace we bought three churches these last few months, and we are negotiating for another and another. And every time *re reka, re reka* cash. [And every time we buy, we buy cash]. [Applause]. What we did was ... [halts the audience from lots of applause.] When we started in the ministry, I decided what are the things that I can teach in our church that will take

a long time to build that discipline, but once that discipline becomes the culture and the DNA of the church it will be self-sustaining and self-propagating. ... and other people were looking for other means to get people to give money, I taught the principles of giving. And people didn't understand, they said things, they were not giving. And I knew I could manipulate, if I wanted, but I said no. because if *ke ba manipulatha gai-one* (because if I manipulate them once), I must manipulate them twice. And thrice, and ... and whatever. I will run out of creativity to come up with the new way of manipulating. So *ngamane* once (might as well), we build a discipline [So I'd rather we build a discipline (of giving).] [Oh yes]. So now, in five minutes we get what we need. and I have never had to stand and say we are raising this for this. Not once, *mara* we keep on buying cash. [again, he halts the applause]. The other route was easier, I am not saying you shouldn't raise money, that's all in order. I am talking about when you manipulate people ... the manipulation is easier, its quicker. But the problem is, it's not sustainable comrades [lots of affirming responses]. It's not sustainable. And some of you that's the challenge in lives. You are looking for a quicker, faster route. You are looking for a microwave approach. [lots of responses]. You may get what you want but you haven't built in the discipline. There are certain ingredients *bazalwana*, [that] must be non-negotiable. Resilience is one of them. Its needed in the army, its needed in building, its needed in sports! [Yes!] **Sono, 23 May 2017. Resilience: Grace Wits Student Society Launch.**

He says building something durable requires the mixing of ingredients, not cheating and taking the long and hard route. His stance is Weberian on account of its aim to build behaviours that allow giving, through what would be behaviours identical to restraint and planning, that temper what is ultimately an irrational impulse of accumulating as much money as possible (Weber, 1930:17). Two things approximating the Weberian stance are present in what Sono says, structured responses to productive and profitable work, and therefrom, the ability to purchase churches and other commodities "cash." This makes aspiration, pursuit and acquisition in Grace's habitus distinct.

Anderson (2005:80) states "although the connection between some of these churches and north American 'prosperity' preachers is apparent, Sono and, increasingly, McCauley are cautious regarding the 'Word of Faith' teaching. Sono has repeatedly sought to distance himself from 'prosperity theology' and western, white domination, and there are signs that his stance has had a positive influence on McCauley. The reasons for Sono's resistance to 'prosperity theology' must be found in his suspicion that this does not address his constituency's needs. In the very different situation he ministers to, a message of wealth and power as signs of God's blessing does not gel with the stark realities of poverty and crime in Soweto. The 'Prosperity Gospel' is far more amenable to the sheltered world of the rich and powerful in the white, leafy, middle-class suburbs, where Rhema and Hatfield are situated."

Pentecostal rootedness & habitus (symbiosis v. contestation)

One feature of BMC neo-Pentecostalisation which differs from the studies cited herein, is the character of Pentecostal rootedness. Pentecostal rootedness differs among BMC neo-Pentecostal individuals interviewed herein. For example, a Rivers adherent (Marketer: beverages, Rivers adherent) stated that she and her husband were well rooted at Rivers, and that even if a scandal involving the leadership of the church broke out, they would stay in the church. This adherent was well rooted within the church and volunteered her “time” and “resources” to support the administrative side of the church. She said that “if you were to read that Pastor André swindled money, you’d be like ‘*Ketsibile!* (I knew it!). Rivers! *Ketsibile!*’” She explained that “but for me, where I am at, *ke sharpo mo*. (I am okay here / I’m perfectly fine here).” She said that she would call for new leadership that would “carry the values” of the church “because I am still here for the same value ... Can we just get rid of him and bring someone else!” (Marketer: beverages, Rivers adherent).

Pentecostal rootedness is affected by the congregational habitus. It also varies on account of adherents changing churches because of a life change related to moving from one neighbourhood to another, a doctrinal clash. A former Rivers adherent said at:

I used to go to Rhema, ended up going to Grace in Pimville. Been a while that I have been to Grace. A decision I have been grappling with. Is church fulfilling why I went to church for?
Brand strategist, former Grace adherent.

He said that “at Rivers, Grace and Rhema ... we have left our lineages behind. He explained that he was going through a questioning process, where he was asking what Christianity meant for African traditions, arguing that neo-Pentecostals were “caught between a rock and a hard place” as “there are certain things that we have to give up. They call it ancestral worship.” As a result of this he said “you cannot accept certain parts of who you are” as a neo-Pentecostal (Brand strategist, former Grace adherent).

Other neo-Pentecostalisated Charismatics tend to change their churches multiple times over the course of their Christian journey. While this has to do with their satisfaction with church organisation or whether the message from the pulpit resonates with them, many move between churches because of changing residence. Others change because they leave intimate relationships.

I’ve been to Rhema, I’ve been to God’s People in Rosebank, and I’ve been to that church, it’s on Vilakazi street- Methodist! **Marketer: Beverages, Rivers adherent.**

Rhema was okay, hey. It was also one of those invites, my friend dated someone at Rhema, but we’ve moved on (from that relationship). **Marketer: Beverages, Rivers adherent.**

McCauley attracted negative public and congregational scrutiny for his divorces to Lyndie and Zelda. The scrutiny and criticism challenged and threatened to dilute his embodied and objectified spiritual capital. It also threatened the validity of Rhema's congregational habitus that emphasises and teaches the sanctity of marriage and discourages divorce.

McCauley's first divorce "caused a large crowd of congregants to depart from the church" in 2000 (Meintjies, 2001). In 2001 McCauley married Zelda Ireland but the couple divorced in 2010 for a period of 2-years, remarrying in 2013. McCauley and Ireland's wedding was reportedly "snubbed" by some congregants (Meintjies, 2001). This means McCauley has been divorced twice and married three times, twice to the same person. Steele stated that the congregational contestation of McCauley's wedding to Zelda was because some congregants were "looking for an excuse to leave the church because the majority of the congregation (was) now Black" (Meintjies, 2001). He acknowledged that while "nobody likes divorce" some white Rhema congregants were using McCauley's divorce and remarriage as an excuse "to leave the church." He stated that "there are whites dissatisfied that (the Rhema congregation is) now 70% Black," *ibid*. Steele also refuted claims that Rhema had lost many congregants on account of his divorce to Lyndie and marriage to Zelda, proclaiming instead that Rhema had gained over 5,000 new members in the period since McCauley's divorce. Countering the claim that McCauley and Ireland's wedding would be "snubbed," Steele stated that Rhema congregants and McCauley's friends in the neo-PCC community were set to attend his wedding as 6,000 people were expected (Meintjies, 2001).

As stated in Chapter 5, Joshua McCauley left Rhema to start a neo-PCC called Redemption. He had been working as Rhema's executive director of the ministry of television, publishing and wholesale operations in 2009 (News24, 2009). His mother, Lyndie attends Redemption church.

McCauley's divorces and remarriages caused some Rhema adherents to leave the church. One adherent explains that his family (wife and two sons) were staunch members of Rhema. He says that his two sons were baptised at Rhema, and that this was a highlight in their journey of faith. However,

it went south when McCauley divorced. My thing is that sometimes you just follow your wife. (My wife) then pulled away from the church. She said 'we need to find another home.' We would drive from Midrand to Randburg. ... Because Rhema doesn't believe in divorce, and McCauley before he was divorced, he would say 'whatever is bound by God no man can dissolve.' When we had challenges in our marriage we would go for counselling (at Rhema). Again, you while hear that divorce is a 'no-no.' **Development Banker, former Rhema adherent.**

A Rivers adherent says that she had "been to Rhema" while in Varsity and found that it was "okay" as a church and she had "met really nice people" there. She noted, however, "if you're not plugged into

your faith, you can be easily swayed by scandal” (Marketer: Beverages, Rivers adherent) She thought that Rhema as a church contended with “a whole lot of like, scandal, (which was the) thorniness about Rhema.” She explained that this could cause its adherents to take the attitude of “I’m not even going to bother.” She stated that her not bothering was likely “if your heart isn’t open the way it should be. Especially when you’ve become accustomed to what your cause and values is” *ibid*.

Van Rooyen (2010) wrote a newspaper article with the catchy headline: ‘Miracle as pastor returns from deep freeze.’ Van Rooyen (2010) claims that the Board of Rhema Church had “allegedly” fired Ray McCauley in August 2010. In a media statement, Giet Khosa then CEO of Rhema refuted that McCauley had been “fired or put on suspension.” Van Rooyen claims that McCauley’s dismissal had supposedly been altered to a suspension on condition that McCauley made no contact with Zelda. Khosa refuted this, explaining instead that the Rhema board, IFCC leadership and McCauley had agreed on medical “sabbatical for his health.” This reflects internal conflict between the congregation, McCauley as the pastoral leader, board and IFCC. It also reflects the powers of the IFCC and board in the management of the church. McCauley had undergone heart surgery after suffering a heart attack “on the eve of an interdenominational prayer day before the World Cup” (van Rooyen, 2010). His operation was said to be complex,⁵⁰ requiring that McCauley’s brain be frozen for 10-hours during the heart surgery. Khosa remarked on McCauley’s recovery from the operation saying “medically, we were advised that the chances of survival were very low, but God has done a miracle in Pastor Ray because he is recovering at an amazing rate. Even doctors are surprised at the speed of his recovery.” Khosa also refuted that Zelda had “moved back” into McCauley’s home, saying these were “rumours.” Khosa said that rather McCauley and Zelda were coparenting, which therefore necessitated talking “about family matters that involve the children. The Rhema board and IFCC leadership is aware of that” (van Rooyen, 2010).

Ireland has previously voiced her unhappiness with the conflict she says she suffers from some members of the Rhema congregation. At a high tea event during the Rhema Women’s’ Conference on 24 August 2016, Zelda said “Ray and I actually went through a divorce because I couldn’t handle these people. I couldn’t handle the gossipers. I couldn’t handle the women in the church” (Zelda Ireland, 24 August 2016). This was even though the conflict “wasn’t (between) me and Ray, because we got on like brother and sister and husband and wife.” She explained that the men in the church “weren’t harming me,” but that “it was the women!” Ultimately, she decided “I can’t take this church life. I’m out of here. I’m gone! I have to leave Ray as well” (Zelda Ireland, 24 August 2016). Zelda said that she

⁵⁰ McCauley relates that he does think that he is miraculously alive, as his heart doctor remarked that he did not know anyone who was still alive that had had their heart ‘burst in so many places’ (TBN Africa, 18 September 2019).

“had a very-very low sense of trust in women. I didn’t trust women. Because when I was young, I would grab any man, whether he was married or not married. I was very insecure” *ibid.* She concluded by saying “and I can just say this to you, it was God’s will for me and Ray to get back together, in spite of everything. That’s my destiny! [Applause] and for anybody else” (Zelda Ireland, 24 August 2016).

Neo-PCCs have a rebuttal tendency of publicly stating that the crowds keep coming even in the context of social contestation, Rhema, Grace and Rivers have all made statements to the continued growth of their churches despite running into conflict with the media, communities or state authorities.

While neo-PCCs usurp secular practices, there are other secular practices that they seek not to usurp. This is evidenced by a clash between the neo-PCC habitus that promotes voluntarism from professionals, and professionals who seek to gain career advancement and remuneration for their services and expertise. At Rivers for example, Olivier related that the mega-church had experienced a situation in which some worship team members wanted to be promoted to lead singers. He explained that such opportunities were not automatically or immediately available, and that rather singers needed to stay the course. He said that when singers failed to get the lead singer position, they left Rivers and marketed themselves to other neo-PCCs as former Rivers singers and this landed them opportunities on account of the Rivers’ prestige. A worship team member, participating as an instrumentalist at Grace wanted to be remunerated but the Grace Bible Council held that the position was a voluntary and non-remunerated. Sono attracted social media condemnation for holding this position (Mudzuli, 2020). He had explained that Grace survived on voluntarism: “in our church, we survive through volunteerism. That’s the DNA of Grace Bible Church. To me there’s no difference between a musician and a parking attendant. They’re all volunteers.” He said it was financially unsustainable for the mega-church to pay musicians. He stated that the church had doctors that volunteered their time and services: “for your information, as I’m speaking now, we have a medical doctor on duty. Usually, we have more than one medical doctor on duty for emergency management services.” The comparison of the parking attendant and musician attracted the most negative commentary on *Twitter* (Mudzuli, 2020).

I argue that the volunteer habitus that neo-PCCs labour to create is a mechanism of group formation and domination and it is also formed through the symbolic dimension. The congregational habitus usurps the diverse species of capital that adherents possess and moulds them into the neo-PCC field’s specialised activities: ushering, EMS, kids church, administration and so on. Adherents deploy their capitals in service of the congregational habitus, which has, through symbolic violence made possible the misrecognition of this work as serving and a service to God, it has also made it into mundane, ordinary, routine church activity, to strip it of financial value. The competing alternative is the professional sphere in which there is reward and advancement. Whereas in the neo-PCC volunteer habitus the expertise is given but not rewarded with advancement or payment. For example, there is the deployment of medical knowledge to assist a fainted adherent by doctors. The symbolic violence

requires of the “three doctors” volunteering for EMS every Sunday at Grace be the recognition-misrecognition of this work as “serving.” Thus, within the boundaries of the congregational habitus, the volunteer habitus is about remaking of classes that strips the reward and promotion and advancement associated with doing work, they work without accumulating economic or financial capital, but do gain spiritual capital within the neo-PCC congregational habitus.

Societal legitimacy: sexuality

South Africa’s exceptional pluralism of freedoms has created controversy for neo-PCCs. The Constitutionally protected freedom of religious and cultural expression exists side-by-side with other similarly protected rights: the prohibition of discrimination on the basis of sexuality, race and language (etc.), the right to choose an abortion, the rejection of death penalty and the recognition of the rights of criminals (Balcomb, 2004:10). Based on a large-scale social attitudes survey from 2005, Rule and Langa observe that “many churches have also clung to a traditional sexual morality around issues such as monogamy, condom use, abortion and homosexuality” (2010:11). They argue that sexual morality values are reflected in public attitudes that appear simultaneously with strong prosocial and civic-minded values. The authors conclude that “while it appears that many South African are relying on either religion as a source of optimism and resilience in relatively uncertain times, the findings also raise questions concerning the relationship between religious belief and moral values and behaviour” (Rule and Langa, 2010:11).

In the post-1994 era it appears that the relationship between the SACC and the IFCC, Rhema Bible Church and Ray McCauley has been uneven, with some collaboration and friction. McCauley contradicted a statement made by the SACC on same sex marriages. The Mail & Guardian (2006) reports that in September 2006 the “SACC general secretary Eddie Makue called for the amendment of the Marriage Act to govern all forms of marriage, including same-sex unions, rather than the proposed separate legislation.” Reportedly, McCauley responded that he “believed [that] the majority of churches are not in favour of same-sex marriages.” McCauley reasoned that the support for same-sex marriages was not unanimous within the SACC and that churches preferred to make individual statements on their position on same-sex marriages (Mail & Guardian, 2006).

I argue that the public prominence McCauley and Rhema have disciplined a conservative view on gay rights, abortion and same-sex marriage, which are rights that the church has variously been reported to oppose or have a problem with (Rossouw, 2009; Balcomb, 2004). Marius Oosthuizen a representative of the Rhema movement (2013:91-2) offers the same position. He explains that Rhema’s membership is open to all, regardless of sexual orientation. in McCauley’s words gay people are embraced at Rhema (Tolsi, 2009). He does state, however, that the church requires that members recognise Rhema’s “moral” view on sexual orientation, and submit to “counsel and guidance of the church.” In his explanation, Oosthuizen also reveals the church’s attempt at maintaining an openness to all without

compromising its statement of faith which states that the church believes “in heterosexual relationships between a natural man and a natural woman within the confines of lawful matrimony” (2013:92). For Oosthuizen, the careful balance of the tension between the freedoms is that Rhema does not seek to “coerce” people “at the expense of their freedom” nor does it seek to compromise the church’s views, *ibid.* Ultimately, dissociation as the option, where Rhema maintains the “freedom” to refuse anyone deemed as non-conformist to its statement of faith, constitution, governance, doctrine and personal behaviour (Oosthuizen, 2013:92).

In 2017, Grace Bible Church attracted protest from the LGBTQI community when a visiting Ghanaian preacher Dag Heward-Mills derided same sex relationships as unnatural in a sermon (Collison, 2017). This prompted a popular South African celebrity known as Somizi Mhlongo with a huge social media following who was in the congregation to walk out and go live on *Instagram*, voicing his disdain over Heward-Mills’ derision:

It’s just like homosexuality, you don’t find two male dogs, two male lions, two male impalas, two male lizards. You don’t find that in nature. That is unnatural.

The incident trended on social media platforms such as *Twitter* and *Facebook* for several days, and numerous news articles were published on the issue, including by the South African Human Rights Commission and the *Mail & Guardian*. The church also attracted a march to its premises from activists. At a Sunday service, Sono took a boundary making response to the incident. The church said that it respected South Africa’s Constitutional democracy and the freedoms it afforded all. This included the right of free speech by Dag Heward-Mills (Pather, 2017). It stated that the Constitution provided for the freedom of association and membership, and that Grace’s statement of faith promoted heterosexual relations and marriage “we believe and affirm that marriage is an institution created by God in which one man and one woman enters into an exclusive relationship for life. [Applause] ... And that it is the only form of partnership approved by God for sexual relations. We neither believe nor accept that holding this theological and ethical view on biblical grounds is itself discriminatory” (Sono, 29 January 2017). Sono also spoke out against violence and “abuse that people who are gay are experiencing in our communities,” saying that the church was against that and worked to “conscientize communities (to) stand against any kind of abuse on any human being.” He stated that “if we truly believe that we are all God’s children, and we all created by God, we cannot in any way abuse anybody, hate anybody, dislike anybody. And that is our stance as a church. [Applause]” (Sono, 29 January 2017).

This reinforced the public statements that had been made by bishop Ezekile Mathole during the course of that week. Mathole said that the LGBTQI community was welcome at Grace Bible Church, and that the Grace congregation was not homophobic, and had found Heward-Mills’ sermon controversial. Mathole recognised that the South African “society (was) grappling with new values” opining that society-wide discussion and debate was necessary on the changing society (Pather, 2017).

Like Rhema, I see the statement as Grace's struggle to maintain the integrity of their statement of faith and doctrinal stance. I see Sono's reiteration of the church's promotion of heterosexual relationships in tension with its social and developmental role within Black communities. I argue that his off-the-cuff assertion that it is the Christian's duty to love all without discrimination as the central premise.

It is on the basis of Christian love that one gay Grace adherent said he navigated the Grace space. He stated that in home cells he challenged other congregants who had claimed to be "born-again" to use "the same breath that they declared acceptance of Jesus Christ and his acceptance of them as they are to accept others as they are" (Brand Strategist, Grace adherent). He related that when he used to attend His People church during his years at university "he used to have major issues with (his) sexuality. (He shared with the church) 'I think I'm gay.' They prayed for the demons to come out. They (demons) stayed." He further relates that this made him very unhappy and that at one point he was suicidal. He relates that it was his gay friends and God that made him regain his self love. He said 'God brought me back to the concept of unconditional love' and intervened by giving him gay friends that brought him "calm and comfort." Where God's love told him that if he didn't agree with the way churches do things, he should take the opportunity to ask questions. As such, when his home cell group members questioned "why Somizi walked out" of Grace and did took to *Instagram* to complain instead of doing so in the church, he challenged the disposition of "what the pastor says can't be questioned" by asking them "but guys are you listening to yourself when you're saying these things?" I see his use of the home cells as an important act of subverting what is an open space that is sometimes used by other congregants to "police" each other (as shared by the Manager: L&A, Grace adherent).

I see the tension that Rhema and Grace are in regarding their doctrinal stance on the LGBTQI community as similar to the tension on race and racism that communities within the DRC and AFM contended with in the mid-1800s and early 1900s. Given South Africa's history of discrimination, Rhema, Grace and Rivers are cautious about any form of discrimination. And as the history of these churches illustrates, congregations and their leaders reinforce discrimination within their habitus with significant consequences. The coexistence of conservative and traditional views and prosocial and civic-minded values produces congregational habiti that are constantly at work to prevent clashes, contradictions and the ousting of the other.

Conclusion

There is a classificatory struggle taking place within the neo-PCC field. Thus, the leaders of the three mega-churches in this study define and teach cultural competence on neo-Pentecostalism. This is about building a culturally specific neo-Pentecostal Charismatic competence: the socialised prosperity habitus. They are also involved in what Bourdieu (1977 [2010]) calls a classificatory struggle. This is

evidence by their continuous teaching on the appropriate socialised prosperity habitus, as well as correction of what they deem as inappropriate. Thus, neo-PC mega-church leaders are continuously at work to maintain the integrity of the socialised prosperity habitus. They do this through distinction and boundary making, affirming what they consider as the appropriate socialised prosperity habitus and rejecting the unwanted. This classificatory struggle achieves three critical things. First it works to reproduce the habitus, refuses to admit pollutants, maintains its integrity. Second, it works to maintain the structure of the neo-PCC field that is constantly under threat because of a continuous stream of new entrants. Third, the classificatory delineation of the habitus works to establish a hierarchy within the neo-PCC field, which is critical for legitimising and delegitimising entrants and incumbents in the neo-PCC field.

CHAPTER SEVEN

‘I’m blessed and highly favoured:’ Pentecostalised Socialities

Introduction

This chapter draws out an understanding of the neo-Pentecostalisation of parts of the post-apartheid Black Middle Class. The BMC neo-Pentecostals studied herein were all employed or running successful businesses at the time of the research. Individually each had 8-10 or more years of work, having worked for at least three or more organisations before their present place of work or business. While two lived in rented properties, the remained owned houses for which they were repaying bonds. All had cars. All had their first degree and/or diploma(s) and higher diplomas, with eight holding Masters degrees, and one with a PhD. Their children attended schools in Johannesburg’s suburbs, both in the private and public Model C schools. Four had children that were attending university (public) and College (private) studying for their first diplomas and degrees. The assets (cars, house and household appliances), credentials, work experience and occupational level, middle and senior management suggests a consolidated middle class position. At middle class to upper middle class levels.

Conversions

Segments of the new and aspirant Black middle classes are neo-Pentecostalised. This emerges from a shift in the first and second generation Black middle class families becoming adherents of neo-PCCs. With the exception of two people that were came from the Apostolic faith, all the BMC neo-Pentecostals studied herein converted from MPCs and the RCCs. In terms of a count, the table below reflects the church biography of the interviewees.

Table 21: Church biography of BMC neo-Pentecostals interviewed

Occupation	Sex	Church biography
TV Producer	F	Rhema (formerly Anglican)
Coal Engineer	F	Rhema (formerly Catholic)
Marketer: Beverages	F	Rivers (formerly Catholic)
Marketer: Tobacco	F	Rivers (formerly Lutheran)
Private Banker	F	Rivers (formerly Methodist and transitioned from Grace to Rivers)
Development Banker	M	Rhema (formerly Catholic)
Manager: ICT	F	Rivers (Catholic, Methodist and Grace)

Manager: Cyber Security	M	Just Christian (formerly Apostolic)
Attorney	M	Formerly Rivers (formerly Anglican)
Manager: L&A	F	Grace (formerly Methodist)
Executive: M&E	F	Former Rhema (formerly Lutheran)
Programmer: ICT	F	Rivers (formerly Methodist)
Brand strategist	M	Former Rhema & Grace (formerly Anglican, Methodist)
Lecturer	F	Former Rhema (formerly Anglican)
Country Director	M	Rhema (formerly Catholic)
Executive: HR	F	Methodist (formerly His People & Rhema)
Executive: PR	F	Catholic (Rhema & Grace)
Business owner: services	F	Rhema (formerly Apostolic)
Business owner: construction	F	Rhema (formerly Anglican)
Lecturer	M	Former Rivers (formerly Lutheran)

Source: Author

Methodist (generation where some of the parents of the BMC neo-Pentecostals that were interviewed herein. This means that there was a first generation shift from MPCs and the RCC to neo-PCCs, as their parents and grandparents were Christian and belonged variously to the Lutheran, Catholic, Methodist and Anglican churches. As such making some of the BMC neo-Pentecostals that I interviewed second generation neo-Pentecostals, who eventually became adherents at Rhema, Grace or Rivers. None of the interviewed BMC members were born into the neo-Pentecostal faith. Some joined neo-PCCs as teenagers, university students or in their early working life. For example, four of the BMC neo-Pentecostals were introduced to neo-Pentecostalism as teenagers, leaving the Anglican and Methodist churches.

This means that BMC are involved in co-production, with neo-PCCs, of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field and habitus, and are therefore also facilitators of its continued growth. The neo-Pentecostal field is defined as a religious market wherein ‘actors compete for money, prestige and power’ (Verter, 2003:153); while the habitus is a set of socialised dispositions and modes of ‘behaviour that act in conformity with a (quasi) systemic view of the world’ (Verter, 2003:154). The habitus orders social thoughts, choices and activities. Through volunteering and taking up (quasi) leadership positions within the churches, the BMC co-produce the neo-PCC field and habitus. This is shown by the fact that none of the interviewed BMC were born into the neo-Pentecostal faith. Their parents and grandparents were Christian and belonged variously to the Lutheran, Catholic, Methodist and Anglican churches. Few of the interviewed BMC joined neo-Pentecostal churches as teenagers, as many converted to neo-Pentecostalism at university or during their working life. Their conversions, moreover, were all due to

the introduction and evangelisation of other BMC. The majority of the BMC in this research stated that they were introduced to neo-PCCs by friends from work or university. Others had been introduced by relatives or friends of the family. Two significant processes of social reproduction are apparent here. The first is that BMC members were introduced to neo-PCCs by people known to them, that were part of their broad social network and also shared a similar or comparable class position, rather than strangers, faceless or ‘cold’ marketing. The second is that the everyday evangelisation by BMC of other BMC members and the neo-Pentecostalisation that results is a contributing factor to the decline of MPCs, in contrast to the burgeoning of neo-PCCs. BMC also reported being invited to neo-PCC services and events multiple times by different people, showing a strong evangelisation impulse.

The focused evangelisation impulse of the BMC contributes to growth of the church. Existing members of the church are encouraged to invite as many people as they can, and while this process calls on more people to come, it also roots the converted BMC neo-Pentecostals within the neo-Pentecostalist habitus. towards critical periods of the Christian calendar such as Easter, the mega-churches organise their churches and volunteer activities around what is to take place on the weekend. Grace plans a large event at a stadium where mass evangelisation also takes place. In the lead up to Easter 2023, Grace organised the ‘Women of Destiny’ and cell leaders to go out from mid-March on weekends doing outreaches at “nearby Malls, taxi ranks, and anywhere where there is a concentration of people” (Grace Bible Church website, accessed 21 March 2023). Outreach teams were identifiable through same outfit: “GBC T-shirts denim or black bottoms,” (all the women wore skirts), *ibid*. Volunteer services that were organised for the weekend included “ushering, Counselling, Health and Safety, EMS, and Access Control” (Grace Bible Church website, accessed 21 March 2023). The 2023 Good Friday service was attended by Deputy President of South Africa Paul Mashatile, the Premier of Gauteng Province Panyaza Lesufi and the president of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) Velenkosini Hlabisa (SABCNews, 2023).

BMC use their personal social media pages to recruit and/or spread the message of neo-Pentecostalism within their social networks. They send invitations, make arrangements for people to arrive safely at church. They post pictures on *WhatsApp*, *Instagram* and *Facebook* of themselves at large neo-PCC conferences or camps. They share well-designed and digitised motivational messages and scriptures from their pastors and neo-PCCs. Links to *YouTube* sermons and gospel songs, *Zoom* prayers sessions are in constant rotation, while video messages or soundbites are shortened to snippets for easy consumption on *WhatsApp*. Prayers are declared and offered in *Facebook* and *WhatsApp* statuses. This constitutes everyday and digitised practices that BMC members participate in.

The invited guests to neo-PCCs are also captured through the church’s formalised evangelising activities. For example, at every service, and typically after the main sermon, just before the closing prayer of the service, the Pastor or Bishop invites people to be saved. This is known as the altar call.

Here, people will then be born-again. After the process of born-again prayer, church volunteers gather the contact details of the newly-saved to call them in the coming week, to find out how they're doing, and to encourage them to return to church. They are also typically assigned to a cell-group, or to a person who will stay in touch with the new adherent. At Rhema, the altar call is also a place where you can learn to pray in tongues. In addition to calling people to the front to receive Jesus, Mabalane called on people that wanted to learn how to pray in tongues. He called on the present pastors to help him pray for the gift.

Come to the front to get the gift of speaking in tongues. You pray in mysteries, you pray in tongues. The devil can't even hear what you're saying. ... Paul had the gift of interpreting tongues. [Prays in English and then in tongues]. ... It doesn't make sense, it makes faith. [Continues praying in tongues]. Speak the rivers of living waters start flowing out of your mouth. Let go and let God. **Mabalane 22 January 2017, David's Armour.**

How many of you are in Christ Jesus tonight? Now raise your hand. See Freddy is here tonight. He evangelises, he is doing a great job. He is in the schools around the country. We had lunch yesterday, [he] doing a fantastic job. Real blessing. **McCauley, 2009. The two sisters: pride and shame DVD.**

The process of neo-Pentecostalism also includes the neo-Pentecostalisation of the proto-middle classes, and this takes place through the higher education track. As stated above, several of the BMC neo-Pentecostals studied here were proselytised during their studies at university. Gukurume (2022:2) explains how this takes place. He says that Pentecostal Churches aggressively proselytise university students as well as Pentecostalise university public spaces "before the second coming of Jesus Christ." Gukurume (2022) asserts that Pentecostal Churches achieve the Pentecostalisation of university public spaces by advertising across noticeboards and holding public prayers and services across university grounds.

My research confirms this as two of the mega-churches were directly involved in university proselytization and Pentecostalisation. Rhema and Grace have university chapters. In the pre-COVID-19 period, Rhema actively bussed-in students from the Universities of Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand to the 'SNL' evening service. In 2017, the 'SNL' pastors used to be two Black male pastors Wayne Chafunya and Kabelo Mabalane and a female pastor, Pushie Watson. This has changed and Mabalane is the head of pastoral care and Chafunya is the head of the Rhema's youth and young adults' ministry, while Watson is no longer cited as a Rhema pastor (Rhema Bible Church website, accessed 28 May 2021). Mabalane is a former kwaito-star, while Watson is a former TV-presenter; both have recognisability, albeit perhaps more readily to people older than 35-years. Through the active evangelising of university students, neo-PCCs are directly involved in the neo-Pentecostalisation of

proto or upcoming middle classes. The neo-Pentecostal churches on campus “responds to student challenges. It promotes involving God in your academic walk, helping you to cope with the demands of adulting” (Lecturer, former Rivers adherent). It is an active relationship in which the middle class in the making is involved in co-producing its neo-Pentecostalisation, and a neo-Pentecostalised identity, thus propagating South Africa’s neo-Pentecostal charismatic wave.

As part of a neo-Pentecostal habitus, neo-Pentecostalised BMC use special phrases to address good and bad social circumstances or situations. For example, it has become popular to respond to a normal greeting of ‘how are you’ by saying I am blessed and highly favoured.” A *WhatsApp* status of a communications manager and adherent of Rivers Church declared “I am blessed, not lucky.” Unwelcome ideas are met with I rebuke that” or “send back to sender.” These responses are given in everyday conversations, whether at a braai, on social media or at work, and represent a special Prosperity Gospel lexicon of advancement and protection. They become part of the colloquial world of the neo-PCCs and their middle classes.

Besides this specialised lexicon, the neo-Pentecostal habitus is also characterised by practices and processes that neo-PCCs use to engender and neo-Pentecostalise adherents, as well as root neo-Pentecostalism. Parts of the post-apartheid BMC are increasingly attracted to neo-PCCs for the unique experience that these churches provide. Besides social media, neo-PCCs are advanced in their embracing of digital technologies, making church a movie-set or a pop music stage. Another practice is that neo-PCC church leaders have abrogated the uniformed style of MPCs and RCCs, preferring more fashionable and relaxed clothing such as jeans, leather jackets and sneakers.

The BMCs interviewed for this research stated that this has made neo-PCC church leaders more relatable than MPCs. For example, one BMC member found the first service she attended at Rivers “quite refreshing.” She state that she attended on a day where Olivier was hosting an open Q&A type of sermon where the congregation had “submitted questions that they wanted to ask him about.” The sermon also came with a pamphlet that outlined the sermon in a “fill the blanks” style, which she says “engaged’ her and that it was practical for her (Marketer: beverages, Rivers adherent). This changed her experience of “being dragged to church and not quite understanding what was being said” (Marketer: beverages, Rivers adherent). The idea that “*nna, ha o buwa ka scripture ke sa kgone go applya in my life, I think wang’latlha.* (for me if you preach and I can’t apply it in my life I think you’re losing me) is a central feature of neo-Pentecostalism for the new BMC. The relatability of the neo-PCC message to everyday life is a common and appreciated experience among the interviewees that contributed to their neo-Pentecostalisation:

at Methodist I just found the sermons to be like, there was no message, there was no like-preacher reads from the Bible, and he would talk about verses in there, and maybe make some

associations to daily life, but it wasn't- there was very little read through to like daily life from the Bible. **Private Banker, Rivers adherent.**

A Rivers adherent that had been baptised at Grace Bible Church, and attended Rivers because Grace was too far said:

So Pastor Mosa Sono *a buwe scripture, a applaye* to your life, and you're like 'this guy, *mos o* maker sense.' (Pastor Sono would quote a Bible verse and apply it to your life causing you to think 'this guy makes so much sense.') So, I got deep into It because I like the narrative and how he preached and how it applies the bible life to everyday life, so it is easy for you to understand. **ICT manager, Rivers adherent.**

Understanding that there is a bigger God and that life is bigger than work is how it helps me. Bad performance of the international markets, like a bad day and antagonistic, hostile colleagues as preached by Olivier helps to get through the day. **Private banker: Rivers adherent.**

Another adherent that was converted by Grace said "why did I respond (to the altar call)? It was how the Word was taught. There was no hardcore moralising. There was always logic that I could apply to my life. Things that I could start to do. It was something that I had been missing that I wasn't aware of" (Manager: L&A, Grace adherent). A Rhema adherent related how at her childhood Apostolic Church in Tshwane Mathew 25:25 was preached ad infinitum:

The (Apostolic) church where I used to go, they used to- ... they would open Mathew 25:25 every single Sunday! *Moruti ole!* (That preacher!) Kore Mathew 25, verse 25 *ke etseba!* (I know Mathew 25 so well!) [laughs]. Even though I didn't understand what it meant, but I knew it. Because *ne ele Mzulu 'and namhlnaje sizo vuli ibible, ibible'* (Because he was Zulu and he'd say 'today we're going to open the Bible') [laughs]. Oh the 10 virgins, the clever ones and the-. Oh! Every single Sunday he would talk about that. Every Sunday! Oh, my goodness! Yuu! **SME owner: services, Rhema adherent.**

The neo-PCC choirs, typically referred to as 'praise teams' or 'worship teams,' are dominated by young musicians that beat drums, strum guitars and sing under the bright lights of the neo-Pentecostal stage like pop concerts. The statement below illustrates to factors, that some neo-PCCs in the township began the work on neo-Pentecostalising BMC adherents, which suburban churches then gained.

Whereas Zoë Bible Church was a full band, the music was nice, it was lively. I felt like *angeke ngi pathwe wub'thongo*. (I will not feel drowsy). I wasn't going to fall asleep. **Lawyer, former Rivers adherent.**

The content of the lyrics are also important, as one BMC stated that he had disliked Lutheran hymn for a long time because it described the believer as “ugly.” BMC therefore find the fashion and music appealing, describing their previous MPC or RCC as “stiff” and “boring;” and the neo-PCCs as “fun,” “exciting” and “happy” spaces.

All three of the neo-PCC’s church sites are nothing like the traditional churches. Instead, they are auditoriums in design and style. For example, Rivers is a three-storey church. The ‘downstairs area’ has a food court where, Olivier states, ‘we love people to hang-out there. There are all different kinds of coffee, organic food, we sell nuts and oil and all sorts of healthy things. And ... a couple of hundred people can eat down here and just hang-out and connect, make friends.’ Therefore, the neo-PCC space mirrors the social lives of young people, copying the ways in which young middle classes typically engage outside of church-spaces. This makes the neo-PCC space an easy extension of the BMC life, as well as easing the transition into the church-space because of the social familiarity it creates.

As detailed in the preceding chapter, the McCauley, Sono and Olivier have also written books that teach adherents how to run successful businesses, maintain healthy relationships and bodies, and navigate challenging and highly conflictual settings and relationships. Like Nicholas Bhengu, who built one of the biggest classical Pentecostal churches during apartheid times by offering practical teachings to newly urbanising Xhosa people in East London (Maxwell, 2006), McCauley, Sono and Olivier offer practical teachings that seek not only to propagate the middle-classes, but to secure middle-class positionality. They translate Bible texts into relatable, every-day situations that help BMC to cope, manage and respond to family, romantic and work or business demands and challenges, and, more recently, to psychological and socio-economic ramifications of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The mega-churches in this study confirm Frahm-Arp’s (2018:9) assertion that “most of these churches have home cell groups or bible study groups that form a central pillar of the churches.” This is because the mega-churches also structure their congregations into home cells where they indeed “develop a sense of community and come to feel part of a ‘family,’” *ibid.* Relating this, a Grace adherent explained that home cells were “a church community within the church” (Manager: L&A, Grace adherent).

It's not only about going to church on Sunday. Like home-cell, going to the prison ministry where you go to prisons and minister there. ... the home cell is a midweek thing, like on Tuesdays or Wednesdays. The motive is to give encouragement mid-week because in a big church you can't ask questions. Home cells are held at someone's house where it is conducive for conversation. It takes different formats, we talk about the church service, about preaching, about the offering. Also whatever is bothering you. It's not prayer the whole time. talk about lots of things, crime, government, prosperity. It also has a social element where we celebrate

birthdays. The whole idea, I suppose it is like ANC branch meetings, relationship forming, it is run like that. **Lawyer, former Rivers adherent.**

You go to a home cell that is very close to where you live. Because you could be going to the church for 10 years and no one knows you because it's a big church. So people coming from the same home cell they know you. **Manager: L&A, Grace adherent.**

As the chapter before this showed, some adherents do use the home-cell group to push the conversation beyond what the church agrees with. This illustrates that such spaces are indeed one's where the Pentecostal habitus is challenged, made and unmade. This is because when one Rivers adherent was having difficulties with her teenage son, she was simultaneously exposed to challenges that were being faced by other adherents as shared within the environment of the home cell (ICT programmer, Rivers adherent). She stated that this congregant was in mourning, having lost his wife. She stated that this gave her perspective on life challenges, and relieved her of stress since "others have such big problems." She said she felt "she shouldn't complain so much" (ICT programmer, Rivers adherent). volunteering was also important and only three adherents from Rivers said they volunteered at church.

The neo-Pentecostalisation of BMC identity

Neo-PCCs attract the urbanised middle classes across racial groups, and a growing segment of the BMC is adopting a neo-Pentecostalised identity. The neo-PCCs and self-help pulpit assists members of the post-apartheid BMC to navigate and mediate the complexities, difficulties and offences associated with living and operating in a neoliberal capitalist economy, to which access remains gendered, racial and spatially defined, with these cleavages acting to include and exclude. The post-apartheid political economy has not become better, it has become more difficult – as it has now added another layer of corruption as the mechanism of dispensing capital.

The Prosperity Gospel is an important tool of neo-Pentecostalisation. Frahm-Arp (2018) usefully defines three clusters of the Prosperity Gospels that she says operate in urban South Africa. She extracts these "loose clusters" from her analysis of sermons and interviews with 97 Pentecostal Charismatic Evangelical church (PCE) pastors in Johannesburg. Frahm-Arp (2018:2) also recognises the diversity of Pentecostalism. She uses five attributes to more definitively characterise the PCEs she studies. Citing Robins (2004:15) her first attribute of Pentecostalism is "a far-flung network of people held together by their publications and other media productions, conferences, revival meetings and constant travel" (Frahm-Arp, 2018:2). The four attributes are theological. Pentecostals are open to and engage with experiences of the Holy Spirit, including the prophetic gifts of the pastors; and are born-again having accepted Jesus as the Lord and saviour of their lives. They see the world as divided between good and

evil, Satan and God, illness and health, where pastors can drive out evil and they do not believe in ancestor veneration and seek a break with African traditions or heritage, *ibid.*

Frahm-Arp (2018) identifies three strands of the Prosperity Gospel which she defined as the abilities, progress and miracles Prosperity Gospels. While I do not cover the miracles Prosperity Gospel in this chapter as none of the mega-churches cases herein followed this message, it can be understood as centripetal, wherein the neo-PCCs that focus on it preach an inward-looking message, shy away from preaching the progress Prosperity Gospel and do not preach about socio-political issues (Frahm-Arp, 2018). The miracles Prosperity Gospel “embraces the belief that spiritual growth determines material wealth and that people achieve material wealth through victory in spiritual battles of prayer, driving out demons, and making personal sacrifices” (Frahm-Arp, 2018:6). The miracles Prosperity Gospel tends to not attract high income earners, *ibid.*

The abilities Prosperity Gospel “focuses on getting believers to exercise and develop their own abilities.” It is premised “on the belief that anyone can achieve anything when they align themselves with God’s principles, claim God’s blessing, give to the church, and work hard” (Frahm-Arp, 2018:4-5).

The progress Prosperity Gospel “centres on shifting people’s attitudes and emphasises the idea that prosperity means progress. PCE adherents are encouraged to see any small success, such as getting a new client for their business or passing an exam, as progress and, therefore, a sign of prosperity. Prosperity is achieved through faith and righteous living and includes social outreach programmes to develop and uplift others in the community, making it community based. Frahm-Arp asserts that mainline churches are also part of the progress prosperity category (2018:6). The Progress Prosperity Gospel stresses that everything that happens to a person represents a form of prosperity. It implores adherents to shift from perceiving big material gain as the singular sign of prosperity. Instead, it drives the belief that providing food and clothes to the needy; good or effective parenting and business management as forms and indicators of prosperity. Other forms of the progress prosperity include setting up orphanages, aftercare centres, soup kitchens and even giving to schools finances through tithes and offerings. She concludes that the cluster or type of Prosperity Gospel preached associates with the nature and extent of the political engagement that PCE pastors message to adherents.

McCauley’s statement below illustrates the broad message of neo-PCC Prosperity Gospel:

Now, I really, really am for the supernatural power of God, to see people touched, people minister to people healed, to see miracles and everything. But I want you to know that (by) serving God, He will entrust you with the basic things in life. Go to church, pay your tithes, [*Ja*] being faithful to the home cell, all these mundane things become vital to where God is taking you. And if He

cannot trust you in the small things, He is not gonna trust you in the big things. [Yes!] [Applause].

McCauley, 2 October 2018. CRC Dreamweek Conference.

The three mega-churches attract the BMC because the abilities Prosperity Gospel that they preach and teach is an upward social mobility discourse. The abilities Prosperity Gospel empowers post-apartheid BMC individuals to believe in maintaining and consolidating their middle-class positions, and puts them in charge of their upward social mobility. The mega-churches in this study have been at the centre of driving the message of hard work, discipline and ethical success. Their preaching anchors on the key message of spiritual and socioeconomic success, while recognising that the South African social formation still operates in an unequal and exclusionary way. By focusing on and emphasising that the personal is responsible for its success, these mega-churches indirectly legitimise the approaches, the failures and dysfunctionalities of the current capitalist state. Giet Khosa then pastor at Rhema preached to a mostly young and Black congregation in the *SNL* “stop complaining about your boss. Stop blaming everyone. Stop talking about other people” (personal notes, 29 February 2017). A month later, still at Rhema, but this time to a larger audience of the *Breakthrough* conference, a visiting white, female and American pastor preached: “if you want something you’ve never had, then you’ve gotta do something you’ve never done.” She told the congregation that they should imitate Paul the Apostle who firmly believed that “I can handle anything through Christ who will strengthen me” (personal notes, 11 March 2017). Talking about how opportunities can be amplified and exploited and how challenges can be mitigated and addressed Johanna Makgalemela, a successful female Black entrepreneur, who is also the quintessential neo-Pentecostal success story told the *Breakthrough* conference audience: “bring your friend *otswafang*. Maybe *onale* business, needs breakthrough” (Bring you lazy friend (to the conference), perhaps they have a business and need a breakthrough) (personal notes, 11 March 2017).

The importance of the progress Prosperity Gospel derives from stating that the “present” crisis, struggle and challenges faced by existing and aspirant BMC members are “not the final destination” (Mathole). This progress Prosperity Gospel instrumentally derives from scriptural references that show initial difficulty and final triumph. This message is important for BMC members facing financial difficulties that prevent them from pursuing their aspirations. For example, several of the BMC neo-Pentecostals interviewed herein related their experience of navigating higher education study choices. Some were not able to pursue the degree of their first choice due to financial difficulty, while others still, could not pursue postgraduate studies for the same reason. The progress Prosperity Gospel which some accessed while at university was an important message that assured them of the presence of multiple pathways for pursuing their aspirations, while the abilities message stressed their inherent capacity to achieve “anything.”

BMC neo-Pentecostals are taught that, after acquiring a qualification, other behavioural and dispositional elements are critical for entrenching success and progress. The progress Prosperity Gospel

“centres on shifting people’s attitudes and emphasises the idea that prosperity means progress. Members are encouraged to see any small success, such as getting a new client for their business or passing an exam, as progress and, therefore, a sign of prosperity. Neo-PCC leaders intertwine the abilities and progress Prosperity Gospels to help BMC to secure its middle-class position. This is exemplified by Sono, the bishop of Grace’s statement in June 2018:

Not only do you need to be talented or learned, as much as all of that is necessary, but you also need other attributes as well, other disciplines as well. You need to be disciplined, you need to be focused, you need to be hard-working, you need to be persevering.

The abilities Prosperity Gospel thus motivates and encourages the BMC to continuously identify, create and exploit opportunities present in their personal and social circumstances. Self-help ideas and stories, biblical stories of perseverance, divine intervention and ultimate victory transpose and translate into aspiration, of hope for and of experienced material and health salvation.

Healing as a result of spiritual kindness for the churches is another key finding. The BMC neo-Pentecostals that participated herein spoke in different ways about the healing that the message had for them. For example, one BMC spoke of how the neo-PCC message empowered and healed her.

Ja, so when I was 15 years of age- and I never spoke about this to-, from 11 until 15. Never spoke about it to anyone. When I was 15, the very same cousin used to go to ko *Bazalwane*. My cousin used to go to this church ‘*Bazalwane*.’ And then one day-, and he used to play in the band. Playing drums. And then he started preaching the word. At 15, I was in middle school, I met a friend. She used to go to the same church as my cousin. She invited me. She’s like ‘listen come to our church, just come and visit.’ So I went, and “wow!” I think I went like twice, the third time, I was like ‘you know what, God is talking to me. I even went to Pastor, ‘I’m like this. I feel so much peace inside of me. It’s like something is like- it peace. *Egutlile mo nna* (it has returned to me). Whatever heaviness that I had, and I don’t understand why, can you tell me more about this’ [chuckle]. **SME owner: services, Rhema adherent.**

The pastor she spoke to, and received counsel from was Abisai Ditsele, the founder of Elim Tabernacle Church in Wynandskraal. Alan Anderson, writing *Tumelo* (1993:2) with Samuel Otwang, says Ditsele, along with Victor Mokgotlhoa of the Praise Tabernacle Church in Soshanguve were the first leaders of what he would later characterise as Initiated African Pentecostal church in his research, as the people he spoke to in his journey of understanding and writing about South African Pentecostalism. Ditsele, leader of what she says is now a “massive church.” Ditsele thus

Explained, he said it was Jesus. He told who Jesus was. That it’s basically Jesus was talking

to me, healing whatever needed to be healed in me. And I broke down, I just broke down there. And the, yeah, I accepted Christ in my heart. I was just amazed, I mean I was still 15, remember. I mean at 15, back then I didn't even know what was right from left. ... I was just amazed, I could talk to Jesus about anything. I started reading the Word. I started feeling ok, and I started knowing that I'm good, I'm loved, like unconditionally. He did all this for me. That's how I started the relationship with Christ. **SME owner: services, Rhema adherent.**

Another example, is an ICT manager and adherent of Rivers Church stated that she found "the tools of moving on" and learning from her "mistakes" in the lead pastor of Grace and Rivers – Sono and Olivier's abilities Prosperity Gospel. She said "André or Mosa *ba go fa* that thing that you are human (André and Mosa make you feel human). She added that Olivier's teaching helped her "as a person to find better ways of handling things and having the tools to handle things." The message of unconditional love, being valued was an appreciated discourse for many of BMC interviewed for this study.

A young academic and former His People Church and Rivers church adherent explained that the Prosperity Gospel's here and now message was relevant to him because:

... God is available now. Heaven is available now. Your bread, your prosperity, your health, your love, your joy and everything that you need is available to you now. I don't take my relationship with God or with Christ as one that is not present. Because I'm present in my life now. And I want health, I want food, I want my car, I want my clothes, I want everything now. **Lecturer, former Rivers adherent.**

The neo-Pentecostal Charismatic pulpit and its Prosperity Gospel thus takes challenges and opportunities, such as faltering economies, high interest rates, difficult bosses, customers, and children, and embeds these within Christian-styled self-help and Biblical texts. Neo-PCC leaders consistently repeat that BMC adherents will "overcome," "break through," and achieve "victory." The statements from the pulpit offer concrete engagement with economic concerns and challenges. In a sermon 12 July 2016, McCauley stated:

Now the newspaper headlines today, as I was coming to church, read 'naught per cent increase this year!' ... Well, I thought to myself 'that's not for the kingdom people.' We are not naught per cent increase this year! Smacks podium. We will increase in God's kingdom! Amen? This economy will provide for you. He will open the door for the next promotion, the next job! He will heal your broken body! He will touch your family. We are not naught percenters!'

We are continuing with our theme for this month on courage to discover and develop your potential. I believe that every one of us, as the bible shows us we are full of potential. Can I

hear an Amen. Your neighbour is full of potential! **Sono, 17 June 2018. Grit: The power of passion and perseverance.**

The abilities Prosperity Gospel therefore differentiates its BMC believers from the normative personal and socioeconomic challenges that characterise South African social life. Even as the COVID-19 pandemic has threatened upward social mobility and resulted in loss of incomes for the churches and BMC, neo-PCCs continue preaching and praying about God's mercy to restore incomes and believing in a future economy that God has prepared. Prayer sessions from five a.m. to six p.m. are held daily to encourage adherents, and to assuage the social anxiety associated with COVID-19. They are attended by thousands through *Facebook* and *Instagram* live sessions. Neo-Pentecostals comment on the social platforms stating how the prayer and scripture are helping them to deal with the loss of incomes, contracts, relatives and friends as outcomes associated with the COVID-19 pandemic.

It is not yet revealed, but it shall be revealed. You are going to walk into it. You are going to grow into it. [Many say 'Yes']. You are going to develop into it. You are going to build that company. It's not there, manifested yet [Amen], it is still work in progress. [Amen] There is a glorious company, profit based [Oh], where you are in charge, where you are a CEO. Where you have even resigned as a CEO and you have employed a CEO [Yes. Amen. Hmmm. Ja. X many]. It's there! [Yes, yes x many]. That's the glory. [hmm]. But, *okwamanje* (right now) there is the present suffering. [Ja] [Eish]. So don't allow the present suffering to derail you from the glory God is gonna give you. [Amen x many]. God every day is giving you glory. You are being transformed day to day, from glory to glory [*Eyi!*] [Amen!]. You are better than yesterday [Amen!] you are a day closer to your dream, to your destiny! To your prayers being answered. [Amen!] You are less dazed to your debts. [resounding affirmation] they are just an inconvenience, they are just an annoyance [hmm.] They are not your end [No!] That's not you!

Mathole 5 October 2018: Grace Bible Church Word Explosion.

Mabalane, also gives the young adults service great motivation. In a 22 January 2017 *SNL* sermon that I attended, he used the David and Goliath story. In this service he asked questions that were aimed at motivating the youth for success "what are you going to do differently?" He exhorted "toiling is a picture that does not involve Jesus." He picked up a verse Deuteronomy 6:10-12:

And when the Lord your God brings you into the land He swore to your fathers, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that He would give you – a land with great and splendid cities that you did not build, with houses full of every good thing with which you did not fill them, with wells that you did not dig, and with vineyards and olive groves that you did not plant – and when you eat and are satisfied, be careful not to forget the Lord who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery...

He explained that when David went to the battle he did not wear Saul's armour. Taking from this he encouraged young people to "find out what God has given you this year" and asked them to "hone your skill in your own position of obscurity."

In 2016 June, McCauley encouraged the BMC, saying "young people go for it! This is a great time to be the one that goes the extra mile. To be the one that works harder than the others, ... be disciplined in what you do." The abilities and progress Prosperity Gospel are well intertwined with sporting metaphors and allegories at all three of the neo-PCCs under study. These are critical messaging tools for the neo-PCC leaders, who instrumentalise these to outline a range of possibilities of endurance, single-mindedness, discipline and success. Critically, the abilities and progress Prosperity Gospel is about self-correction, adherents are imbued with the capacity to change and achieve progress:

Adam is outside of Eden. He's kicked out of Eden. ... He is outside of Eden with Eve. What I love about this is that even though they had messed up life and purpose had not been pulled away from them simply because they had messed up. I wanna talk to a man, you may have made a mistake but God is not done with you yet. You may have gone the wrong way, but God is not finished with you yet. **Chris Hill, Crouching Tiger-Hidden Dragon CD, JHB October.**

Getting louder Hill proceeds:

The fact that you are still alive, the fact that you can breathe in, and breath out is proof positive that God still has plans for your life, and things for you to do. And even though you messed up, you need to brush yourself off and get up again and say if God is giving me a second chance, I refuse to live in the same rut and fall into the same thing that caught me again, this time I am gonna make the right choice! [Applause] **Chris Hill, Crouching Tiger-Hidden Dragon CD, JHB October.**

Mega-churches in the neo-PCC field also remain spaces that flatten class hierarchy. A lawyer and former Rivers adherent said that neo-PCC congregational space is equal because they are neither God nor the Pastor, and that instead, they are "spiritual children" of the same spiritual father. Of course, this is ideational, as divisions and hierarchies abound within the neo-PCC congregation. Nonetheless, the tactical morality of the space is to treat everyone as equals. Thus, the Pentecostal abilities and progress Prosperity message "appeals to different LSM markets. So, middle class, it's like, it's the Prosperity Gospel with regards to God wants you to be better, God wants you to be better. God wants you to prosper." And for "the lower LSM's, it's like 'you don't have to be where you are,' because of preachers who say things like 'you are the head and not the tail.' ... 'You might be where you are right now, but if you pay your tithes, if you do this, da-da-da-da, God will bless you ...' (Lawyer, former Rivers Adherent).

Lewarne asserts that Rivers is the kind of place that attracts adherents that do not have a sense of “waiting” for things to happen: “not a ... sense of ‘let’s sit back and just wait.’ Especially in our church. So, when people come, if ... people feel that way, they won’t fit into the church and they won’t actually stay” (Leading Second Podcast, 09 August 2022). This view is also asserted by Frahm-Arp (2018:8) who says Olivier preaches “that real wisdom comes from God: if believers align themselves to the teaching and wisdom of God, they will realise the creative wisdom they need to create wealth. A key slogan of his is that people should go from ‘being employees to employers and from servants to masters.”

I come from a single parent home and I haven’t grown up as a privileged white. I know what it’s like to be a victim. Don’t be a victim, make a choice. [Yep]. I didn’t grow up with a father- so I understand fatherless society. But I’ve built up life by applying the Word of God and by living according to the principles of scripture and I thank God for this church that has become the family that every person needs. **Olivier, 17 February 2019. Playing our part in reshaping our nation, Part 2.**

Shaping the neo-PCC habitus also requires that pastors address the negative public perceptions of being born-again. Sono (22 December 2019, Christmas the gift of peace), for example, does this by affirming that people can need God because they are dysfunctional and should not let public opinion and “little big egos keep” them from “responding to God” and seeking His help. Sono explains that people used to accuse him of going into ministry as a young person because he was “frustrated.” He says he used to deny this, but eventually realized that he was frustrated and dysfunctional and that he “went to God because he needed help.” He says that God helped him, and “didn’t leave him like that” (frustrated and dysfunctional). He urged his congregants to seek help from God, to set aside their egos and shaming that they may receive from people.

The neo-Pentecostalisation of the BMC and BMC continues today and is aided by the interaction of South African society with the Prosperity Gospel. The spiritual capital embodied by the neo-PCC lead pastor is important for their legitimacy. Verter (2003:159) defines spiritual capital as ‘a measure of not only position, but also disposition; it is the knowledge, abilities, tastes, and credentials an individual (has) amassed in the field of religion, and is the outcome of explicit education or unconscious processes of socialisation’. In preaching the Prosperity Gospel, neo-Pentecostal leaders are not only engaged in a competitive religious field, but they are also imbued in an ongoing process of building, rebuilding and defending their legitimacy and authority, and it is this process that is important for maintaining the neo-Pentecostalisation of BMC identity.

Through the discourse of the abilities Prosperity Gospel (Frahm-Arp, 2018) neo-PCC leaders build, reinforce and defend their legitimacy and authority through a carefully constructed and stylised narrative of the church’s upward social mobility. For example, in a sermon titled ‘playing our part in

reshaping our nation' in 2019, Olivier stated "... I've built up life by applying the Word of God and by living according to the principles of scripture, and I thank God for his church that has become the family that every person needs."

There is a reinforcing relationship between the spiritual capital gained in the abilities Prosperity Gospel is transubstantiated to legitimise and reinforce the progress Prosperity Gospel. Verter (2003:167) describes transubstantiation, a Bordieuan concept, as a process where immaterial forms of capital, like spiritual capital, can only be acquired through the "exchange of material forms of capital." Thus, the amassed spiritual capital of the neo-PCC leader and success of the church serve as the conduit for the uptake of the progress Prosperity Gospel by BMC, as illustrated by this extended quote from the ICT manager an adherent of Rivers Church:

I have learnt to appreciate what little that I have. ... Because it's like everybody has got his or her own race or her life ... so *Lerato ke (is an) academic, wena os 'dom-Jan* (and you're stupid). It's ok. ... I have that thing *ya gore why ona ale so and why ona le so?* (I have a tendency to question why others are the way that they are). But actually it's (like) you are there for a reason, so you appreciate the little that you achieve, the little that you have. And making it work for you.

Neo-Pentecostalising BMC consumption practices

Middle-classes are typically defined and judged by what they consume (Bourdieu, 1984). Middle class taste and preference is constructed and transmitted within the middle-class. The new BMC holds a binary and contradictory position in terms of how neo-PCCs valorise the quantity and quality of what it consumes. Ngoma (2015) reflects that the popular understanding of the new BMC's consumption power is captured by and projected to South African society through images of the big house, the large and expensive (mostly German-engineered) cars (such as BMW, Mercedes Benz and Porsche). These have earned the moniker '*vrr-pha*' because of the sound that the exhaust makes as the car speeds up. Added to this are the electrical goods, computers, tablets and ubiquitous cell phones (Southall, 2014), and the luxury and designer clothes, shoes and excessive partying, where expensive liquor is consumed. This essentialises the new BMC experience "to an undifferentiated mass of conspicuous" consumers (Khunou, 2015:90).

Having been enabled to access income opportunities, such as new businesses, jobs and promotions, neo-PCCs seek to shape and influence the consumption choices and preferences of the BMC (Frahm-Arp, 2010). Neo-Pentecostal charismatic adherents, no matter what class they belong to, are always exhorted to buy particular kinds of commodities and products over others, not to participate in 'crude consumptive behaviour and to use wisely the money they earn' (Meyer, 2004:460). They are asked to delay gratification, and to buy less expensive commodities, while buying neo-Pentecostal goods such as books and CDs that teach them how to build their wealth (Frahm-Arp, 2010). This can be referred to

as a Bordieuan (1984) middle class taste making process. The abilities and progress Prosperity Gospel character of McCauley, Olivier and Sono is slanted towards emphasising and imploring the BMC neo-Pentecostals to become differentiated consumers, and to break the mould of hyper-consumers. The BMC were exhorted to move towards being savers, financially savvy and secure, exposing the tension between the consumption of neo-PCCs and adherents.

In addition to moralising wealth accumulation by distinguishing between the divine and occult sources of wealth (Meyer, 2004:460), the three neo-PCC leaders moralise consumption, distinguishing between worthy and unworthy BMC consumption practices. For example, Sono, in a sermon entitled ‘Grit,’ lamented the loud partying, drinking and expensive car-buying that the BMC participate in after receiving their qualifications and getting a new job. He stated that many BMCs that practiced poor forms of consumption likely came from poor backgrounds, where their “mothers worked hard and made sacrifices to raise them.”

I couldn’t believe as I got there (tavern) the kind of cars that were parked! Your German cars, and I mean your *Beemas* (BMWs) and your Mercedes Benz and of course the *vrr pha* was also there! And I realised soon, as I checked out that lots of these young people are here in Johannesburg, you know. They came here they studied well, they achieved, did well. ... But then after they did well then they take their money and start doing what they were doing. **Sono, 17 June 2018. Grit: The power of passion and perseverance.**

Similar Neo-PCC leaders moralise consumption, and distinguish between divine, corrupt and occult sources of wealth. Instead of falling into the modern world’s temptation, Sono implored young people to prioritise their spending habits by first helping their parents and grandparents out of poverty. A similar injunction was made by Olivier. However, unlike Sono, Olivier expressed that the new Black elite and BMC had not worked for the luxuries, bags and 4X4 vehicles that they buy. Olivier argued for hard work first, before consumption, warning that excessive spending without hard work would produce poverty: “We need to give our very best to establish our businesses, build a high work ethic because if we only reap, we will come to poverty!” This has become a common criticism, as it was similarly made by South African billionaire Johann Rupert in 2018. As stated in Chapter 1, Rupert saw Afrikaners as hard-working people that valued education and saving, and “didn’t buy BMW’s and hang out at Taboo and the Sands all the time.” Rupert also criticised the new Black middle class saying that he did not see leaders of the calibre of Nelson Mandela emerging. Joel Netshitenzhe (2018) has also argued that the student and youth movements have been affected by the corruption of incumbency. He argued that a celebrity culture governed their value system and outlook, popularity on the social media which also meant that they have to have money and a decadent lifestyle.

Couching his critique in the need to build and develop South Africa, Olivier distinguished between worthy forms of middle-class wealth acquisition, and wealth acquisition in general. In his ‘playing our

part in the nation' sermon, delivered on 11 February 2019, Olivier instrumentalised biblical text to critique post-apartheid corruption and consumption of the new BMC and Black elite, who were constructed as unworthy beneficiaries of employment equity and Black Economic Empowerment, as they were reaping from what had "already been built." He argued that it was "logical" for people that had been "deprived of opportunity and wealth" to want to grab these "when the opportunity" arose. This was done analogously, where he drew on the Biblical story of Akon, who fell into sin by stealing in Jericho after the Israelites had been freed from Egypt. Olivier stated:

And Akon did what he shouldn't have done. He took something. Guess what? The Lord didn't say Akon has sinned, he said Israel has sinned because when one person goes to work and takes out what they think they deserve, an entire nation suffers. South Africa you can't just plunder, we have to build. We have to go and give our best, we have to work. This is not just a pot of gold that you think you can just take out of. If we keep taking and taking what has been built will collapse. We have to go to work and give our heart and souls and build into the nation then we will achieve prosperity. We cannot just take out. We have to put in. **Olivier, 17 February 2019. Playing our part in reshaping our nation, Part 2.**

This forms part of the discourse that makes the BMC look like they are doing middleclassness the wrong way. Very often, observers drawn from academia, the media and members of the BMC judge the Black middle-class consumption, and derive conclusions about this group's socio-political potential, juxtaposing it with the South African white middle classes. South Africa has segments of a BMC that has ascended into the middle-class position, but neo-PCCs, academics and the media alike struggle to confer middle class status to this group, doubting their ability to do the things that are traditionally associated with being middle class. These are the Protestant maxims of saving, planning and hard-work (Wuthnow, 2005:604). The BMC grapples with the Weberian middle-class position and middle-class status, wherein the educated segment of the new BMC draws a distinction between middle class positionality and middle-class status – refusing to confer middle class status to deployees, tenderpreneurs and "smugglers" (Ngoma, 2015:47). This suggests that the new BMC is aware of itself and is beginning to internally stratify itself or undergo a process of internal differentiation – an indication of a class whose self-regard and identity is maturing and evolving. This might foretell processes that may come up in the public sphere where BMC strata differentiate themselves according to worthy forms of consumption, development and morality. For example, a former Rhema BMC individual started a trading community and market where Black entrepreneurs could trade their goods and services. He explained that instead of reacting by complaining on *Facebook* about the racist statements associated with Penny Sparrow and André Olivier, he decided to conceptualise and implement a development project aimed at the economic empowerment of the Black community.

A speaker at Rhema's 'Awakening' themed annual conference declared "sow unsparingly, bountifully" (9 March 2017). James (2019:36-37) addresses the conflict and contradictions associated with tithing. She states that some view tithing seemingly "irrationally exorbitant." However, despite this view, some view tithing as an action that "goes along with a measured and planned approach to using money," *ibid.* Schlemmer (2008) ascribed to it "a kind of quasi-Calvinist pattern of deferred gratification, associated with the idea of investing the money wisely, and marshalling adherent's energies towards expenditure that allows doing things in a better way, with more effect. Schlemmer approximates tithing as a model for saving, putting money away for purpose or productively driven consumption, *ibid.*

At Rhema, I went every Sunday. I also tithed. You would feel guilty if you didn't.

A source of tension, I feel very guilty if I haven't given contributions, they don't force you to, but you felt like you are not part of the church. **Development banker, former Rhema adherent.**

Neo-Pentecostalising BMC political dispositions

Frahm-Arp (2010:68) notes that the Pentecostal movement in its most recent manifestation is no longer a world-rejecting movement. Rather she argues that the neo-Pentecostal movement has shifted to embrace the world, calling on its congregants to seek ways in which they can change the world by expressing their faith in the public sphere, engaging in and taking up leadership of all aspects of civic and economic life. Hasu (2006:685) states that the Tanzanian government has restricted the interaction of religious and political groups. Religious leaders are not allowed to make political statements and vice-versa. Notwithstanding this restriction, neo-PCC pastors find ways of making political commentary. According to Hasu (2006:685) Mwakasege, one of Tanzania's prominent neo-PCC pastors typically:

draws many allegories of the Tanzanian economy from the books of the Old Testament, particularly Exodus, Deuteronomy and the book of Joshua. He presents the transit of Tanzania from one economic model to another by using biblical allegories. He discusses the role of the President in the economy of Tanzania as well as in the economy of private individuals, and he juxtaposes the leadership of the president and himself by representing them as Joshua taking his people into the Promised Land.

From within their congregational habiti, McCauley, Sono and Olivier have sought to influence the socio-political dispositions of their BMC adherents. The allegorical use of the Bible to make economic and political statements is common in South Africa too, and among the mega-church leader and founders of Rhema, Grace and Rivers. The abilities and progress Prosperity Gospels preached in the mega-churches also makes valorising or delegitimising commentary on the socio-political landscape

and leadership. This commentary seeks to shape the political dispositions of the mega-church congregations, and BMC neo-Pentecostals.

They have criticised, from their pulpits, the poor service delivery performance by government and political leaders, directly and indirectly critiquing the ruling party: the ANC. Mega-church leaders and founders have lamented state corruption and called for their adherents to be constructively proactive in challenging the status quo. They guide their adherents that being actively involved in church activities and charity activities are legitimate ways of social action.

McCauley and Olivier do not outrightly state which political leadership they are criticising, nor do they criticise the ANC government and leaders by name, but refer to Biblical texts to declare and compare by proxy what responsible political and governmental leadership should be and do. One Rivers adherent describes Rivers' sociopolitical stance as one that encourages adherents to pray for improved government and political leadership. She also states that Rivers' focuses on encouraging its adherents to contribute to societal development:

At Rivers it's just a matter of- they will say 'pray for the country, we need wisdom' and all that. So, they will never say gore (that) 'ANC', for example, 'is useless,' no. It's just a matter of, you know 'there are some people who might be lost in terms of their position, let's just pray for them and hope that South Africa becomes a better country.' And that *batho ba'ska ba* selfish (people shouldn't be selfish) and think about themselves and their families, they must do things that will benefit everybody. **ICT manager, Rivers adherent.**

I argue that this is partially achieved through mega-churches provision of social services akin to those provided by the state, which is done to increase the socioeconomic importance and relevance. This also act to legitimise the high income that mega-churches request and draw, as well as their high consumption practices.

McCauley is outspoken, directly engaging with the public about the challenges and opportunities that he perceives in society. He writes a bi-weekly newspaper column in The Star in which he has directly opined on the political landscape. McCauley typically implores adherents to continue to stand for what is right, to continue to work hard, and to do the righteous work of the Lord.

Pastor Olivier and Bishop Sono are slightly differentiated in how they frame political attitudes from their pulpits. Both recognise the need to address poverty and inequality. But Olivier perceives that the ANC's redistributive policies and social grants will not achieve the growth and development South Africa needs. Sono recognises that while there are "many problems that are still dogging us as a country," it is important "not (to) overlook the positives that are there!" This illustrates what Balcomb (2004) described as an engaged-supportive stance towards the government and politics. Olivier is also against what he describes as "radical activism," which he considers to be marching and protesting,

including the Fees Must Fall protests of 2015/16, and protests by young South Africans against the preservation of memorials and statues of colonial figures. On an interview with the late Xolani Gwala on 702, Gwala asked Olivier about his stance on the Fees Must Fall protests, to which Olivier confirmed that he felt that the “student protests were not valid” as they had “burnt down a billion rands worth of buildings and we’re no further towards growing our country.” On the other hand, Sono framed the Fees Must Fall protests as the strength and character of Black youth, reminiscent of the youth of 1976:

We are asking ourselves if there are any lessons that today’s youth and the rest of us can draw from the events of 16th of June 1976. Of course, we have recently seen our current youth stand up in many ways, and I believe that one of the things fresh on our minds ... is the Fees Must Fall campaign. Who were fighting for their right to free education. This attitude of bravery and perseverance demonstrated by our youth in 1976, even recently and at other times is what researchers called ... Grit. Grit is simply courage and resolve. Grit is simply strength of character. **Sono, 17 June 2018. Grit: The power of passion and perseverance.**

Sono does not complain about how people vote, preferring to openly say that it is not his place to give an opinion. He moderates his view of corruption, describing political leaders that are implicated in corruption as “devious and naughty” people. On the other hand, Olivier has directly called for his neo-Pentecostal adherents to bring change to the political landscape by voting differently:

Pastors who don’t love people use people and abuse people. Politicians who don’t love people, use people and abuse people. [ja]. In fact, when you voting for someone don’t look for how popular they are, or how well they speak, watch how they love people. [yes]. [yeah]. Because if they don’t love people, don’t be surprised if all they do is use their power for their own personal gain! [ja] to improve their station, their homes and their positions in life. Look at a politician and say does this man love the people? Does this woman love the people? I am gonna give them my vote, because actually it’s about the people. [yeah]. **Olivier, 17 February 2019 Playing our part in reshaping our nation (Part 1)**

One way is through your vote. ... so we shouldn’t just let our country go to the dogs, we should vote. You say ‘well I don’t know what to do!’ You should vote. At least you have the opportunity to make a small difference. Even if you feel it’s not ideal, you have got a vote, you’ve got a voice! And you can change the political landscape by playing your part. Darkness and corruption have made themselves a home in our country. But we need to bring change. **Olivier, 17 February 2019 Playing our part in reshaping our nation (Part 1)**

Neo-Pentecostalism as an expression of freedom

Neo-Pentecostal Churches, in Weberian terms, have moved away from theodicy of suffering, to a theodicy of good fortune, and this is where they also derive their substantial religious authority. Asamoah-Gyadu (2005:404) agrees. He argues that “in the hands of its African agents, Pentecostalism also addresses itself to the structures of oppression that consign Africa to backwardness, mediocrity, and non-achievement. In ‘Beyond the Rivers of Ethiopia’ church for example, Mensa Otabil argues forcefully that God did not curse Black people; rather they are very much a part of his agenda. This is a message that Otabil has carried to many African countries. Through such motivational messages, African Pentecostalism has initiated a move from Afro-pessimism to Afro-optimism and hope.”

The transition from a theodicy of suffering to good fortune certainly undergirds South African neo-Pentecostalism. In a period where apartheid has ended, and a new South Africa exists, the neo-Pentecostal theodicy of God wants you to succeed fits the aspirations of the country and goes into building the post-apartheid habitus. Neo-Pentecostalism gives equality to believers because the gifts of the Holy Spirit are available to all. In post-apartheid South Africa, this equipped it to be the structuring structure that transitions South Africans from apartheid to democracy. It became well positioned too to become the new habitus, the new way of being South African. Its theodicy pithily encapsulated in “God wants you to succeed” thus becomes the new hope that leaves no one behind.

This finding is reinforced by Chipkin (2012:67) work on middle-class estates in Roodepoort:

Thato is referencing the subjectivity “being Black” to new terrains of fantasy and desire, not those of the struggle or the revolution, but to the market-place, to consumption. “Becoming his own person” is a measure of Black freedom— to be in ways prohibited by apartheid. Thato is a *free Black man* because he can follow his dreams, be true to himself, he can live where he chooses. That’s speech is full of references to motivational speakers and to church. There is a Pentecostal inflection to Thato’s conception of freedom, moreover. He attends Rhema church in Randburg. it is linked to a version of the ‘Prosperity Gospel’ that insists that G-d did not intended Black people to be poor. During the apartheid period there was no relationship between how Black people worked, their effort, and what they achieved— they remained materially poor all the same. in contrast, South Africa is today full of opportunity. Freedom as a Black person means taking them up.

For example, a BMC methodist that I interviewed that had become neo-Pentecostalist but returned to the Methodist church as she married a methodist stated that she was surprised by the *mzalwane* (born-again) Pentecostal friend that she had met. She said

when I met her she was not saved anymore. But what fascinated me was to look at this lady and she was beautiful, and she dressed very well and she was some of those poster girls, basically. And I was fascinated to see someone so beautiful, so lady like who was saved. Because people who were saved, that was my perception, when I grew up, and what I saw,

abazalwane (born-again) were ridiculed. They were part of our jokes e-varsity, because they were worse looking, worst dressed, the most out of place so for me, I had that picture of *mzalawne* (born-again) and when I saw this lady, I was like ‘no man, *bakhona abantu aba njena abasindisweyo?*’ (No man, are there people like this that are saved?) and I became fascinated in her journey ... **Executive HR: Methodist.**

One of the central reasons that the progress and abilities Prosperity Gospel appeals to post-apartheid BMC members is because of the threat and insecurity in their upward social mobility. The BMC members interviewed in this study stated that they were unable to study further at university due to a lack of funding, an inability to finance their studies. they stated that their families could not afford to pay for the degree of their choice

That is what I like. I understand that prosperity, wealth are biblical. I can’t relate to the God who thinks *ke mobe*, no. (I’m ugly). I needed an idea of God that empowered me. **Lecturer, former Rivers adherent.**

BMC neo-Pentecostals Sociality

Many BMC neo-Pentecostals in this study explained that professional and occupational status, combined with their income enabled particular forms of what they described as middle-class consumption. As summary count, middle class consumption included private education and health care services, domestic and international holidays and the ability to choose where to live and what car to drive. All of them identified as middle class. The caveat in their middleclassness was type and quantity. Many described the type and quantity of consumption as a mediating factor on how contentedly middle class one was. They tempered their middle class description with by explaining an inability to consume certain commodities, which they said made their middle classness inadequate.

One example was given by the Executive: PR, a catholic, who stressed the ability to live in an area or suburb of choice. She said that she had discovered this during the COVID-19 lockdown when her complex became an unbearable place to continue living in due to higher noise levels. She subsequently moved out, buying a house in the parks “COVID-19 showed whether you are in middle class or not.” She said she was middle-class because she was able to choose and afford to move out and buy a house in a better suburb.

Another example of not quite being middle class relates to the ability to drink expensive champagne every weekend or being able to take a holiday internationally with the rest of your family. A domestic holiday in Cape Town with many family members was also given as a good example of a secure middle-class position. I thus conclude that middle classness still carries for Black people an element of not

being sufficiently middle-class because of the constraint of consumption. Thus, affordability remains a key factor in people determining the middle-class position.

First a discontinuity in the self-image of BMC members is apparent in this research. None of the BMC neo-Pentecostals interviewed in this study stated that their class self-image or identity was as poor or working class. The self-image of Black middle-class members as working class or poor was recorded by Schlemmer (2005) and Ngoma (2016). Schlemmer (2005:7) stated that as many new BMC members (34%) saw themselves as middle class while others' self-image was working class (31%) and 5% as poor. He stated that "this downward self-reflection of status is consistent with a society that espouses egalitarian and anti-elitist values. ... It is also consistent with members of a class who, despite enjoying high salaries have not acquired the material security of accumulated assets," *ibid*. I argue that the pervasiveness of the middle-class discourse has eroded the downward self-identification of the BMC neo-Pentecostals.

A second discontinuity I note in this research from studies such as Schlemmer (2005) and Ngoma (2015) is that none of the BMC neo-Pentecostals said employment equity (EE) or affirmation action, Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) or special consideration for procurement as mechanism of becoming middle class. BMC neo-Pentecostals did not mention EE or BEE as a practice or policy that had enabled them to become middle class. Instead, they identified education and credentialization at the post-high school level as the primary social mobility mechanism and facilitator. This is an important factor that probably derives from the fact that while they were in large part first generation neo-Pentecostal, all, with the exception of one, were second and third generation middle class members.

What was common was the complaint of racism in the private sphere and deployment in the public sphere. These were seen as inhibitors of upward social mobility of the middle class and greater levels of middle-class consolidation.

BMC neo-Pentecostals are highly despondent about politics. They are disillusioned by an administration that they perceive as corrupt. They were largely unsure of how they would vote in the either the 2019 national and provincial elections and 2021 local government elections. The majority of the BMC neo-Pentecostals interviewed herein asserted that they would depend on prayer and seek spiritual discernment before voting, while the rest stated that they were not going to vote.

I am a voter. I vote. Every time, I'm there. I make sure that I go and vote. **ICT manager, Rivers & Grace adherent.**

I vote out of respect. **Marketer: beverages, Rivers adherent.**

Nine out of 10 (South Africans) believe in the power of prayer (Rule and Mncwango, 2010) and this is reflected by one BMC adherent who stated “I do vote. I do stay informed about politics. I pray first before I vote (Marketer: tobacco, Rivers adherent).

I vote, but I don’t belong to any organisation. **Executive: HR, Methodist.**

I don’t contribute much except for when I vote and even then, it’s not that well informed. **Executive: HR, Methodist.**

They are disillusioned by an administration that they perceive as corrupt. Among the Black middle-class political activism involved participation in branch level activities. These ranged from suburban marches, attendance of ‘January 8’ celebrations, and other associated activities like organizing gala dinner events as fundraising (Ngoma, 2016). But, these activities were already declining. Many BMC members that reported having participated in ANC branches within their neighbourhoods had stopped doing so because they said that the space for open discussion and debate did not exist. They also found branch politics rowdy, disorganized and only catering for people that needed ANC membership to secure income and jobs. Most of the BMC professionals in this research thus abdicated participation (Ngoma, 2016). Most of the BMC individuals said that they preferred to spend the time that they would have at the ANC pursuing career or professional development and advancement activities instead. But most of them, though with some that had stopped doing so, continued to vote for the ANC, *ibid*.

BMC neo-Pentecostals are highly despondent about politics. While many provided idiosyncratic reasons for this, all of them unanimously expressed distrust in South African politicians and the ANC-led state. BMC Pentecostals see politics as a corrupt arena in which politicians are dishonest and self-interested.

Some have personally been affected by the deployment practices of the ANC, as one development banker stated that he was side-stepped for an executive post at semi-public institution. Rule and Mncwango (2010:190) found that “54% of South African adults (agree) with the cynical contention that ‘politicians are only in politics for personal gain.’” This was the dominant view among the BMC neo-Pentecostals that I interviewed. One Rivers’ adherent stated:

There’s a lot of dishonesty that’s why I think (that) I’m not into politics. I just feel there’s dishonest people, who are out there to watch their own backs and pretend like they care. **ICT manager, Rivers adherent.**

I used to think politics was developmental. I think I may still have a soft spot for ANC, EFF, I remember me and my partner used to have long conversations about it. About joining parties.

Now. No. I can't stand them ... there are all these weirdo leaders coming up. **Executive: PR, Catholic.**

I think I'm just one of those ignorant people who think that there aren't any good politicians. **Marketer: beverages, Rivers adherent.**

It is only about faith. I must tell you. It is only about blackness that's what I must tell you. We prayed for the President a lot. Eventually, you know what, as long as it is a Black guy running the country, I am ok. Racism is still there. **Coal engineer, Rhema adherent.**

I have become too critical of the political space and my criticism comes from, again, my spirituality and my faith as well. The reason I separate the two, I look at what God wants of leaders. **Executive: HR, Methodist.**

She stated that she was disinterested in politics because "I just feel like politics is a game" in which politicians got South Africans "worked up over nothing" during election campaigns. She stated that politicians played a game of fooling the South African public into believing that they were geared towards socioeconomic development while instead "*bona ba nale di plans tsa bona* on the side (they have their plans on the side) (ICT manager, Rivers adherent).

A notable similarity with Hyslop's research is apparent in my findings. Hyslop states that "whites did not feel particularly grateful to a state which had administered the welfare policies whose presumed benefits they had enjoyed. Less affluent Afrikaners were often strongly hostile to officialdom, whom their narratives portrayed as either remote and uncompassionate or bullying and interfering" (2003:230). Hyslop says that one of his interviewees, a poor white "distanced himself from the Afrikaner establishment and identified with non-Afrikaner ethnic groups" (2003:232). Some of the poor white interviewees were discontented with the richer and affluent Afrikaner elite. One of the interviewees stated "most of Krugersdorp's problem is the town council" and "lost no opportunity to distance himself from the Afrikaner establishment (Hyslop, 2003:237). In this research a Rhema adherent said "the challenge with South Africa is politics." She held a negative view of political parties and sought to distance herself "I will never align with a political party" (Business owner, construction, Rhema adherent).

Party loyalties, especially towards the ANC, have dominated the decision to vote across most of South Africa's democratic elections. However, in recent years, party loyalties have weakened in South Africa, much like they have across many advanced industrial societies. Numerous surveys indicate that a growing segment of the South African electorate lack an affiliation or bias towards any political party (Schulz-Herzenberg, 2020:23).

We have a huge role to- even at the basic level of just making the next generation aware of the political history and also I think a role in terms of our respective experiences that we have to offer solutions to some of the problems that we face as a country. **Development banker, former Rhema adherent.**

I don't think enough of us do that. ... let's start with this new false sense of financial security and career and we forget about us a community. We tend to be individualistic. And not about community and empowerment and what our role is in (development). So as long as I am earning my salary, I don't care whether the president is Ramaphosa or is Dlamini-Zuma or whatever. And so, I am not that active. I post a comment or two in a *WhatsApp group* and that's as far as it goes in terms of my political activity. I think that's applicable to many of us. And we just do commentary type of activism, but nothing meaningful really. Where you just, you read the paper, and you provide your comment, or you critique this one amongst your friends in a *WhatsApp group*. ...But that's not really, that's not going to make much of a difference. It's not meaningful participation in politics. It's sad, just thinking about it. **Development banker, former Rhema adherent.**

Unfortunately, we don't have the same commitment to uplift the next generation. Sooner or later they are going to revolt. With the likes of Julius, saying the right things, right things in inverted commas, it will be easy for them to just burn the country down. **Development banker, former Rhema adherent.**

Hyslop concludes that at the end of apartheid his case studies (the interviewees) largely distrusted the National Party-dominated state, and some had 'intense dislike for the local Afrikaner political establishment (2003:240). Material inequality amongst Afrikaners also drove some of the resentment.

Leisure, some volunteering, charity, they are tithers and focused on career and professional advancement, taking care of their nuclear families, education, and opportunities. They are only willing to vote as a political and moral "duty."

The interesting finding is that none of the BMC neo-Pentecostals said employment equity or affirmation action, BEE or special consideration for procurement were a mechanism of becoming middle class. BMC neo-Pentecostals did not mention EE or BEE as a practice or policy that had enabled them in becoming middle class. Instead, they identified education and credentialization at the post-high school level as their primary social mobility mechanism and facilitator. They also identified affordability as a key factor of determining a middle-class position. Importantly, the BMC neo-Pentecostals in this study were largely second or third generation members of the middle class.

Subjective associations of affordability permeated being middle class. Associated with being middle class from an affordability perspective, was the repeat of subjective assessments of middle-class affordability and consumption of being inadequate and insufficient. “I can’t afford this” is part of insufficient middle class making, “living with less” is a part of *Blackmiddleclassness* subjectivity. Racism, ‘tenderpreneurship’ and deployment in the public sphere were seen as inhibitors of upward social mobility of the middle class and greater levels of middle-class consolidation.

Conclusion

The neo-Pentecostalisation of the BMC and South Africa’s religious landscape is an act and process of co-production between the BMC and the neo-PCCs. It is activated through and rooted in the Prosperity Gospel. Parts of the post-apartheid BMC deploys the prosperity-oriented gospel and its products towards entrenching and reproducing its middle-class location. By co-producing the neo-Pentecostal habitus, both neo-PCCs and BMC are involved in the process of middle class and the formal of elite or complex organisation, and both obtain the correct disposition for ‘victory’ or ‘winning ways’ in an otherwise precarity-producing and exclusionary capitalist system. As such, a symbiotic process between neo-PCCs and the BMC is entrenched. This is also seen through the continued co-association and co-production of the BMCs and neo-PCCs, despite the well-publicised fall-outs suffered by each of them. This is because the neo-PCC and BMC relationship is constantly renegotiated and maintained by an otherwise precarious socioeconomic landscape. The COVID-19 moment has deeply intertwined their socioeconomic fate and their mutual need for survival. Parts of the post-1994 BMCs seek out the heightened message of the Prosperity Gospel and the psychosocial healing of the neo-PCC space, while neo-PCC seek out the BMC for their organisational survival as their mega-churches became under-utilised, but have picked up again. The COVID-19 moment showed that the neo-PCC field and habitus needed the adherence of the post-apartheid BMC for its survival, like many other businesses and churches too.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion: The Quest for Stabilisation

This research sought to understand the relationship between the parts of the post-apartheid Black middle class and neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-churches. I argue that mega-churches through the abilities and progress Prosperity Gospel, neo-Pentecostalise middle classness while the middle classes elevate the symbolic and material capital of mega-churches, founders and their leaders. Seen through the neo-PCC habitus, the mega-churches studied herein intentionally and methodically construct specific ways to deploy their symbolic capital in the public space. I argue that Rhema Bible Church, Grace Bible Church and Rivers Church are more than just mega-churches, they are complex organisations akin to multi-million rand multinationals.

I argue that some members of the post-apartheid Black middle class that have become Pentecostal adherents participate in the neo-PCC field as a middleclass making process that also seeks to anchor and/or consolidate their middle class position. Concomitantly, neo-PCCs become efficient organisations, possessing symbolic and material capital through the process of neo-Pentecostalising aspirant, proto and new Black middles classes. Thus, the BMC and neo-PCC relationship is co-dependent, co-constituting and co-producing, as the two give form to each other. This is primarily seen through the process of differentiation in fields, including in the South African middle class field as it advances and expands (also contracts). The advancements of the middle class field are seen through the developments in the occupational and sectoral economic structures (Ashman, 2023). Thus, at both the macro and micro level the neo-PCC field and middle class fields in South Africa act upon each other, acting to consolidate and reproduce each other. Admittedly, the middle class' impact on the South African neo-PCC field remains an area of further research, as this thesis could only address the subject in a limited and exploratory way.

Contemporaneous urbanisation and BMC neo-Pentecostalisation

This thesis also argued that economic growth, urbanisation and migration remain important forces for the expansion of neo-Pentecostal ideas. Economic growth, anchored by the expansion of a neoliberal capitalist economy in which debt consumption is a central feature (James, 2012; 2016) and the focused evangelisation and recruitment processes of neo-PCCs and Black middle classes serve as the key driving forces for the growth of neo-PCCs and the neo-Pentecostalisation of the South African middle-classes, broadly. Throughout South Africa's modern history, and across colour and geographic lines, Pentecostal Churches have evangelised, held crusades and large prayer meetings as well as implanted churches vigorously (Anderson and Pillay, 1997; Mayer, 1961; Burpeau, 2004; Schlemmer, 2008; Maxwell, 2006; Mills, 1997; Cabrita, 2015).

Since 1994, neo-PCC expansion appears to be taking place through the same channels and circuits: migration, urbanisation and class formation all at a transnational level – through which Pentecostal ideas travelled through Southern Africa from the 1900s. In the post-apartheid period, within an economic structure characterised as a minerals energy finance complex (MEFC) (Ashman, 2023), neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches have increased, spurred by a debt-and-cash-economy emerging out of South Africa's MEFC economy. At the beginning of the 21st century, undoubtedly, South Africa's neo-Pentecostal Charismatics emerge as winners in the Christian and religious landscape. The City of Johannesburg (COJ), in which the three mega-churches are, was dominated by the “finance and service industries (which) contributed about three and half times as much to the city's total gross value added as manufacturing industries” in 2004 (Selzer and Heller, 2010:152). Neo-Pentecostal Charismatics hold lower, middle, upper middle-class positions, they are also leaders in industry – as owners and managers of large financial and industrial corporations. They are lower, middle and higher professionals across South African sectors – in industry, business, finance, education, state owned enterprises and semi-public corporations and agencies, they are represented in multinationals, and so on. Neo-PCC leaders have become multi-millionaires, running churches with revenues in the hundreds of millions undergirded by large property portfolios. Their annual income even rivals those of the public organisations meant to regulate them, (e.g., CRL). This has enabled them to acquire hitherto unprecedented financial and technical resources which they have deployed by building large and expensive church buildings and maintaining their presence in the public eye through different media platforms. As such they have accumulated substantial volumes of symbolic and material capital.

This growth also derives from the active and focused evangelising efforts of neo-PCCs, where many church branches are implanted across South African urban sites first, and then rural communities second. These are emerging in varied places, but are unified by the fact that they are implanted in areas that are highly accessible and have a high volume of people moving through them. As the literature indicates and this research confirms, they emerge in city centre halls, near warehouses, malls, taxi ranks, at schools and universities or entertainment areas such as movie theatres. They sometimes sprout from living rooms or on busses on their way to the central business district.

Neo-PCC expansion is also driven by the attraction of many Black middle-class individuals across generations. South Africa's post-1994 economic growth and occupational diversification, notwithstanding its lacklustre performance in the periods after the 2008/09 GFC and COVID-19, has boosted the emergence of a post-apartheid Black middle class. In terms of Bordieuan social differentiation and Weberian rationalisation – both broadly referring to process of growth in scientific knowledge, industrialisation and urbanisation - the restructuring of the labour process through specialisation, has stratified society. New industries, occupations and specialisations have emerged giving further impetus to the growth of the middle class. Examples include the growth of the telecommunications industry which has created new occupations that the pre-1994 middle classes had

no access to, Black or white. Take social media managers or digital marketers for example (see Chapter 6). In tandem, through greater rates of Black education, credentialization and professionalisation, as well as preferential policies, a post-1994 Black middle class continues to emerge. Black social mobility and the new middle classes have prompted a process of post-1994 urbanisation which in turn has the potential to boost neo-PCC growth. Social differentiation and rationalisation processes also take place through debt finance. For example, as stated in Chapter 3, George Grey loaned money to the American Board Mission to purchase land in KwaZulu Natal's Port of Alfred (Kumalo, 2020). Buildings and technology in the mega-churches may be the subject of debt finance, however this remains to be validated. However, save for Grace Bible Church, Rhema and Rivers are reticent about debt consumption to build the church.

Premised on his theory of differentiation, Bourdieu expects that the modernisation of society, characterised by the processes of rationalisation in Weberian terms, "dissolves" the societal importance of religion (Ladwig, 2011; Rey, 2014). Modernisation and rationalisation processes catalyse social and economic changes, including the restructuring of labour led by a process of specialisation. Changes in the division of labour, and the attendant specialisation outcomes produce social differentiation (Ladwig, 2011:201).

In South Africa the processes of modernisation, rationalisation and social differentiation continue to produce uneven positive and negative outcomes. Inequality in terms of racial, gender and spatial / geographic cleavages have meant that different social groups benefit unequally from social and economic structures. Thus, structural inequality continues to drive an attraction to religion, countering the widespread secularisation expected by Durkheim, Marx, Weber and Bourdieu (Diantell, 2003; Ladwig, 2011). Instead, structural inequality and precarity in modern capitalist societies, particularly those characterised by a financialised economic system in the developing world, entrenches, rather than uproots the place, role and importance of religion. Religious thinking, practice and institutions continues to gain social significance, even as it fragments and reassembles according to different local and transnational circuits. This may suggest a contemporaneous dual process of growth and contraction where mega-churches continuously expand but shrink over specific periods through a secession process of a new church breaking off. This leads to new and small local churches constantly emerging. Even if the process is specific to a particular period, the insecurity of the global economic system maintains the importance of religious institutions.

As this BMC, and the general middle-class grow, new residential areas, cities and suburbs are built (see Chipkin, 2012). As this also happens the associated amenities and cultural and leisure buildings, such as churches, gyms, restaurants and movie houses emerge. Entrepreneurial church leaders, many of them neo-Pentecostal take up these opportunities to build more churches. For example, Grace and Rivers continuously search for appropriate urban spaces for expansion. For the mega-churches new

housing developments and population growth provide an opportunity for evangelisation and for the church to gain new church sites. Rhema in South Africa and Tulsa expanded in urban areas that exhibited the most growth, and built warehouse style churches there (Arweck and Keenan, 2006). Post-apartheid mega-churches inherit this strategy. For example, Rivers deployed it to expand in KZN. Because Ballito was “showing up on the radar as a booming area” the Oliviers lapped up a warehouse that emerged and made their son the lead pastor there (Dennis, 2016). Factors that indicate neo-Pentecostal Charismatics as an entrepreneurial impulse also include conflict management skills, higher grade skills in highly volatile, unstable and changing circumstances. Neo-PCC habitus builds these cultural competencies, which translate into professional, occupational and entrepreneurial competence and capital. Patience to build, the belief in self’s capacity for success, the catalysing of imagination ... being part of an ecosystem – structuring structure of success making

The growth is also supported by the fact that neo-PCCs are able to train new pastors, build, rent or put-up tents in new and old urban areas, while banks also provide them with finance for these new church ventures. Thus, the rapid growth of new neo-PCCs cannot be treated as a separate and independent occurrence from South Africa’s neo-liberal capitalist-led economic growth and urbanisation processes. As such, this becomes an important feature of historical continuity, where South Africa’s post-apartheid social formation continues upon the track of intertwined Christianity, capitalism and urbanisation.

Social mobility and doctrinal changes

Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-churches are sites of consumption. Money and success are indeed the pervasive language and symbolic form representing globalised capitalism, which neo-PCCs cases also aspire to, respond and (re)act to, however – it is important to seek out subversive approaches present within the aspiration, response and (re)actions. In the post-COVID-19 moment these churches are engaged in regenerating their attendance and ways to support and enable their adherents to navigate and overcome the personal and socioeconomic fallouts precipitated by COVID-19 and a productively weak South African economy, that is slow to produce jobs, new opportunities for businesses and other income opportunities.

While South African Pentecostalism started among poor people (Morran and Schlemmer, 1984; Anderson and Pillay, 1997; Burpeau, 2004; Theron, 2011) post-apartheid neo-PCCs have achieved some social mobility. This is not unlike the mid-18th century American Methodist Church which began as a revival movement among the poor and the outcast and rose rapidly in upward social mobility while moving away from the Wesleyan emphasis on the Holy Spirit (Menzies, 2011:215). Similarly, from the 1960s, American Pentecostals also experienced social mobility (Morran and Schlemmer, 1984).

Thus, while South Africa post-apartheid social formation is a fruitful for some mega-churches, the intersection of neo-Pentecostal Christianity, capitalism and urbanisation has also produced changes to

the churches. The table below presents my tentative count (guestimate) and analysis of the characteristics of the third wave of Pentecostalism in South Africa, identifying the lead players, belief and orientation.

Table 22: Third Wave Pentecostal Practice: field, habitus and capital

3rd Wave Pentecostalism: 1970s	
Significant names and Churches	Belief and Orientation
• Rhema Bible Church - Ray McCauley • Grace Bible Church: Mosa Sono • Zoë Ministries: Elijah Bernard Jordan • Durban Christian Centres: Fred Roberts • Imagine Church: Anthony and Laurel Cassell (started as a Rhema South Family Church) • Hatfield Baptist Church: Ed Roebert (now Hatfield Christian Church) • Vineyard Ministries • Christ For All Nations • Bedfordview Christian Centre Tabernacle - Nicky van der Westhuizen	Preached radical conversion Preached prosperity and the holy war theology Practiced glossolalia Began to build large auditoriums and invest in telecommunications technology and use of mass media Reached lower and middle classes. Began to specialise different church departments or ministries Gradual political participation

Source: Author's compilation

While I cannot provide a tentative list of post-apartheid South African mega-churches, I find that through the mega-churches studied herein that their upward social mobility and elite making process has also been accompanied by changes in the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic doctrinal stance. This likely produces a new post-apartheid movement, but not wave. I argue that a wave would have to be transnational in its effects, which calls for continental / transnational study. Based on the nature of the Rhema, Grace and Rivers I extract the following as a summary of the characteristics of post-apartheid mega-churches.

On Consumption

- They invest heavily, and importantly, repeatedly in buildings, technology and professionals / specialists (architects, social media, TV directors and production specialists, accountants and lawyers)

- They are heavy capital consumers (professional fees, buildings and technologies, investments and loan finance)
- They embrace social media platforms with uneven results – these work to dilute and heighten their symbolic capital
- They moralise consumption practices and compete with secular consumption practices of the middle classes (they have their own coffee shops, branded merchandise)

On their Theological Habitus

- They adopt the Five-fold ministry
- They emphasise voluntarism, tithing and diligent participation in church activities and events (home cells, conferences and seminars, etc.)
- They have abandoned rigid sectarian ethos and millennium expectation
- They preach conversion
- They preach progress and abilities Prosperity Gospel with an emphasis on healing and not ‘miracles’

On the neo-PCC field

- They have well planned performance in politics, and they pledge direct and indirect support and promotion of presidents and some politicians
- They nurture local, national and transnational Pentecostal networks as a mechanism of entrenching themselves.

The characteristics above, as summarised from the thesis point out that the post-apartheid neo-Pentecostal habitus that mega-churches produce has changed over time. This finding was also observed by Anderson (2013:6-7). He explains that since the 1970s revival, the global neo-PCC movement has undergone further changes. He argues that neat categorisation is even more difficult, as there are now multiple and overlapping churches. One of the areas of change is theological. He explains that there are third wave churches that conflate Spirit Baptism with conversion and see spiritual gifts as available to every Christian believer without a necessary ‘crisis’ experience. There are churches that have changed nomenclature such as the new Apostolic churches that have reintroduced an Apostolic leadership to their governance not unlike that of the early Pentecostals. Then there are also the ‘Word of Faith’ churches and similar churches where the emphasis is on physical health and prosperity by faith. Another group is highly hybridised, comprising different independent churches that overlap and vary considerably in their theology between ‘third wave,’ ‘Word of faith’ and classical Pentecostal. There are also “two groups that mostly identify themselves as ‘Pentecostal’ or ‘charismatic’ (Anderson,

2013:7). While I did not go into this in detail, I picked up that Kgatle (2019) had identified a fourth charismatic wave in post-apartheid South Africa. This bodes well for further research.

The digitised Prosperity Habitus

This thesis has examined the constructure of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus and its devolution in the social lives of post-apartheid Black middle class members. It searched and detailed the complex ways in which the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus shapes and reshapes the social lives of new BMC members. It also examined how these members inform and influence neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus as a structuring structure. It found that mega-churches frame and deploy elements of their inception stories to structure the neo-Pentecostal habitus of the congregation. The inception stories are also used as a policing and disciplining tool of the congregation, with the aim of ensuring the correct consumption of the stories, that is the outcome of what the stories are meant to produce. Thus, like social capital is not a commodity in and of itself, rather what it produces is the commodity, inception stories work in the same way. They are meant to encourage, guide neo-Pentecostals in the social lives and aspirations. Another significant finding is the prosperity habitus produced is meant to create specific thought patterns, ideas, discourses, behaviours and reactions of the adherents. It is meant to be a middle classing educational tool. The expansiveness of the church, seen through thousands of adherents, the presence of large and many church buildings across the country, the charity work and having a voice in the broader national discourse are all used as sources of legitimacy and authority by neo-PCC leaders. A Television Ministry, the depth of knowledge of the Bible, evidenced by the ability to recite Bible verses, as well as praying in tongues are also important markers used by neo-PCC leaders to demonstrate their spiritual capital and Prosperity Gospel success. These reflect or bear testament to the success of the abilities Prosperity Gospel on the part of the leader. The work that neo-PCC leaders did in developing the church into a successful ministry is an integral part of the neo-PCC narrative. McCauley, Sono and Olivier as the leaders of South Africa's large neo-PCCs constantly refer to how small their early beginnings were, how they grew the congregation, how they built and continue to build their churches.

The important element is that the prosperity habitus gears to help people to be confident in their agency, identity and culture are important in the process of class formation. (Werbner, 2018:11). Though varied in different mega-church habiti, the Pentecostal self-help pulpit generally recognises these externalised (social) complexities, difficulties and offenses, but promises that these can be mitigated by a strong, focused, praying, tithing and dutiful Christian. Mega-churches in the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field assert that the blessings of prosperity, success, health come with difficulties. The Pentecostal self-help pulpit teaches BMC adherents how to be middle class and how to stay and consolidate the middle-class location through particular actions and attitudes. The Pentecostal self-help pulpit reminds and warns the BMC of the opportunities and challenges it will face

in its personal, professional and social life, how opportunities can be amplified and exploited and how challenges can be mitigated and addressed.

Conversions

Neo-PCCs attract the young and old middle class, educated individuals living in the urban cities and suburbia (Rule, 2007; James, 2007; Schlemmer, 2008; Frahm-Arp, 2010; Kankonde, 2016; James, 2012; 2016; Southall, 2016). In summary, many of the BMC neo-Pentecostals in this research say that they were introduced to neo-PCCs by friends from work or university. Others had been introduced by relatives or friends of the family. Two significant processes of social reproduction are apparent here. The first is that BMC members were introduced to neo-PCCs by people known to them, that were part of their broad social network and shared a similar or a comparable class position, rather than strangers, faceless or ‘cold’ marketing. Their conversions, moreover, were all due to the introduction and evangelisation by other BMC members. The second is that the everyday evangelisation by BMC of other BMC members and the neo-Pentecostalisation that results is a contributing factor to the decline of MPCs, in contrast to the growing neo-PCCs. BMC members also reported being invited to neo-PCC services and events multiple times by different people, showing a strong evangelisation impulse.

The focused evangelisation impulse of the BMC neo-Pentecostals contributes to the growth of the church. Existing members of the church are encouraged to invite as many people as they can, and while this process calls on more people to come, it also roots the converted BMC neo-Pentecostals within the neo-Pentecostalist habitus. BMC use their personal social media pages to recruit and/or spread the message of neo-Pentecostalism within their social networks. They send invitations and even make arrangements for invitees to arrive safely at church. They post pictures on *WhatsApp*, *Instagram* and *Facebook* of themselves at large neo-PCC conferences, camps and other events. BMC neo-Pentecostals share graphically well-designed and digitised motivational messages and scriptures from their Pastors and neo-PCCs. Links to *YouTube* sermons and gospel songs, *Zoom* prayers sessions are in constant rotation, while video messages or soundbites are shortened to snippets for easy consumption across social media sites. Prayers are also declared and offered in *Facebook* and *WhatsApp* statuses. This constitutes the everyday and digitised practices that BMC members participate in.

Apart from urbanized neo-liberal city landscapes, the neo-Pentecostalisation of Black middle-class individuals derives from and is aided by an already Christianized landscape, given that more than 80% of South Africans declare that they are Christian (Rule and Mncwango, 2010). This is because all the BMC neo-Pentecostals interviewed in this study reported that they were of Christian faith, and affiliated to a church before they joined a neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Church. They also came from Christian homes, where their parents and grandparents were also Christian, belonging various denominations, but in the main, Lutheran, Catholic, Methodist and Anglican churches; with a few stating that their Christian roots were in Apostolic and Zionist AICs.

The denominational shift from mainline churches to neo-PCCs presents an interesting finding. Chipkin and Leatt (2011) describe a situation where young Afrikaner DRC adherents were moving to neo-PCCs. Interestingly, this reflects a similar historical movement, in which Maxwell (2006:43) writes about of early 1900s South African Pentecostalism. He states that by the Census of 1928 “revealed that most of AFM converts came ... especially from the Dutch Reformed Churches.” Indeed, as noted in the previous chapter, Sono was a DRC adherent in his teens. Furthermore, not only are neo-PCCs gaining DRC adherents, they are also taking over their historical infrastructure. This is indicated by the fact that Grace bought a DRC church (see preceding section). In Bordieuan terms this illustrates that South Africa’s intra-denominational pollination Christian field, what I refer to as a tendency towards denominational pluralism, especially amongst converted neo-Pentecostals.

The BMC neo-Pentecostals interviewed herein included present and past adherents of the mega-churches. This is because I also studied Christians that were currently adherents of MPCs and RCCs, but had previously attended over a period of time, the three mega-church cases: Rhema, Grace and Rivers. This flexibility allowed a richer understanding of why people join and stay at the churches that they do. Furthermore, it illustrated that the BMC Christians studies herein allowed themselves mobility in their Christian outlook and church choices. I found that the determinants of rootedness for the BMC Christians was comfort in the church habitus that fostered a feeling of belonging in terms of race and class cleavages.

Mapping mega-church symbolic capital

This crisis of legitimacy that mega-church leaders studied herein intertwines critical aspects emerging from the manner in which the neo-Pentecostal Charismatics developed globally and in South Africa. Thus, in the same way that Pentecostal Charismatics have been shaping Christianity across the world, so too have the neo-PCCs been affected by the changes they make and by other cultural forces. The changes or fluidity from one period to another and shaped according to context in terms of its theological emphasis means that it has also opened itself up to changes coming from the outside.

These changes have made Pentecostalism a fluid Christian movement, able to adapt to different socio-spatial and historical contexts. This socio-spatial and historical amenability also serves as a central factor that has supported its global growth. However, as this thesis shows Pentecostal amenability and fluidity are also factors that have attracted a negative public gaze to the Christian denomination.

Beyond the power to pray

To reiterate for context – Mkhwanazi-Xaluva admits that she underestimated the power of the religious sector, saying she thought religious leaders only had prayer as a weapon at their disposal (Tandwa, 2022). The South African religious sector does not only have its prayers as a weapon to fend

off a perceived attack on its freedoms. To jettison two of the CRL's significant recommendations: greater CRL powers through an amended Act and the creation of a council to regulate and register religious organisations – the sector mobilised the expertise from different fields: legal, media and academia. Opinion pieces and academic papers were authored countering the recommendations and framing them as interference. The South African religious sector brought its power to bear, and the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (CoGTA) is “unpersuaded” of these proposals (Henrico, 2019:17). Thus, the freedom of religion and association remains free of state regulation.

In terms of Bourdieu's occupational schema (1984) mega-church leaders hold a unique position. Bourdieu asserts that different occupations hold various combinations of volume in cultural and economic capital. He asserts, for example, that on the class axis, industrialists and commercial workers possess high economic capital but low cultural capital. In contrast, professors hold low economic capital but high cultural capital. In the neo-liberal capitalist market, McCauley, Sono and Olivier have as mega-church founder / leaders been able to amass high levels of cultural and economic capital, contra-Bourdieu's occupational schematic positioning. They are, however, in a constant struggle to maintain this, as this unique combination is highly precarious, making it possible to lose the economic, cultural or both. They are constantly working to stabilise their position.

There have been many fallouts all trended on *Twitter*, where the public and many BMC expressed a cacophony of opinions. This makes the use of social media both a site of dilution and for the symbolic capital. Importantly, the struggle for legitimacy as part of the neo-PCC field actively involves the dispositional tendency towards delegitimising other neo-PCC actors in the neo-PCC field. So, neo-PCC habitus is one of constant acts of delegitimising actors in the field. This is a historical and contemporary characteristic of the South African Christian field in general. As mainline church leaders historically delegitimised early Pentecostal churches and continue today. Furthermore, the Constitutional right to freedom of association and religion has been blamed for the emergence of abusive churches and their leaders, but it has also been used to protect the entire field as a whole, paradoxically limiting the ability to excise transgressors.

The thesis also finds conflict and contestation between neo-PCC actors and the broader religious field. Neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches, their leaders and adherents have attracted a great deal of controversy and been treated with suspicion and trepidation. Within the neo-PCC field, the volunteer habitus is about group making and domination, through the religious symbolic dimension.

Neo-PCC habitus as a language of transition

Specialisation is an important, emerging theme in this thesis. Thus, while Bourdieu did recognize that like other fields in society, the religious field would evolve and become differentiated, he expected

that the religious field's importance as a moral authority in society would wane. Neo-PCCs have gone through a process of specialization themselves. Neo-PCCs are increasingly systematizing their religious practices, organizational structures and practices. They are involved in the expert culture and a delineation of borders of the religious field. The systematisation of religion makes it survive as seen through the hire of marketers, or a social media specialists, sound and audio-visual experts. Instead of being left behind because of specialization, neo-PCCs are participating and taking up these processes to (re)generate the neo-PCC habitus and to maintain the neo-PCC field. Thus, this thesis argues that the changes in the division of labour under neoliberal capitalism, which include the emergence of new sectors and occupations have led to the specialization and modernization of the neo-PCC field and habitus.

Bourdieu's symbolic violence concept helps to explain adherent's "complicity" within the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic habitus. There are of course, different levels of complicity that neo-Pentecostals adhere to in their habitus co-production and field. For example, it can be argued that the contestations within the neo-Pentecostal field also relate to the extent to which the rules of the neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field, even as part of the Christian field, are stretched. It is that the 'miracle' or the kinds of miracles that are believed, complicitly so by adherents and co-produced in the field and acted out as a habitus, (like the hexis response of falling to the ground when hands are placed on the head and prayer said). The contestation is that the symbolic violence is being stretched too far, beyond the agreed rules of the game. While adherents are complicit, actively misrecognition, encouraged denial they may be seeking to create an alternate reality. The neo-PCC leaders that released media statements and took interviews were actively struggling to, in Bordieuan terms, maintain the neo-PCC field's social arrangement, its doxic templates. The leaders were being actively vigilant in maintaining the historical and evolved contemporary structure of the accepted and legitimize contemporary neo-PCC field which had evolved, its habitus, and framework of symbolic violence.

And, as Chapter 3 indicates, the faith healing expectation was erased from the DRC habitus as its proponents such as Andrew Murray and Pieter Le Roux were forced to stop espousing it within the DRC. Rhema Bible Church is an important indicator of a neo-PCC that has undergone a full cycle.

Neo-Pentecostalist collectivities and practices co-produce unique and multifaceted elements of neo-Pentecostalist middle class dispositions and identity, anchored on the Prosperity Gospel. The Prosperity Gospel inspired selfhood promotes personal growth, determination and discipline in terms of personal, social, professional and political relationships. For example, this Prosperity Gospel inspired selfhood promotes well-thought out, planned and 'moderate' forms and levels of consumption. It encourages financial planning, budgeting, saving and investing. Education and training investments are seen as top of the list. It promotes specific forms of civic engagement. These include encouraging that adherents participate in charitable activity, structured through church monthly giving and activities.

These activities include visiting and participating in the main charities founded and/or supported by the mega-church. Formal political engagement, as a form of active civic engagement is also encouraged, but the mega-churches herein vary in terms of the forms of formal and informal political engagement that adherents are encouraged to undertake. They are closely matched with the historical participation of the neo-PCC's lead pastor or bishop in the struggle against apartheid. Moderate to active forms of political engagement are encouraged or emerge depending on the political inclination of the lead and/or founder pastor. Mega-church leaders stress that BMC neo-Pentecostals must vote.

In addition, the South African church has maintained its significance as an institution and social force. It is one of the most trusted institutions before any other state or political organisation. This makes for a contradictory location of mega-churches in South African society. This is because in the congregational habitus of mega-churches studied herein, there is the coexistence of conservative and traditional views and prosocial and civic-minded values. This produces mega-church congregational habiti that are constantly at work to prevent clashes, contradictions and the ousting of the other, where the churches can act as source of social cohesion or of division.

Subjective associations of affordability permeated being middle class for the BMC neo-Pentecostals. They associated being middle class from an affordability perspective. As consumption and affordability were the measure of being middle class, there was an element of "living with" or "having" as a part of *Blackmiddleclassness* subjectivity. Furthermore, the BMC neo-Pentecostals herein did not associate their social mobility with affirmative action or Black economic empowerment, rather their mobility was associated with education and credentialization and location on the occupational structure.

Significantly neo-Pentecostalisised BMC individuals were politically despondent. They did not trust or have faith in politicians. Their social, political and economic attitudes, values and practices tended towards enclavised social lives. While they were actively involved in the production of a specific habitus, they were less likely to call a political or government leader to complain about a socio-political issue. "Praying for" the leadership or praying before voting was how they described their political involvement. Importantly, they did not see their Christianity as intertwined with political choice. These were strongly dissociated, as politics was construed as a "dirty" place with politicians seen as self-interested accumulators of wealth. Politicians were largely seen as dishonest in their dealings in the state bureaucracies that they were in charge of. This stood in contrast to their mega-church founder leaders who were active in the public space. McCauley and Sono were highly engaged and had a public voice, while Olivier maintained his voice within the bounds of his church. Thus, neo-Pentecostalisised BMC members studied herein had moderated social involvement through the support of charities and church giving. They pursued social lives that focused on family and professional or business advancement, an enclaved habitus not unlike that Nzimande (1991) described of the corporate Black

middle class during the apartheid period. The extent and degree of the neo-Pentecostal enclavisation is tempered or differentiated by race, gender and the location of urban residence. Enclaved and moderated ideas about nationhood and nationalism are also recreated by the neo-Pentecostal habitus. This neo-Pentecostal Charismatic enclavisation is historically comparable to the ways in which the late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century BMC instrumentalised and deployed Christianised identities, and in particular mainline Protestantism in terms of social mobility, and Ethiopianism in terms of nationalism and Zionism in terms of enclavised personal holiness and self-improvement. All these must be understood as the processes through which the post-apartheid BMC neo-Pentecostals create and produce its selfhood and sociality, aimed at consolidating their position, but with little room for the broader South African society.

Finally, I conclude that middle class habiti, undergirded by a financialised economy, have largely been the driving force for the emergence of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches (neo-PCCs) and mega-churches in post-apartheid South Africa. Significantly, agglomerated cultural capital is an indispensable resource in initiating, building and sustaining post-apartheid neo-PCCs and mega-churches. Often overlooked, South Africa's neo-Pentecostal Charismatic social field evidences that individuals capable of accumulating, transubstantiating and maintaining cultural capital have built lasting social institutions.

A middle class habitus, in which cultural capital comprising material and symbolic resources are an essential driving force in the emergence and uber expansion of neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches in South Africa is the key finding. It demonstrates how a middle class habitus, comprising the direct and indirect accumulation of financial capital earned from small businesses and a teacher's salary, transubstantiated social capital and the value for healthy bodies combine to thrust three South African men into mega-church elite leaders. Second, this thesis finds that neo-Pentecostal Charismatic Churches intentionally labour to construct a neo-Pentecostal habitus packed with sociocultural activities that interacts with and moulds the agency and identity parts of the Black middle class. By volunteering, actively proselytising their networks and participating in (quasi) leadership positions within the churches, first BMC individuals collectivise in the neo-PCC habitus, and second they labour to co-produce that habitus. Third and importantly, the co-production of the neo-PCC habitus by BMC collectivities embeds the neo-PCC field within the South African post-apartheid religious landscape. The BMC neo-Pentecostals have retreated into nuclear-sized families and extended family networks and churches. Indeed neo-PCCs and mega-churches have been able to hold them in their prosperity and digitised habitus. They have abdicated civic related forms of regular participation, especially in political parties, like branch meetings. This is in part, a consequence of political parties that are geriatric in their style of organisation - not age – having failed to modernise themselves organisationally, and their mechanisms of relating with and engaging their constituencies. This stands in contradiction with the

mega-churches studied herein which have demonstrated superb and skilful mastery at building structuring structures that hold parts of the post-apartheid BMC close.

Post-apartheid neo-PCCs and mega-churches have inherited first, second and third generation adherents of African Initiated Churches, mission Pentecostal Churches and Mainline Protestant Churches and the Roman Catholic Church across race, class and geographic lines. From this inheritance, neo-Pentecostal Charismatic mega-churches labour to produce a middle-class Pentecostal habitus. This middle-class Pentecostal habitus usurps and deploys digital and social media technologies, audio-visual engineering, techniques, management strategies, professionals and specialists from the secular fields to neo-Pentecostalise place, space and the body. Mega-churches spread and embed themselves in urban city spaces and places – universities, shopping malls, parks, taxis and taxi ranks, billboards and bumper stickers. Mega-church spaces are sprawling properties, with the large auditoriums equipped with latest audio-visual technologies, coffee and bookshops with the latest décor, inviting playgrounds for kids, splendid water features, chapels, on-site studios and training rooms, gyms and other sporting facilities. This is the demonstrated superb and skilful mastery at building structuring structures.

Furthermore, the body is also a site of neo-Pentecostalisation, where it is denoted by different branded merchandise such as T-shirts, caps and wristbands, prayer oils to be smeared on the body and water to be drank. In the home it is branded candles, cups. A special neo-Pentecostalisised lexicon and expressions is propagated through popular social media platforms such as *Twitter*, *Instagram*, *Facebook* and *WhatsApp*.

Towards the final word

The neo-Pentecostal Charismatic field enjoys a legislative sphere that is largely favourable to religion. Within this conducive and minimally regulated sphere, they produce Pentecostal specialists of all kinds: counsellors, cell-leaders, pastors, bishops, overseers, ushers, TV production specialists and so on. Thus in similar ways that being part of the clergy was an open labour sphere, neo-PCCs are affecting the occupational structure through the creation of these new areas of work. Neo-PCCs and mega-churches generate and accumulate large incomes, significant proportions of which are tax-exempt. In a financialised global economy, neo-PCCs and mega-churches are formidable sites of consumption. In the past 130-years, South African Pentecostals have built formidable capacity to mobilise all forms of capital. In the contemporary era, neo-PCCs and mega-churches have refined this capacity. They have harnessed the capability to attract, build and maintain large congregations in which giving portions of their financial capital and other cultural capitals is a disposition. A light form of bio-policing of non-givers is enforced. It is this capacity that has earned them a place as a credible and sought after consumer in the financialised global economy. Corporations of all sizes from different industries across the world have begun to specialise in servicing neo-PCCs and mega-churches. Specialist financial products are emerging to service the neo-PCC field's consumption: investment-

packages and specialised loans to buy digital equipment, and so on have been structured. In tandem, the neo-PCC and mega-church field is emerging as a nascent specialisation in the professions and the occupations sphere. Digital content producers are hired. Church production specialists are trained, magazines and journals on church production are published. Décor is designed for new and old churches. Like iPhone technology, mega audio-speakers, lights and digital animation are designed, engineered and reengineered. The secular and religious fields have found a symbiotic relationship in the neo-PCC field. But the relationship is conflictual too. Like large multinational companies in the mining industry, mega-churches are accused of being extractive. Like CEOs of large banks, leaders of mega-churches are accused of opulence. Like Hollywood celebrities they attract tabloids and use the courts and press compliance codes as counter-balance measures. Some have also fallen on the wrong side of the law, ranging from fraud to sexual offence accusations. Neo-PCCs and mega-churches have grown in stature to assume sociocultural, political and economic significance, though sometimes mired by controversy. Their highly commercial, and opulent large church campuses, activities in charity, education, health and sport have made them important social resource institutions. Neo-PCCs have a significant public presence. Simultaneously, their espoused belief in miracles, healing and financial prosperity and direct access to God have made them infamous interlocutors in the religious space.

In the neo-PCC field, it has been pastors, prophets and bishops that have demonstrated the capability to accumulate, transubstantiate and maintain cultural capital that has made their churches comparatively durable social institutions. Mega-churches and their leaders have outlived several post-apartheid political parties such as the New National Party, Aganang South Africa and the Independent Democrats. It is quite likely that this trend will continue, unless the Black middle classes shift their sociality from in-ward looking and enclavised social anxiety.

REFERENCES

- Abercrombie, N., Hill, S. and Turner, B.S. 2000. *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. 4th Edition. London: Penguin Books.
- Alexander, P., Ceruti, C., Motseke, K., Phadi, M. and Wale, K (Eds). 2013. *Class in Soweto*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.
- Al Jazeera English. 23 July 2016. 'Zygmunt Bauman: Behind the world's "crisis of humanity."' *Al Jazeera* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EG63MkQb1r4> accessed 8 August 2016.
- Aldred, J. 2006. 'The Holy Spirit in the Pentecostal Tradition, with special reference to Black Pentecostalism.'
- Amazon website. 'Andre Olivier: About the author.' <https://www.amazon.com/stores/author/B00I077V2U/about> accessed 21 March 2023.
- Anderson, A.H. 1987. 'The prosperity message in the eschatology of some new Charismatic Churches.' *Missionalia*, 15 (2), 72-83.
- Anderson, A.H. 1992. *Bazalwane: African Pentecostals in South Africa*. Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.
- Anderson, A.H. with Otwang, S. 1993. *Tumelo: The faith of African Pentecostals in South Africa*. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Anderson, A.H. and Pillay, G. 1997. 'The Pentecostals' in Elphick, R. and Davenport, R. (Eds). *Christianity in South Africa: A political, social and cultural history*. Cape Town: David Phillip. 227-241.
- Anderson, A.H. 2005. 'New African Initiated Pentecostalism and Charismatics in South Africa.' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 35 (1), 66-92.
- Anderson, A.H. 2013. *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. s
- Asamoaha-Gyadu, K. 2007. 'Born of water and the spirit: Pentecostal/charismatic Christianity in Africa' in Kalu, O. (Ed). *African Christianity: An African story*. Trenton New Jersey: Africa World Press.

Ashman, S. 2023. 'Beyond the MEC? Limits and prospects in the development of South African capitalism.' in Mohamed, S., Ngoma, A. and Baloyi, B. (Eds). *The Evolving Structure of South Africa's Economy*. Johannesburg: MISTRA. 59-85.

Asimaki, A. and Koustourakis, G. 2014. 'Habitus: an attempt at a thorough analysis of a controversial concept in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice.' *Social Sciences* 3 (4), 121-131.

Arweck, E. and Keenan, W. (Eds). *Materializing Religion: Expression, Performance and Ritual*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Balcomb, A. 2004. 'From apartheid to the new dispensation: Evangelicals and the democratization of South Africa.' *Journal of Religion in Africa*. 34 (1/2), 5-38.

Barbalet, J.M. 2000. "'Beruf," Rationality and Emotion in Max Weber's Sociology.' *European Journal of Sociology*, 41 (2), 329-351.

Becker, F., Cabrita, J. and Rodet, M. (Eds). 2018. *Religion, Media, and Marginality in Modern Africa*. Ohio University Press. [eBook].

Bernstein, A. 2008. 'Under the radar: Pentecostalism in South Africa and its potential social and economic role.' In *Depth*, No. 7 *Centre for Development Enterprise* <https://www.cde.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Under-the-radar-Pentecostalism-in-South-Africa-and-its-potential-social-and-economic-role-CDE-Report.pdf> accessed 2 April 2019.

Benyah, F. 2018. 'Church branding and self-packaging: the mass media and African Pentecostal missionary strategy.' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 48, 231-254.

Bhengu, C. 26 February 2019. 'Funeral association says Lukau is extorting people in "unregulated" industry.' *TimesLive* <https://www.timeslive.co.za/amp/news/south-africa/2019-02-26-funeral-association-says-lukau-is-extorting-people-in-unregulated--industry/> accessed 1 May 2019.

Boshoff, A. 2 October 2018. 'CRC Dreamweek Grand Opening.' *YouTube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xZep2jH-YmU> accessed 22 January 2023.

Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa. (BCCSA). 'About.' <https://www.bccsa.co.za/> accessed 2 January 2023.

British Broadcasting Corporation. (BBC). 1 April 2016. 'South African preacher mocked after charging for "heavenly" photos.' <https://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-trending-35944680> accessed 2 April 2019.

British Broadcasting Corporation. (BBC). 9 February 2018. 'South Africa's "doom pastor" found guilty of assault.' <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-43002701> accessed 2 April 2019.

Bourdieu, P. 1977 [2010]. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu P. 1984. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1990. *In Other Words. Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. The University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press. Edited and introduced by Johnson, R. New York: Columbia University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1998. *Practical Reason: On the theory of action*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Bourdieu P. 2000. 'The politics of protest. An interview by Kevin Ovenden.' *Socialist Review*, 242, 18-20.

Bourdieu, P. 2000. *Pascalian Meditations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. 2018. 'Social space and the genesis of appropriated physical space.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 42 (1), 106–114.

Bloomberg website. 'd&b audiotechnik Verwaltungs GmbH.' <https://www.bloomberg.com/profile/company/7575340Z:GR#xj4y7vzkg> accessed 27 April 2023.

Brubaker, R. 1985. 'Rethinking classical theory: The sociological vision of Pierre Bourdieu.' *Theory and Society*, 14 (6), 745-775.

Bukasa Kankonde P. 2017. 'Taking roots in the name of God?: Super diversity and migrant Pentecostal churches' legitimation and social integration in post-apartheid South Africa.' Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Witwatersrand and Georg-August-Universität Göttingen.

Burawoy, M. and Von Holdt, K. 2012. *Conversations with Bourdieu: The Johannesburg moment*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Burpeau, K.P. 2004. *God's Showman*. Norway: Refleks Publishing.

BusinessTech. 12 August 2020. 'Legal challenges stack up against Dlamini-Zuma on lockdown rules.' *BusinessTech*. <https://businesstech.co.za/news/government/424532/legal-challenges-stack-up-against-dlamini-zuma-on-lockdown-rules/> accessed 27 April 2023.

Cabrita, J. 2015. 'Revisiting 'Christian Independency': Urban Moderns and the Pursuit of Self-Perfection in Early Twentieth-Century Johannesburg'.

Cabrita, J. and Erlank, N. 2018. 'New histories of Christianity in South Africa: Review and introduction.' *South African Historical Journal*, 70 (2), 307-323.

Cabrita, J. and Maxwell, D. 2017. 'Introduction: Relocating world Christianity' in Cabrita, J., Maxwell, D. and Wild-Wood, E. (Eds). *Relocating World Christianity Interdisciplinary Studies in Universal and Local Expressions of the Christian Faith*. Series: Theology and mission in world Christianity, Volume 7. Boston: Brill.

Carls, P. 'Emile Durkheim (1858-1917).' *The Internet Encyclopaedia of Philosophy*. <https://iep.utm.edu/emile-durkheim/> accessed 20 May 2022.

Chand, S. 8 November 2022. 'So, what does a pastor do?' *YouTube* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o2mjocr-Zw&t=68s> accessed 22 January 2023.

Chaves, M. 2004. *Congregations in America*. Harvard University Press.

Chetty, D. 2002. 'From reductionism to contextualization: towards a relevant Pentecostal missiology in South Africa.' Unpublished Masters thesis. University of South Africa.

Chipkin, I. 2012. 'Middle Classing in Roodepoort Capitalism and Social Change in South Africa.' Public Affairs Research Institute (PARI). Long Essays, 2. <https://pari.org.za/middle-classing-roodepoort-capitalism-social-change-south-africa/> accessed 12 February 2017.

Chipkin, I. and Leatt, A. 2011. 'Religion and revival in post-apartheid South Africa.' *Focus*, 6, 39-46.

Christian Revival Church Website. (CRC). 'About Us.' <https://crtcchurch.com/about-us> accessed 2 January 2023.

Church Image Network. 23 February 2017. 'The God Who Answers by Fire.' *Church Image Network*, <http://churchimagenetwork.com/magazine/the-god-who-answers-by-fire-holy-spirit-video/> accessed 27 December 2022.

Church Production. 2 September 2022. 'South Africa's Rivers church adds to its Yamaha collection.' <https://www.churchproduction.com/daily411/rivers-church-adds-to-yamaha-ollection/> accessed 17 December 2022.

Cobley, A. 1987. "'On the shoulders of giants:" the Black petty bourgeoisie in politics and society in South Africa, 1924 to 1950.' Unpublished PhD thesis. SOAS University of London.

Cobley, A. 1990. *Class and Consciousness: The Black petty bourgeoisie in South Africa, 1924 to 1950*. New York: Greenwood Press.

Comaroff, J. 2012. 'Pentecostalism, populism and the politics of affect: In Africa and Elsewhere,' in Freeman, D. (Ed). *Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs and social change in Africa*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan. 41-66.

Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. (CRL). 2016. 'CRL Rights Commission's Preliminary Report of the Hearings on Commercialisation of religion and Abuse of People's Belief Systems.' <https://forsa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Preliminary-Report-of-the-hearings-on-Commercialization-of-Religion-and-abuse-of-peoples-belief-systems.pdf> 17 February 2019.

Collison, C. 24 January 2017. 'LGBTI activists face uphill battle in getting churches to see the light.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-01-24-00-lgbti-activists-face-uphill-battle-in-getting-churches-to-see-the-light/> 17 February 2019.

Corruption Watch. 2018. 'Upholding democracy: annual Report.' https://cisp.cachefly.net/assets/articles/attachments/78072_cw-annual-report-2018-upholding-democracy-single-pages-agent-orange-design-10042019.pdf accessed 5 November 2022.

Corruption Watch. 2018. 'Upholding democracy: Annual report.' https://cisp.cachefly.net/assets/articles/attachments/78072_cw-annual-report-2018-upholding-democracy-single-pages-agent-orange-design-10042019.pdf accessed 5 November 2022.

Crankshaw, O. and Ballard, R. 2022. 'The geography of desegregation in Johannesburg.' Gauteng City Region Observatory (GCRO). <https://www.gcro.ac.za/outputs/map-of-the-month/detail/geography-desegregation-johannesburg/> accessed 20 March 2022.

Crompton, R. 1998. *Class and Stratification*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 2nd Edition

Da Silva Moreira, A. 2018. 'From religious diversity to political competition: The differentiation process of Pentecostalism in Brazil.' *Religions*, 9 (1), 14.

Daily Sun. 27 November 2021. 'How to open a multi-million rand church in SA.' <https://www.sn124.com/dailysun/lifestyle/how-to-open-a-multi-million-rand-church-in-sa-20190913> accessed 9 November 2022.

Dallimore, A., de Kadt, J., Hamann, C., and Mkhize, S. 2021. 'Quality of life survey 6 (2021/21) municipal report: City of Johannesburg.' Johannesburg: Gauteng City-Region Observatory. (GCRO). https://cdn.gcro.ac.za/media/documents/GCRO_QoL_6_2021_Municipal_report_Johannesburg.pdf accessed 16 December 2022.

Davenport, T. R. H. 1991. *South Africa: A Modern History*. London: Macmillan. 4th edition.

Dbm architects website. www.dbmarchitects.co.za accessed 2 January 2023.

De Sousa, J.F. 2012. 'Networks, [Mis]trust, and Pentecostal Conversion: narratives of divergent pathways among small Black entrepreneurs in Tshwane.' Unpublished PhD Thesis. https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/6877/thesis_hum_2012_de_sousa_j.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y accessed 27 April 2023.

De Wet, C. R. 1989. 'The Apostolic Faith Mission in Africa: 1908 – 1980: A case study in church growth in a segregated society.' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/22445/thesis_hum_1989_de_wet_christiaan_rudolf.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y accessed 3 January 2023.

De Wit J. and Theron, J. 2007. 'From Hatfield Baptist Church to Hatfield Christian Church: perspectives on some historical development during the ministry of pastor Ed Roebert.' *Studia Historiae. Ecclesiasticae*, 33 (2), 93-114.

De Witte, M. 'Spirit Media: charismatics, traditionalists and mediation practices in Ghana.' Unpublished PhD Thesis, Universiteit van Amsterdam. https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/1120509/55454_07_hoofdstuk_2_p83_124.pdf accessed 14 March 2023.

Dennis, M. 12 November 2016. 'By the "rivers" of Ballito, there we sat down'. *The North Coast Courier*. <https://northcoastcourier.co.za/72511/by-the-rivers-of-ballito-there-we-sat-down/> accessed 23 November 2022.

Department of Basic Education. 26 June 2015. 'Schools Choral Eisteddfod returns to take centre stage at Rhema Bible Church, 26 June 2015.' <https://www.education.gov.za/Newsroom/MediaReleases/English/tabid/2322/ctl/Details/mid/8584/ItemID/7400/Default.aspx> accessed 5 November 2022.

Dianteill, E. 2003. 'Pierre Bourdieu and the sociology of religion: A central and peripheral concern.' *Theory and Society*, 32, 529-549.

Dickow, H. 2012. *Religion and Attitudes Towards Life in South Africa Pentecostals, Charismatics and Reborns*. Germany: Nomos Publishers.

Dinnerstein, M. 1976. 'The American Zulu mission in the nineteenth century: Clash over customs.' *Church History*, 45 (2), 235-246.

Dlamini, P. 14 April 2008. 'Bridge to future hope.' *SowetanLive*, <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2008-04-14-bridge-to-future-hope/> accessed 20 January 2019.

Dreyer, L. 1989. *The modern African elite of South Africa*. London: MacMillan Press.

Dlamini, P. 7 June 2020. 'No singing as Grace Bible Church holds first service since start of lockdown.' *SowetanLive* <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-06-07-no-singing-as-grace-bible-church-holds-first-service-since-start-of-lockdown/> 20 January 2021.

Duncan, G. A. and Egan, A. 2019. 'The ecumenical struggle in South Africa: The role of ecumenical movements and liberation organisations from 1966.' *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 45 (1), 1-28.

Durban International Convention Centre (ICC). 17 September 2019. 'Government leaders throw weight behind Durban ICC Leadership Summit featuring Bishop TD Jakes.' <https://icc.co.za/pressrelease/government-leaders-throw-weight-behind-durban-icc-leadership-summit-featuring-bishop-td-jakes/> accessed 4 April 2022.

Durkheim, É. 1893. *The Division of Labour in Society*. English translation by George Simpson; Free Press, 1933.

Durkheim, É. 1895. *Rules of Sociological Method*. Simon & Schuster, Lukes, Steven.

Durkheim, É. 1912 [1954]. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. (J. Swain, Trans.) New York: The Free Press.

d&b Auditechnik. 'Finance-Series brochure.'
<https://www.dbaudio.com/assets/products/downloads/brochures/dbaudio-intro-brochure-finance-series-en.pdf> accessed 27 April 2023.

d&b Auditechnik. 'Reference list: House of Worship.'
<https://www.dbaudio.com/assets/products/downloads/reference-lists/dbaudio-reference-list-how-1.3.pdf> accessed 27 April 2023.

Echtler, M. and Ukah, A. 2016. *Bourdieu in Africa: Exploring the dynamics of religious fields*. Leiden, Koninklijke Brill.

Edles, L.D. and Appelrouth, S. 2010. *Sociological Theory in the Classical Era: Text and Readings*. Northridge: Pine Forge Press.

Edles, L.D. and Appelrouth, S. 2005. *Sociological Theory in the Classical Era*. Pine Forge Press. 1st Edition.

Elphick, R. 1997. 'Introduction: Christianity in South African history' in Elphick, R. and Davenport, T. R. H. (Eds). *Christianity in South Africa: A political, social and cultural history*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Elphick, R. and Davenport, T. R. H. (Eds). 1997. *Christianity in South Africa: A political, social and cultural history*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Egan, A. 2007. "Kingdom deferred? The churches in South Africa, 1994-2006' in *State of the Nation: South Africa 2007*. Buhlungu, S. (Ed). Cape Town: HSRC Press. 448-469.

ENCA. 2 March 2019. 'Biblical references to miracles.' *YouTube*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l3VLsWBdQRk> accessed 16 December 2022.

ENCA. 4 December 2018. 'PowerFM's Chairman's interview.' *YouTube*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JXaTvI86BIs> accessed 16 December 2022.

Evans, A. 1977. 'An examination of the concept of "Social solidarity."' *Mid-American Review of Sociology* II, 29-46.

EWN News. 28 June 2016. 'Rivers church pastor: Like Jesus's comments, mine were just controversial, challenging.'
<https://ewn.co.za/2016/06/28/Rivers-Church-pastor-Andre-Olivier-speaks-out-over-racism-claims> accessed 21 March 2023.

EWN. 28 June 2016. 'Rivers church pastor: like Jesus's comments, mine were just controversial, challenging.' <https://ewn.co.za/2016/06/28/Rivers-Church-pastor-Andre-Olivier-speaks-out-over-racism-claims> accessed 2 January 2023.

Fine, B. 2012. 'Assessing South Africa's New Growth Path: framework for change?' *Review of African Political Economy*, 39 (134): 551-568.

Frahm-Arp, M. 2010. *Professional Women in South African Pentecostal Charismatic Churches*. Studies of Religion in Africa, Volume 38. Leiden: Brill.

Frahm-Arp, M. 2011. 'Identity Issues amongst South African Pentecostal charismatic Christians: Between Oreos and Romany Creams.' *African Philosophy and the Future of Africa*. 2 (14), 129-137.

Frahm-Arp, M. 2011. 'Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity and the making of female managers.' *Focus* 62, 47-54.

Frahm-Arp, M. 2015. 'The political rhetoric in sermons and select social media in three Pentecostal Charismatic Evangelical Churches leading up to the 2014 South African election.' *Journal for the Study of Religion*. 28 (1), 115-141.

Frahm-Arp, M. 2018. 'Pentecostal Charismatic Christianity and Social Media in South Africa Mitigating Marginality, Prosperity Teachings, and the Emergence of a Black Middle Class' in Becker, F., Cabrita, J. and Rodet, M. (Eds). *Religion, Media, and Marginality in Modern Africa*. Ohio University Press. [eBook]

French, A. and Adler, D. 11 February 2021. 'Carl Lents and the trouble at Hillsong.' *Vanity Fair*. <https://www.vanityfair.com/style/2021/02/carl-lentz-and-the-trouble-at-hillsong> accessed 23 December 2021.

Ganiel, G. 2006. 'Race, religion and identity in South Africa: A case study of a charismatic congregation.' *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 12 (3-4), 555-576.

Ganiel, G. 2008. 'Is the multicultural congregation an answer to the problem of race? Cooperative perspectives from South Africa and the USA.' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 38 (3), 263-283.

Garcia-Rivero C., du Toit, P. and Kotze, H. 2003. 'Tracking the development of the middle class in democratic South Africa.' *Politeia* 22 (3), 6-29.

Geoghan, V. 2004. 'Religion and Communism: Feuerbach, Marx and Bloch.' *The European Legacy*, 9 (5), 685-595.

Gifford, P. 2015. *Christianity, Development and Modernity in Africa*. London: Hurst & Company.

Giliomee, H. 2012. “‘The weakness of some:’ the Dutch Reformed Church and white supremacy.” *Scriptura* 83, 212-244.

Gold, M. 2006. ‘From the “upper room” to the “Christian Centre:” changes in the use of sacred space and artefacts in a Pentecostal assembly’ in Arweck, E. and Keenan, W. (Eds). *Materializing Religion: Expression, Performance and Ritual*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 74-88.

Goldman, D. 20 January 2015. ‘Facebook claims it created 4.5-million jobs.’ *CNN Business*. <https://money.cnn.com/2015/01/20/technology/social/facebook-jobs/> accessed 19 November 2022.

Goodhew, D. 2000. ‘Growth and decline in South Africa’s Churches, 1960-91.’ *Journal of African Religion* XXX (3), 343-369.

Grace Bible Church page. [Grace Bible Church - Home | Facebook](#) accessed 20 October 2022.

Grace Bible Church statement to the congregation and members of the church, 29 January 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fhoCqlvZDVw> accessed 20 April 2019.

Grace Bible Church webpage. 27 April 2023. ‘About.’ <https://gracebiblechurch.org.za/about/> accessed 27 April 2023.

Grace Bible Church. 17 January 2021. ‘Bishop Mosa Sono: Fighting the Good Fight.’ *Facebook*, <https://www.facebook.com/GraceBibleChurchInternational/photos/a.535660486794727/1325248817835886/?paipv=0&eav=AfYPNFogx4D4zGFtm02AZiINqjeh86pPrirFobw1lc2kzoWe4Dxe16h2DBY5AAT-SUI> accessed 15 November 2022.

Grace Bible Church. 24 November 2022. ‘Water baptismal class.’ *Facebook*. <https://www.facebook.com/page/384871828540261/search/?q=baptism> accessed 9 April 2023.

Grace Bible Church. 5 February 2020. *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/GraceBibleChurchInternational/photos/a.385502538477190/1044400569254047/?type=3> accessed 5 January 2023.

Grace Bible Church. Annual Report 2015/2016. <http://gracebiblechurch.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/GBC-Annual-Report-2015-2016-with-No-Annual-Statements.pdf> accessed 8 February 2019.

Grace Bible Church Website. 'Giving.' <https://gracebiblechurch.org.za/giving/> accessed 12 December 2022.

Grace Bible Church. Facebook page. <https://www.facebook.com/GraceBibleChurchInternational/photos/a.385502538477190/939886336372138/?type=3> accessed 4 January 2023.

Grenfell, M. and James, D. 1998. *Bourdieu and education: acts of practical theory*. London: Palmer.

Grider, G. 26 July 2017. 'Hillsong-connected Rivers Sandton Church in South Africa a Laodicean nightmare that actually a shopping mall.' <https://www.nowtheendbegins.com/rivers-sandton-church-south-africa-laodicean-nightmare/> accessed 5 November 2022.

Guest, M.J. 2007. 'In search of spiritual capital: the spiritual as a cultural resources' in *The sociology of spirituality*. Aldershot: Ashgate 181-200.

Gukurume, S. 2022. 'Pentecostalism, ontological (in)security and the everyday lives of international university students in South Africa.' *African Identities*. 1-19.

Hall, J. R. 1992. 'The capital(s) of cultures: A nonholistic approach to status situations, class, gender and ethnicity' in Lamont, M. and Fournier, M. (Eds). *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic boundaries and the making of inequality*. Chicago, Illinois: Chicago University press.

Hansen, B. 2013. *Melancholia of Freedom: Social Life in an Indian Township in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Wits Press.

Haralambos, M and Holborn, M. 1995. *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives*. London: Collins Educational. 4th edition.

Harrington, A. (Ed). 2005. *Modern Social Theory: an introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hartman, B. 2011. 'Making meaning amidst Xenophobia: How Apostolic Zionist Churches make sense of outsiders, scarcity and entitlement in Alexandra township, South Africa.' Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Witwatersrand.

Hasu, P. 2006. 'World Bank and Heavenly Bank in Poverty and Prosperity: The Case of Tanzanian Faith Gospel.' *Review of African Political Economy*, 110, 679-692.

Heelas, P. 1996. *The New Age Movement: The celebration of the self and the sacralization of modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Heer, B. 2015. “‘We are all children of God:’ a charismatic church as space of encounter between township and suburb in post-apartheid Johannesburg.’ *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 38 (3-4), 344-359.

Hendricks, C. 2019. ‘The search for a new liberation consciousness and spirituality of healing in the context of Black Christians joining White led Charismatic Churches: a critical discourse on push and pull factors.’ PhD Thesis. University of South Africa.

Henrico, R. 2019. ‘Proselytising the regulation of religious bodies in South Africa: suppressing religious freedom?’ *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal* 22 (1).

Hill, C. 2012. ‘Crouching Tiger-Hidden Dragon.’ Johannesburg: Rhema Ministries Ancillary Services (RMAS) Publishing. CD.

Hill, C. 2012. ‘Fire Nation.’ Johannesburg: Rhema Ministries Ancillary Services (RMAS) Publishing. CD.

Hill, C. 2012. ‘I still got it.’ Johannesburg: Rhema Ministries Ancillary Services (RMAS) Publishing. CD.

Hillsong Church website. 2021. ‘About Hillsong.’ <https://hillsong.com/about/> accessed 01 May 2021.

Hjarvard, S. 2016. ‘Mediatization and the Changing Authority of Religion.’ *Media, Culture and Society*, 38 (1) 8-17.

Hlongoane, M. T. 2019. ‘Financial accountability and reporting by governing bodies of public schools in South Africa.’ Unpublished PhD. University of South Africa, https://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/25911/thesis_hlongoane_mt.pdf?isAllowed=y&sequence=3 accessed 5 November 2022.

Hollenweger, W.J. 1972. *The Pentecostals: The charismatic movement in the churches*. Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House.

Hollenweger, W.J. 2004. ‘An Introduction to Pentecostalism.’ *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 25 (2), 125-137.

Hollenweger, W.J. 2007.

Howden, D. 21 June 2010. 'Inside the most powerful church in South Africa.' *The Independent*, <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/inside-the-most-powerful-church-in-south-africa-2006129.html> accessed 16 December 2020.

Hyslop, J. 2003. 'The white poor at the end of apartheid: the collapse of the myth of Afrikaner community.' *Itinerario*, 27 (3-4), 226-242.

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). 1994. '1994 National and Provincial Elections.' <https://www.elections.org.za/content/uploadedfiles/NPE%201994.pdf> accessed 2 February 2023.

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). 1999. 'Results report: Provincial election 1999.' <https://results.elections.org.za/home/NPEPublicReports/42/Leading%20Parties/GP.pdf> accessed 2 February 2023.

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). 2004-2009-2014-2019. 'IEC election results portal: National and Provincial Results,' <https://results.elections.org.za/home/downloads/npe-results> accessed 7 November 2022.

Independent Online (IOL). 2000. 'Hansie threatened with death – McCauley.' <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/hansie-threatened-with-death-mccauley-46801> accessed 22 February 2019.

Independent Online (IOL). 10 July 2016. "'Blacks are lazy" pastor fends off critics.' *IOL*. <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/blacks-are-lazy-pastor-fends-off-critics-2043659> accessed 21 March 2020.

International Federation of Christian Churches (IFCC). 1999. 'International Federation of Christian Churches, Represented by Pastor Ray McCauley. East London, 18 November 1999.' http://www.religion.uct.ac.za/sites/default/files/image_tool/images/113/Institutes/Archives/submissions/International_Federation_of_Christian_Churches.pdf accessed 21 March 2020.

James, D. 2012. 'Money-go-round: Personal economies of wealth, aspiration and indebtedness.' *Africa*, 82 (1), 20-40.

James, D. 2019. 'New subjectivities: Aspiration, prosperity and the new middle class.' *African Studies*, 78 (1), 33-50.

Jones, R.A. 1986. *Emile Durkheim: An introduction into four major works*. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 115-155.

- Jordaan, N. 16 August 2017. “‘Cry and polish my shoes’ - Mboro snubs CRL commission while chairperson brings criminal case of intimidation.’ *SowetanLive*. <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/sundayworld/news/2017-08-16-cry-and-polish-my-shoes-mboro-snubs-crl-commission-while-chairperson-brings-criminal-case-of-intimidation/> accessed 1 May 2019.
- Jordaan, N. 20 September 2018. ‘Dodgy churches put money in sacks, then zip across the border: Pastor Ray McCauley.’ <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-09-20-dodgy-churches-put-money-in-sacks-then-zip-across-the-border-pastor-ray-mccauley/> accessed 1 May 2019.
- Jordaan, N. 27 February 2019. ‘CRL rights commission wants death certificate of resurrected man.’ *TimesLive*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/amp/news/south-africa/2019-02-27-crl-rights-commission-wants-death-certificate-of-resurrected-man/> accessed 1 May 2019.
- Kalberg, S. 1980. ‘Max Weber's Types of Rationality: Cornerstones for the Analysis of Rationalization Processes in History.’ *The American Journal of Sociology*, 85 (5), 1145-1179.
- Kalu, O. 2008. *African Pentecostalism: an introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katsaura, O. 2017. ‘Theo-urbanism: pastoral power and Pentecostals in Johannesburg.’ *Culture and Religion*. 18 (3), 232–262.
- Katsaura, O. 2022. ‘Architecturations of Pentecostal Power: Contribution to a Sociology of Pentecostal Auditoriums.’ *Space and Culture*, 0 (00), 1-11.
- Kaunda, C. 2015. ‘Towards Pentecopolitanism: New African Pentecostalism and social cohesion in South Africa.’ *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 15 (3), 111-134.
- Kgatle, M.S. 2016. ‘Sociological and theological factors that caused schisms in the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa.’ *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 42 (1), 1-15.
- Kgatle, M.S. 2018. ‘The prophetic voice of the South African Council of Churches: A weak voice in post-1994 South Africa.’ *HTS Theological Studies* 74 (1), 1-8.
- Kgatle, M.S. 2019. *The fourth Pentecostal wave in South Africa: a critical engagement*. London: Routledge.
- Kgatle, M.S. and Frahm-Arp, M. 2022. ‘Abuse, power and discourse in the public trial of Timothy Omotoso.’ *Verbum et Ecclesia* 43 (1), 1-8.

Khunou G. 2013. 'What Middle Class? The Shifting and Dynamic Nature of Class Position.' <http://resep.sun.ac.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/KhunouMain-Article-Black-middle-class-.pdf> accessed 13 May 2018.

Khunou G. 2015. 'What middle class? The shifting and dynamic nature of class position.' *Development Southern Africa* 32 (1), 90-103.

Khunou G. and Krige D. 2013. 'Why is it difficult to be black and 'middle class'?' <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-11-07-why-is-it-difficult-to-be-black-andmiddle-class> accessed 13 May 2018.

Koehrsen, J. 2016. *Middle Class Pentecostalism in Argentina: Inappropriate Spirits*. Volume 15 of Religion in the Americas series, Brill.

Kritzinger, JNJ. 9 February 2017. 'Response to Pastor André Olivier of Rivers Church, Sandton.' <https://www.kathradafoundation.org/2017/02/09/response-to-pastor-andre-olivier-of-rivers-church-sandton/> accessed 23 March 2022.

Kumalo, R.S. 2020. 'The other side of the story: attempts by missionaries to facilitate land ownership by Africans during the colonial era.' *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 46 (2), 1-17.

Kuper L. 1965. *An African Bourgeoisie: Race, Class and Politics in South Africa*. New Have & London. Yale University Press.

Kuperus, T. 2011. 'The political role and democratic contribution of churches in post-apartheid South Africa.' *Journal of Church and State* 53 (2), 278-306.

Kruss, G. 1985. 'Religion, class and culture : indigenous churches in South Africa, with special reference to Zionist-Apostolics.' PhD thesis, University of Cape Town.

Ladwig, P. 2011. 'The genesis and demarcation of religious field: Monasteries, State Schools, and the Secular Sphere in Lao Buddhism (1893-1975).' *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia* 26 (2), 196-223.

Landau, L. and Freemantle, I. 2010. 'Tactical Cosmopolitanism and Idioms of Belonging: Insertion and Self-Exclusion in Johannesburg.' *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (3), 375-390.

Landau, L. 2014. 'Religion and the foundation of urban difference: belief, transcendence and transgression in South Africa and Johannesburg.' *Global Networks* 14 (3), 291–305.

Legassick, M. 1974. 'South Africa: capital accumulation and violence.' *Economy and Society*. 3, 253-291.

Levitt, J. 26 February 2019. 'Funeral parlours deny knowledge of body after "dead man resurrected."' *TimesLive*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/amp/news/south-africa/2019-02-26-funeral-parlours-deny-knowledge-of-body-after-dead-man-resurrected/> accessed 1 May 2019.

Longhofer, W. and Winchester, D. (Eds). 2016. *Social theory: rewired*. 2nd Edition. New York: Routledge. [eBook].

Louw, A. 2 September 2021. 'Local church now a vaccination drive-through.' *Carletonville Herald* <https://carletonvilleherald.com/49643/local-church-now-a-vaccination-drive-through/> accessed 21 March 2023.

Lund, C.A. 1988. 'A critical examination of evangelicalism in South Africa with special reference to evangelical witness document and concerned evangelicals.' Master of Arts. Unpublished Thesis, University of Cape Town. https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/15876/thesis_hum_1989_lund_christopher_alan.pdf?sequence=1 accessed 8 August 2022.

Lyndie McCauley Ministries. 2013 <https://www.givengain.com/c/lyndiemccauleyministries/about> accessed 16 November 2021.

Lyndie McCauley. 7 June 2019. *Facebook* post. <https://www.facebook.com/100064644135894/videos/so-good-to-be-back-in-rhema-the-church-that-i-helped-to-build-%EF%B8%8F-truly-a-miracle-/2205519226162164/> accessed 18 April 2020.

Mabalane, K. and Brodie, N. 2015. *I Ran for My Life: My Story*. Cape Town: Pan McMillan.

Mabalane, K. 22 January 2017. 'David's armour.' Rhema Bible Church Sermon. Personal notes.

Magubane, P. 10 October 2019. 'Churches engaged in criminal activities will not be supported: Sono.' *SABCNews*. <https://www.sabcnews.com/sabcnews/churches-engaged-in-criminal-activities-will-not-be-supported-sono/> accessed 18 April 2020.

Mahar, C. 1990. 'Pierre Bourdieu: the Intellectual project' in *An Introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu: The Practice of Theory*. Harker, R., Mahar, C. and Wilkes, C. (Eds). 26-57. London: Palgrave MacMillan. [Ebook].

Mail & Guardian. (M&G). 4 October 2006. 'Widespread rift over same-sex marriage.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2006-10-04-widespread-rift-over-samesex-marriage/> accessed 16 November 2021.

Mail & Guardian. 20 March 2009. (M&G). 'Rhema church rakes in millions.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-03-20-rhema-rakes-in-millions/> accessed 16 November 2021.

Mail & Guardian. (M&G). 14 June 1985. 'Rhema Ministries (sic) South Africa.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/1985-06-14-rhema-ministries-south-africa/> accessed 16 November 2021.

Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection (MISTRA). 2021. 'Towards Reconstruction and Recovery. Assessing COVID-19 interventions and their impact in South Africa, March to October 2020.' https://mistra.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/Covid-19-Interventions_2021-Final.pdf accessed 21 March 2023.

Maré, G. 1978. 'Class formation in the South African reserve areas: Inkatha – a study.' Conference of the history of opposition in Southern Africa. 27 – 30 January 1978. University of Witwatersrand.

Marshall, G. 1998. *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: University Press. 2nd edition.

Martí, G. 2014. 'Present and future scholarship in the sociology of religion.' *Sociology of Religion*, 75 (4), 503-510.

Marx, K. and Engels, F. 1888 [2015]. *The Communist Manifesto*. UK: Penguin Random House.

Masanya, M. 2018. 'Church breakaways as a prototype of commercialisation and commodification of religion in the Pentecostal Church Movement in South Africa: considering curricula offerings for pastors.' *STJ* 4 (2), 633-654.

Mathiane, N. 16 November 2005. 'Ay-men!' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2005-11-16-aymen/> accessed 20 February 2021.

Mathole, E.M.K. 2005. 'The Christian witness in the context of poverty: with special reference to the South African Charismatic Evangelicals.' Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Pretoria.

Mathole, E.M.K. 5 October 2018. 'Business seminar: Word Explosion.' Personal notes.

- Matlhare, A. 8 September 2021. 'Jabs: "Church changed my mind."' *The Citizen*.
- Maxwell, D. 1998. "'Delivered from the spirit of poverty?': Pentecostalism, Prosperity and Modernity in Zimbabwe'. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, (28) 3, 350-373.
- Maxwell, D. 2006. *African Gifts of the Spirit: Pentecostalism & the Rise of a Zimbabwean Transnational Religious Movement*. Ohio: Ohio University Press.
- Meagher, K. 2009. 'Trading on Faith: Religious Movements and Informal Economic Governance in Nigeria.' *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 47 (3), 397-423.
- Mbele, G. 8 June 2014. 'Former hippies pull masses with hi-tech worship.' *Sunday Times*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/lifestyle/2014-06-08-former-hippies-pull-masses-with-hi-tech-worship/> accessed 20 February 2021.
- McCauley, R. 2009. 'The two sisters: pride and shame.' Johannesburg: Rhema Ministries Ancillary Services (RMAS) Publishing. DVD.
- McCauley, R. undated. 'Four faces of Jesus.' DVD.
- McCauley, R. 8 October 2018. 'Pastor Ray McCauley, CRC Dreamweek grand opening.' *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xed9SwK6H_U accessed 16 November 2021.
- McCauley, R. 11 April 2017. 'Vision Sunday 2017 - Xtreme dreams.' *YouTube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MKLm1coxTYM> accessed 27 April 2023.
- McCauley, R. 25 September 2018. 'A code of faith for all.' <https://www.rhemafamilychurches.co.za/a-code-of-faith-for-all/> 16 November 2021.
- McCloud, S. 2007. 'Putting some class into religious studies: Resurrecting an important concept.' *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*. 75 (4), 840-862.
- MacDonald, K.M. 1995. *The Sociology of Professions*. London: Sage.
- McGee, P. 2012. 'The Wal-Martization of African American religion: T. D. Jakes and Woman Thou Art Loosed.' Unpublished PhD. Claremont Graduate University, https://scholarship.claremont.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1071&context=cgu_etd accessed 5 April 2019.
- McGuire, M.B. 1997. *Religion: The Social Context*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publications Co.

McKay, T., Fakudze, N. and Gunter, A. 2022. 'The middle remains missing: Class exclusion from the urban rental market in suburban Johannesburg.' *Acta Academica*, 54 (1), 113–133.

McKinnon, A. 2017. 'Religion and Social Class: Theory and Method after Bourdieu.' *Sociological Research Online*, 22 (1).

McKinnon, A., Brittain, C.C. and Trzebiatowska, M. 2011. 'Bourdieu, capital, and conflict in a religious field: The Case of the 'Homosexuality' Conflict in the Anglican Communion.' *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 26 (3), 355–370.

Meintjies, M. 27 November 2001. 'McCauley critics are racists, says Rhema man.' <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/mccauley-critics-are-racists-says-rhema-man-70495> accessed 05 March 2022.

Mellody, M. 2011. 'The role of congregational management in creating and maintaining healthy church.' Unpublished Master of Theology Thesis, University of South Africa.

Menzies, W.W. 2011. 'Non-Wesleyan Pentecostalism: a tradition Keswick and the higher life.' *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 14 (20), 213-225.

Meyer, B. 1998. 'Make a Complete Break with the past.' Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse.' *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 28 (3), 316-349.

Meyer, B. 2004. 'Christianity in Africa: From African Independent to Pentecostal-Charismatic churches.' *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33, 447-474.

Milazi, A. 24 May 2015. 'Mosa Sono: The bishop with the Midas touch.' *Sowetan Live*, <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/good-life/2015-05-28-mosa-sono-the-bishop-with-a-midas-touch/> accessed 22 January 2023.

Milios, J. 2000. 'Social classes in classical and Marxist political economy.' *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 59 (2), 283-302.

Mills, W. 1997. 'Millennial Christianity, British imperialism and African nationalism' in Elphick, R. and Davenport, T. R. H. (Eds). *Christianity in South Africa: A political, social and cultural history*. Cape Town: David Phillip. 337-346.

Miya, N. 27 December 2018. 'Church scandals that left SA shooketh in 2018.' *TimesLive*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-12-27-church-scandals-that-left-sa-shooketh-in-2018/> accessed 5 November 2022.

Monama, E. 2015. 'Emerging patterns of social and spatial (dis) integration in suburban South Africa: the case of Mokopane. Unpublished Master of Science thesis. University of Witwatersrand. <https://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/server/api/core/bitstreams/c2979d1-9615-4f62-8dac-c7e3de29e57b/content> accessed 19 November 2018.

Morehouse, J. 2020. 'The networked devotional-promotional engagement model: examining congregant engagement and religious public relations.' Unpublished PhD thesis. The University of Carolina at Chape Hill. <https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/concern/dissertations/xd07h0298> accessed 2 January 2023.

Morran, E. D. and Schlemmer, L. 1984. 'Faith for the fearful?: and investigation into new churches in the Durban area.' Durban: Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal. <https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/20.500.12413/5406> accessed 13 July 2018.

Moripe, S. 1996. 'The organization and management of the Zion Christian Church.' Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Durban-Westville.

Mosoetsa, S. 2011. *Eating from one pot: the dynamics of survival in poor South African households*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Motaung, T. 15 August 2019. 'Time For the South African family to stand together in love- Chief Justice Mogoeng.' <https://joynews.co.za/time-for-the-south-african-family-to-stand-together-in-love-chief-justice-mogoeng/> accessed 6 January 2023.

Motseke, K and Mazibuko S. 2013. 'Class and religion: Denominations in Soweto' in Alexander, P., Ceruti, C., Motseke, K., Phadi, M. and Wale, K (Eds). *Class in Soweto*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu Natal Press. 210-233.

Msimango, Z. 26 June 2011. 'My city: Joburg: Pastor Ray McCauley'. *TimesLive*, <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/lifestyle/2011-06-26-my-city-joburg-pastor-ray-mccauley/> accessed 16 December 2021.

Mudzuli, K. 23 January 2020. 'Band members told: "We survive through volunteerism. That's the DNA of Grace Bible Church."' <https://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/news/band-members-told-we-survive-through-volunteerism-thats-the-dna-of-grace-bible-church-41151172> accessed 21 March 2023.

Mudzuli, K. 25 March 2022. 'Religious leaders reject COVID-19 restrictions allowing 50% church capacity if fully vaccinated.' *IOL*. <https://www.iol.co.za/pretoria-news/news/religious-leaders-reject->

[covid-19-restrictions-allowing-50-church-capacity-if-fully-vaccinated-892c58cf-dcdd-499d-a56f-33d9b543d8ef](https://www.who.int/news-room/feature-stories/detail/covid-19-restrictions-allowing-50-church-capacity-if-fully-vaccinated-892c58cf-dcdd-499d-a56f-33d9b543d8ef) accessed 4 January 2023.

Müller, R. 2021. 'The other's humanity with or without the other's religiosity? Reflections on the affirmation of human dignity in early Afrikaner missionary discourse in Central Africa.' *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 42 (2), 1-7.

Mulugeta, S. 11 May 2010. 'Johannesburg's rock and roll church.' *Minnpost*. <https://www.minnpost.com/global-post/2010/05/johannesburgs-rock-and-roll-church/> accessed 11 November 2022.

Leading Second Podcast. 9 August 2022. 'Interview with Rivers' Nareen, Kogi. and Lewarne, Shaun. Cultivating unity in our churches with the Rivers church team.' Leading Second Podcast- Season 5: Ep 122, <https://www.bullhorn.fm/leadingsecondpodcast/posts/s5-ep-122-slash-slash-cultiva> accessed 21 March 2023.

National Prosecuting Authority. (NPA). 28 February 2018. 'Jail or fine for Doom pastor. Media statement.' <https://www.npa.gov.za/sites/default/files/media-releases/Jail%20Or%20Fine%20For%20Doom%20Pastor.pdf> accessed 5 March 2022.

Navarro, Z. 2006. 'In Search of a Cultural Interpretation of Power: The Contribution of Pierre Bourdieu.' *IDS Bulletin* 37 (6), 11-22.

Ndabeni, K. 28 August 2016. 'Pastor who conducted Zuma wedding rakes in cash.' *TimesLive*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/news/2016-08-28-pastor-who-conducted-zuma-wedding-rakes-in-cash/> accessed 15 April 2019.

Ndenze, B. 5 April 2022. 'SARS nets R900m in tax revenue from non-compliant churches, luxury car owners.' *EWN*. <https://ewn.co.za/2022/04/05/sars-nets-r900m-in-tax-revenue-from-non-compliant-churches-luxury-car-owners> accessed 5 March 2022.

Ndletyana, M. 2014. 'Middle Class in South Africa: Significance, Role and Impact. Paper prepared for the BRICS Academic Forum, Rio – Brazil.' <http://www.mistra.org.za/Library/ConferencePaper/Documents/Middle%20Class%20in%20South%20Africa-Significance,%20role%20and%20impact.pdf> accessed 13 June 2018.

Nel, M. 2015. 'Remembering and commemorating the theological legacy of John G. Lake in South Africa after a hundred years.' *Studia Hist. Ecc*, 41 (3).

Nel, M. 2016. 'John G. Lake as a fraud, con man and false prophet: Critical assessment of a historical evaluation of Lake's ministry.' *Studia Historiae Ecclesiae*, 42 (1), 1–24.

Netshitenzhe, J. 2018. 'Ethical Leadership in Social Transformation: Debating the Notion of State Capture.' OR Tambo School of Leadership <https://www.ortamboschool.org.za/2019/03/01/ethical-leadership-in-social-transformation-debating-the-notion-of-state-capture-by-joel-netshitenzhe/> accessed 11 April 2023.

News24. 20 March 2009. 'Rhema church rakes in millions.' <https://www.news24.com/fin24/rhema-church-rakes-in-millions-20090320> accessed 15 April 2019.

Ngoma, A. 2014. 'Loosening ties? Black professionals and the ANC in the 2014 election' in Schulz-Herzenberg, C. and Southall, R. *Election 2014 South Africa: the campaigns, results and future prospects*. Johannesburg: Jacana.

Ngoma, A. 2015. 'Political identity repertoires of South Africa's professional black middle class.' Unpublished Masters thesis. University of Witwatersrand.

Ngoma, A. 2021. "'I'm blessed and highly favoured.'" Neo-Pentecostalisng middleclassness' in De Lannoy, A., Langa, M. and Brooks, H. *Youth in South Africa: Agency, (in)visibility and national development*. Johannesburg: MISTRA.

Nicolaides, G. 28 February 2019. 'Ramaphosa: Resurrection controversy brings name of God, churches into disrepute'. *EWN* <https://ewn.co.za/2019/02/28/ramaphosa-resurrection-controversy-brings-name-of-god-churches-into-disrepute> accessed 5 November 2022.

Noack, R. and Gamio, L. 24 July 2015. 'How U.S.-style megachurches are taking over the world, in 5 maps and charts.' *Washington Post* <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/07/24/how-u-s-style-megachurches-are-taking-over-the-world-in-5-maps-and-charts/> accessed 12 November 2022.

Noah, T. 2019. *It's Trevor Noah: Born a Crime*. New York: Delacorte Press.

Nolutshungu S. 1982. *Changing South Africa: Political Considerations*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Nyquist, E.T. 1983. 'African Middle-Class Elite.' Rhodes University Institute of Social and Economic Research Occasional Papers, 28.

Nqola, R. 2 February 2019. 'Pastor shepherd Bushiri arrested for "fraud & money laundering."' <https://ewn.co.za/2019/02/01/pastor-shepherd-bushiri-arrested-for-fraud-and-money-laundering> accessed 2 April 2019.

Nyuke, S. 2017. 'Pentecostal Urbanism? The Voices of Religious Objects in Harare, Zimbabwe.' Proceedings of the African Futures Conference.

Nzimande, B. 1991. 'The Corporate Guerrillas: Class formation and the African corporate bourgeoisie in post-1973 South Africa.' Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Natal.

Olivier, A. 6 September 2020. 'Wisdom with money: Ps André Olivier.' *YouTube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hg2szG4M9D0&t=2323s> accessed 1 April 2022.

Oosthuizen, G.C. 1997. 'Indigenous Christianity and the Future of the Church in South Africa.' *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 21 (1), 8-12.

Oosthuizen, M. 2013. 'Rhema Movement: the evolving role of the Rhema Movement in the South African public square.' *NGTT Deel* 54 (23), 83-100.

Phadi, M. and Ceruti, C. 2011. 'Multiple meanings of the middle class in Soweto, South Africa.' *African Sociological Review* 15 (1), 88-108.

Palmer, D. A. and Wong, M. 2013. 'Clarifying the concept of spiritual capital.' Prepared for the Conference on the Social Scientific Study of Religion.

Parsons, T. 1973. 'Durkheim on religion revisited: Another look at the elementary forms of religious life' in Glock, C. Y. and Hammond, P. E. (Eds). *Beyond the Classics: Essays in the Scientific Study of Religion*. New York: Publisher.

Pather, R. 23 January 2017. Mail & Guardian. 'Grace Bible Church: We don't discriminate against anyone.' <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-01-23-grace-bible-church-we-dont-discriminate-against-anyone/> accessed 12 November 2018.

Patsika, O. 2019. 'Apostle Ezekiel Guti honoured at Grace Bible Church led by Bishop Mosa Sono in Soweto.' *YouTube* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vga-KFk8lC4> accessed 22 February 2022.

PitchBook Website. 'd&b audiotechnik Overview.' <https://pitchbook.com/profiles/company/11097-28#overview> accessed 27 April 2023.

PowerFM. 31 March 2022. 'Leadership dialogue.' <https://omny.fm/shows/powertalk-archive/leadership-dialogue-bishop-mosa-sono> accessed 27 December 2023.

Pretorius H. and Jafta, L. 1997. "'A Branch Springs Out': African Initiated Churches' in Elphick, R. and Davenport, R. (Eds). *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History*. Cape Town: David Philip. 211–226.

Primedia Broadcasting. 29 June 2016. 'EFF pulls back on Rivers church visit.' *CapeTalk*. <https://soundcloud.com/primediabroadcasting/eff-pulls-back-on-rivers-church-visit-1> access 18 June 2018.

Putnam, R. 2000. *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Radio 702. 08 May 2020. 'Profile Interview with Pastor Ray McCauley.' Audrey Masango Show. <https://www.702.co.za/podcasts/474/the-aubrey-masango-show/398042/profile-interview-with-pastor-ray-mccauley> accessed 27 December 2023.

Raja, S., Imaizumi, S., Kelly, T., Narimatsu, J. and Paradi-Guilford, C. 2013. 'How information and communication technologies could help expand employment opportunities.' Washington D.C.: World Bank Group. <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/290301468340843514/Connecting-to-work-how-information-and-communication-technologies-could-help-expand-employment-opportunities> accessed 19 November 2022.

Ramaphosa, C. 2 October 2019. 'Remarks by President Cyril Ramaphosa at the 40th anniversary celebration conference of the Rhema Bible Church, Randburg.' <https://www.thepresidency.gov.za/speeches/remarks-president-cyril-ramaphosa-40th-anniversary-celebration-conference-rhema-bible> accessed 21 March 2023.

Ramaphosa, C. 28 February 2019. 'Resurrection controversy brings name of God, churches into disrepute.' EWN. <https://ewn.co.za/2019/02/28/ramaphosa-resurrection-controversy-bring-name-of-god-churches-into-disrepute> accessed 20 March 2022.

Reilly, J. 10 January 2014. 'Lawn again Christians: South African preacher makes congregation eat grass to "be closer to God."' <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2537053/Lawn-Christians-South-African-preacher-makes-congregation-eat-GRASS-closer-God.html> accessed: 1 April 2019.

Resane, K.T. 2021. 'Missional and indigenization nexus - Assemblies of God and Grace Bible Church in South Africa.' *Missionalia*, 49 (1), 60-74.

Rey, T. 2014. *Bourdieu on Religion: Imposing Faith and Legitimacy*. London: Routledge.

Rhema Bible Church. 11 March 2017. Various events at the Breakthrough conference. Personal notes.

Rhema Bible Church. 17 December 2015. *Facebook* Status. <https://www.facebook.com/rhemabiblechurch.north/posts/we-will-be-having-water-baptism-this-sunday-after-both-morning-services-if-you-w/1008334209208297/> accessed 5 March 2019.

Rhema Bible Church website. 'What we believe.' <https://www.rhema.co.za/pages/what-we-believe> accessed 21 February 2022.

Rhema Bible Church. 16 November 2022. 'Urgent Notice!' *Facebook*. https://www.facebook.com/rhemabiblechurch.north/photos/a.652496408125414/8286213831420262/?paipv=0&eav=AfaZvDYX1WpdQhlqyjqMgtx2ZMb-v5vegyIza1HBqrx046Ms0ImK1OY_qS9kg4PJjOM&_rdr accessed 9 April 2023.

Rhema Bible Church. 2014. 'Annual Report 2013-2014.' <https://docplayer.net/10843199-Financial-report-2013-2014.html> accessed 20 March 2020.

Rhema Bible Church. 2016. 'Breakthrough brochure.' <https://www.rhema.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Breakthrough-brochure-web.pdf> accessed 20 March 2020.

Rhema Bible Church. 2022. 'What we believe.' <https://www.rhema.co.za/pages/what-we-believe/> accessed 6 November 2022.

Rhema Bible Church. July 2015 'Rhema News.' <https://www.rhema.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Rhema-News-july.pdf> accessed 6 November 2018.

Rhema Bible Church website. 'Legacy fund.' <https://www.rhema.co.za/legacy-fund> accessed 1 May 2023.

Rivers Church Durban North. 08 December 2015. 'Hey Church.' *Facebook*. <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=837485146364285> accessed 6 November 2018.

Rivers Church Kyalami. 01 November 2020. 'Message from Pastor André.' *Facebook* <https://www.facebook.com/RiversChurchKyalami/videos/god-is-able-to-resurrect-our-dreams-join-us-for-the-last-service-of-the-day-for-/684144965835625/> accessed 22 February 2021.

Rivers Church. 'About Rivers Network.' <https://rivers.church/about/rivers-network/> accessed 27 April 2023.

Rivers Church. 2014. 'Rivers Church Hillsong Announcement.' *Facebook*. <https://vimeo.com/91716746> accessed 1 May 2019.

Rivers Church. 2020. 'Visitors' Brochure.' <https://cdn.rivers.church/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2020/03/20164406/Visitors-Brochure-AUG-2020-BALL.pdf> accessed 22 February 2021.

Rivers Church. 2020. 'Taking communion.' *Facebook*. <https://www.facebook.com/RiversChurchKyalami/videos/god-is-able-to-resurrect-our-dreams-join-us-for-the-last-service-of-the-day-for-/684144965835625/> accessed 22 February 2023.

Rivers Church. 6 November 2022. 'Rivers Church 30-Year Celebration Video.' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v2EsGOc0kIM> accessed 27 April 2023.

Rivers Church. 20 September 2022. 'Seizing our God-given opportunities.' <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DFBZ28FPfvY&t=1815s> accessed 27 April 2023.

Rivers Church. 2014. 'Rivers Church Hillsong Announcement.' *Facebook*. <https://vimeo.com/91716746> accessed 23 December 2021.

Rivers Church. 'Connect.' <https://rivers.church/sandton/#connect> accessed 23 December 2021.

Rivers Church. 'Life by Design.' <https://rivers.church/lbd/#about> accessed 23 December 2021.

Roberts, B. 2010. 'Fear factor: Perceptions of safety in South Africa' in Roberts, B., Wa Kivilu, M., Davids, Y.D. *South African Social Attitudes: 2nd Report: Reflections on the Age of Hope*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Robins, R. G. 2018. 'Introduction to "current trajectories in global Pentecostalism: Culture, social engagement and change.'" *Religions*, 9, 368.

Rossouw, M. 11 September 2009. 'Zuma's new God squad wants liberal laws to go.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-09-11-zumas-new-god-squad-wants-liberal-laws-to-go/> accessed 23 December 2021.

Rossouw, J. 11 January 2016. 'Why reaching and staying middle class is a lifetime challenge.' *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/why-reaching-and-staying-middle-class-is-a-lifetime-challenge-52322> accessed 27 April 2020.

Ruhr, M. and Daniels, J. 2008. 'A model of religious investment to explain the success of "megachurches."' Marquette University, Department of Economics, Working Papers and Research. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/5179032_A_Model_of_Religious_Investment_to_Explains_the_Success_of_Megachurches accessed 20 December 2022.

Rule, S. and Langa, Z. 2010. 'South Africa's views about national priorities and the trustworthiness of institutions' in Roberts, B., Wa Kivilu, M., Davids, Y.D. *South African Social Attitudes: 2nd Report: Reflections on the Age of Hope*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. 19-30.

Rule, S. and Mncwango, B. 2010. 'Christianity in South Africa: Theory and Practice' in Roberts, B., Wa Kivilu, M., Davids, Y.D. *South African Social Attitudes: 2nd Report: Reflections on the Age of Hope*. Cape Town: HSRC Press. 185-197.

Rule, S. 2007. 'Religiosity and quality of life in South Africa.' *Social Indicators Research*, 81, 417-434.

SABCNews. 7 April 2023. 'Deputy President Paul Mashatile joins Grace Bible Church Easter service'. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0PD78aiiE48> accessed 7 April 2023.

Scharnick-Udemans, L. 2017. 'Gender Perspectives and African Scholarship: Blind spots in the field of religion, media, and culture.' *Journal of Gender and Religion in Africa*, 23 (2), 145-166.

Schlemmer, L. 2005. 'Lost in transformation? South African's emerging African middle class.' *Focus* 8. Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE).

Schlemmer, L. 2008. 'Dormant capital: Pentecostalism in South African and its potential social and economic role.' Centre for Development and Enterprise. (CDE) <https://www.bu.edu/cura/files/2014/03/Dormant-Capital-Pentecostalism-in-SA.pdf> accessed 16 December 2022.

Schmidt, M. 20 November 2004. 'God's bouncer steps into fray.' <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gods-bouncer-steps-into-fray-227448> accessed 13 February 2023.

Schoeman, W.J. 2017. 'South African religious demography: the 2013 General Household Survey.' *HTS Theological Studies*, 73 (2), 1-7. a3837.

Schulz-Herzenberg, C. 2020. 'The South African non-voter: An analysis.' The Midpoint Paper Series 2, 1-35. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. <https://www.kas.de/documents/261596/10543300/The+South+African+non-voter+->

[+An+analysis.pdf/acc19fbd-bd6d-9190-f026-8d311078b670?version=1.0&t=1608](#) accessed 2 January 2023.

Selzer, A.K. and Heller, P. 2010. 'The spatial dynamics of middle-class formation in post-apartheid South Africa: Enclavisation and fragmentation in Johannesburg.' *Political power and Social Theory*, 21, 147-184.

Smith, A. 2006. "'Beyond a boundary" (of a 'Field of Cultural Production'): reading C.L.R James with Bourdieu.' *Theory & Culture*, 23 (4), 95-112.

Somduth, C. 16 August 2017. 'E-TV evokes wrath of Hindus.' <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/post-south-africa/20170816/281659665148972> accessed 2 January 2023.

Sonjica, N. 18 December 2020. 'Let's bow our heads and Zoom: Virtual communion takes over as churches battle with Covid restrictions.' *TimesLive*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-12-18-lets-bow-our-heads-and-zoom-virtual-communion-takes-over-as-churches-battle-with-covid-restrictions/> accessed 20 January 2023.

Sonke Gender Justice. 26 February 2013. 'Update on Sonke's Complaint against Pastor "Mboro" in 2011.' *Sonke News*. <https://genderjustice.org.za/news-item/update-on-sonke-s-complaint-against-pastor-mboro-in-2011/> accessed 3 January 2023.

Sono, M. 10 October 2019. 'Newzroom interview.' *Twitter*. <https://twitter.com/BishopMosaSono/status/1182254509000724481> accessed 1 May 2020.

Sono, M. 24 November 2019. 'Sermon: Making your vision come true. Part 3. *TBN Africa*.

Sono, M. 28 June 2022. 'The integrity of God's word.' *YouTube*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8N8DoPiZ5lo> accessed 21 March 2023.

Somniso-Abraham, V. 27 October 2015. 'Top pastors in unholy war.' *The Citizen* <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/838573/top-pastors-in-unholy-war/> accessed 1 April 2019.

Sono, M. 14 September 2022. 'World explosion: Day 1.' <https://gracebiblechurch.org.za/we22/> accessed 2 January 2023.

South African Broadcasting Corporation 2. (SABC2). 12 May 2016. 'Visionaries' Lounge: Episode 26 Bishop Mosa Sono.' *SABC2*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d9-TwouE8hk> accessed 11 November 2022.

South African Council of Churches (SACC). 2022. 'Governance.' <https://sacc.org.za/governance/> accessed 19 November 2022.

South African History Online (SAHO). 'Funeral service: Alfred B. Nzo.' <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/funeral-service-alfred-b-nzo> accessed 9 April 2023.

South African History Online (SAHO). 'States of emergency in South Africa: The 1960s and 1980s.' <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/states-emergency-south-africa-1960s-and-1980s> accessed 12 November 2018.

South African Human Rights Commission. (SAHRC). 24 January 2017. 'LGBTI organisations are not surprised by the Grace Bible Church hate speech incident, saying that other churches around the country are guilty of the same thing.' <https://www.sahrc.org.za/index.php/sahrc-media/news/item/521-lgbti-organisations-are-not-surprised-by-the-grace-bible-church-hate-speech-incident-saying-that-other-churches-around-the-country-are-guilty-of-the-same-thing> accessed 12 November 2018.

South African Revenue Service. SARS. 26 January 2018. 'SARS' compliance intervention in religious sector.' <https://www.sars.gov.za/media-release/26-january-2018-sars-compliance-intervention-in-religious-sector/> accessed 11 November 2022.

The Sunday Independent. 10 July 2016. "'Blacks are lazy' pastor fends off critics.' *The Sunday Independent*. <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gauteng/blacks-are-lazy-pastor-fends-off-critics-2043659> accessed 3 January 2023.

Stage Audio Works. (SAW). 18 February 2017. 'South Africa's Rivers Church Connects With d&b audiotechnik ArrayProcessing' <https://stageaudioworks.com/south-africas-rivers-church-connects-db-audiotechnik-arrayprocessing/> accessed 17 December 2022.

Stage Audio Works. (SAW). 'Grace Bible Church.' <https://stageaudioworks.com/portfolio/grace-bible-church/> accessed 17 December 2022.

Statistics South Africa (Stats SA). 2001. 'Statement by the South African Statistics Council on Census 2001'. http://www.statssa.gov.za/census/census_2001/stats_council/Stats_Council_Statement.pdf accessed 03 August 2023.

Statistics South Africa (Stats SA). 2016. 'Community Survey 2016.' [https://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=7957#:~:text=This%20is%20according%20to%20the,\(1%2C4%20million\)](https://www.statssa.gov.za/?p=7957#:~:text=This%20is%20according%20to%20the,(1%2C4%20million)) accessed 22 January 2023.

Statistics South Africa (Stats SA). 2021. 'Mid-Year Population Estimates, 2021. Report P0302.' <https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022021.pdf> accessed 2 February 2023.

Steele, R. 1986. *Destined to win: A biography of Ray McCauley*. Cape Town: Conquest Publishing.

Sundkler, B. 1961. *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. London: SCM.

Swartz, D. 1996. 'Bridging the study of culture and religion: Pierre Bourdieu's political economy of symbolic power.' *Sociology of Religion*, 57 (1), 71-85.

Tandwa, L. 15 April 2022. 'Danger of exposing the dark side of prophets and pastors.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/news/2022-04-15-danger-of-exposing-the-dark-side-of-prophets-and-pastors/> accessed 6 January 2023.

TBN Africa. 18 September 2019. 'Cynthia Garret with Ps Ray McCauley.' <https://www.tbnafrica.org/vod/watch/tbn-in-africa-specials/cynthia-garrett-with-ps-ray-mccauley> accessed 20 March 2022.

The Aubrey Masango Show. 8 May 2020. 'Profile interview with Pastor Ray McCauley.' *CapeTalk*, <https://www.capetalk.co.za/podcasts/318/the-aubrey-masango-show/317157/profile-interview-with-pastor-ray-mccauley> accessed 21 March 2022.

The Herald. 17 November 2017. 'Trollip beats motion.' <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/the-herald-south-africa/20171201/281479276736939> accessed 20 December 2018.

The High Court of South Africa, Limpopo. 20 March 2017. 'Member of the Executive Council Responsible for the Department of Health, Limpopo v Rabalago and Another (5727/2016) [2017] ZALMPPHC 51 (20 March 2017).' <http://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZALMPPHC/2017/51.html> accessed 30 March 2023.

The High Court of South Africa, Gauteng. 7 December 2015. 'Oyakhilome and Another v Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities (2015/42575) [2015] ZAGPJHC 299 (7 December 2015).' <https://www.saflii.org/za/cases/ZAGPJHC/2015/299.html> 30 March 2019.

Then & Now. 2 April 2019. 'Introduction to Bourdieu: Habitus.' *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WvzahvBpd_A accessed 27 April 2022.

The Republic of South Africa. 2008. 'Dutch Reformed Churches Union Act Repeal Act, No 46 of 2008.' https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/gcis_document/201409/316711313.pdf accessed 5 March 2019.

The Republic of South Africa. 2008a. 'The Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (Private) Act Repeal Act No 47 of 2008.' <https://static.pmg.org.za/bills/081203a47-08.pdf> accessed 5 March 2019.

Theron, J. 2011. 'Money matters in Pentecostal circles.' *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 37 (2), 153-171.

THiNK International. 2 December 2015. 'Church Building Design — Rivers Church Sandton Building Tour.' *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CmRMPEEajCA&t=3s> accessed 4 April 2018.

Thompson, A. 4 September 2019. 'How to open your own high-revenue church in South Africa – and stay on the right side of the law.' *News24* <https://www.news24.com/news24/bi-archive/how-to-open-your-own-church-in-south-africa-2019-9> accessed 16 December 2020.

Thrift books website. 'Books by Ray McCauley.' <https://www.thriftbooks.com/a/ray-mccauley/760906/> accessed 21 March 2023.

Tolsi, N. 13 November 2009. 'For church and country.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2009-11-13-for-church-and-country/> accessed 18 July 2018.

TMG Entertainment. 30 June 2016. 'The people's bae goes head-to-head with Tumisho Masha over "racist" Rivers church pastor.' Pastor Mboro wants to bring the rains to Africa.' *TimesLive* <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2016-11-04-pastor-mboro-wants-to-brings-the-rains-to-africa/> accessed 20 October 2019.

TMG Digital. 4 November 2016. 'Pastor Mboro wants to bring the rains to Africa.' *TimesLive* <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2016-11-04-pastor-mboro-wants-to-brings-the-rains-to-africa/> accessed 20 October 2019.

TimesLive 26 February 2019. 'There are prophets and then there are profits - just ask Pastor Alph Lukau.' <https://www.timeslive.co.za/amp/news/south-africa/2019-02-26-there-are-prophets-and-then-there-are-profits-just-ask-alph/> accessed 1 May 2019.

Turner, B.S. 1991. *Religion and Social Theory*. New Delhi: Sage Publications. 2nd Edition.

Turner, B.S. 1999. *Classical Sociology*. London: Sage Publications.

Ukah, A. 2016. 'Building God's city: The political economy of prayer camps in Nigeria.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 40 (3), 524-540.

Umuntu. February 2017. '#Churchesdonthate.'

Van Rooyen, K. 5 September 2010. "'Miracle" as pastor returns from deep freeze.' *Sunday Times* <https://www.timeslive.co.za/sunday-times/lifestyle/2010-09-05-miracle-as-pastor-returns-from-deep-freeze/> accessed 4 April 2019.

Van Rooyen, K. 24 October 2009. 'Bail Rhema's Ray out of debt' son's plea to guests at high-living McCauley's 60th birthday party.' <https://www.discerningtheworld.com/2009/10/28/help-bail-ray-mccauley-out-of-debt/> accessed 4 April 2019.

Vermaak, M. 23 October 2012. 'Zuma proposes five-step land reform plan.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2012-10-23-zuma-proposes-five-step-land-reform-plan/> accessed 4 January 2023.

Vermaak, M. 23 October 2012. 'Zuma proposes five-step land reform plan.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2012-10-23-zuma-proposes-five-step-land-reform-plan/> accessed 4 January 2023.

Verter, B. 2003. 'Spiritual Capital: Theorizing religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu spiritual capital: Theorizing religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu.' *Sociological Theory*, 21 (2), 150-174.

Von Holdt, K. 2019. 'The political economy of Corruption: Elite Formation, Factions and Violence.' Working Paper 10, Society, Work & Politics Institute (SWOP): Wits University.

Wacquant, L. 2005. *Pierre Bourdieu and Democratic Politics: The mystery of ministry*. Cambridge: Polity.

Wacquant, L. 2013. 'Symbolic power and group-making: on Pierre Bourdieu's reframing of class.' *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 0 (0), 1-18.

Wagner, L. and Patrick, A. 25 September 2020. 'Churches excited to open doors for congregants to worship under level 1.' *TimesLive*. <https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2020-09-25-churches-excited-to-open-doors-for-congregants-to-worship-under-level-1/> accessed 21 March 2022.

Wale, K. 2013. 'Perceptions of class mobility' in Alexander, P., Ceruti, C., Motseke, K., Phadi, M. and Wale, K (Eds). *Class in Soweto*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.

Walther, M. 2014. *Repatriation to France and Germany*. mir-Edition. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Weber, M. 1930. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Weber, M. 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Edited and translated by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.

Werbner, P. 2018. 'Rethinking class and culture in Africa: between E. P. Thompson and Pierre Bourdieu.' *Review of African Political Economy* 45 (155), 7-24.

Whittles, G. 13 April 2017. 'Christ and capitalism reconciled.' *Mail & Guardian*. <https://mg.co.za/article/2017-04-13-00-christ-and-capitalism-reconciled/> accessed 21 March 2023.

Wright, J. undated. The Rising middle class. http://www.pmbhistory.co.za/portal/witnesshistory/custom_modules/TheWayWeWere/The%20rising%20middle%20class.pdf accessed 16 December 2022.

Wuthnow, R. 2005. 'New Directions in the Study of Religious and Economic Life' in Smelser, N.J. and Swedberg, R. (Eds). *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*. Princeton: Princeton University. 2nd Edition. 603-626.

Young, P. C. 1962. 'The sociology of Emile Durkheim.' Paper 291. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/232753843.pdf> accessed 20 May 2022.

Zelda Ireland. 24 August 2016. 'Remarks at Rhema Women's Conference: High Tea.' https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WDW_FVfWX7U accessed 1 May 2019.

Zwane, N. 5 October 2022. 'Grammy-nominated gospel star Chandler Moore is coming to perform in South Africa.' *You*. <https://www.news24.com/you/celebs/international/grammy-nominated-gospel-star-chandler-moore-is-coming-to-perform-in-south-africa-20221005> accessed 27 April 2023.