The social functions of religion in a Charismatic church in Pretoria: a case study

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Declaration of Authenticity

I Taurayi Tungamirayi Tawengwa declare that this mini-dissertation is my original work. Where secondary material has been used (either from a printed source or from the internet) this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the requirements of the department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria.

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Abstract

The objective of this case study is to explore the social functions performed by a Charismatic church in central Pretoria for its congregants and for its surrounding community. The growth of the Charismatic movement and the 'wealth ministry' in recent years and the subsequent notoriety of the 'prosperity gospel,' (especially popular within the Charismatic church movement) which encourages people to give tithes and offerings as a pre-requisite for material blessings are the fundamental motivators of the study. The study seeks to understand how the church, through its creed and sermons affects and shapes the social behaviour of its members, and its impact on socially relevant issues facing the surrounding community. The respondents are members of the church's congregation of varying ages, nationalities and class. They were identified by making use of the snowball selection method. The key finding is that although the 'wealth ministry' and 'prosperity gospel' are generally associated with Charismatic churches, material gain is not the main emphasis of every Charismatic church's ministry, and in fact, this Charismatic church offers its members and the community more non-material and intangible spiritual benefits.

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1: Introduction

The contemporary Charismatic/Pentecostal movement originated around 1906 during what has become known as the California Azusa street revival, which was led by an African American preacher named William Seymour. During this revival, the participants were 'baptised by the Holy Spirit' and consequently, began to exhibit various forms of charismata (Christian spiritual gifts) such as speaking in tongues and miraculous healing. The revival was attended by a multiracial congregation, even though segregation was commonplace in America at the time, and this drew criticism from the clergy of more conventional Christian denominations. This, alongside the unorthodox forms of worship and styles of preaching that were displayed by the Pentecostals, was the catalyst for the Charismatic/Pentecostal movement's break from conventional theology (Wainwright and Westerfield 2006: 575).

Over a hundred years since the Azusa street revival, the more traditional protestant denominations such as the Anglicans, Baptists and Methodists are losing members to the more unorthodox Charismatic movement. In Pretoria, ostensibly, Charismatic churches have been blossoming since 1994, and today, elaborate large Pentecostal church buildings can be seen in townships, the city centre, and in middle-class suburbia alike. The apparent growth of the Charismatic movement inspired this research project to investigate the social functions performed by a Charismatic church in Pretoria city centre.

1.1 Problem Statement

Since democratisation, South Africa has experienced the influx of foreign (especially African) immigrants and xenophobic behaviour. The growing population and intensifying competition for economic opportunities within the country, coupled with the crises ridden global

economy has created a context of social tension shared by South Africans and non-South Africans alike. As a result arguably many seek spiritual rampart as "religious worship both releases tensions and reinforces weakened social bonds; its effects are both individual and psychological, and also social and communal." (Bedman 1974: 67). This, alongside the undisputable growth of the Charismatic movement in South Africa in recent years at the expense of more traditional denominations inspires this study to explore and describe the social functions performed by a Charismatic church in Pretoria central for its congregants and for the wider community in relation to the prevailing social crises confronting South Africa.

1.2 Research Questions.

The primary research question is:
·What social functions does the Charismatic church in Pretoria central (field-site) perform for its congregants?
From this question emerge the following two sub-research questions:
·Does the church provide a form of spiritual comfort that its congregants perceive that more conventional churches do not provide?
·Do South Africans and non-South Africans attend this church for similar reasons?

1.3 Chapter Breakdown

Chapter 2 entitled *Literature Review* discusses existing relevant academic literature on Charismatic churches, charismata and the social functions of religion. The chapter also considers the history of the Charismatic/Pentecostal church in South Africa, the involvement of the Charismatic/Pentecostal movement in community activism and the Charismatic/Pentecostal style of worship.

Chapter 3 entitled *Conceptual Framework* is a consideration of existing theoretical knowledge relevant to the case study. The chapter specifically focuses on Max Weber's work on religion, particularly the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (2002) which facilitates the research by illuminating how social factors (in this case religion) can influence the economic activity of communities and even countries. The chapter also considers structural functionalism and is concluded by a section discussing alienation and anomie.

Chapter 4 entitled *Research Method* addresses the methodology applied in the study by focussing on the qualitative approach as the method of investigation. The chapter reports the specific data collection tools used in this study which are: one-on-one in depth face to face semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The chapter also provides a description of the research process. Ultimately sixteen interviews were conducted using the snowball sampling method.

Chapter 5: *Discussion of Themes, Analysis and Interpretation,* attempts to provide an interpretation of the data collected. The chapter lists the main themes emanating from the data and attempts to reconcile some of the perceptions provided by the respondents with existing literature relating to the case study.

Chapter 6: *Conclusion* attempts to answer the research questions and makes recommendations to the church and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1: What is a Charismatic church?

A Charismatic or Pentecostal church is a Christian church, which openly displays spiritual gifts or 'charismata' which include speaking in tongues, healing by touch and prophesying. These churches were originally known as Pentecostals, and some are still referred to as Pentecostals today. Hyatt (1996) writes that: "Any group, church, or movement that espouses this dynamic dimension of the Holy Spirit and His gifts may be called Charismatic" (Hyatt, 1996:2).

In her work *Gender, Social change and Spiritual Power. Charismatic Christianity in Ghana* Jane Soothill (2007) uses the terms "Charismatic," "new" and "born again" interchangeably to describe Ghana's Pentecostal churches. She clarifies that although the terms "Charismatic" and "Pentecostal" are used loosely for these churches, "both terms have specific meanings: the former conceptualisation has tended to be applied to the 'Charismatic movement' within mainline Catholic and Protestant churches which stem from the religious revival of early twentieth-century America. Both mainline Charismatic and classical Pentecostal Christians are characterised by a concern with the experience of the Holy Spirit and the practice of spiritual gifts" (Soothill, 2007:35). She also argues that "where Pentecostalism in its classical form was characterised by a retreat from the world and an anti-material or "holiness" stance, the new Charismatic churches are most definitely of "this world" and express frequent concern for the health, wealth and general success of adherents in this life-time.

Following Soothill (2007), Pentecostal-type Christianity that began to emerge in the last quarter of the twentieth century marked a

considerable shift away from ascetic individualism of earlier anti-materialist forms towards … individualism of the new Charismatic type (Soothill, 2007: 37). Owing to this modern similarity, the terms "Charismatic," and "Pentecostal" are arguably now used synonymously when referring to these forms of worship.

2.2: The Charismatic church as a religious organization

Max Assimeng writes "sociologists seek the extra-religious, latent functions of religious activity," (1989; 9). The aim of the case study is to explore both the manifest social and extra-religious latent functions a Charismatic church in Pretoria central performs for its congregants and its wider community.

Johnstone (1989) suggests that a religious institution is characterised by five elements. Firstly, it must consist of a group of at least six people with institutionalised patterns of interaction, common goals and shared norms. A division of labour must also be present in the group in the sense that each member has a specific role. The group should portray a form of hierarchy, and the individual members must feel and express a sense of identification with the group. Secondly, Johnstone argues that a religious institution is concerned with the sacred and the supernatural. Thirdly, a religious institution involves a body of beliefs and sacred books, e.g.: The Bible, The Koran, The Book of Mormon, and the Bhagavad-Gita. Fourthly it involves a set of practices, rituals, worship dances and prayers. Lastly, Johnstone argues that moral prescriptions in the form of strict differentiation between good ethical thoughts or practices from bad characterise religious organisation. Johnstone defines religion as:
"A system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people interpret and respond to what they feel is sacred and, usually supernatural as well," (Johnstone, 1989:13).

The church selected for the study is a Christian Charismatic church and in light of Johnstone's work it can be classified as a religious institution as all five of the aforementioned elements are identifiable in its operations:

· its body of beliefs is contained in the bible (Christianity's sacred book);

· it has a division of labour in the sense that some people within the church are pastors some are intercessors, some are prophets, some are evangelists, and others within the group are laymen and women;

· the doctrine of the church differentiates good thoughts and practices from bad;

· the doctrine of the church involves a set of practices, rituals, worship dances and prayers known as 'praise and worship;'

· the church at hand is also concerned with the sacred and the spiritual, and this is exemplified by the frequent occurrence of "speaking in tongues" among church members and the open practice of spiritual gifts[1].

2.3: The social functions of religion

Max Assimeng (1989: 9) also lists what he refers to as the universal social functions of religion in the following order:

1) the maintenance and support of the societal social order;

2) the shaping of the social actions of men and women in their encounter with their social environment;

3) the provision of social and physical spaces which bring men and women together to participate in common activities understood by and meaningful to them;

4) the institutionalization of a network of social relationships;

5) the ultimate source of cohesion and integration in society.

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[1] I personally witnessed this while attending the church as a participant observer between February 2011 and July 2011.

2.4: The emergence and spread of the Charismatic church

As has been suggested Charismatic churches emerged in the American heartland around 1906(Wainwright and Westerfield, 2006) Initially, these churches comprised of people from different races and congregations including Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Mennonites. The churches are understood to have been characterized by extreme emotionalism, which included screams from the congregation, much unlike the more conventional congregations. The Charismatic church has always emphasized the Christian-Pentecostal 'baptism of fire,' which enables congregations to exercise spiritual gifts such as 'speaking in tongues.'

The early Pentecostal church was widely referred to as non-racial and encouraging of egalitarian worship, arguably an essential reason for its popularity and rapid proliferation. Owing to disputes regarding aspects of Christian doctrine and its interpretation, the Pentecostal church began to fragment into different denominations over time. Grant Wacker writes that: "...by the end of the twentieth century more than 200... Pentecostal sects had established themselves on the American landscape, [and in other parts of the world]." (Wacker, 2001:7).

In contemporary modern society, Charismatic churches are generally based in urban city centers, where they occupy large halls or warehouses, as they "tend to scorn the ornate buildings of conventional churches, seeing them as reminiscent of 'dead tradition' rather than living faith," (Coleman, 2000:18). In Pretoria city center, one can also observe numerous old buildings and warehouses that have been transformed into churches for Charismatic churches. In Africa, some authors have suggested that Pentecostalism has been spreading faster than Islam, and Harvey Cox writes:

"There are now over 5000 independent Christian denominations, all born in the twentieth century, and all bearing familiar marks of Pentecostal spirituality, plus many distinctive qualities of their own…." (1995:245)

The rapid increase of these faith based organizations in African countries is contrary to the predictions of the so-called *secularization thesis*. During the last few decades of the 20th century, the study of religion was dominated by what has been labeled as *Secularization Theory*. The latter predicted the decline of religious activity, especially in industrial societies. South Africa, which is viewed as a dual economy with one part of it well advanced and industrialized, has also been analyzed in these terms. Secularization theory is embodied in the works of the classical sociologists: Max Weber, Karl Marx, and Emile Durkheim. Wallis and Bruce guided by British religious observance and in light of *Secularization Theory* write:

"Whatever the differences in their approach to religion, Marx, Durkheim and Weber all foresaw a major decline in its role in the modern world. Religion's ability to provide a single integrated and generally held conception had been fatally eroded by the emergence of a plurality of life experiences deriving from widely differing relationships to a rapidly changing social order, by the increasingly rationalistic organization of an industrialized, mass market economy, and by more univerlistic conceptions of citizenship," (Wallis and Bruce, 1992: 32).

The reasons behind the rapid proliferation of these Charismatic churches, especially in Africa, as opposed to the decrease in religion as predicted by *Secularization theory* are arguably related to the

manifest and latent functions performed by these churches for their congregants and the wider community explored in this study.

2.5: The history of the Charismatic movement in South Africa.

Mathole (2005) writes that the Charismatic movement in South Africa has its beginnings in the late nineteen sixties. It was fuelled by interdenominational ministries and prominent church leaders of the time, as well as religious publications which spread messages of 'spirit-baptisms,' 'speaking in tongues' and prayer. The interdenominational leaders used their positions and influence to encourage the acceptance of the Charismatic phenomenon within the Christian community of South Africa, with prominent church leaders like Bill Burnett (Anglican archbishop of Cape Town in 1976) justifying the acceptance of the phenomenon as accepting God's Spirit which was being poured out on a powerless and oppressed people under apartheid. In other words conventional denominations like the Catholics and Anglicans accepted the Charismatic characteristics of spiritual healing, speaking in tongues and prayer within their different churches at that point in time.

Mathole writes:

"His [Bill Burnett's] views affected some of the Christians' attitudes positively to have openness towards the Charismatic renewal movement at a time when the nation was almost aflame with student protest against the repressive apartheid regime. Thus, others began to see it as God's ordained movement to empower them with the power of the Spirit to break the shackles of racism and to work for a new society valuing peace and racial harmony," (2005:179-180).

Although the early Charismatic movement in South Africa may have united congregants to stand against racism, conversely, an elitism

began to emerge among the Charismatic congregants in the sense that those who openly participated in Charismatic practices in the congregations began to express their dislike of operating within the parameters of conventional denominations where some people did not identify with spiritual gifts and the behavior and actions associated with them. As a result, a tide moving towards non-denominational religiousness of Charismatic Christians was enthused. Thompson writes:

"Thereafter, the spirituality fostered a spiritual elitism and an inclination towards non-denominationalism amongst Charismatic Christians. This resulted in opposition to Charismatic Christianity from the mainline clergy reasserting a rationalistic Christian gospel and an orderly worship service." (2004:132).

This separation of Charismatic Christians from conventional denominations began the growth of independent Charismatic churches into what they are today.

2.6: Types of Christian religious activity.

B.J. Van Der Walt (1999) suggests that three dominant forms of Christianity can be observed on the African continent, namely *Ecclesiastism, Escapism* and *Secularism.*

Ecclesiastism, he argues, would mean that Christianity is confined to converted people and established Christian churches, and that a society is only Christian when all aspects of it (polity, economy etc) have acknowledged Christianity and abide by it. It must be noted here, that under *Ecclesiastism*, the suggestion that a universal function of religion is to preserve and maintain the welfare of society becomes feasible, as *Ecclesiatism* sees Christian thought and practice governing the entire society. In South African society this

notion is impractical, as the country not only hosts an array of different religions, but also constitutionally guarantees freedom of religion[2], creating pluralism within South Africa regarding religious activity, and not Christian hegemony, as *Ecclesiastism* implies.

Regarding *Escapism* Vander Walt writes:

"This type of Christianity has, because of the current situation on the continent, a very strong appeal. Within the safe walls of one's religion, one can escape the harsh realities of the "outside" world. It manifests itself in different subtypes (often imported from overseas), like an apocalyptic Christianity or a Gospel of prosperity."(1999; 24).

This view can be reconciled with Assimeng's argument that: "... religious beliefs seek ... to provide an explanation for the otherwise unclear sets of human experience," (1989;10) and can be applied to the general South African society which is very vulnerable to crime and increasing unemployment and poverty[3].

Immigrant communities tend to experience a type of "double marginalization" in the sense that they are vulnerable to the socio-economic conditions of the community they live in, yet they cannot access any form of grant or assistance provided by the state on the basis that they are foreigners. This case study also explores the functions performed by the church for the immigrant members of its congregation.

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[2] Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, Chapter 2 section 15(1): "Everyone has the right to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion."

[3] In 2011 in South Africa the unemployment rate between 15-24 year olds stood at 51%, while the national unemployment rate stood at 25%. In 2011 approximately 40% of South Africans were living in relative poverty. In terms of prevalence of crime, South Africa is ranked 10th in the world (South African Institute of Race Relations 2011).

With regards to *Secularism*, Van der Walt suggests:

"African Christians are schizophrenic. In their personal or church life they think and behave as Christians, but in politics, economics etcetera, they are lost. More and more African Christians don't even see any relevance in the Gospel for the real and burning issues on our continent- they have capitulated to a secularist religion, living as if God does not exist or does not matter." (1999; 25).

Under the notion of *Secularism* Van der Walt (1999) generalizes to African Christians, and compares the alleged behaviour of African Christians with that of a pathological disorder. On the one hand this statement is prejudicial, paternalistic and racist, yet it could arguably be seen to demonstrate the possibility that Christians on the continent (the majority of whom belong to conventional denominations) attend churches that embrace worldly forms of religious activity which consequently perform functions for a dominant group but are dysfunctional for the wider African society. In this light, the research project benefits from the work of Van der Walt (1999).

2.7: The Charismatic church and social activism

Given that the space surrounding the research site is a hotbed for illicit activities including prostitution and drug trafficking, one aim of the project is to unravel the latent and manifest functions played by the church with regards to crime prevention and social activism. One could assume that an area with high levels of religiosity (in the forms of church attendance, the exercise of spiritual gifts and other religious activities like evangelism) would benefit directly from this religiosity in the form of social activism. Yet, the literature suggests otherwise. Writing on the passive nature of Pentecostal churches to

social problems and their general non-confrontational approach to political issues Anderson cited in Maloney and Lovekin writes:

"One looks in vain for any glimmer of Pentecostal social activism beyond individual acts of charity at the congregational level before the second world war... since world war II, their preachers, editorialists and church authorities with few exceptions have endorsed the most conservative political, social and economic policies....The Pentecostals have been decidedly negative on union militancy and strikes, mass demonstrations, the anti-war movement, anti-race activism, student protest movements to end discrimination and counter cultural lifestyles." (Maloney and Lovekin, 1985: 204)

On the one hand, Anderson suggests that Pentecostal churches have taken the conservative position of maintaining the status quo, yet on the other hand his view also suggests that Charismatic churches are non-confrontational and therefore, they do not confront social issues directly, and choose instead take a more passive and abstract approach like praying over the issues for instance. The study also probes the extent to which the Charismatic church involves itself in social activism.

2.8: Speaking in Tongues

A term that is commonly associated with Pentecostal churches is the phrase: "speaking in tongues." Theologians refer to this as *glossolalia*. Mills (1985:109) writes:

"Glossolalia is the spontaneous utterance of uncomprehended and seemingly random vocal sounds. These sounds often have a rhythm best akin to Calypso music. A transliterated example is
Prou pry paddy
Pa palassate pa pau pu pe

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Heli tarratte taw

Terrei te te-te-te

Vole virte vum

Elee lete leele luto

Sine sirge singe

Imba imba imba"

It seems that within the Charismatic movement, pastors encourage their members to speak in tongues. But why? Petersen writes:

"The pastor encourages the new convert to take a first step into spiritual blessings by experiencing the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Such an experience, one is told by the pastor or other church leader, is [a] victory over sin and complete transformation of life. The unique experience in one's life is evidence that one has had real contact with God." (Petersen, 1996: 94).

Speaking in tongues in the context of spiritual gifts and meaning is pivotal to its form of worship. Some scholars have observed that speaking in tongues allows Pentecostal/Charismatic members to release tensions and to feel esteemed and integrated in the broader church community. Gritzmacher et al (1988:212) write:

"Emotional frustrations are typically suppressed until they emerge in glossolalic behavior. In the histories of those who convert to Pentecostalism, social and personal alienation may often be found, concomitant with feelings of guilt which can be unburdened during the catharsis of glossolalia. Other therapeutic outcomes include improvement of self-esteem and reduction of anxiety, with group factors playing a role in the healing process along with the individual acts of glossolalia."

In light of the aforementioned, the Pentecostal/Charismatic emphasis on speaking in tongues is linked to "the social and personal alienation [that] may often be found, concomitant with feelings of guilt which can be unburdened during the catharsis of glossolalia" (Gritzmacher et al, 1988:212). Glossolalia are explored in this case study.

2.9: The Charismatic style of Worship.

The Pentecostal/Charismatic church is arguably popular among the younger generations. It offers a more modern and energetic form of church service which includes dancing and shouting. This is unlike traditional and conventional churches which adhere to formal doctrines and ordered styles of worship. Commenting on the liberal style of worship within Charismatic churches, Petersen writes:

"Pentecostals are differentiated from other groupings by their encouragement of expressiveness. While at times this feature may appear to non-Pentecostals as irreverence and uninhibited emotionalism, for the participants the experience provides a profound sense of personal confirmation." Petersen (1996:94).

Whilst the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement grows in numbers across Sub-Saharan Africa, the congregations of the more traditional churches are diminishing in size. Could this be attributed to the Charismatic "modern" style of worship? Petersen suggests that the type of music played, the instruments used, and the style of singing could be a key contributor towards the popularity of Charismatic churches. He writes:

"The greater freedom Pentecostals have given to the use of popular instruments permits ready adaptation of familiar music styles to worship... while established churches continue to use organs, pianos

and the classical musical structures utilizing the more traditional instruments, Pentecostals unashamedly utilized the acoustical and electronically amplified instruments used by performers of popular music. The electronic key-board or synthesizer has thus emerged as the standard musical instrument of Pentecostal groups, if not yet for all Protestants." (Petersen, 1996: 96).

The style of worship within the case study is observed during the course of the research.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

3.1: Introduction

The chapter engages some elements on Max Weber's work, particularly the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (2002) as well as the structural functionalist perspective's approach to religion. The chapter also engages alienation and anomie.

3.2: Max Weber

Writing in the early twentieth century in his *Prefatory Remarks to the Collected Essays in the Sociology of Religion*, Max Weber argued that the scientific development of Occidental states had become universally significant and valid. In this work, he accepted that scientific development was evident in distant pockets around the world, but nowhere was it near the level of rationality and systemisation as was demonstrated in the Occident. The scientific development of the Occident, he wrote, was even reflected in the arts, where he argued that Western music was:

"rational harmonious music, both counterpoint and harmony, formation of the tone material on the basis of three triads with the harmonic third; our chromatics and enharmonics, not interpreted in terms of distance, but, since the Renaissance, of harmony;... our sonatas, symphonies, operas, and finally, as a means to all these, our fundamental instruments, the organ, piano, violin, etc, all these are known only in the Occident...." (Weber cited in Whimster 2004; 102).

Scientific development by the early twentieth century, according to Weber, had reached a level at which it was universally recognised as valid across both the sciences and the arts. He argued that while institutions of higher learning had existed previously in the Orient and

Islamic regions, "the rational, systematic and specialised pursuit of science, with trained and specialised personnel (Fachmenschentum) has only existed in the West in a sense at all approaching its present dominant culture." (Weber cited in Whimster 2004; 102).

His indication of the Occidental advances in the arts and sciences as a result of uncontested rationalisation was a prelude to his argument with regards to capitalism. The simple desire to acquire money and wealth as seen across the world in various professions and trades is not capitalism. Instead, he referred to such a desire as greed. For Weber capitalism is identical with "...the pursuit of profit by means of a continuous, rational, capitalistic enterprise." (Weber cited in Whimster 2004; 103).

By the early twentieth century, the universal scientific validity and rationality of the Occident had been fuelled by economic factors, which in turn had been fuelled by social structure. At the heart of the matter, Weber wrote that "the magical and religious forces, and the ethical ideas based upon them, have in the past always been among the most important formative influences on the conduct of life...in this case we are dealing with the connection of the modern economic ethos with the rational ethics of ascetic Protestantism." (Weber cited in Whimster 2004; 109).

The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism

In his work the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (2002), Weber writes that ascetic Protestantism can be historically observed in four forms: (i) Calvinism (ii) Pietism (iii) Methodism and (iv) The Baptist Movement. He argues that the social and economic effects on an individual's life as a result of believing in the Protestant ascetic doctrine were the central to the development of capitalism.

According to Weber (2002), capitalism as the rational pursuit of profit through rational economic enterprise which like the arts and sciences had reached the apex of rationality in the Occident, was an unintended consequence of Calvinistic theology which stressed 'a calling'- a special way to live, and function ordained by God . This 'calling' referred to a lifestyle that would see people working and enterprising in such a way that led to material success. He argued this as indicative of divine approval and sanctity, resulting from the consistent practice of Calvinistic values of hard work, frugality, sobriety and self-denial. In the practice of Calvinistic values Weber saw as the origin of modern capitalism, and even today, long after the Calvinistic era, the principles of hard work, frugality, sobriety and self-denial are encouraged in the secular modern-day labour-relations- especially by employers (Weber 1968).

Long after the Calvinist era and the origins of capitalism, the world is still embroiled in the pursuit of profit and wealth. In relation to this study the question arises: in terms of Weber's association of values of Calvinistic theology and capitalism, do Pentecostal/Charismatic churches as modern forms of Protestant religious practice have similar "psychological sanctions which, originating in religious belief and practice of religion," (Weber, 1922: 97) give modern society similar codes of conduct and values?

Additionally, according to Weber, English Puritanism grew out of Calvinism. Unlike Baxter who held that "New Testament asceticism appeared oriented against every striving to acquire the products of this world," (Weber, 1922:104) Calvin was of the belief that "Wealth led to a thoroughly desirable increase of clerical prestige, and allowed the clergy to profit from their fortunes wherever it could be invested without causing difficulties" (Weber 1922;104). When comparing Calvinism and Puritanism Weber (1922) argues that while Puritans might ostensibly frown upon the pursuit of wealth as encouraged under

Calvinism, what is accurate (and observable upon closer scrutiny) is that Puritans do *not* frown upon wealth accumulation; instead, they frown upon the actual enjoyment of wealth. He writes:

"What is actually morally reprehensible is, namely, the resting upon one's possessions and the *enjoyment* of wealth. To do so results in idleness and indulging desires of the flesh and above all in the distraction of believers from their pursuit of a saintly life. Furthermore, the possession of goods is suspect only because it carries with it the danger of this resting. The saints' everlasting rest comes in the next world." (Weber; 1922: 103-104). Hence, in Weber's analysis, the ethic born out of Protestantism centres on the principle of work and not wealth accumulation for itself.

For Weber religious forces of the time played an important role in not only shaping the religious behaviour of the people, but of entire countries. He argues:

"Religious forces, as they became transmitted to populations through these regular practices of the clergy and became legitimate and accepted, were decisive for the formation of the national character." (Weber, 1922: 103).

Long after the establishment of the predominant Protestant denominations, Weber (2002) held the view that the reasons motivating church affiliation had changed since the times of Luther and Calvin. People had begun to choose which sect they became affiliated to primarily on the basis of possible financial gain. He also argued that the Protestant sects (each desiring to attract a sizeable and wealthy membership) had begun to jostle for members by relaxing certain rules and orders contained in their doctrines.

Given the growth of the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement (Cox 1995) at the expense of the older Protestant sects, in light of Weber's analysis, is the growth of the Pentecostal/Charismatic movement owing to its strictness in terms of its doctrine and theology? Or does membership in the contemporary Pentecostal/Charismatic church (like membership in other Protestant denominations in the early twentieth century) offer the opportunity for material benefit, business contacts and credit lines?

3.3: Structural Functionalism

Functionalist analysis suggests that the different parts of society contribute to the functioning of the system as a whole, and conceives society as having certain needs which need to be met. Structural functionalism is underpinned by the notion that social institutions are ideally performing roles and functions that fulfil the needs of society as a whole. Religious institutions serve an integrative function for society. Sociologists like Talcott Parsons, Kingsley Davis, Wilbert Moore and Robert Merton developed structural functionalism.

Robert Merton (1968) argued that some institutions may be functional at times, while dysfunctional at others, as evidenced by the existence of conflict in societies (the conflict being the desire to maintain the status quo, versus the desire to change the prevailing order of things). In this light, he questioned universal functionalism, and noted that other uncommon functions could be performed by institutions and structures in society, and therefore, the functions are not always singular and identifiable, but may be multiple and even dysfunctional to some in society. He also observed the functional alternatives of institutions, that is, the notion that institutions perform different functions for various individuals in society, which can also be fulfilled by different institutions and structures. Merton

(1968:33-34) argues; "…just as the same item may have multiple functions, so may the same function be diversely fulfilled by alternative items."

Writing on the functional interpretation of religion, Robert K Merton highlighted that several scholars had examined and studied religion in non-literate societies and this consequently led these authors "to single-out *only* the apparently integrative consequences of religion and to neglect the possibly disintegrative consequences *in certain types of social structure*." (Merton 1968: 30). Disintegrative consequences include in the first place inter-religious conflict. Secondly, conflict between religious values within a society and secular values. For instance, in this epoch, the human rights discourse is largely seen as western dominated and founded upon Western principles. As a result it is common to find, (particularly in Africa) conflict between secular human rights (such as the right to freedom of sexual orientation) and religious values.

Merton is critiquing universal functionalism, arguing that "it diverts critical attention from a range of non-functional but theoretically and practically important consequences of existing cultural forms" (Merton 1968: 32). Instead, he encourages the sociologist to consider that "although any item of culture or social structure may have functions, it is premature to hold unequivocally that every such item must be functional" (Merton 1968: 33).

In terms of Charismatic/Pentecostal churches, Gifford (2003) suggests that in West Africa, Pentecostal churches encourage prosperity and wealth, and encourage their congregants to hold high ambitions in terms of prosperity and success, in order to challenge the traditional notion that individuals should accept their position in society as spiritually prescribed. In this context, Charismatic/Pentecostal churches in West Africa are arguably seen to

perform the function of motivating their congregants to pursue success by inspiring hard work and competition in that society as a whole. Yet in light of Merton's work, (1968) we should not observe a single universal function performed by the institution, but look for multiple functions performed by the church.

3.4: Alienation and Anomie

Many foreign immigrants and South Africans from outside Gauteng come to Gauteng province with expectations of work and a better life. Often, they are disappointed when they arrive and are confronted with protracted unemployment, inequality, crime and poverty. This affects many aspects of their lives especially their roles as breadwinners within the family structure.

For immigrants, the South African government's Affirmative Action policy (as expressed in terms of the regulations of the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998) discourages companies from employing non-South African citizens. According to the South African government, Affirmative Action does not apply to foreigners. More specifically, the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 (chapter 3 section 15) seeks to eliminate discrimination and implement Affirmative Action measures with the goal of seeing black South Africans (especially black South African women and black South Africans with disabilities) represented in the workplace. In light of this, formal sector employment in South Africa largely marginalises foreigners- more so foreigners who are in the country illegally, as is the case with numerous non-South African inhabitants of Pretoria city centre. The perceptions held by foreigners prior to their arrival into South Africa reflect expectations of opportunity, security and material prosperity. In Clark's analysis, "...a measure of alienation must be a measure of the discrepancy between the power man believes he has, and what he believes he should have-his estrangement from his rightful role." (Clark, 1959: 849). Given a

situation whereby an individual arrives in Gauteng with high expectations of work, wealth and a better life, only to realise that work is extremely difficult to come by, and poverty is commonplace, one can assume that foreigners, especially those in the country illegally experience alienation which is represented by "feelings of meaninglessness, powerlessness, belonginglessness, being manipulated, social and self-isolation…." (Clark, 1959: 849).

With regard to Durkheim's conceptualisation of anomie, Horton writes: "Anomie concentrates on barriers to the orderly functioning of society" (Horton, 1964: 286). As originally construed by Emile Durkheim, anomie is a "social psychological condition characterised by a similar breakdown in values and a feeling of isolation" (Theodorsen and Theodorsen ,1969: 12).

Durkheim was of the view that division of labour and rapid industrialisation of society led to anomie- a feeling of normlessness. Anomie becomes evident when moral restrictions to behaviour are no longer present. For instance, it can be argued that circumstances in favour of anomie are noticeable when individuals are away from family for extended periods of time (as the family structure plays a pivotal role in constraining individuals and regulating their behaviour).

Durkheim argued on the basis of his research that high rates of suicide, marital breakup and industrial conflict were indicators of societies finding themselves in states of anomie (Haralombos and Holborn, 2004: 624). Today in South Africa, it may be suggested that anomie is demonstrated by extremely high rates of crime, industrial conflict and service delivery protests. Like in 19th century Europe when Durkheim was writing, these social phenomena are arguably indicative of a breakdown in the normative order.

Marson (1970) refers to anomie as alienation. In his work, he makes reference to alienation as powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement. He writes:

"Alienation as powerlessness is a notion originated by Marx who viewed the worker in a capitalist society as one excluded from the prerogative of decision making by the ruling entrepreneurs. A second major usage of alienation is that of meaninglessness. In this conception of alienation the individual is unclear as to what he ought to believe about the events with which he is confronted. The third type is derived from Durkheim's idea of "anomie." In this instance, alienation is conceived as a kind of normlessness." (Marson, 1970: 370).

Orru (1987) writes: "Despite the widespread adoption of the concept, it is difficult if not impossible to come up with an agreed definition. For some writers, anomie is the absence of cultural restraints on human aspirations, for others it denotes a conflict of belief-systems in society; anomie also describes the imbalance between cultural goals and institutional means at either the social or the individual level, or a psychological condition of self-to-other alienation." (Orru 1987:2).

South Africa is an economic and social contradiction. Development and underdevelopment exist concurrently within the borders of this country. Some scholars have coined this contradiction the *dual economy,* referring to extreme riches and extreme poverty living side by side. Since 1994, the South African state has focused on the vulnerability of the poor, and has acted by providing them with social grants including disability grants, old age grants, child grants, and government housing (South African Social Security Agency, 2011). Alongside this, the government provides antiretroviral treatment for HIV positive citizens, and subsidizes education and

healthcare for the South African people. However, foreign immigrants who enter into the country either illegally or as asylum seekers and refugees and have not yet obtained permanent resident status are not able to access these social benefits (South African Social Security Agency, 2011). Moreover, they frequently suffer from xenophobic attacks, as they compete for minimal opportunities with South African citizens. This seems to be what Orru (1987) refers to as: "the imbalance between cultural goals and institutional means at either the social or the individual level, or a psychological condition of self-to-other alienation." (Orru, 1987:2).

3.4.: Conclusion

Guided by Max Weber's work (specifically the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (2002) the case study attempts to determine whether or not the church directly influences the social behavior of its members. Furthermore, guided by the structural functionalist perspective, the case study seeks to unravel the manifest and latent functions performed by the church. In terms of alienation and anomie, the case study questions whether it is possible that black African immigrants attend the Charismatic church (field-site) in order to find relief from their condition of anomie. In addition, the case study seeks to address whether it is possible that black South Africans attend the church for similar reasons.

Chapter 4: Research Methods.

4.1: Introduction.

The case study was conducted in a Charismatic church in Pretoria central. The project was started in 2008 during which the researcher attended the church regularly and conducted a number of interviews. However the researcher had to leave South Africa for personal reasons in 2009, and returned in 2011. In the same year, the researcher re-engaged the project and started the fieldwork anew.

The fieldwork site was the most popular Charismatic church in the Arcadia area of Pretoria central in 2008, and it had and still has a diverse congregation in terms of nationality, ethnicity class and race. This chapter unpacks the research project, the methods adopted, the methods of data analysis and the ethical considerations.

Research Questions.

The primary research question is:

·What social functions does the Charismatic church in Pretoria central (field-site) perform for its congregants?

From this question emerge two sub-research questions:

·Does the church provide a form of spiritual comfort that its congregants perceive that more conventional churches do not provide?

·Do South Africans and non-South Africans attend this church for similar reasons?

Research Aim

The aim of the case study is to provide a descriptive sociological analysis of a Charismatic church in Pretoria, by focussing on the social functions it performs for its congregants.

4.2: Research Design

4.2.1 The Qualitative Method

When commenting on the differences between quantitative and qualitative methods Pidgeon and Henwood (cited in Hammersely 1993) note as follows:

"Qualitative methods are privileged…because they are thought to meet a number of reservations about the uncritical use of quantification in social science practice: in particular, the problem of inappropriately fixing meanings where these are variable and renegotiable in relation to their context of use; the neglect of the uniqueness and particularly of human experience…."(Hammersely, 1993:14).

The researcher chose to conduct qualitative research in order to capture "…the uniqueness and particularity of human experience…" (Hammersely, 1993:14) in terms of the perceptions of the members of the church.

The immediate aim of the researcher was to describe as accurately as possible the social functions of the church, refraining from any pre-given framework, but remaining true to the facts (Groenwald: 2004:5). Unlike positivists who apply a quantitative approach and who make use of the experimental method and the quantification of data, qualitative researchers such as phenomenologists believe that research cannot be detached from the researcher's own presuppositions and biases (Hammersley, 1993). A qualitative research approach encompasses a range of data collection tools (including participant observation, systematic interviews and participants' written reports) and focuses on how research

respondents encounter and experience their social environments. The researcher seeks the experiences of the participants in terms of their (participants') interpretations of events and the meanings drawn from various social encounters.

Using a qualitative research design the researcher develops an understanding of what the respondents perceive reality to be (Hammersley, 1993)..The approach essentially investigates an individual's perceptions of reality as he or she constructs it.

<u>Case study</u>

The researcher chose to address the research questions by making use of the case-study method. Data was collected from the perspectives of the congregants of the church, the sermons and the doctrine of the church as expressed by the preachers and lay preachers.
"A distinctive need for a case study arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena... the case study allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events." (Yin, 1984:14).

Yin (1984) also states there are three rationales for single case-studies:
Firstly the case study represents a 'critical case' in testing well formulated theory- the case study is used to test whether or not the theory's propositions are correct. Secondly, the case study represents a unique case. Thirdly the case study is a revelatory case, that is, a situation where the researcher aims to gain access to one particular example.

In this instance, the case study represents a unique and explanatory case. There are many studies focusing on the general social functions

of religion, but none specifically focusing on the social functions performed by this particular Charismatic church in Pretoria central.

This case study aimed to identify the social functions performed by the Charismatic church in Pretoria for its members and for the wider community through participant observation and in-depth interviewing.

4.3: Data Collection Techniques

One-on-one semi structured face-to-face interviews

The primary data–collection method adopted for the purposes of this research project was the one-on-one, in-depth, semi-structured and face-to-face interviews.

Sixteen interviews were conducted. The interviews probed into and explored the respondents' experiences, points of view, perceptions and attitudes with regards to the church and the functions it performs for them and the community. An interview of approximately sixty minutes allowed the researcher to unravel understandings that would not have been disclosed in as much detail using quantitative questionnaires.

The interviews were semi-structured, meaning that some mandatory questions were prepared prior to the interviews and documented as an interview schedule[4]. The schedule consisted of open-ended questions, that is, questions that are of a "singular focus and use neutral language" (Ruane,2005: 154) in order to avoid leading the respondents to any particular answers. The schedule did not function as a strict trajectory which the researcher followed, but rather as a

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[4] See Annexure A.

guide through which specific themes and experiences could be introduced and facilitated. The interview schedule listed six themes which functioned as guidelines. The researcher located these themes having explored the relevant literature on Charismatic churches (see chapter 2), and in consultation with the supervisor. The following themes were dealt with to collect the data:

· Personal demographic information
· Migration history
· Employment history
· Religious participation
· Wealth ministry
· Student ministry.

 The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed for the purposes of retrieving information as accurately as possible.

An incentive was offered in the form of a small meal after Sunday church services. Nine of the interviews were conducted at the Union buildings, and seven were conducted in the apartments of the respondents.

Participant Observation

Participant observation involves being part of the group over a period of time, sharing in their everyday activities, and communicating with them about their lives, choices, and reasons thereof. This method creates an intersubjective reality between the researcher and the participant. May (2001:150) states:

"[Participant observation] leads to an empathic understanding of a social scene. It is said to exclude, over time, the preconceptions that

researchers may have and exposes them to a new social milieu which demands their engagement." May (2001:150).

Participant observation as a research method was applied as a secondary data collection tool. In-depth interviews were the primary method of data collection. Regular attendance of the church services as well as the church cell group meetings on Thursdays, and Christian education classes on Wednesdays was practiced by the researcher. This was conducted from February 2011 until July 2011. The researcher also shared an apartment with one church member for a period of two and a half months (6th May 2011 to 31st July 2011). Over these periods the researcher wrote down observations made during the church services immediately after the services. Notes were also made while sharing an apartment with the one congregant and also while attending church cell group meetings and Christian education classes.

The data collected through participant observation provided a context for the data collected through the interviews. The opportunity to observe the private life of a church member and how he attempted to apply the church doctrine and teachings in his day to day life was insightful. The experience highlighted how an ordinary church member attempts to understand and interpret the church doctrine and teachings.

4.4: Participant Selection- Snowball Sampling.

May (2001) notes that: "…when a population is widely distributed or elusive… snowball sampling may be the only way of obtaining survey data. In this approach initial contact may be made with a member of the population who will lead the researcher to other members of the population." May (2001:95)

The study used the 'snowball sample' method which began with the identification of potential respondents. Prior to approaching potential respondents, the researcher received permission to conduct research on the church from the gate-keeper (who is the head pastor of the church) using a letter of consent[5].

The snowball sampling method was applied whilst the researcher was taking part in church activities. During the initial stages of the research, the researcher applied participant-observation in the form of attending and participating in Wednesday Christian education classes, Thursday evening cell group meetings, Sunday morning services, and Sunday evening "Sunday Night Live" services. The researcher was inter alia able to create a name database of potential respondents, from which a sample was constituted. Ultimately the researcher conducted sixteen interviews with people of differing gender, ethnical, national racial and class backgrounds.

4.5: Profile of Participants.

Name[6]	Nationality	Gender	Age range	Job
Fred	Zimbabwean	Male	Early twenties	Cleaner
Able	Nigerian	Male	Late thirties	Unemployed
Janet	South African	Female	Late thirties	Unemployed
Jub Jub	South African	Male	22	Student
Kabila	Congolese (DRC)	Male	40	Unemployed recent graduate.
Lisa	Ugandan	Female	28	Post-graduate Student
Mary	South African	Female	24	Student
Elfredo	Malawian	Male	28	Cleaner at church

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[5] Annexure B
[6] Pseudonym.

Karabo	South African	Female	Early-twenties	Student
Shepherd	South African	Male	24	Student
Obi	Nigerian	Male	Late twenties	Self-employed (trader)
Emma	Ugandan	Female	Late-twenties	Post graduate-Student
Kindness	South African	Male	24	Student/teacher
Serious	Congolese (DRC)	Male	45	Electrician
Bruce	South African	Male	51	Gardener
Nicholas	Gabonese	Male	24	Student

Of the sixteen respondents, eleven respondents were male and five were female. Three respondents were unemployed and eight respondents were students. Five respondents were working at the time they were interviewed. Nine respondents are non-South African. seven are South African.

4.6: Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed to ensure that the tape-recorded interviews were precisely reproduced in script form.

Gray et al, writing on qualitative data analysis, advise: "…raw data do not arrange themselves. The researcher groups them together and processes them in a variety of ways, to show what they mean and to facilitate their interpretation. Raw data gathered about individuals and institutions may be lumped into categories and the results compared for each group." Gray et al (2007: 48).

Also, Rubin & Babbie (2007: 304) write: "The first step in developing qualitative data involves coding." Strauss & Corbin (1990:2) write: "Open coding is the part of analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorizing of phenomena through

close examination of data. Without this first basic analytical step, the rest of the analysis and communication that follows could not take place."

When the interviews had been transcribed, they were each closely studied and analyzed (line by line) by the researcher in order to identify broad themes. The interviews were then re-worked by the researcher in order to micro-analyze the data, and this allowed the researcher to organize the data relating to similar themes into categories represented by number codes. The purpose was to order the data. In order to ensure scientific rigour during this process, the researcher reflected on the coded data to ensure that no meaningful narrative was overlooked or misplaced. At the final stage, each theme was studied and analyzed by reflecting on it to capture the underlying meanings within each theme.

4.7: Ethical Considerations.

In order to ensure that the research was conducted ethically, there was a need for specially signed permission from each research respondent. This signed permission was presented in the form of a letter of consent which[7]:
·guaranteed confidentiality,
·asked for consent
·informed each respondent that the interviews were to be tape-recorded and transcribed
·highlighted that the data collected would be included in a University of Pretoria, Master of Social Science mini-dissertation
·highlighted that the data would be archived at the University of Pretoria for a period of up to ten years in accordance with University of Pretoria scientific policy

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[7] See Annexure C

·informed respondents of the possibility that the data collected could be reused

·guaranteed the respondents' anonymity.

4.8: Limitations to the Study.

The study is a case study of a Charismatic church in Pretoria central. The fundamental aim of the case-study is to provide a sociological analysis of a Charismatic church in Pretoria, by focusing on the social functions it performs for its congregants and for the wider community. The study therefore cannot be generalized as representative of all Charismatic churches in the area or anywhere else, but can be arguably viewed as a guideline explorative study that may lead to others.

The researcher was not able to conclude interviews with any of the four main pastors of the church. They were either inaccessible to the church congregants and the researcher, or too busy to be interviewed. Even though appointments for interviews were sometimes made with them, they often cancelled because they had more pressing engagements.

In most instances (fourteen out of sixteen respondents) the first language of the respondent was not English. This meant that extra care and attention had to be paid when analyzing the data. Consequently special attention must be paid when reading respondent's perceptions within the report as some of the respondent's comments may need extra attention in order to be fully understood.

4.9: The fieldwork context: observation and experiences.

Based upon personal fieldwork observation while staying in the area from May to December 2011, it became clear why the Arcadia area of Pretoria central is known colloquially as the "red light district of Pretoria". It is a hub for prostitution, drug trafficking and other

forms of illicit activities. The area is also home to at least six churches and one seminary, demonstrating religiosity amongst the Arcadia population.

Three of the churches are conventional denominations (a Baptist church, an Anglican church, and a Catholic church). Three churches are Charismatic, and the area is also home to a Lutheran seminary. It is not unusual to find 'evangelists' from some of these congregations handing out flyers around Arcadia.

I estimated that in 2011, the Charismatic church under investigation had close to one thousand members. I arrived at this figure by conducting head counts of the full congregation during every Sunday service I attended. I did this by arriving at the church early on Sundays and counting people as they sat down in the main church area.

At first glance, the members of this Charismatic church seemed pretentious and over-zealous. This initially made them hard to approach. The services were characterized by emotionalism and what seemed to be 'sensation'. Members of the church often jump, shout, scream and dance during the service. This made it difficult for me to "fit in" among the church's congregants.

During the week, the church holds other meetings. On Wednesdays from 17.30 to 18.30 is "the pastor's hour of prayer." During this time, some church members meet and pray. In this meeting, the pastor initially writes the different "prayer points" on the white-board of the 'old chapel' section of the church- a section where baptisms occur and smaller meetings are held. Some of the observed 'prayer points' were:

· **Pray for the revival of Sunnyside and Arcadia community area.**

· Pray for crime reduction in the Arcadia area.

· Pray for the spiritual revival of schools and universities in the area.

·Pray for students writing exams.

Generally the prayer meeting is characterized by members walking up and down the room, praying at the same time out aloud, whilst others will be speaking in tongues and clapping. After the general prayer points, the pastor asks if anyone needs individual prayer. If so, the pastor and a few other people lay their hands on the individual and pray for him or her aloud. I observed that in most instances, the people who requested individual prayer were unemployed and wanted the pastor to ask God to give them work. In the other instances, individuals requested prayer, but declined to express the reasons in front of all the present church members. It was in this kind of meeting that the initial respondent for the study was approached.

The pastor's hour of prayer, was followed by 'Christian education' class from 18.30 until 20.00hrs. This class is a bible-study series, and all new converts are encouraged to attend in order to learn about Christian principles and their applications in day to day life. The series also teaches the Christian doctrine, and it is conducted as a formal class. Two of the church's main pastors alternately led these classes.

On Thursday evenings, the Pretoria central cell-group meeting is held at the church between 18.30 and 20.00hrs. The meeting is led by a lay-preacher[8]. This class is attended by 20-30 church members who live in the various areas of Pretoria central. The members are a mixture of South Africans, foreigners, unemployed people, students, workers, the middle, lower-middle and working classes simultaneously. All of them are black African people (male and

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[8] A lay preacher is a church member who is sometimes assigned the duty of preaching by the head-pastor.

female). About 20 members attend this meeting every week. There were always more males than females in this gathering. During this meeting, the members initially pray, first collectively and then for any individual who needs prayer. During this time glossolalia is used. Many members pray in tongues loudly. Moreover, the members encourage each other to pray in tongues. I was led to this meeting by the respondent I met during the Pastor's 'hour of prayer' and consequently, 11 out of the 16 respondents interviewed in the course of the study were drawn from the cell-group meetings.

On one occasion, the cell group members were assigned to groups of three, and were given the task of visiting any member of the church who hadn't attended Sunday church service in a long time. Two members of the cell group and I visited a lady named Cindy[9] who is a non-South African female, and lives in the Arcadia area of Pretoria central. She is a member of the church, but had been severely ill and hospitalized for several months. When we arrived at her apartment, she was in bed having been recently discharged from hospital. She was happy to see us and offered to get out of bed and make us some tea. After a while, she realized that the she had never seen me before, and identified me as a new convert to Christianity. As a result, she took some time to explain to me that it was necessary to speak in tongues, and that I should not be alarmed by *their* praying in tongues. The reason why it was necessary to speak in tongues, she said, was that otherwise the devil would hear the prayer "and steal everything," meaning that to the members of this church, glossolalia is seen as a means of individually speaking directly to God without interruption. This visit took place on Saturday June 11 2011.

After praying, the Thursday cell-group members discuss the themes of the past Sunday service, and then they discuss issues pertaining to the personal lives of the cell-group members. This seemed to give the

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[9] Pseudonym, 33 year old female from Zambia.

members of the group the opportunity to express themselves and to de-brief their day-to-day experiences. For example, on one occasion, the lay-preacher spoke about infidelity, and how inappropriate dressing by women in the community serves as a temptation for men. This opened up a debate among the members, some agreeing with the lay-preacher, and others (especially women) saying that a woman's clothes could not be the reason for infidelity. (Thursday 5 May 2011).

On another occasion, one of the cell-group members told the group that he had been robbed of his cell-phone and wallet, and he narrated the ordeal to the members. After telling the story, some of the members cracked jokes, and others consoled him. When I saw him the following week, a church member from the cell-group had given him a new cell-phone. (Thursday 21 June 2011).

The cell-group meeting usually ended with tea and snacks.

The Sunday services are held at 8.30am, 10.30am, and 18.30. During these services, the main emphasis is on singing, praying and the pastor's message; very little communication occurs among the church members. It is interesting to observe that during the Sunday morning services, the church always prays for three African countries. The fleet of cars outside the church on Sundays demonstrates that the church has a sizeable population of middle class members. Arguably the church's congregation consists of a mixture of the middle and lower classes for two reasons:

1) The current middle class church members started to attend the church many years ago as students, unemployed job seekers, or as part of the lower working class stratum, and over the years they have experienced upward social mobility owing to promotions at work, and success in business. They have consequently remained at the church.

2) The current students, lower working class church members and unemployed church members have over time heard the testimonies[10] of the now middle-class church members, and as a result, they have decided to follow their practice and remain at the church.

All of the respondents interviewed for the purposes of this research project were approached and asked to participate during the aforementioned church-related activities.

Nine interviews took place at the union buildings after church services, and 7 in the apartments of respondents. As noted earlier 16 interviews were conducted in total. All the respondents signed consent forms prior to the interviews. Each interview was tape recorded and transcribed with the permission of the participant. As suggested I tried to interview the four main pastors, but they were elusive, and the attempts failed again and again. The broad themes emerging from the interviews are described below.

4.10: Key Themes

This section discusses themes emanating from the data.

Theme One

Participation in the church as a means of escaping anomie and alienation emerged as a theme after the data showed that all the respondents (whether South African or foreign) were originally from outside Gauteng, and migrated into the area endeavouring to find work or to further their education. Respondents attended different churches in their places of origin, and started to attend the Charismatic church

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[10] It is common practice in the church for members to share testimonies with each other. A testimony is a true story narrating how an individual overcame adversity. The story usually centres on spiritual intervention and church support.

in Arcadia Pretoria central when they settled in the areas around it. Furthermore, 8 out of the sixteen respondents were suffering from conflicts of a personal nature (especially unemployment) in one form or another when they started to attend the Charismatic church.

Theme Two

Community outreach emerged as a theme when issues raised by the respondents in relation to the church's community involvement reflected the church's engagement in evangelism, HIV/AIDS programs, and prison ministry. The data gathered reflected the church's obvious avoidance of active pivotal community issues in this regard, such as attendance of Community Policing Forum meetings.

Theme Three

Speaking in Tongues emerged as a theme under the interview schedule sub-section of *Religious Participation* when respondents were asked about spiritual gifts. The open practice of spiritual gifts (especially *glossolalia*) is a key component of Charismatic church life as has been noted in chapter 2. Up to ten out the sixteen respondents didn't know about any other form of spiritual gifts. Also, while staying with one member of the church, the researcher observed the Charismatic church's insistence on *glossolalia* being acted out.

Theme Four

The theme *tithing and prosperity* captured data around tithing, the prosperity gospel and the church's teachings on wealth accumulation. During the months of June and July 2011 the church conducted a series entitled "the blessed life," and all respondents were interviewed during

this time. As a result of this, all respondents were aware of tithing and prosperity.

Theme Five

Encouragement of Africans as a theme discusses respondents' responses to the researcher's question: "What is the church's attitude towards the future of Africa?"

Chapter 5: Discussion of Themes, Analysis and Interpretation.

5.1: Introduction and Background

The aim of the researcher is to establish the social functions performed by the Charismatic church for its congregants. In light of this, the researcher (having observed that the church under examination has a sizeable population which is almost fairly divided between South Africans and non-South Africans) decided to explore the functions the church performs for its congregation and attempt to unravel the reasons behind the church attendance of foreigners and South Africans. This was achieved by means of participant observation which was conducted in the form of regular church attendance, and through in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews (see chapter 4). The themes emanating from the data are discussed in this chapter.

5.2: Research Questions:

The research questions are:

·What social functions does the Charismatic church in Pretoria central (field-site) perform for its congregants?
·Does the church provide a form of spiritual comfort that its congregants perceive that more conventional churches do not provide?
·Do South Africans and non-South Africans attend this church for similar reasons?

5.3.: Discussion of Themes

5.3.1: Participation in the church as a means of escaping anomie

The data allocated under this section reveal that the respondents perceive the church to be a mechanism for social support, especially through its cell-group meetings. However respondents' reflections also illustrate that the church's provision of an environment that allows for

the respondents to feel free and comfortable when worshiping draws the respondents to become more involved in church activities, particularly the cell-group sessions which consequently provide them with social support. As a result, the following sub-theme is initially addressed:

<u>The Charismatic church's provision of freedom to worship</u>

One respondent, Kabila, a forty year old male from the Democratic Republic of Congo attended the Catholic church in his home country, and when asked about the difference between the Charismatic church and the Catholic church, he gave this account:

"Catholic church they are doing politics you see? ... they are doing politics, and the bad way, even the Vatican we see what they are doing in the world here- even some priests they are involved in paedophilia and so-on. I think the issue of the Catholic church is now open, everyone now sees that they are doing wrong things." (Kabila, male, DRC).

When asked about why he left the Catholic church and his experience of the Charismatic church when he was in his home country, Kabila gave this description:

"... I think the word in English is routine you see? You just go in the church, you come back- all the things the priests were saying- I knew it. It's like a recitation ... [But after attending a Charismatic church] I [had] never heard preaching like that- things that will change my life, I said that no, now I have to change (Kabila, male, DRC).

This comment reflects how the Charismatic church breaks the routine affiliated with more conventional churches like the Catholic church. The comment also illustrates that the style of preaching in Pentecostal churches is different from conventional preaching, and this is important to some of the former members of conventional denominations like Kabila. This flexible and open style of worship not

only draws people from conventional churches but it also seems to be what encourages the members of the church to participate in other church-related activities. Janet a South African female expressed that the freedom to worship and the nature of worship were what attracted her to the church. She said:

"When I came to Pretoria, well, so I didn't attend anything for many years, I was just like going as I told you I was working for retail you know all the time you are at work and the Sunday that you are at home you tired you wanna do your washing or anything, I actually started attending church after I lost my job for the first time. And the reason why I went to…one Sunday I was on my way to Spar, so like I heard the worshipping when they worshipping and everything that, then, that's what attracted me to church" (Janet, South African Female).

When the researcher probed about the differences between the style of worship in the Charismatic church, and the style of worship in her former church, Janet said this:

"Okay, the, the, the, the difference I'll say it's like the worship, the way they worship God. Because in Dutch Reform Church … you know they've got these books hymn songs they very slow, you can't dance to it, you can't do what we do in [the Charismatic church]…: And I can say as far as to say I make sure that I don't be late in church like on Sundays. The most part is, the most important part for me is the worshipping." (Janet, South African Female).

Shepherd, a South African male, when asked about what he thought was exceptional about the Charismatic church also noted the style of worship. He said:

"Umm, I don't know it's just, this church in particular, umm, I feel, I don't know, I feel at home, I mean okay, I don't know a lot of people, but when I'm there I just feel so like, this is where I belong. Umm, it's easy to listen to the sermon and stuff, umm, we, ah, the sermons are relevant to, to, to me and yeah, I just enjoy it, I really enjoy the worship and everything." (Shepherd, South African male).

Nicholas, a twenty four year old Gabonese male expressed similar sentiments. When asked what he likes about the church he said:

"Yeah, I think, brrrrr, ah, what can I say, the way they worship, the way they pray, it's a wonderful church, they know how to welcome people and share the word of God, it's like they are sharing everything there; fellowship, love, each other, it's a good one for me." (Nicholas, Gabonese, male).

Karabo, a South African female student had this to say about the church's atmosphere and the style of worship in the church:

"So, ah, and then I heard of Chai Alpha[11] at UP, and then I met Cindy[12], and I met everybody else and they told me that they go to [the church], and I started visiting... and yes...I think the style, ah, worship is- I think it's the style that makes a difference, and the instruments and stuff. Umm, how can I? I don't know, but, the difference ... I must say, what I love about [the church] is the drums... Oh, my word, they off me up [laughs]" (Karabo, South African female).

Of the above five respondents' perceptions two were provided by non-South Africans and three by South Africans. Four of these respondents were students and one was unemployed. Despite this, each reflection demonstrates that the style of worship within the church is powerful; arguably demonstrating the Charismatic style of worship is attractive to both South Africans and foreigners. Furthermore, four out of these five reflections illustrate that the Charismatic style of worship makes the respondents feel at home in the church. The church becomes a socially cohesive institution and holding of its congregants.

The style of worship, encapsulated in the expressive singing, the emotional and loud praying, and the modern musical instruments used in the church arguably creates an atmosphere in the church that draws people from outside, even from other churches, and it is this atmosphere that arguably keeps them there. The respondents views cited above enforces the opinion that "Pentecostals are differentiated

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[11] A Student group affiliated to the University of Pretoria.
[12] Pseudonym

from other groupings by their encouragement of expressiveness. While at times this feature may appear to non-Pentecostals as irreverence and uninhibited emotionalism, for the participants the experience provides a profound sense of personal confirmation." (Petersen, 1996:94).

As suggested earlier the inclusion of this sub-theme: *The Charismatic church's provision of freedom to worship* arises from the observation that the members of the church are initially attracted by the liberal worship style. Respondents' reflections around this matter echo appreciation for the opportunity to sing expressively, and to pray loudly. It is the researcher's observation that the opportunity to worship freely draws people to the church from other churches and consequently the new members begin to participate in other church related activities (such as cell group meetings) through which the church helps its members to deal with anomie.

The cell group meeting occurs once a week, and allows for church members to come together and to participate in activities like prayer, singing and discussions. At the end of the meeting the group members have tea together. Reflections provided by the respondents illustrate that the cell group meeting is the most cherished part of their Charismatic-church life. Below are some of the perceptions:

"The most special thing about the church is the, what's it call, the cell base, particularly cause when I was attending 2007/2008, [mumbles something] nobody, I go to church, I come back, without knowing anyone. If I could count them, all the people I knew then was about two to three out of the whole of congregation. But when I started to attend at the cell, at least I knew many people, many people which I don't imagine of knowing them years to come if I wasn't attending the, what's it called? Cell group." (Obi, Nigerian Male).

Lisa is a Ugandan doctoral candidate at the University of Pretoria. When she was asked about how the church helped her in her everyday life, she had this to say about the meetings:

"Umm, the church, through those small groups that we are part of, that I'm part of, it's been supportive, not just in Christian ways, but in others- my social life? Let's say ah for instance as a foreigner when you come in you don't know what to expect so I think there was an instance where I was robbed and that small group was supportive they were there from me, and yeah, they gave moral support as well." (Lisa, Ugandan, female).

When the researcher asked her to give examples of how the church gave her moral support through these cell group meetings, she had this to say:

"Ah, mmm, I mean they visit- you feel sick- they come, you know visit, bring you know small financial support as well, umm, call upon, you know call you- check on you- in that way." (Lisa, Ugandan, female).

Mary, a South African female post graduate student at the University of Pretoria who attends at the church had this to say about the home-cell group:

"Okay, I think it's because I have a, okay, I met people through the cell, through the cell-group that I used to go to... It's a, a cell group it's like, it's like, a connect-group, people get together every once a week and then they talk, they talk about their faith, they talk about their faith, their challenges and they are able to share with other Christians and they are able to grow through other people's experiences, advise and just guide each other in working with Christ." (Mary, South African, female).

When asked how the church helps her in her everyday life in comparison to other churches she used to attend, Mary had this to say:

"I think that comes down to a personality, I think that it comes down to my personality, I'm not, I don't think, I'm not outgoing...But then ... it's- I think I found people that I can be able to relate to- in a way I'm able to go to cells, yeah, to meet with people to just interact with the people that I found there than, it's easier for me to interact with the people that I found in ... than those that I found in other churches." (Mary, South African, female).

These comments highlight that the cell-group meetings provide social support for the church members as the cell-group helps the members (both South African and non-South African) to cope with external social realities such as alienation, sickness, crime and discouragement. Lisa from Uganda mentioned that when she was robbed the cell group "gave moral support," and when she was sick they gave her financial support. While attending the cell-group, the researcher also observed that the meeting provides church members with a platform for inter-gender interaction and the opportunity to explore possible partners and spouses. Furthermore as Obi from Nigeria mentioned, these groups also provide the members with a platform to make friends, network and interact, and this is in line with some of the recognised functions of religion such as: "provision of circumstances which bring men and women together to participate in common activities understood by and meaningful to them," and "regularization of the network of social relationships" (Max Assimeng,1989: 9).

When Elfredo from Malawi was robbed one week, he came and shared his ordeal with the cell-group members. Although the experience was discouraging for him, the cell-group members laughed with him and replaced his stolen phone. From this, the researcher observed that both South Africans and non-South Africans who attend the cell-group appreciate that it provides a common ground for its members to share their experiences. The ordinary conversation is always centred on the bible, and emphasises what God determines to be right or wrong behaviour in different situations. This determines how the church members are supposed to behave in different situations. While the Sunday sermon gives church members the opportunity to sing and dance and listen to the pastor, the cell-group meetings allow the church members to interact, ask specific questions, and reach conclusions about what is right and wrong practice. In light of this, it can be argued that the church, through these meetings regulates

value driven normative behaviour of the church members as they encounter their social environments (Assimeng, 1989:9). Evidently, through the cell-group meeting the church performs the function of delivering its members from anomie. Throughout the data gathering phase of the project, the researcher did not come across a single church member who was originally from Gauteng. The South African and non-South African respondents are from varying cultural backgrounds, and in Pretoria, they face possible conflicts in terms of their norms and beliefs. For instance, the high incidence of crime in Pretoria is apparent to all. The prevalence thereof seems to have become part of the culture of the Pretoria central community; however, it is not easy for outsiders to fit into such a place or to desensitize themselves from crime as other community members seem to have done. As a result, when an individual from outside Gauteng is confronted with crime, he or she suffers from anomie in the form of "social psychological condition characterised by a similar breakdown in values and a feeling of isolation," (Theodorsen et al, 1969: 12).

When a member of the cell-group is unable to access hospital assistance because of sickness or police assistance because of crime, because he or she is illegally in the country, that member is in a state of anomie, since anomie is also "the imbalance between cultural goals and institutional means at either the social or the individual level, or a psychological condition of self-to-other alienation." Orru (1987:2).

In this context, the church arguably performs functions aligned with Vander Walt's (1999) *Escapism*. He writes: "This type of Christianity has, because of the current situation on the continent, a very strong appeal. Within the safe walls of one's religion, one can escape the harsh realities of the "outside" world. It manifests itself in different subtypes (often imported from overseas), like an apocalyptic Christianity or a Gospel of prosperity."(1999; 24).

The following four illustrations provided by respondents further reflect the church's role in assisting its alienated members living in anomic conditions. Two of the following reflections are made by South African respondents and two are made by non-South African respondents.

Fred, a Zimbabwean male in his twenties explained why he came to South Africa saying:

"... why... cause in Zim firstly there was no jobs... yeah, and secondly, I didn't have, my parents died when I was, young, and as I can see myself growing up I saw that to my side I was the person that they call a breadwinner...So, I saw that with the situation in Zim... I had to come here. (Fred, Zimbabwean. Male).

Fred's account of how and why he came to South Africa illustrates the scale of hardship in the home countries of some of the foreign respondents and their desperation to secure work and a better life in South Africa. This desire is often dampened when foreigners arrive in Pretoria from outside the country, and when South Africans arrive from outside the province only to face difficulties in finding work, and to experience a social existence that is different from one's own normative background. When asked how he got his job as a cleaner in the church he gave this account:

"It was not that easy or something. Ah, I couldn't find any job like, going to look for a job each and every day I was doing like, each and every day I was looking for a job. And then I spent like a year looking for a job and then there was this other announcement that was made in church, said that they wanted people to help at MET [13].... So, that's how I did get a job" (Fred, Zimbabwean. Male).

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[13] MET: A mission-training course that teaches people how to conduct caretaking duties. At the end of the course the most successful graduates are offered jobs either at the church or in the homes and work places of church members.

Elfredo, a twenty-eight year old Malawian male said that he came to South Africa to find work. When asked how he found his job as a gardener, he gave this account:

"Ah, it has been so hard for me here- since I came here …but for these jobs that I'm working now I just found them here in church, ah, from some Christians who are attending in this church … when they heard that I know this job, because I'm doing gardening, so when they heard that I know this job, they just called me to work for them, so I'm working for my fellow Christians. Yeah." (Elfredo, Malawian).

Two out of the seven South African respondents noted that they came to Gauteng in order to look for greener pastures. Janet is a South African female in her late thirties. She is a single mother. She is originally from Mpumalanga, and came to Gauteng in 1999 in search of work. Prior to her joining the church, she worked as a manager in a retail outlet, but was dismissed for what was perceived to be unethical conduct. At the time of the interview, she had spent close to six months looking for work, and struggling to meet her expenses. When asked if the church assisted her in overcoming her challenges she said:

"I didn't like mention my difficulties, but what I mentioned it was like I'm looking for a job and blah, blah blah; and I think the job for the department of education I got it through the church because Brenda[14] took our numbers, the ones that are looking for a job, and they said they will keep their numbers in their database, if maybe there is someone looking for somebody they will let us know…. so last week this other lady called me to say you know, you've been employed as a senior admin clerk, so, you've got the job. So I think the church help, if I wasn't in church I wouldn't have know about this opportunity that was available." (Janet, South African Female).

In all these cases the desire to find work was not met with work itself until the church intervened, meaning that without the church's assistance, the respondents were unable to resolve their joblessness. This reflects alienation, which according to Clark "is the degree to

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[14] Pseudonym for the church administrator.

which man [and woman] feels powerless to achieve the role he is determined to be rightly his in specific situations" and "a discrepancy between the power man [or woman] believes he has, and what he believes he should have- his estrangement from his rightful role" (Clark 1959: 849). Prior to the church's intervention, these respondents were unable to fulfil their roles as mother, father or breadwinner- although that was their will. In this light, the church helped these respondents to deal with alienation.

Bruce, a fifty-one year old South African male was unemployed and poor when he started to attend the church. He is originally from Kwa-zulu Natal. This is what he said:

"Umm, mmm, you know even this job of being a gardener in, in, MET, I was, I was umm, what, what's the word, I was, pastor Napoleon Taww[15], set up, came to my rescue and ... Because, being unemployed, not having money to buy food, and, collecting bottles from dustbins in order to buy something to eat for that day, is not easy and not nice. You know, that's how I've been living." (Bruce, South African, Male).

From the above, it emerges that this Charismatic church's freedom of worship allows the respondents to feel free, and comfortable within the church. This draws the respondents to become involved in the church, and consequently to participate in the cell-group sessions which provide them with social support including job facilitation.

When asked about xenophobia, the respondents either didn't know about any of the church's interventions, or spoke of the church praying against xenophobia during what seemed to be the height of xenophobia tensions in 2008. Elfredo from Malawi made this comment:

"Yeah, they pray against it. They pray against it, I remember one time, last year, when the 2010 was around, the 2010 FIFA, there were some people planning like ah, when this game end *ne*? There'll come again xenophobia, but it didn't happen

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[15] Pseudonym

because we Christians we prayed against it then it didn't happen. Mmm." (Afredo, Malawian. Male).

When asked if the church helped him to deal with Xenophobia, Fred, a Zimbabwean male had this to say:

"Ah, that I do not know, I never heard them like, doing outreaches of that."
(Fred, Zimbabwean male)

These comments demonstrate that the church offers a spiritual form of intervention by praying. This kind of abstract intervention (prayer) also seems to be the church's way of engaging in broader community issues. This is discussed further below.

5.3.2: Community outreach

The respondents did not have a clear idea of how the church engaged in community projects or about the church's community involvement. The respondents did however refer to some forms of community outreach in which the church is involved. These community outreach projects are in the forms of evangelism, HIV/AIDS support, and prison visits. Here are some of the expressed views:

"I have not been involved in any major outreach programmes, and I haven't heard of any major outreach programmes, or anything so, I don't know what they do for the community really." (Mary, South African Female).

"The community [pause] mmm, Eish, to that part of the community I don't know but like I think maybe if people here about ... [the] church like how do they do and then or how people like you know succeed in ...church because you can only succeed if you have faith in God and if someone, " (Janet, South African Female).

When the researcher probed further, and asked about the evident problems of prostitution and drug trafficking in the area, the respondent expressed these views:

"I don't know if they help those issues in anyway but I can, I hear sometimes like, there are people praying for that, you know to stop, and praying that those people who are out there in the street to come to church, you know receive God. That's the only thing that I can say... other than that there is nothing that I've noticed or that I know of." (Janet South African Female).

Janet is unaware of the church's direct involvement in the obvious community problems of prostitution and crime. She notes spiritual involvement through prayer. Lisa, a Ugandan female had this to say about the church's community programmes:

"Well there's, there's, I think I'm aware of, you know, some reach-out programmes in the community, that provide, you know, support for the poor, I think there's programmes to give food to give clothing to orphans, the church has visited a number of orphanages within Pretoria, yeah, and food as well they provide on some occasions." (Lisa, Ugandan Female).

Able, a Nigerian male had this to say about the church's community programmes:

"One Thursday ... [the captain] in the Sunnyside police station have cried to the church that they need the church prayer. That is one way [stammers] that is one way the church has been useful to the community, praying for the community, for the wellbeing of the community. Secondly, the church is running [stammers] another project now, [stammers] counselling HIV and Aids, eh, patients." (Able, Nigerian, male).

When conducting this particular interview (Able), the researcher picked up on the respondent's exaggeration. First of all, it was during one of the Christian education classes (that the researcher also attended) on a Wednesday (and not on a Thursday) evening that the pastor mentioned that the captain of the Sunnyside Police Station, during a Community Policing Forum (CPF) meeting, had asked the churches to pray for the community especially against crime and drug trafficking. The researcher visited the Sunnyside Police Station. After a number of attempts, the researcher managed to meet with the Captain

in charge of the Community Policing Forum (CPF) in the Arcadia area. The meeting took place on the 1ˢᵗ of September 2011 at the Sunnyside police station.

The CPF involves six sectors, and representatives of all communities attend. Churches are members of an *Interfaith Based Organisation,* which is representative of all religions in the area. It aims at creating a friendship between the police and the different faiths- a relationship aimed at combating crime. The Charismatic church (field site) was under sector three, but the captain said that he hardly saw the representative of the church at the CPF meetings. The police Captain also noted that the community members of Arcadia were most vocal about prostitution and drug trafficking, and that the churches didn't say anything at the meetings, neither did they make suggestions regarding how to address these issues. He explained further that the police had interviewed arrested prostitutes, who told the police that they were tricked into the business by 'pimps' who offered them jobs in Pretoria. Upon their arrival, the prostitutes were 'doped-up' with drugs and forced onto the streets. The captain said that the church didn't, as far as he knew, conduct such interviews with the prostitutes.

In order to compare the Arcadia church's community involvement with that of Hatfield, the researcher visited the Hatfield Police Station. The police station serves the area around the University of Pretoria. The Captain present (name not provided) agreed to be interviewed with regard to the Community Policing Forum (CPF) in that area. He noted that the police in that area maintained close ties with the University of Pretoria, and the Hatfield Dutch Reform church (DRC) which often visited the police station and provided the police with confectionaries. He noted further that the DRC regularly gave them any information the church has regarding crime in the area. In contrast, the Charismatic church being studied took a more spiritual approach to crime by choosing to pray about social issues like prostitution and drug trafficking, and engaging in more conventional forms of community

outreach like visiting orphanages and prisons. Shepherd, a South African male had this to say about the church's involvement in the community:

"... I think we should go out more, go into the city more and try and, try and understand the community and try and I mean, I mean yeah we can see what's happening, but I mean let's go out there and actually talk to the people and find out what's going out with their lives and stuff, how can we help them? ... So, not really, not- I mean yes it's a big step, they've gone through a big step but I think it's about time they start going out and getting the people to church." (Shepherd, South African, Male)

The church's abstract approach to community issues arguably vindicates Maloney and Lovekin's view that "one looks in vain for any glimmer of Pentecostal social activism beyond individual acts of charity at the congregational level...." (Maloney and Lovekin, 1985: 204).

5.3.3: Speaking in Tongues

During the study, the researcher asked respondents about spiritual gifts. Out of the sixteen respondents eight respondents expressed their experiences of spiritual gifts in the context of the church. The respondents recognised speaking in tongues (glossolalia) as the most practiced spiritual gift in the church. Here are some of the perceptions:

"...I remember the girl, a lady in the worship team called Sally[16], spoke in tongues, and she gave something that for me felt like, when she spoke for me that really felt like, that sounds like a psalm, but I just don't know what that is, and I remember some guy from behind, I don't know if it was G-boy[17] ... gave an interpretation but it was so real, so spot-on, usually the message is, just what you need to hear at that time, you find many people relating to it...." (Emma, Ugandan Female).

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[16] Pseudonym
[17] Pseudonym

"... they teach us most to have the Spiritual gifts, like now *ne*? We're in a topic called rekindling the Pentecostal fire. You see? In this topic they're teaching about rekindling the gifts of the Holy Spirit. Even speaking in tongues it's one of the Spiritual gifts, you see, so they teach us, ah, to have the spiritual gifts, to receive the Spiritual gifts from God so that we can walk in the Spirit. Yeah, that is." (Elfredo, Malawian Male).

While the researcher was attending the church during the early stages of the study, the main pastor asked the researcher if he had received the "baptism of the Holy Ghost," and if the researcher had "spoken in tongues." During the two and half month period (May 2011 – July 2011) in which the researcher lived with one of the Charismatic church members, the researcher would hear the man speaking in tongues in the bathroom, before he went outdoors, and even late at night. The practice is held to be supernatural and pivotal, especially when praying for jobs and blessings. The members of the church view speaking in tongues as a mystical connection that symbolises Christian maturity and the ability to perform supernatural feats through prayer. In the cell-group meetings for example the lay-preacher who led these meetings, prayed the most loudly, and would often shout, "In the name Jesus!" The lay preacher would also often encourage the group-members to pray 'boldly' and not 'timidly,' suggesting implicitly that the members should pray more like him. When the lay preacher prayed in tongues, his prayer always sounded more melodious and coordinated than the prayers of the other members.

On one occasion, while the researcher was living with the church member, the researcher's rent was late (3 July 2011). The researcher communicated to his landlord that the rent would be late, and furnished him with the reasons. The researcher's housemate took it upon himself to invite a man (name not provided) to the apartment, and to have a "communion-service" in case "a financial spell might have been cast on them." During this "service," the researcher observed that both his housemate and his housemate's guest were imitating famous

televangelists when they spoke. On that particular day the researcher noted that their normal speech was frequently interrupted by glossolalia; much like many famous televangelists. From this, the researcher deduced that in this instance the use of glossolalia was prompted by the influence of famous international Charismatic pastors, many of whom are seen as 'holy men' and 'servants of God' by Charismatic Christians. In order to ascertain one's own godliness, holiness, and Christian maturity, one is encouraged to speak fluently in terms of glossolalia. These observations can be reconciled with some of the literature which, when speaking of the importance of glossolalia in the Pentecostal church suggests that glossolalia symbolises direct contact with God, as noted by Petersen:

"The pastor encourages the new convert to take a first step into spiritual blessings by experiencing the baptism of the Holy Spirit [which is evidenced by speaking in tongues]. Such an experience, one is told by the pastor or other church leader, is victory over sin and complete transformation of life. The unique experience in one's life is evidence that one has had real contact with God." (1996: 94). This arguably explains why 'speaking in tongues' is so important with the members of the Charismatic church.

5.3.4: Tithing and Prosperity

All respondents were aware of the meaning of tithing and prosperity, and every respondent seemed eager to attain financial blessings. This is especially true of those respondents who were unemployed or full-time students at the time of the interviews. Those respondents who were unemployed or full-time students (ten in all) did not tithe regularly, but gave offerings when they had the chance. Even those respondents who had only recently converted to Christianity were aware of 'tithing and blessings' and were eager to participate. When asked if they gave

tithes at the church, some of the comments provided by respondents were as follows:

"... as yeah I do, as, as, as I'm a grounds man, working in the garden at Mission Exposure and Training [18] so I'm giving tithes, I've started last month." (Bruce, South African, male).

"Tithe! Okay yes... this is my life; I cannot go out and feel I did not tithe." (Serious, Congolese, male).

"Since I'm not like you know, receiving a salary or whatever so, since I'm like struggling financially I can't even like pay rent sometimes you know I have to be helped by other people, so, I'm not tithing but though I do offerings whenever I have." (Janet, South African, female).

"Tithes? That's the part I really have to improve especially the predication of pastor Mabenga[19], it really touched me. [Interviewer laughs] [mumbles] to be honest I'm a big failure you know? Sometimes I'm giving, sometimes I'm not, I'm not a regular tither I have to improve that really. It is the way I really need to change my life". (Kabila, Congolese, male).

"I found that when you give, sometimes, when we give something, it always comes back to you, it's an investment in a way." (Mary, South African female).

The question of tithing is coupled with the notion of the 'prosperity gospel'. The 'prosperity gospel' is a term that has become a negative connotation attached to Charismatic churches. It insinuates that Charismatic churches encourage their congregants to give and tithe in ways that are outside of traditional Christian doctrine. Some commentators go as far as to say that the prosperity gospel cheats Charismatic Christians out of their wealth. In the course of this study, it emerged that the church differentiated between *sound* Christian giving and tithing, and the *prosperity gospel*. The researcher asked the

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[18] Usually referred to as MET.
[19] Pseudonym

respondents whether they agreed with the 'prosperity gospel' that is currently popular around the world. Here are some of the comments:

"Ah, there's not much prosperity gospel in [the church] you know, teaching is mostly focussed on personal growth, in your faith in your walk with Christ, well they touch on that once in a while but it's not a focus of the church" (Lisa, Ugandan, female).

"I think [the church] like teaches us if you, like, follow the bible, like, in the bible there is where they say if you tithe, you give your tithe to God, God will also, you know, bless you in the other way. It's not like they are saying if this month you give God ten thousand rands, next month he'll give you a hundred thousand rands, so, it's just about the preaching of the tithing which is in the bible, they follow the bible." (Janet, South African Female).

"... so I don't think all of it is wrong- there are parts of it that are right, there are parts of it that are wrong, I agree with the parts that...." (Jub Jub, South African, male).

When the researcher probed further, and asked Jub Jub what parts of the prosperity gospel he agreed with, and what parts he didn't, this is what he said:

"...that's not a subject we touch on a lot in church. Prosperity and all those things." (Jub Jub, South African male).

These comments reflect that although Charismatic churches teach their members to tithe and to give, it does not encourage extravagant giving in this case. Instead, as Janet suggests it tries to teach its members to give tithes according to biblical Christian doctrine. During the time the researcher lived with a congregant (May 2011- June 2011) it was clear that he enjoyed watching international Charismatic pastors. Some of these international Charismatic pastors are seen as advocates of the extreme forms of the prosperity gospel. One day the researcher's housemate gleefully mentioned that he had seen a beautiful BMW

motorcar that had a banner on the back window wich read: "tither[20]" This, alongside some of the respondents' comments over three months suggested that although the church tried to teach its members a sound doctrine with regards to tithing and prosperity. However, the influence of international Charismatic televangelists and their accessibility over the internet and through various other means, easily overshadowed the teaching of the church.

Pentecostal/Charismatic churches are protestant churches. Max Weber, in his work: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (2002) makes reference to the fact that work is central to Protestantism and that wealth in itself is a symbol of God's grace (see chapter 3). During the course of gathering data, the researcher did not once hear the church (through its sermons or smaller groups) encourage its congregants to accumulate wealth through hard work. Although the researcher observed the church's general avoidance of tithing and prosperity as a theme for sermons, the church did not discourage its members from listening to international televangelists who are emphatic about the prosperity gospel.

5.3.5: Encouragement of Africans

As previously suggested, the congregation of the Charismatic church is almost evenly split between South African and non-South African nationals (see chapter 4). In light of this, one of the questions posed during the interviews was in relation to the future of Africa and the church's encouragement of the congregation as multi-racial Africans. The observations of the researcher and the perceptions of respondents collectively reflect that the church has a committed concern for the continent and it regularly prays for Africa's future. When asked about the church's attitude towards Africa, some of the following responses emerged:

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[20]A tither would be a person who regularly gives tithes.

"Well, the church sees that, ah, Africa, [stammers] Africa is a good place, is a, is a continent of God. And they are so concerned about eh, what is happening- the poverty, the diseases the war in Africa. With that, at every Sunday they pray for Africa- for God to restore Africa." (Able, Nigerian male).

"…I think they are, they've got, mmm, they're doing a good mission, especially sending evangelists around…even pastor Fela[21] say last time he was in DRC. I think it's fine what they are doing. Maybe they have got, many donations- that's why for us, we have to donate, donation is important, so that people can go and spread the word of God around Africa. (Kabila, Congolese male).

"Umm, I think, they, they believe in Africa, I think they believe in Africa, they, pray about it, they ah, you know, umm, they, invite, they invite [laughs] fellow believers from Africa they you know, they, ah, they, they keep in touch so, I think they're very, they're very ah, ah, what's the word, they, they very ah, they believe in Africa, I think they love Africa" (Kindness, South African Male).

The researcher observed how the church raised three different African flags every Sunday and prayed for these countries. This highlights the church's concerns and hopes for the continent. On the other hand the researcher also observed that during two crises that occurred on the African continent during the year 2011 (namely the Libya uprising and the Somali famine), the church prayed for these countries however it did not take any further action. In contrast a South African faith based organisation: *Gift of the Givers* was collecting donations for Somali famine victims at the time. Arguably this highlights the church's spiritual support towards social problems in and outside of South Africa. It does not have a policy of direct intervention. The researcher did not on any occasion observe the church giving credit to any African country or government for good performance during the year 2011, or offering a prayer of gratitude for what God had done in any African country. The church tacitly categorised every African country as tumultuous, poor and suffering. The negative perceptions of the continent among the members of the church were demonstrated by the

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[21] Pseudonym

views of the continent held by respondents especially the South African ones. Ultimately this can be seen as a latent function performed by the church. For instance, Karabo, a South African female had this to say when asked about the church's attitude towards the future of Africa:

"Mmm. I think they want, umm, we pray for Africa every Sunday, so I think they want to, I don't wanna say recruit- but to recruit more Christians in Africa... so I think [the church] really is working on it and recruiting believers- people that believe in Jesus. [Mumbles]." (Karabo, South African female).

Bruce, a 51 year old South African male had this to say about the church's attitude towards the future of the continent:

"... it has a proactive attitude in terms of ah, it's spreading the word of God and making sure that ah, the salvation goes from all ... you know people get knowing about Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour, ah, ... ah they, they, there are prayers each and every Sunday for all the countries in the, in the continent, so that, ah, people get saved, and the people who go and do missionaries are, are, are, are accepted in those counties, and souls are won for the Kingdom of God." (Bruce, South African male).

These two particular views project a perception that implies there is no Christian faith throughout the continent. Furthermore both South African and Non-South African respondents' responses in this section reflect perceptions that the continent is in desperate need of prayer, and that prayer alone is sufficient, providing further evidence that the church focus calls on spiritual intervention for external issues. The responses provided also reflect that the church arguably contributes implicitly to the negative perception of the continent amongst its congregants, in the light of negligence with regards to speaking, preaching or praying about positive developments on the continent. This leads to an impression amongst congregants like Karabo and Bruce that the entire continent is in turmoil and in need of salvation.

5.4: Conclusion

This case study explored the functions the church performs for its congregation and for the wider community by attempting to unravel the reasons behind the church attendance of foreigners and South Africans. This chapter evaluated key themes emanating from the data by magnifying perceptions provided by respondents and reconciling these perceptions with the relevant literature in attempt to arrive at answers to the research questions.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1: Introduction

The research sought to unravel the social functions performed by the church by addressing three main questions:

·What social functions does the Charismatic church in Pretoria central (field-site) perform for its congregants?

·Does the church provide a form of spiritual comfort that its congregants perceive that more conventional churches do not provide?

·Do South Africans and non-South Africans attend this church for similar reasons?

The Chapter unpacks the answers to these questions and is concluded by presenting recommendations to the church and recommendations for further research.

6.2: Research Questions

6.2.1: What social functions does the Charismatic church in Pretoria central (field-site) perform for its congregants?

In the course of the research it emerged that the church assisted four out of the sixteen respondents (both South African and non-South African) to find jobs and consequently to deal with unemployment (see chapter 5 section 5.3.1). All four were actively looking for work when the church assisted them. It also emerged that the church keeps a database which stores the names of congregation members who are looking for work and actively tries connecting them with potential employers (as in the case of Janet; see chapter 5 section 5.3.1) further demonstrating that the church proactively seeks to assist its members to find work. Additionally, the research revealed that the weekly cell

group meeting is fundamental to the respondents' church life. It emerged that church members (both South Africans and non-South Africans) interact with each other and share external experiences within this setting. Cell-group members visit each other when they are sick, encourage each other when they encounter crime and at times provide each other with material and financial support. In this light, and in the light of the church assisting its members to find work, it is arguable that the church provides its members with the necessary social support needed to deal with anomie, where anomie is the "social psychological condition characterised by a …breakdown in values and a feeling of isolation," (Theodorsen et al, 1969: 12) and "the discrepancy between the power man believes he has, and what he believes he should have- his estrangement from his rightful role" (Clark, 1959: 849).

Although the church prays for three African countries every Sunday, the researcher did not on any occasion observe the church giving credit to any African country or government for good performance during the year 2011, neither did the researcher hear the church offering prayers of gratitude for what God had done in any African country. The church seemed to tacitly categorise every African country as tumultuous, poor and suffering and ultimately this can be seen as a latent function performed by the church as it arguably contributed to the negative perception of the continent held by members of the church as demonstrated by the negative perceptions of the continent reflected by respondents (see chapter 5 section 5.3.5).

6.2.2: Does the church provide a form of spiritual comfort that its congregants perceive that more conventional churches do not provide?

All the respondents that participated in this study are originally from outside Gauteng province and they all formerly attended more conventional churches than the research site. In chapter 5 under the sub-theme: *The Charismatic church's provision of freedom to worship*

the reflections of respondents reveal that this church provides spiritual comfort that its congregants perceive that more conventional churches do not provide. According to these reflections, the spiritual comfort takes the form of the freedom to worship freely and openly (especially by praying and speaking loudly in tongues) singing loudly and dancing. Two of the respondents' reflections included in this report (chapter 5 section 5.3.1) expressly highlight that these aspects of Christian worship break away from the reserved and repetitive forms of worship which they say characterize the worship style of more conventional churches.

6.2.3: Do South Africans and non-South Africans attend this church for similar reasons?

Yes. The perceptions provided by all sixteen respondents reflect that both South Africans and non-South Africans attend the church for similar reasons. The main reasons behind church participation for both South Africans and non-South Africans are arguably: social support and because the church provides its members with an atmosphere that allows them to worship freely and comfortably.

6.3: Recommendations

6.3.1: Recommendations to the church

From this case study, it is clear that not every Charismatic church's sermonising is spearheaded by the prosperity gospel. Respondents in this study explained that the church does not prioritise the wealth ministry. This demonstrates that not all Pentecostal/Charismatic churches are focussed on the 'wealth ministry'. The church is primarily concerned with the spiritual gift of 'speaking in tongues' which is understood to be evidence of the 'baptism of the Holy Ghost.' Prayer (while speaking in tongues loudly) is a central component in the church. During Wednesday evenings when the pastor had his "hour of

prayer," (See chapter 4) speaking in tongues loudly took place. It is the church's means of tackling social and community issues as well as spiritual ones. Apart from this the church desists from actively tackling common problems affecting the community; problems such as violent crime, drug trafficking and prostitution. The church may not want to aggravate organised criminals by interfering in their operations, however the church could choose a less confrontational approach to serving the community by attending and participating in the Community Policing Forum meetings and providing the police with suggestions on how to deal with community problems. As it stands, the captain in charge of the sector 3 of the Community Policing Forum in Sunnyside noted that the pastors of the church rarely attend meetings.

The study does however reflect that the church assists its own members to deal with anomie. The church arguably concurrently performs the latent function of negatively portraying the African continent as collectively afflicted. The church's neglect of mentioning positive aspects of the African continent arguably fuels a negative perception of the continent among congregants as highlighted by respondents' reflections (see chapter 5 section 5.3.5). In this light, the researcher recommends that the church considers acknowledging positive developments on the continent through its prayers and sermons.

6.3.2: Recommendations for further research

Given this study and its findings, there is clearly a need to look at other Pentecostal/Charismatic churches situated in areas made up of different class and racial groups in attempt to determine whether the social functions performed by the churches in those areas can be reconciled with those presented in this case study.

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ANNEXURE A:

Interview schedule of themes for
research project

PERSONAL INFORMATION

- Are you married?
- Do you have any children?
- Do you live alone?
- Are you a Christian?

MIGRATION HISTORY (if the respondent is not from South Africa).

- What is your country of origin?
- Where does your family come from?
- How did you come to South Africa and what were the reasons?
- What is your future plan? (will you continue to live in or leave this country?

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

- What is your work history
  i.e. how many jobs did you have before coming to, and while in South Africa?
- What was the nature of each job?
- How did you get the job?
- What difficulties have you faced at work? (if employed)
- What difficulties have you faced while trying to find work?
- What kind of conditions do you work in, in terms of work hours, wages (don't ask amount) and relationships with colleagues?
- What are your feelings about your current workplace (if employed) in terms of xenophobia, racism, exploitation and equity?

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION

- What is your religion?
- What denomination do you identify with? (probe) Have you always attended Cornerstone Assembly (Assemblies of God) Church?
- When did you start to attend this Church?
- Why did you start to attend this Church?
- Why did you leave your last Church? (ask if applicable)
- What do you prefer about this Church over other Churches?
- Would you attend a different Church if you were in another Country?
- What do you feel is exceptional about this Church?
- Do you give tithes to the Church?
- What amount do you tithe?
- How regularly do you tithe?
- Do you feel at home in this Church?
- Do people treat you with respect in the Church despite your race/gender/nationality?
- Do people from the Church treat you better than people who are not from this Church? If so, what do you think is the reason?
- What countries would you say; do most of the congregants come from?
- Are the majority of the Congregation South African nationals or African foreigners?
- How does the Church help you in your everyday life?
- How do you think this Church helps the community?
- If you leave this area, or this city, what Church will you attend?
- Is this Church popular in this area? Why? (if yes) Why not? (If no).
- Does the Church help you to deal with xenophobia? (ask if respondent is foreign)
- Does the Church help you to deal with loneliness?

WEALTH MINISTRY

- What does the Church teach you about wealth?
- Do you agree with the teachings?
- Why/why not?
- How do these teachings help you in your day to day life?
- Do you find these teachings to be true?

STUDENT MINISTRY

- Does the Church help you with your studies?
- How does the Church help you with your studies?
- How does the Church encourage you?
- What is the Church's attitude towards the youth?
- What is the Church's attitude towards the future of Africa?

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ANNEXURE B:

Information Leaflet and informed consent from the Charismatic church in Pretoria.

Researcher's Name: Taurayi T Tawengwa

Current course/degree: M(SocSci) industrial sociology labour studies

Dissertation title: the social functions of religion in a charismatic church in Pretoria: a case study

Duration of the study: the duration of this study: 31January 2008 to 30 September 2012

Introduction

Your church, a branch of ………. Church has been identified as a site for a research project which is being conducted for a master's degree in sociology at the University of Pretoria. The title of the research project is: *The social functions of religion in a charismatic church in Pretoria: A case study*

Purpose of the research

The research will focus on your church which is the Pretoria branch of the …….. church.

The research is for a master's dissertation. I, the researcher have recognized an increase in the number of non-denominational charismatic churches in Pretoria in recent times. This research project, therefore primarily intends to investigate the social functions performed by these churches for their congregants . The research will also investigate whether or not the church provides spiritual comfort that the congregants could not find elsewhere (that is, in conventional churches), and whether or not the church provides a context for networking for the immigrant members of its congregation. Furthermore, the research will seek to determine whether or not the church provides its congregants with protection from Xenophobia and anomie. Lastly, the project will probe the reasons why South African nationals attend the church and also the reasons why foreign nationals attend the church.

Description of what to expect in this study

The respondents will be identified from within the congregation, and will be asked to sign a consent form, which will give the researcher permission to conduct face to face interviews with them (the respondents). The interviews will take about 60 minutes to complete. The interviews will be transcribed (written down) as well as tape-recorded. The data captured during the interviews will be stored for ten years at the University of Pretoria. No names addresses or any other identifying information will be included in the dissertation. During the

interviews respondents will be asked about their personal background, why they attend the church, their thoughts about the church, their thoughts about why other people attend the church, and their thoughts about the benefits of church attendance.

Has this study received ethical approval?

The Faculty of Humanities Research Proposal and Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria will be consulted to ethically approve this study, once the church has granted its consent.

What are the rights of participants in this study?

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and respondents can refuse to participate or stop at any time without giving any reason. If they do participate in this study, they can refuse to answer any questions that they don't want to answer.

Confidentiality

The information provided during the interviews will be treated as private and confidential. No names addresses or any identifying information will t be included in the final dissertation.

What will happen to the collected data?

The data will not be destroyed after the end of the study. The data will be archived at the University of Pretoria for a period of up to ten years in accordance with the University of Pretoria policy. The data collected during this research study may be reused for other studies as well as to publish an article.

Written Consent from the Church

I ……………………………………………………………………… (Please Print) am aware that the results of this study will be anonymously processed into a Masters dissertation.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare that the ………………..church in Pretoria will allow Mr. T Tawengwa to conduct his research in the Church.

I hereby give my written consent.

Church leader's Signature…………………………………………………..…

Date…………………………………………………………………………….

If you have any further questions about this study or if you have a problem, you can call the University of Pretoria Department of Sociology at (012) 420-2330.

ANNEXURE C:

Respondent information leaflet and informed consent

Researcher's name: Taurayi T Tawengwa

Current course/degree: M(SocSci) industrial sociology labour studies

Dissertation title: the social functions of religion in a charismatic church in Pretoria: a case study

Duration of the study: The duration of this study is 31January 2008 to 30 September 2012

Introduction

You are invited to participate in this study for a Master's Dissertation. This information leaflet will help you decide if you want to participate. Before you agree to take part in this study you should fully understand what is involved. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask. You should not agree to take part unless you are completely happy

about your participation and all procedures involved.

Purpose of the research

The research is for a Masters dissertation. The researcher acknowledges that there has been an increase in the number of non-denominational charismatic churches in Pretoria in recent times. The research therefore intends to investigate the possible social functions performed by these churches for their congregants and for the wider society. The research will focus on a charismatic church in Pretoria.

The information gained from you and others will help to establish the social functions performed by the church for its congregants and the wider community. Furthermore, the information gained will help us to determine why people attend non-denominational charismatic churches instead of traditional denominations.

Description of what to expect in this study

You will be asked to sign a consent form, which will give the researcher permission to interview you. The interview will take about 60 minutes to complete. The interview will be transcribed (written down) as well as tape-recorded. The data captured during the interview will be stored for ten years at the University of Pretoria. Your name, address or any other identifying information will not be included in the dissertation. During the interview, you will be asked about your personal background, why you attend the church, your thoughts about the church, and your thoughts about why other people attend the church, and your thoughts about the benefits of church attendance.

What are my rights as a participant in this study?

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you can refuse

to participate or stop at any time without giving any reason. If you do participate in this study, you can refuse to answer any questions that you don't want to answer.

Confidentiality

The information you provide during the interviews will be treated as private and confidential.

Your name, address, or any identifying information will not be included in the dissertation.

Has this study received ethical approval?

The Faculty of Humanities Research Proposal and Ethics Committee of the University of Pretoria has ethically approved this study.

What will happen to the collected data?

The data will not be destroyed after the end of the study. The data will be archived at the University of Pretoria for a period of up to ten years in accordance with the University of Pretoria policy. The data collected during this research study may be reused for other studies as well as to publish an article.

Written Consent

I am aware that the results of this study will be anonymously processed into a dissertation.

I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.

I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and (of my own free will) declare myself prepared to participate in the study.

I hereby give my written consent.

Respondent's Name (Please Print)……………………………………….

Respondent's Signature………………………………………………..

Date………………………………………………………………………..

Recearcher's Name……………………………………………………….

Researcher's Signature………………………………………………….

Date………………………………………………………………………..

If you have any further questions about this study or if you have a problem, you can call the University of Pretoria Department of Sociology at (012) 420-2330.